

## Silly Anniversaries

Our spectacular society is obsessed with anniversaries, whose function is to avoid doing something now by recalling when something happened on a certain date several years or centuries ago. During the past month several left-wing writers and speakers have been dwelling on two such dates – the death of King Charles I on 30th January 1649, and the birth of Thomas Paine on 29th January 1737. (A nice irony is that both anniversaries are wrong, because the dates belong to the old Julian calendar, which was ten or eleven days out of synch with the Gregorian calendar we have followed since 1752.)

The execution of the King 350 years ago is the symbol of the English revolution. It was preceded by a decade of religious and political quarrels, two civil wars, long negotiations and a short trial, and it was followed by a decade of

further religious and political quarrels and the conquest of both Scotland and Ireland and the unification of the British Isles, under a republic called first 'Commonwealth' and then 'Protectorate', nominally administered by a Council of State supported by Parliament, but practically ruled by the army and its eventual commander Oliver Cromwell.

This first modern attempt to replace hereditary monarchy by electoral democracy failed (though the compromise combination of limited monarchy and parliamentary oligarchy succeeded a few years later), but it was copied during the following century in America and France. Paine was a leading figure in the revolutionary movements of America, England and France, both as an active participant, narrowly escaping death in all three countries, and as the author of *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man*, the most influential texts of the revolutionary ideology.

Paine has been remembered on the left as a penetrating pioneer of rational reform, and his birthday used to be marked every year by radicals and republicans. His memory has recently been revived, and it has even been suggested that he should have a statue in Trafalgar Square. What he would have thought of being commemorated in a place dedicated to a victory over revolutionary France, near the site of old corruption in Whitehall and Parliament, and in the capital of financial and military power, could only be expressed by Paine himself.

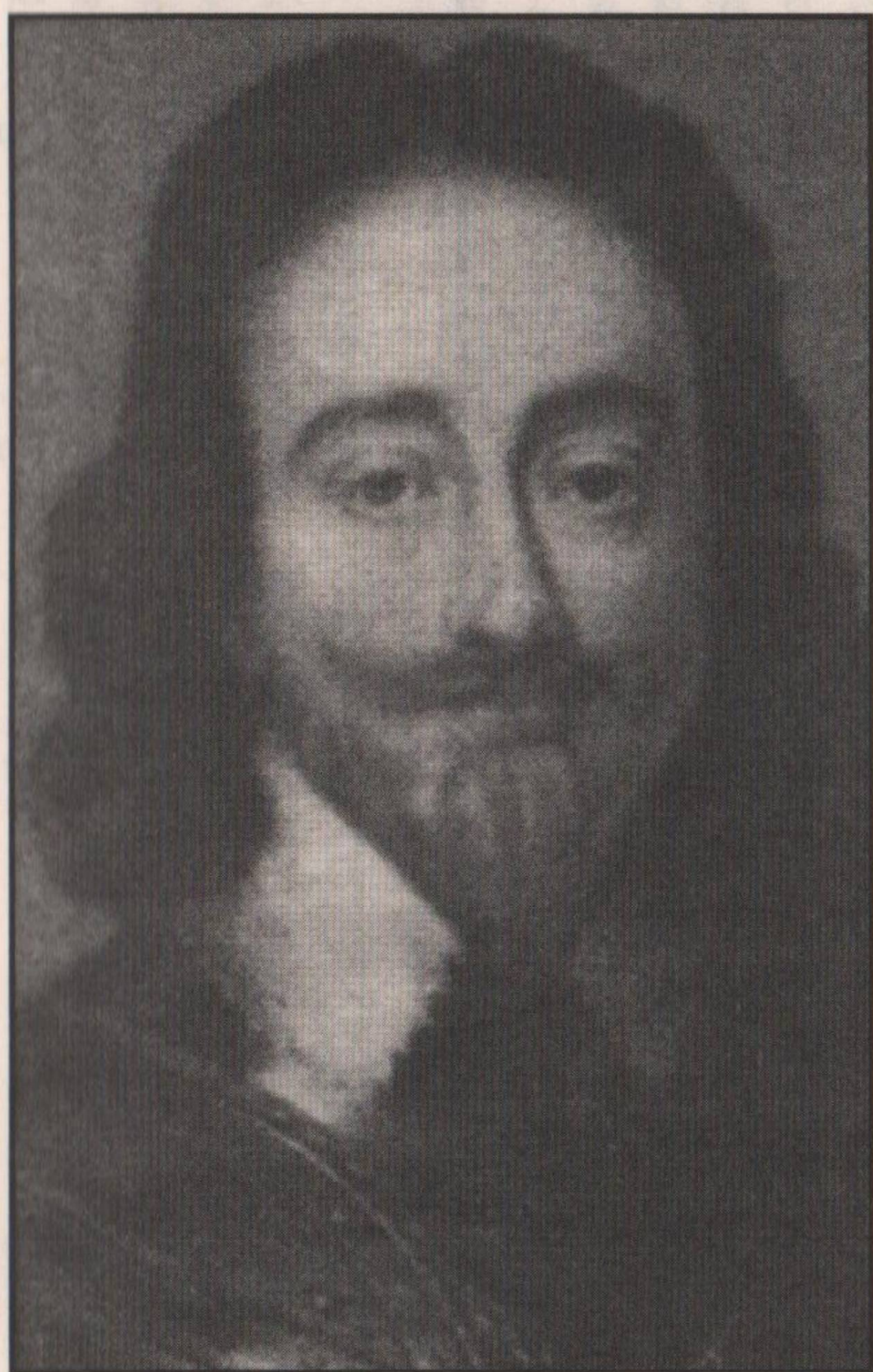
But the real trouble is that the democratic pretensions of all these revolutions were false. Women and servants (as well as slaves) were included in the struggles against the old regimes, but were excluded from the political and economic benefits of the

new ones until much later. The various parliaments and congresses and assemblies were frustrated by factions, corrupted by crooks, manipulated by media, and dominated by dictators, as most of them still are.

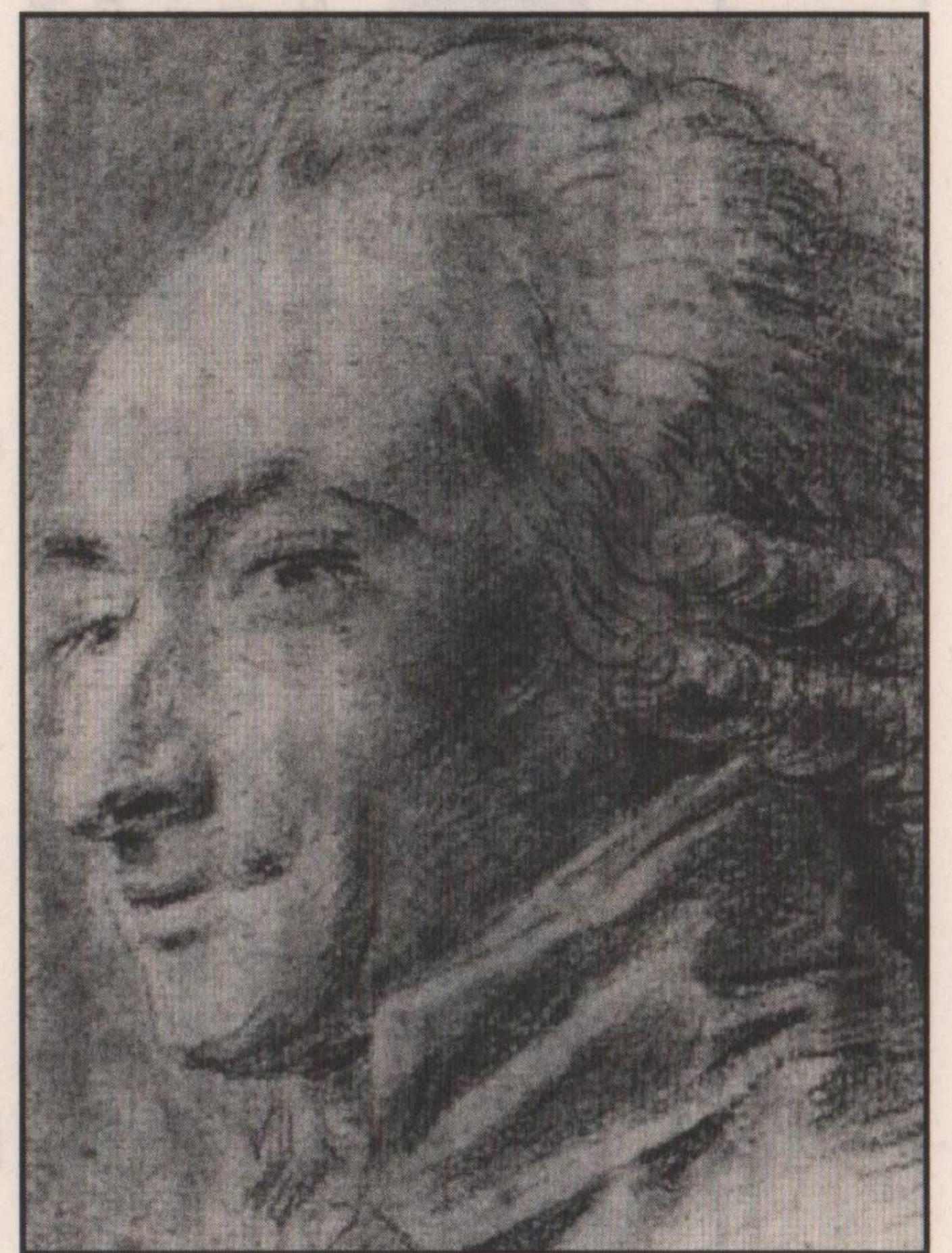
If only the English revolution could have beheaded not just one or two but all of its opponents and betrayers, and followed the examples of the Levellers and Diggers, who wanted political and economic power to be taken by all the people. And if only Paine could have followed his own libertarian instincts, and realised that replacing the hereditary power of a minority with the electoral power of the majority improves the image of authority without changing its nature.

Instead of worshipping anniversaries of spectacular dates in the past, and perpetuating the delusion of democracy, we should be working towards serious deeds in the future, and developing the theory and practice of anarchy.

NW



Charles I, executed in Whitehall 350 years ago last Saturday



Tom Paine – should he have a statue in Trafalgar Square?



# anarchist fortnightly

# Freedom

Vol. 60 No. 3

6th February 1999

50p

## House of Lords declares tyrants untouchable while in power

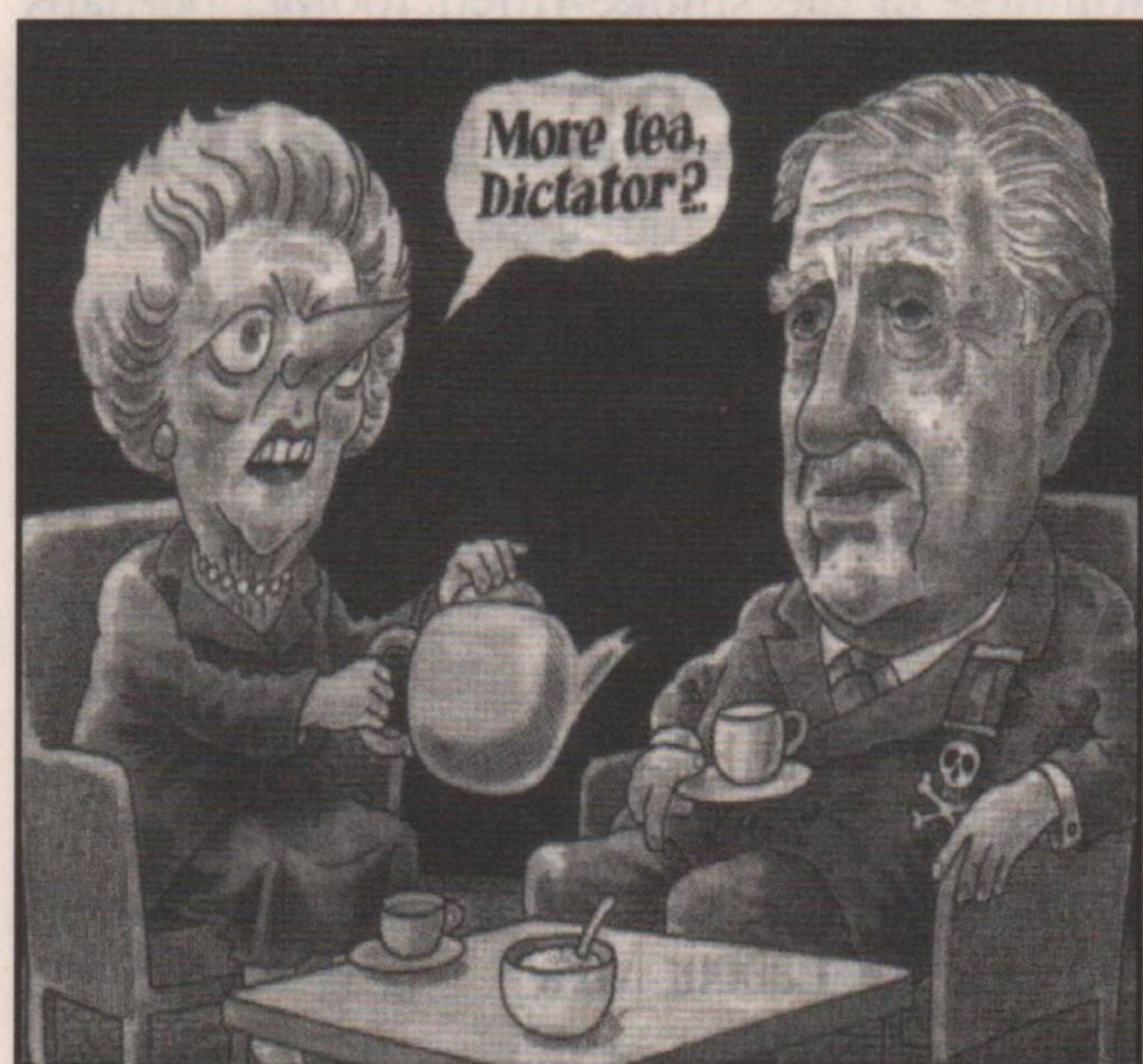
# Carry on Dictating

Having been invited over to these Scepter'd Isles for discussions with the MoD, and taking the opportunity to fit in a minor operation on a back problem, the worst thing one expects to have to put up with as an ex-head-of-state (self-appointed), an ex-commander in chief of the armed forces (ditto), and now a serving senator for life (ditto), is an invitation to tea with that dreadful bore Margaret Thatcher in Belgravia. So imagine his chagrin when, on 16th October last, millions of people jumped for joy and a resounding cheer rang out around the world as word spread that General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte had been arrested in London on a Spanish warrant, under the European Convention on Human Rights, alleging genocide, torture and kidnapping. This sudden announcement brought crowds out onto the streets worldwide, laughing, crying, singing and dancing.

### Reds under the bed

Apart from his supporters there can't have been many people who knew what had been done under his rule who weren't at least inwardly happy that at long last the Chilean former dictator was going to suffer, if only marginally, some inconvenience, distress and humiliation at the hands of authority – since authority is, after all, what he has been primarily obsessed with for most of his life. The fact that he also suffered the indignity of being arrested in his hospital bed only increased the pleasure that many felt about his predicament.

Pinochet must have been more astonished than anyone. Indeed, if they'd been selling tickets to get a glimpse of the look on his face when PC Plod walked in and announced 'General Pinochet? You're fucking nicked mate', the queue would have stretched all the way back to Santiago. As it was the only queue was of plane-loads of Chilean bourgeoisie flying in to support the General against the 'communists', as they call his opponents, at his appearance at the



General Pinochet had tea with Mrs Thatcher the week before his arrest in London on charges of genocide, torture and kidnapping (cartoon taken from *The Daily Express*, 21st October 1998)

magistrate's court, which he refused to recognise, saying that only Chilean courts had the jurisdiction to put him on trial.

### Give me immunity, or else

The magistrate didn't mention (or perhaps he didn't know) that only the previous week the seventh prosecution attempt against the General in Chile had failed, as all such attempts were designed to, under his self-declared Immunity Law ('agreement' to which was forced by referendum out of a weary Chilean populace under the threat of continued military rule) that he is immune to prosecution for any crimes committed as head of the army and for most crimes as President, and that even if a case were to get to court all he need do is claim trial by a military court where his former subordinates would then drop the case for 'lack of evidence'. Unlike his former victims, Pinochet was not dragged off screaming by hooded thugs to a dark and stinking cell to be beaten, stripped, insulted, spat upon, deprived of sleep, raped and tortured. This treatment was reserved for dangerous criminals who agitated for social and economic justice in Chile.

### More tea, General?

In this country respectable wealthy people like Pinochet who merely sanction crimes against humanity like torture, kidnapping and murder, get invited round to tea by fawning ex-politicians like Thatcher, are given bail and allowed to stay in a luxurious house on an exclusive private estate with a golf course in Surrey, next door to Bruce Forsythe (helpful tip, Brucie: if the General invites you round and asks if you want to try his clubs, make for the door quick).

Seeing the expressions of hope and relief on the relatives' faces at the demonstrations, one can only feel admiration and sympathy at their determination to get justice, or in many cases simply information about what happened to their relatives and where the bodies are, as finally after 25 years they saw what looked like the first signs of justice coming their way.

### Human rights? You must be biased

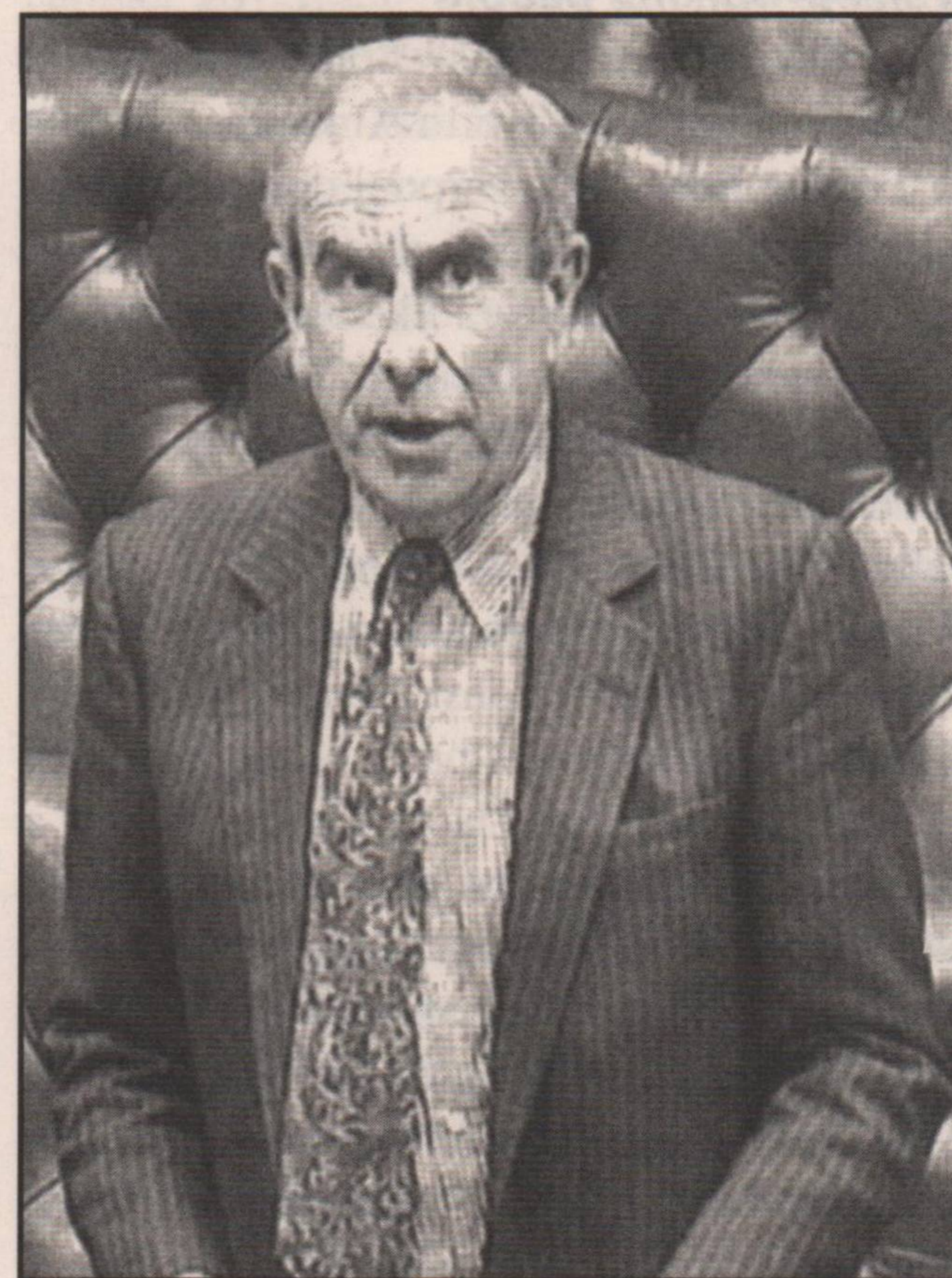
Since that mid-October day the law has staggered on, punctuated by victories and defeats at various stages: High Court, Home Office, House of Lords, and then an unprecedented appeal against 'the highest court in the land' to that same court by Pinochet's side on the grounds that one of the judges, Lord Hoffman, worked for an Amnesty International charity and was thus biased. The usual suspects among the Tory politicians and press went to town on this. However, Amnesty International pointed out that this amazing revelation was widely known and on public record and that

Kingsley Napley, Pinochet's own lawyers, had themselves donated money to an Amnesty appeal for funds clearly endorsed with Lord Hoffman's name. In any case, as a letter in the national press pointed out, what kind of society is it – on the eve of the 21st century and the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights – where a bias towards such rights is deemed improper in a legal case involving their gross violation? How many law lords are disqualified from such cases because they are members of right-wing clubs or work for companies selling arms to repressive régimes?

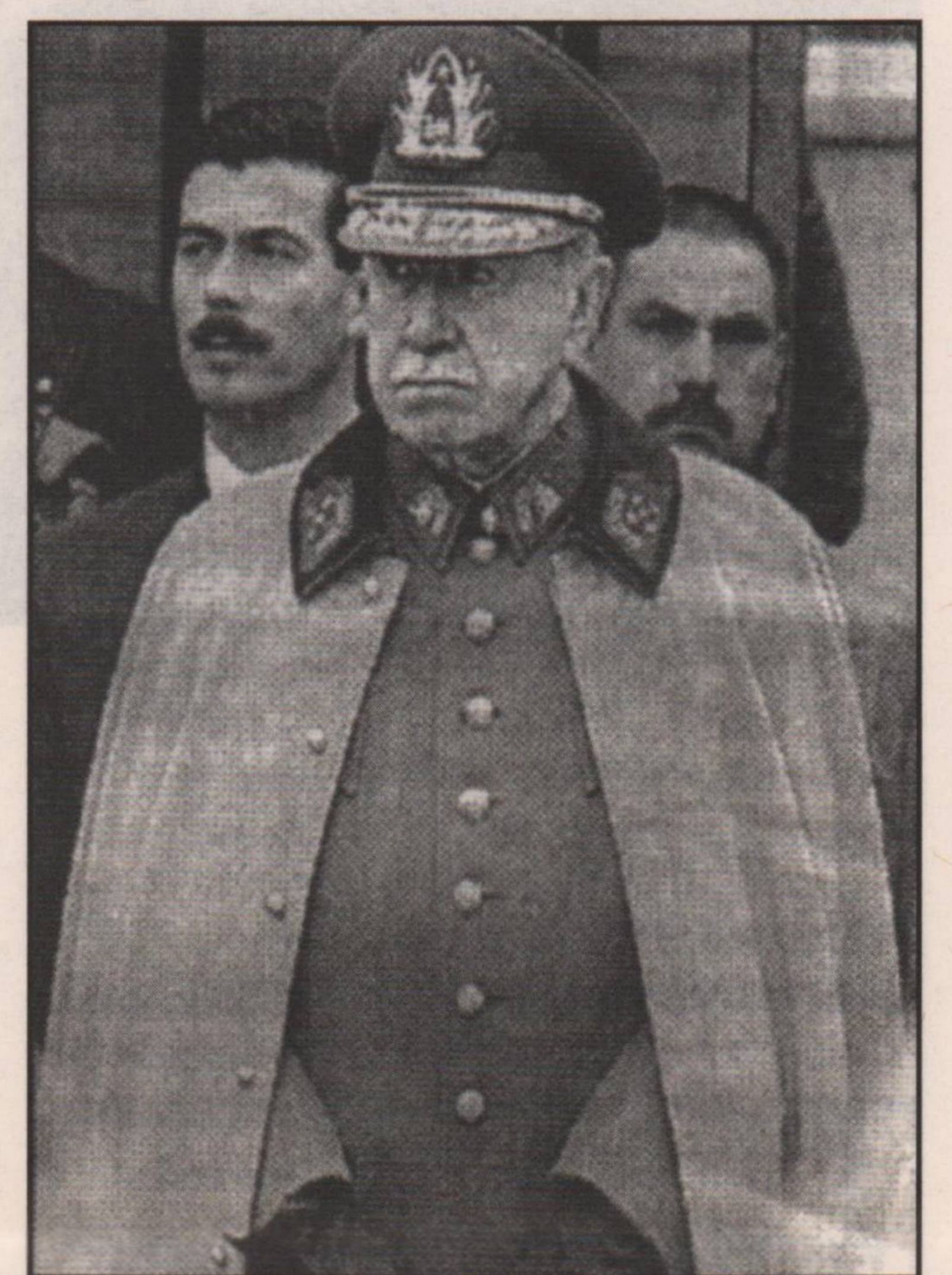
So Pinochet has lost some of his liberties for a while, and may lose some more if he is tried in Spain, but Spanish law apparently does not allow the imprisonment of 83 year olds, so he may merely face more lengthy spells of comfortable, if inconvenient, house arrest between brief court appearances. But if returned to Chile, the very idea that he might be jailed under the present constitution is a non-starter. It is unlikely, then, that the surviving victims of Pinochet's US-sponsored reign of terror or the bereaved relatives will get much in the way of real justice – how do you bring back the dead or un-torture someone?

### No justice, just us

We could perhaps amuse ourselves thinking up appropriate punishments for Pinochet. The ACF's magazine says "Shoot the bastard!" but it's a bit late for that – it would have done more good before the 1973 coup: it might have saved a lot of lives. Others say that shooting's too quick and he might take it



Lord Hoffman, one of the five Law Lords who ruled that General Pinochet did not have sovereign immunity from arrest and extradition for crimes against humanity. His connection with Amnesty International led Pinochet to appeal against the Lords decision on the grounds that Hoffman was biased.



General Augusto Pinochet, the embodiment of free market capitalism.

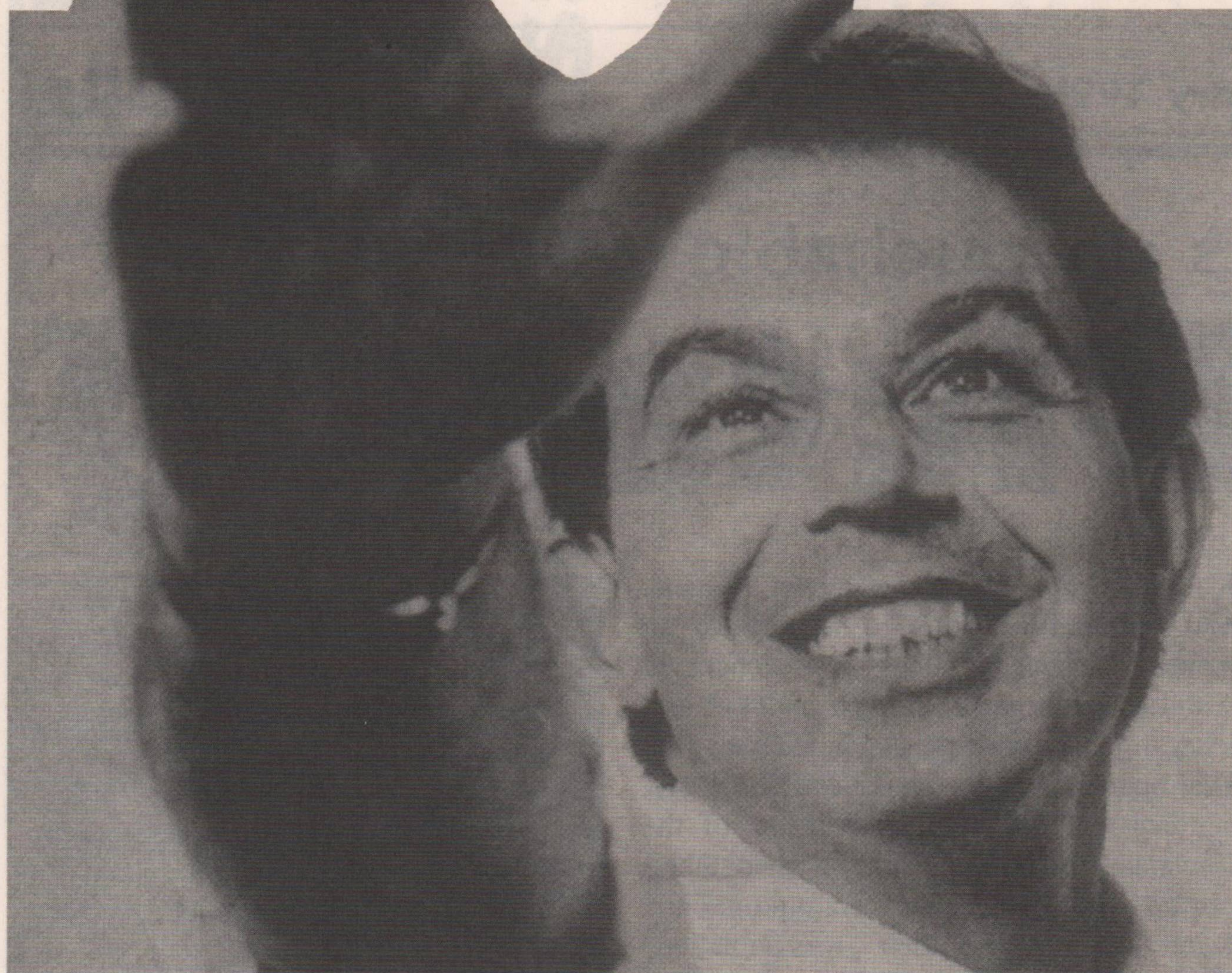
as a mark of honour, the way military men do, although it would certainly give his opponents something to celebrate, especially if it were televised worldwide. Another suggestion we've heard is to put him in the ring with Jane Couch, a.k.a. The Fleetwood Assassin, Britain's first female boxer. That sounds right up the General's street. Her first victim lasted nearly two rounds. A more equitable and constructive idea might involve getting the butcher of Santiago to face up to his accusers, admit to his role in the atrocities, show some remorse at the consequences of his actions and offer to spend what's left of his miserable life trying to make amends in whatever ways possible. But no, that sort of action takes real courage, and bullies like Pinochet are essentially cowards.

Back in those heady days of autumn the liberal press was full of jubilant assertions like 'End of the road for dictators!', 'They can run but they can't hide' and 'Britain serves notice to tyrants'. The truth of the matter is that whatever the judges in the first House of Lords decision thought about ex-heads-of-state, they all agreed on one thing: that *serving heads of state enjoy complete immunity from prosecution no matter what*. And there's the rub: they're the very people we need to get rid of, yet legally they can only be called to account after the torture centres have been thrown open, after the bodies are discovered, when it's too late.

Whatever happens to Pinochet it is not the end of the road for dictators, but more like business as usual (after all, it's business that needs them). In this way the ruling class protects its own. It is for us to stop them getting into power in the first place, by building a society based on social justice and protecting *our* own.



# New Labour's sex appeal



## The Song of Unison

The Clogs and shawls

Of the Lancashire Lassies

Does not blend with the

Cocktail Dresses of the White Collar Classes.

There is a tale that when the sacked Tameside Care workers turned up at the TUC and went to their union's (UNISON) cocktail party bash one night during last year's Blackpool Conference, that there was embarrassment, discomfort and awkwardness. Suddenly, it seemed, the sleek and smooth Southern office hierarchy of UNISON was confronted with a crowd of waifs and strays.

Had the long-forgotten Pennine tribe of Briganties turned up in all their stone-age regalia the incongruous impact could not have been greater. No wonder Orwell said England is the most class riddled society under the sun. The staff of UNISON are white-collar workers who drink wine, and look down on northern working-class types who still drink in pubs.

When Orwell wrote about this in his essay *The English People* in the 1940s he claimed: "One cannot altogether acquit the English working-class either of snobbishness or of servility. To begin with there is a fairly sharp distinction between the better-paid working-class and the very poor. Even in socialist literature it is common to find contemptuous references to slum-dwellers (the German word Lumpenproletariat is much used), and important labourers with low standards of living, such as the Irish, are greatly looked down on."

At that time when he wrote in the 1940s Orwell suggested: "There is also more ... disposition to accept class distinctions as permanent, and even to accept the upper classes as natural leaders, than survives in most countries".

## Party vehicle of metropolitan elite

Last month, when Dennis Skinner MP and others on the old socialist left were calling on New Labour not to forget its ancient roots in the working class, Tony Blair struck back. The Prime Minister declared: "It suits our critics, inside and outside our ranks, to suggest New Labour is somehow a recent invention of a metropolitan-based elite,

foisted on an unwilling party ... It is just not true".

Mr Blair, countering his critics, claimed that the old establishment in Britain is being replaced by a meritocratic middle class, including millions who traditionally might see themselves as working class.

Equally John Prescott insisted last month that he was on-side with the New Labour modernisers. The Deputy Prime Minister declared: "I am proud ... to be a champion of new thinking and modern methods, to achieve our aims in a modern way. Ignore all the journalistic prattle! Look at what my department is doing - putting New Labour principles into practical action."

And what does this practical action amount to? Donovan Pedely in his book *The Rape of Socialism* suggests that it amounts to New Labour keeping its *modest promises* "where old Labour for the most part failed". With luck, Pedely the anarcho-syndicalist writes: "Maybe ... New Labour will shape up to its more *modest proposal* of ushering in an age of kinder capitalism supervised by 'democratically-elected' paternalists."

## A sleep-walking people

How did we get to this? Some time ago a correspondent from North America asked us to explain how the Liverpool docker's strike failed last year despite all the tough talk, even from film directors like Ken Loach and playwrights like Jimmy McGovern - intelligent men but they got it wrong.

A clue is to be found in a pamphlet just out called *The Roots of New Labour*. In it Phil Wilson, former membership officer in Mr Blair's Sedgefield constituency who now works in Labour's Millbank headquarters in London, argues that "New Labour is not a product of think-tanks and focus groups. Neither is it something foreign which has been grafted on to the Labour Party".

Mr Wilson puts the case that "the roots of New Labour can be found in traditional hard-working communities". He should know because under his management Party membership more than tripled in Sedgefield, when long-winded meetings were replaced by social events and barbecues.

Hitler dubbed the Germans 'a sleep-walking people'. But today it would be more a tag for the English. Phil Wilson writes: "In Sedgefield (in the north of England), we had

to appeal to our potential supporters in the private estates". And if you are to lure the private tenants out of cul-de-sac land and off their estates, you need something more than good causes. You need barbecues and sickly Chardonnay!

Old Labour can't keep up with the parlour and barbecue politics of today. So if you can't beat 'em, join 'em! Hence most of the 'left' in the Government have defected to New Labour. In this way the flashy new modernisers are driving out the shabby old socialists.

## Reactionary syndicalism

The miners were defeated in 1985 because they represented a syndicalism stood still, a brick wall of union power which hadn't had any new ideals for decades. Complacent and conservative to the core, they tried to protect old practices and the status quo instead of advancing a strategy of some form of workers' control, which Scargill was against. The tide of Thatcherism crushed them, aided by the Ridley Plan - a strategy devised in advance, to stockpile coal and ensure its movement during a strike.

Phil Wilson claims: "It was the genesis of New Labour and came from experiencing the sharp end of Thatcherism". The Liverpool dockers dispute, which ended last year, looked like a museum piece - it got all the sentimental sympathy a silent film may get today. Now the British trade union is in full retreat and has been for the best part of two decades.

The battles of the miners and the dockers were lost because British trade unionism represented a kind of 'reactionary syndicalism', at least since 1926. Reacting to events will not do now, when what is required is a radical and mature philosophy something like the Spanish anarcho-syndicalism of the 1930s, which can wake people up with a serious social program for society.

If British trade unions were a ridiculous response mechanism, parliamentary socialism became like a suicide squad. Don Pedely shows they have been in retreat at least since the Callaghan government, if not before. Today they hark back to the welfare reforms of the Attlee government. The majority in the Labour Party seem to have accepted Blair as a saviour amid the chaos of what preceded him.

New Labour as a phenomenon was born out of the obvious failure of trade unionism, parliamentary and state socialism, as much as being a hang-over of Thatcherism. Defeats, retreats and disappointments helped make both Thatcherism and New Labour acceptable to many.

Just as early in this century the fascists in Italy and Germany got the edge when the socialists showed they couldn't come up to the high hopes that the public had pinned on them, so now New Labour is able to shine through. It matters little that they say little, or that they are always on about 'values', a word that sounds good and can have unlimited uses as Mussolini well knew.

Ann McElvoy in *The Independent* last week wrote that "political speeches are less about what is said than about the projection of the voice. Many of Mr Blair's speeches are slight in content, but he has the knack of sounding both reassuring and challenging". The old socialists, who tend to be windbags in love with their own voices, can't compete with the light-weight delivery of New Labour.

The old state socialists can't cope because theirs is a doctrine worked out by Marx in the nineteenth century. Marx couldn't predict the effects of the dazzle of high technology and television in isolating people and all but putting them to sleep or turning us into a population of voyeurs.

## Decay of state socialism

Of course anarchists were involved in support for both the miners and dockers in the past. We were witnesses to the across-the-board decline of state socialism in all its many varieties. Today in our trade unions and on our Trades Councils we can see the continuing disintegration.

Fortunately on Tameside anarchists have seen the degeneration of old Labour in microcosm for nearly a decade on the local council. *Freedom* has had reports throughout the 1990s on the shady dealings relating to the Labour council turning over twelve old peoples' homes first to Tameside Enterprises (TEL) and later the strike and sacking of careworkers under the new label of Tameside Care Group (TCG). Before TEL went bang in the early '90s Mike Leadbetter, then Director of Tameside Social Services, said in response to accusations of corruption: "Every penny we have made has gone back into making the facilities second to none - there are more care staff and generally higher standards as a result of the transfer - it has been a huge success".

Shortly after that TEL went to the wall - a financial basket case. Thus we got the birth of Tameside Care Group (TCG) to manage the homes in place of TEL. Again the Labour-controlled council was the midwife of yet another 'arms-length' company and it's another bastard child! No-one will admit to fatherhood, certainly not the leader of the council Roy Oldham.

Rodney Bickerstaff, the leader of UNISON, is calling the government to look into the role of Roy Oldham and the Labour Council in the dealings of the TCG homes. Of course a regime like that of Roy Oldham is not New Labour, it is traditional Labour and has a long history of decay in our supposedly left-wing northern towns.

If anything could convince us that state socialism is defunct it is here before our eyes in Tameside. The power of the people is reduced to a fiction. The electors count for nothing. Real power is in the hands of Mr Oldham and the shadowy TCG. Councillors care for nothing but getting elected. The elector turn-out at local elections is tiny.

Honest old socialists like UNISON's Rodney Bickerstaff may look to the government to do an investigation into the affairs of the TCG. Others may hope for a solution in the smoke-filled rooms, perhaps between Rodney and Roy. Some will expect salvation from the Industrial Tribunal and a legal answer. Anarchists will no doubt continue to take the fight out into the local community and seek the oxygen of publicity with campaigns, pickets, lobbies and occupations.

The political and legal solutions have the beauty of taking a long time. An investigation into council and TCG corruption could take ages. The case at Industrial Tribunal in the end will take at least a year. They are really symbolic resolutions of real problems which exist in our local communities. But there is a showy sex appeal to them which people today, and especially New Labour, seem to like.

Mack the Knife



## 121 Centre facing eviction

Number 121 Railton Road, Brixton, South London, has been squatted by anarchists since the early 1980s. It has acted as a bookshop, meeting place, advisory centre for squatters and others, accommodation address for various anarchist groups and publishers, and occasional dwelling, and served other useful functions.

After all these years the landlords, believed to be Lambeth council, have got it together to ask the squatters to leave. At the time of going to press, the premises are occupied 24-hours a day, so there can be no eviction without a court order. However, a court order is expected. Squatting is not a criminal offence, but bailiffs executing a court order are nearly always accompanied by police to forestall breaches of the Queen's peace, and anyone who has watched, or been involved in, the eviction of squatters, will know that police are happy to give the bailiffs a helping hand.

By a fourteenth-century statute, designed to stop returning crusaders retaking land which they had abandoned, anyone who squats a place continuously for twelve years or more becomes the freeholder. The 121 has been squatted for more than twelve years by anarchists, but unfortunately not by the same persons, so the squat does not legally count as continuous.

Our comrades intend to resist eviction, but realistically expect to be evicted within the next few weeks.

## Iraq protest: 200 sit down in Whitehall

On 17th January 1999 two hundred people from around Britain converged on Whitehall to stage a one-hour sit-down near the Cenotaph, protesting against the resumption of bombing and the continuing sanctions against Iraq. The Muslim holy month of Ramadan is drawing to a close, and British forces are building up in the Gulf, strengthening suspicions that Britain and the US intend to launch another air and missile attack on Iraq. After their sit-down on the road, protestors laid wreaths and images of Iraqi civilians at the Cenotaph.

"The December air-strikes were not authorised by the UN, were not called for in any UN resolution, and were not supported by those Gulf States who are supposed to be threatened by Iraq's military might," said Milan Rai, on behalf of the January 17th Action Group, an ad hoc group of peace activists.

Rai added, "According to the former UN Humanitarian Co-ordinator for Iraq, Denis Halliday, over four thousand Iraqi children are dying every month because of the Impact of UN sanctions. The Cenotaph is where the people of this country remember the victims of war. We come here today to remember those ordinary people in Iraq, especially children who have died as a result of British bombing and British-supported sanctions. Drop sanctions, not bombs."

There were no arrests.

For more information regarding anti-sanctions campaigning, please contact Voices in the Wilderness UK, 12 Trinity Road, London N2 8JJ.

# The Newbury Bypass Reunion Rally

On 10th January anarchists were amongst over five hundred people who reclaimed Newbury by pass for more than three hours. Traffic was halted as protesters, on a march to mark the third anniversary of work on the road, left the official route and spilled, through a very convenient hole in the fence, on to the by pass. Earth First!ers, middle class locals, pensioners, children stood, danced, cycled, lay in front of and sat on cars and lorries forcing the traffic to a halt. Outnumbered and caught off guard the police could do nothing but watch and then shut the road completely. For the rest of the day it belonged to us.

Walking along the empty seven miles of road was an eerie experience. All that Sunday

afternoon the roar of the traffic had been stopped to be replaced by calm and quiet. The sun shone, people talked, children played, banners erected in the remaining trees hugging the side of the bypass. Emotions were, though, mixed. Taking control of the road was fantastic but everyone was conscious of the devastation caused by its construction - the 10,000 trees lost, the land levelled, the natural habitats destroyed, the 1,000 people arrested fighting it, the noise,

pollution and deaths (two people have already been killed on the road in the four months it's been open) that have followed.

And more devastation is set to come.



Photos from the Newbury Bypass protest taken from the book *Copse* (£9.50, money from sales going to support non-violent direct action in defence of the environment)



As predicted by local campaigners, more countryside will be lost as infill houses are built between the town and bypass. These extra houses will create more traffic in the centre of Newbury, thus increasing the congestion that

the bypass was meant to end.

Newbury, like Twyford Down before it, showed that people were not willing to sit back and accept decisions forced on them. It

resulted in one of the biggest U-turns by the last government as they slashed their road building programme. It brought (and continues to bring) issues of land use, transport and the environment to the fore. It inspired people elsewhere to resist building projects (many, such as Guildford, successfully), current examples being the proposed Birmingham toll road and Crystal Palace. There is also little doubt that Newbury and the whole movement it is part of has contributed massively to the increased interest in anarchism and anarchist ideas that there is at present.

As the sun began to set protesters moved off of the road. Needless to say press reports of extensive damage to the road were much exaggerated (it was quickly re-opened). The day ended with a thousand candles being lit: one for each person arrested in the year long struggle and speeches. For some reason the police (now heavily reinforced) decided to get heavy as the day closed giving the rally just three minutes to disperse under the threat of arrest.

Freedom's Transport Correspondent





# All-American Anarchist

**All-American Anarchist: Joseph A. Labadie and the Labor Movement**

by Carlotta R. Anderson

published by Wayne State University Press, \$34.95

This is an unusual biography of an unusual anarchist. The biography is unusual because it is written by the subject's grand-daughter, and the anarchist is unusual because he was accepted by the society he lived in.

Charles Joseph Antoine Labadie (always known as Jo) was unusual among American anarchists from the start because he came from a mainly French-Canadian and partly Ojibway Indian family. He later joked, "I am no dam foreign Arnikist", and prided himself on his native American descent, referring to himself as 'Old Injun'. He was born in Michigan in 1850 and grew up in idyllic poverty on the frontier of the developing Midwest. He had little education, became a printer, and was soon involved first in trade union activity and then in the socialist movement. In his twenties he settled in the growing city of Detroit and married a close cousin, the schoolteacher Sophie Archambeau; although he was a lapsed Catholic and she was a devout one, they were blissfully happy together for more than fifty years.

Labadie supported various progressive causes, but above all worked for the greatest possible convergence of socialist and trade union organisations. He joined the new Socialist Labor Party in 1877 and the new Knights of Labor in 1878, and became the main contributor to a series of socialist papers. He was repelled both by the militant anarchism of Johann Most and by the militant Marxism of Burnette Haskell, and during his thirties he moved towards the

individualist anarchism of Benjamin Tucker's *Liberty* and the moderate syndicalism of Samuel Gompers' American Federation of Labour. He supported the campaign for the eight-hour day in 1886 and the Chicago Martyrs

who fell victim to the reaction in 1887. He failed to organise a national anarchist conference and or a collection of anarchist statements, and was forced to produce his own writings as free leaflets and pamphlets. He was best known for a series of provocative articles under the title 'Cranky Notions' in several papers for more than twenty years, and he later wrote doggerel verse as well. In 1897 he was visited by Peter Kropotkin and Emma Goldman, liking the former but not the latter.

For much of his life he worked for the Detroit municipal administration, which was relatively progressive under the reformist mayor Hazen Pingree, mainly in the water board, and in old age he was supported by rich sympathisers. He organised discussion groups in the city and holiday premises

outside it, and enjoyed his reputation as a popular anarchist. He commented: 'None of us are really anarchists, only believers in anarchism.' He later sympathised with both the Industrial Workers of the World

and the Socialist Party, opposed both the First World War and the Red Scare, and welcomed the Russian Revolution.

He was remarkable for his rejection of racial and sexual prejudice, supporting the involvement of Blacks and other minorities and also of women in revolutionary organisations, and for his almost total lack of malice in even the most bitter debates on the deeply divided American left.

Labadie's main claim to later fame was that he and his wife accumulated a collection of every kind of material about the trade union and socialist and anarchist movements over several decades. Academic historians showed interest from 1897, and it was finally presented to the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in 1912; but it was made really significant by Agnes Inglis, an eccentric rich radical who met Labadie in 1916 and devoted her life to

his collection from 1924 until her death in 1952, increasing its size twenty-fold. It became and remains one of the largest collections of such material in the Western Hemisphere.

Labadie died two years after his wife, in 1933. (Their son Laurance Labadie later became a leading individualist anarchist, following Tucker rather than his father and writing on into the 1970s, when the new Libertarian movement continued and corrupted the work.) His life was interesting and important, and Carlotta Anderson's account of it is well-researched and well-written. Although she never knew him – she was only two when he died – she successfully conveys the character of her eccentric ancestor and the atmosphere of the American left a century ago, and her book will stand as one of the best biographies not just of an American but of any anarchist.

Unfortunately the book is elusive and expensive, though it may be easily obtained through the modern equivalent of a bookshop on the Internet – <http://amazon.com> – at the list price.

Incidentally, as well as producing this biography of her grandfather, Carlotta Anderson has produced a website devoted to him – <http://members.aol.com/labadiejo> – containing a great deal of material by and about him, and has also provided her e-mail address – [CarlottaRA@aol.com](mailto:CarlottaRA@aol.com) – for comments about him.

Perhaps some of this and other material will appear in a future issue of *The Raven*. People like Jo Labadie shouldn't be forgotten, and he might have been amused to know that 65 years after his death it is easier to learn about him through the anarchic medium of the Internet than through the academic means of an old-fashioned book.

NW

The anarchist historian Heiner Becker recently discovered two letters written by Jo Labadie in 1922 to Thomas H. Keell (1866-1938), then the editor of *Freedom*, and we thought they would interest our readers.

'Owen' was W.C. Owen (1854-1929), who from 1911 to 1916 was editor of the English section of *Regeneración*, the organ of the Mexican revolutionists published in Los Angeles, and after the First World War a regular contributor to *Freedom*.

Biographies of Keell and Owen, and other British anarchists, are to be found in *Freedom: A Hundred Years 1886-1986*, available from Freedom Press at £10.\*

In the article above is shown a picture of Jo Labadie in 1905.

Letter to THK, no date [THK: 7th March 1922], two pages, typed, ms. corr.

Dear comrade Keell,

Agnes Inglis sent me your letter to her and I was glad to get in touch with you and to learn about the whereabouts of Owen, as I had lost track of him after *Regeneracion* went the way of all good things. I am sorry indeed that

## Jo Labadie and 'Freedom'

my financial condition will not permit me sending you orders for literature. I am getting along in years now (72) and have not earned a dollar in two years. The generosity of Henry Bool and a few other sympathisers has kept me from going on the rocks, tho I keep doing a little once in a while to keep the good work going.

I have a little place in the country where Mamma and I live in the summer. Here I have a few fonts of type and an old press, with which I print some radical stuff when I am able. Of course, this is a slow and expensive way of printing, but I enjoy it, tho get practically nothing else out of it. Indeed, I sell none of it, but send it to whomsoever requests it, depending on voluntary subscriptions to buy paper, etc. On the whole, however, I have fared quite well.

We miss Tucker very much in this country, as his work was high class and very illuminating. Indeed, it was he who weaned me from democratic socialism [in the early '80s], since which time I have travelled quite a distance on my own hook, until I think I have developed a rather new way of presenting Anarchism. I have been in the Labor Movement since 1868.

Some of the comrades think this is now longer than any other living person. Maybe so. Anyway, I see nothing else worth while to

do. We may need to go thru several phases of governmentalism before we reach Anarchy, as people seem to want to try anything and everything before they will realize that liberty is the only safe and sane condition. I manage to get some radical stuff across every little while, as I have a way all my own in presenting the subject that seems to disarm the opposition. However we are getting on very slowly, tho all thru the war I never hedged and in my modest way kept up a quiet propaganda without any trouble. You see I have been in this neighborhood so long that, as an old friend once said, I have become an institution hereabouts. My great grandmother was a squaw, whose father was chief of a band of Ojibway Indians where this city is. When it comes to being a 100% why, you see, I'm it, and this means a lot to the patriotic boob who does not own even a burial place.

In this mail I am sending you a sample of my printing, and hope it reaches you safe. Not many people write, set by hand, print and bind books. This I do, but not always as well as they should be done. If there is anything that I send you which you care to reprint, why just go ahead and make the most of it, tho no doubt you have a lot that is better. We don't lack writers so much as we do the wherewith to print and circulate the

matter. If you send me some of your circulars I will put them out where I think they will do the most good.

Besides the good wishes I send you please share with Owen, say that tho I am not so active and vigorous as in the years ago still the spirit is strong and the hope not lagging.

Fraternally,  
Jo Labadie

Do you know what has become of Armand, who published *Les Refractaires* in Orleans, France? I haven't heard from him since before the war.

Postcard to THK, no date [THK: 20th November 1922; postmarked Detroit, Michigan, 2nd November 1922 at 1am], one page, typed, ms. corr.

Dear Comrade,

We returned from the country last Sunday, and your letter is the first I get here.

Glad to get such a good one. Not long ago came letters from Armand and Owen, which I appreciate very much. Don't hear from Tucker any more. We used to correspond frequently. Am going to send you little package of booklets printed during the summer. Wish I could cart the printery back and forth, so I could use it winters. Expect to write an anarchist catechism this winter, an attempt to make the subject so plain that an ass can understand. When I get a little change I want to subscribe for *Freedom*, etc. I too miss Bool. He was very generous to me. He and a few others have made me pretty independent of the industrial boss. Best wishes to the dauntless comrades.

Fraternally,  
Jo Labadie

**The Raven**  
Number 37



**Anarchism in the Americas and China**

96 pages £3 post free worldwide



— ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

# Troglodytes recollected

Last month the East Midlands edition of *The Big Issue* featured the stories of young homeless people sleeping in the caves under Nottingham Castle, and quoting an account from as long ago as 1632, by an observer called John Taylor describing the way that people lived like moles in those same caves. The Channel 4 reporter, Rachel Ward described how refurbished caves beneath the Broadmarsh shopping centre were a tourist attraction and that since last July the Council had been closing caves, for fear of squatters.

I immediately thought of the passage in Thoreau's *Walden* reflecting how "We may imagine a time when, in the infancy of the human race, some enterprising mortal crept into a hollow in a rock for shelter. Every child begins the world again, to some extent ... Who does not remember the interest with which when young he looked at shelving rocks, or any approach to a cave?"

But I had also taken for granted that Nottingham's caves were a work of nature, until a friend, Ross Bradshaw, sent me a book explaining that while there are more than 400 caves in the Sherwood Sandstone beneath the city centre of Nottingham, they are all man-made. Their historian Tony Waltham remarks that "Local folklore about the caves has often outstripped reality; but, even in the cold light of truth, Nottingham still has more man-made caves than anywhere else in Britain". He also describes how "They include caves cut as store-rooms, basements, factories, pub cellars, dwelling houses and air raid shelters, along with a few sand mines, the oldest date back at least 750 years".

I remember vividly the story of unwilling sea-side cave dwellers. Years ago, 'Pop' Porter from Peterlee told me of the situation in the 1920s and 1930s when housing in the pit villages of County Durham was owned by the colliery companies, and if you lost your job, the family lost its home. Sacked from one pit, a man was taken on by another belonging to the same company, and sacked from a third when his dismissal from the other became known. His family shunted its

belongings on a handcart from one pit village to another, evicted three times in two days. The Porter family ended up living in their allotment shed, but others camped on the sea-shore, excavating a cave to live in. These caves, created within living memory were the emergency housing of desperate people.

Cave dwellings were not often the result of sudden emergencies. A well-known tourist attraction at Knaresborough in Yorkshire is the house carved out of the rock face overlooking the river Nidd. It was created over the years from 1770 onward by a weaver called Thomas Hill and his son, and it consists of four rooms hollowed out of the limestone. The most recent occupant, Nancy Buckle, belongs to the fifth generation of descendants of the original builder. But the family never owned the land itself, whose present owners are the Ampleforth Abbey trustees. In 1994 Ms Buckle was told by the trustees that she must quit her home as it was deemed unfit for human habitation, although by that time it had become a Grade 2 Listed Building. She told the press that she was determined to stay, and I wonder if any reader has more up-to-date news of her and the fate of her home?

At Kinver in Staffordshire, not far from Stourbridge in the West Midlands, generations of ironworkers carved their houses out of the sandstone escarpment. They extended them and re-fronted them over many generations. They were approached through gardens full of fruit trees and strawberries. Six families were living there at the turn of the century, and the very last resident, I am told, was Mrs Rose Nowak, who lived in her cave dwelling until 1966. It was a fully-serviced house. Since her day, I need hardly say, the Kinver cave-dwellings have been thoroughly vandalised. I am told that they are being restored by the National Trust to become part of our National Heritage.

The most idyllic evocation of blissful troglodyte life comes from the novelist Alan Sillitoe, exploring, not his native Nottingham, but the coast of Kent. In 1983 he walked round that coast from Gravesend to Rye, noticing all those sites that the guidebooks leave out, but one guide-book feature he sought in vain as he strode out of Dover was Otter Cottage. This he had learned from his copy of Murray's 1877 handbook for Kent, was: "the Robinson Crusoe-like establishment of an old fisherman called Gatehouse, who with children and grandchildren pursued a variety

of avocations, keeping goats, pigs and poultry, and looking out for flotsam and jetsam, and cultivating with success fig trees and vines against the lofty railway embankment".

Otter Cottage was a cave, carved out of the hillside, and Sillitoe explains in his book *The Saxon Shoreway* (Hutchinson 1983) that "probably the last happy Gatehouse left the locality when schools, taxes and census takers gleefully wiped out their Eden-like nest".

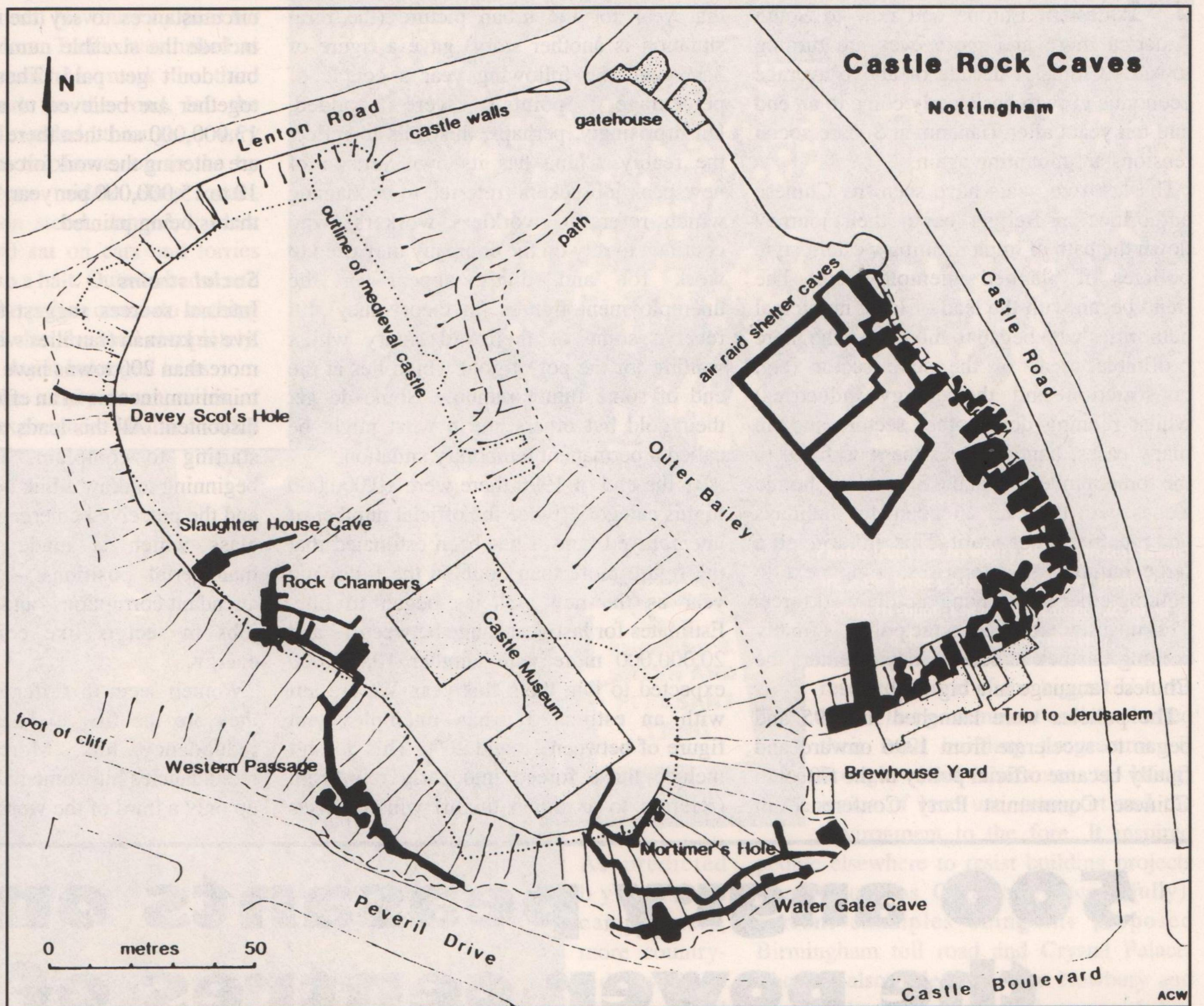
I think myself that Sillitoe was blaming the wrong aspect of bureaucracy. My target would be the automatic application of building, planning and public health legislation. Our ancestors applied huge ingenuity to the task of housing themselves, if given just half a chance. Further west from Mr Gatehouse's happy habitat is Plumpton Plain on the chalky Downs in Sussex. Candida Lycett Green tells us of an eighteenth century shepherd called John Dudney. He lived in the usual overcrowded home of poor rural people and had pretensions to literacy. So while tending his

sheep, he dug a cave into the chalk to make a study and library. He taught himself mathematics and languages and became a school teacher in Lewes.

Most of us don't live close to the geology that enabled ancestors to house themselves, but there is a huge history of the ways in which they built from whatever materials were around them. On a global scale to this day, the most wide-spread housing materials are earth and grass in their innumerable forms. This, of course, was before every scrap of land was claimed by some owner and was subject to a mountain of legislation. But there are plenty of people around who would like to see a blending of the principles of dweller control and of local initiative, amply demonstrated by the enterprising cave-dwellers.

The campaigning group The Land is Ours are planning a series of events in 1999 to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the Diggers' occupation of St George's Hill in Surrey. Details from The Land is Ours, Box E, 111 Magdalen Road, Oxford OX4 1RG.

Colin Ward



Castle Rock Caves, a plan from *Sandstone Caves of Nottingham* by Tony Waltham (East Midlands Geological Society, 1992).

## Freedom Press Bookshop

(in Angel Alley)

84b Whitechapel High Street  
London E1 7QX

— opening hours —

Monday to Friday 10.30am - 6pm  
Saturday 11am - 5pm



Books can be ordered from the above address.  
A booklist is available on request.

— ORDERING DETAILS —

Titles distributed by Freedom Press (marked\*) are post-free inland (add 15% postage and packing to overseas orders). For other titles add 10% towards p&p inland, 20% overseas.

Cheques/PO in sterling made out to 'FREEDOM PRESS'

Now available from Freedom Press

## The Raven

Number 38 on  
**1968**

A special edition of *The Raven* on the remarkable events of the year 1968, including articles by Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Fredy Perlman, Karl Young, Sebastian Hayes, Philip Sansom, Nicolas Walter, and many more.

96 pages Freedom Press £3.00



# China isn't working

As the ripple effects from the Asian crisis continue to spread first to Eastern Europe and now to South America more and more eyes are turning towards China. A decade of above average economic growth has clearly come to an end and ten years after Tiananmen Square social tensions are mounting again.

The last two years have seen the Chinese authorities in Beijing begin their journey down the path of implementing western style policies of planned unemployment. The trend began with the lead of local municipal authorities who began to modernise the more profitable areas of the state sector (e.g. construction and the energy industries) whilst running down other sectors and, in many cases, handing over the workforce to the foreign investors in the Special Economic Zones with the ever attendant tax holidays and repatriation of profit. This, in turn, left a large number of enterprises doing next to nothing other than paying an idle workforce. This unsustainable economic policy is finally coming unstuck as redundancy re-enters the Chinese language in a big way.

The policies were launched in 1995 and began to accelerate from 1996 onward and finally became official policy at the fifteenth Chinese Communist Party Conference in

September 1997.

Official unemployment figures at the end of that year for the urban picture (the rural situation is another story) gave a figure of 3.1% and the following year a couple of percentage points were added. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, this fails to reflect the reality. China has its own version of newspeak jobseekers (referred to as xiagang which refers to workless workers) who continue to rely on the company they used to work for and don't appear in the unemployment figures. In theory they still receive some of their old salary whilst waiting for the pot of gold which lies at the end of some future rainbow. Some do get their gold but others are in what might be called a permanent temporary situation.

By the end of 1996 there were 10,000,000 in this category (twice the official number of unemployed) and it has been estimated that the figure more than doubled the following year as the new policies began to bite. Estimates for last year range between 12 and 20,000,000 more with another 10,000,000 expected to join them this year. We are left with an estimated urban unemployment figure of between 18 and 20%. This doesn't include those forced into early retirement (referred to as tiqian tuixiu) which affects

women at the age of 45 and men at 50 who then have to survive under difficult circumstances to say the least. Nor does it include the sizeable number who still work but don't get paid. These two categories together are believed to amount to another 13,000,000 and then there are the young who are entering the workforce at the rate of some 10 to 15,000,000 per year. It is a grim picture that is being painted.

## Social strains

Internal sources suggest that 36-40 million live in kunnan (families with difficulties) and more than 200 towns have had to introduce a minimum income in an effort to defuse social discontent. All this leads to folk in the street starting to complain. These people are beginning to draw a link between their plight and the perceived emergence of a new social class which is made up of those in managerial positions – usually with the attendant corruption – and those in well paid jobs in sectors like communication and energy.

Women seem to suffer more than men as they are the first to lose their jobs when redundancy hits. More than 50% of redundancies hit women although they make up only a third of the workforce and men get

any new jobs going by being put nearer the front of the queue.

But it seems that those who suffer most are the rural poor who have migrated to the cities and seem unable to adapt. Often on their own, away from their families, they do their best to survive often having to rely on trade union charitable type organisations if they are lucky and, if not so lucky, looking in vain for non-existent work so they can earn money to send home to their families who are, meanwhile, left without a breadwinner. Any rural stability which China may have enjoyed in the past is thus undermined as the traditional distinction between a commercial eastern seaboard centred on Shanghai feeds on an enslaved peasantry in the west – such a colonial legacy is still a reality in China today.

And so of course is the brutal regime which did its butchering at Tiananmen Square and continues to outshine the world for its record of state murder. China executes more of its citizens each year than the rest of the world put together. Amnesty International estimated that some twenty executions a day took place in China in 1997 and despite official protestations that this is an improving situation the regime's track record hardly inspires trust. When China shows signs of social tension the regime in Beijing has proved happy to call in the tanks in the past. Let's hope we won't see another bloodbath.

## 500 angry peasants on the road to the power centres of the world

Activists from India and Europe are preparing for a month-long tour of Europe. Around five hundred Indian peasants feel that it is high time their problems are made known in wealthy Europe. Multinationals, and the liberalising measures of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in particular, constitute a huge threat to their current income, way of life and natural surroundings.

The Indian peasants want to protest against multinationals and 'free trade' institutions, and plan to do so during the European summit and the G8 summit (to name but two occasions) that are to take place in Cologne in June.

The initiator of the caravan is the KRRS (Karnataka Raiya Ryota Sanghe), based in the South Indian federal state of Karnataka. The KRRS has an impressive history and is

renowned for its radical campaigns against multinationals. The globally-active peasant organisation Via Campesina and People's Global Action are both supporters of the caravan.

The Indian peasants wanted to take part in the protest, held in Geneva in May 1998, in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the free trade organisations GATT and WTO. However it proved impossible for them to acquire visas in time. In May 1999, the five hundred Indian peasants will finally arrive on European soil. They will form a caravan of twenty buses and tour eight countries in one month. Beside these activists from India others from other continents will also be joining the actions.

## Agriculture in the 'Third World'

The peasants are coming to Europe in order to meet people and to relate how the so-called 'free'-market economy is negatively affecting their own lives and the lives of the millions of peasants in developing nations. The WTO does not allow third world countries to safeguard their economies against unfair competition and unwanted products. Under pressure from the WTO, laws are made in India granting multinationals power over seeds, even seeds that have always been used by the peasants. The peasants are strongly against this. "We are the original growers of the seed and we will not co-operate with the execution of laws that deny us our inalienable rights to the seed". Patents on animals and plants are rejected by the peasants anyway, because it is immoral and goes against their traditions.

By means of the caravan, the peasants hope to make it clear that the free market ideology constitutes a dead end road: it is the number one cause of poverty and the destruction of nature on earth. Yet politicians claim it to be the solution to many of the enormous problems facing humanity today. The peasants would like to see us unite all over the world to put the

economy at the service of the needs of people, while at the same time respecting nature.

## The KRRS

The five hundred angry peasants who are coming to Europe are, for the most part, members of the organisation KRRS (Karnataka Raiya Ryota Sanghe) which is based in the South Indian federal state of Karnataka. In Karnataka, of the sixty million inhabitants, between five and ten million are members of the KRRS. Usually, whole villages join, which is why the exact number of members is unclear. Members are usually smallholders and leasehold-farmers, but many are also agricultural labourers owning no land of their own.

## Actions

The KRRS has organised various spectacular actions in recent years: the 'dismantling', with bare hands, of Cargill, a multinational trading in wheat and seed, the 'disabling' of the first Kentucky Fried Chicken in India; and a demonstration against the WTO involving 300,000 people. Regular protests are held at both village and district level against corrupt politicians and civil servants.

## Alternatives

At the end of May 1995, the KRRS, together with The Third World Network (an umbrella organisation of environmental groups from the third world), established an International Institute for Sustainable Agriculture in Bangalore. The Institute provides training programmes for farmers who want to switch to biological agriculture and helps with the gathering indigenous seeds, the founding of local seed banks and the re-introduction of traditional breeds of plants.

## Strategy

According to the philosophy of the KRRS, direct action is necessary in order to facilitate

(continued on page 7)



India's poor, living in the shadow of wealth



# Monsanto & Genetic Engineering

Dear Freedom,

Jon Roe ('Freedom or Genetic Engineering', Letters, 23rd January) recommends the special edition of *The Ecologist* of September/October 1998, 'The Monsanto Files: can we survive genetic engineering?'

I recommend it too. It is highly informative about the Monsanto Corporation, especially about its activities other than genetic engineering, such as supplying the notorious defoliant Agent Orange to the military.

It is also informative about genetic engineering (GE), though its ethical standpoint will not meet with universal agreement. One of its articles, 'Boycott - Brands and Products to Avoid' lists the genetically engineered products available from British grocers. One of these is tomato puree made with FlavrSavr tomatoes, a GE variety developed by the British firm Zeneca. This product is not poisonous, its production does not damage the environment, it does no harm at all. But the implication is that it should be boycotted. Why? The particular article does not say.

But the article which is printed first, and so sets the tone of the whole, provides an argument for opposing GE whether it is harmful or beneficial. "I happen to believe that this kind of genetic modification takes marking into realms that belong to God, and to God alone ... do we have the right to experiment with ... the building blocks of life? We live in an age of rights - it seems to me that it is time our Creator had rights too."

I find this unconvincing. It is surely the height of hubris to pretend that we can grant rights to the Creator. And I happen to believe that human curiosity should be unrestricted.

I recommend also another good source of information, the special edition of *New Scientist* for 31st October 1998, 'Living in a genetically modified world'. One article there, 'Mutiny against Monsanto', discusses why British consumers are against GE, and why other GE producers think Monsanto is ruining the reputation of all their products.

There was no outcry when FlavrSavr tomato puree went on sale in 1996, but when a mixture of GE and other soybeans was shipped to Europe in 1997, British

consumers decided there was a plot to adulterate their food. Monsanto did not instruct farmers and shippers to segregate the beans, as they assumed that GE soya would be accepted in Britain as smoothly as in the US. They overlooked the cultural differences.

One difference is in the concept of natural environment. Seventy per cent of America is wilderness; farmers are seen as having a responsibility to preserve with the wilderness, but on their farms they can maximise yields by all means possible. In Britain, where the only wilderness is peat bogs, the natural environment is perceived as hedgerows, field margins and sheep hills, which farmers have a responsibility to preserve.

Another difference is that Americans, but not Britons, expect the regulators to protect them from harmful substances in food. *The Ecologist* gives examples of people working the Food and Drugs Administration; nevertheless, experience teaches Americans to trust the FDA. In Britain, by contrast, our experience is of MAFF, less concerned for consumer protection than for farmers' livelihoods, dispensing phoney assurances about BSE.

Jon Roe mentions that a particular gene exists in widely different plants, an example of lateral transference. I offer another example. The anti-cancer drug taxol was obtained from the Pacific Yew *Taxus brevifolia*, and not known from any other source until 1996, when it was isolated from a fungus growing on the bark of Pacific Yews.

These are examples lateral transferences occurring in nature. GE is lateral transference

artificially produced. In principle, GE is like selective breeding and hybridisation, the manipulation of nature for human advantage.

Donald Room

1. Available at £4 post free from *The Ecologist* back issues, Unit 18, Chelsea Wharf, 15 Lots Road, London SW10 0QJ. (We read elsewhere that the printer pulped the issue, under pressure from Monsanto, and the publisher arranged a reprint elsewhere. But there is no evidence of this in the publication itself.)

2. Telephone *New Scientist* back issues, 0181-503 0588.

(continued from page 6)

changes. Nanjundaswamy, the current KRRS president, regards the WTO policy as a new form of colonialism. He feels direct action is the only way and has no trust in political parties because none of them want, or dare, to undertake any form of action which attacks the WTO and multinationals.

### Decentralised organisation

The organisation and mobilisation for protests takes place at village, taluk (a couple of dozen villages), district and federal state level. Each village elects a secretary and a president from its midst. These chosen representatives meet each other at taluk and district level. From among them, a kind of executive committee is elected. At a national level, the KRRS forms a part of the umbrella organisation All India People's Resistance Forum (AIPRF), consisting of about 50 Indian mass organisations. Together, these organisations are calling for their government to step out of the WTO and to deny multinationals that misuse the Indian natural resources the right to land.

### Caravan in Europe

During an international seminar about globalisation and resistance, which was held in Geneva, between 16th and 31st August, the proposal for the May/June 1999 caravan was presented. The participants, activists from around seventeen countries, reacted with enthusiasm. Information evenings in the Netherlands and other countries have also proved that many people think that the project is a good idea. In the mean time, welcoming committees have been established. The Dutch committee is already hard at work. A European committee is acting as co-ordinator and keeps in touch with the KRRS.

The caravan will commence on 22nd May in the Netherlands and end on 22nd June in Cologne. The idea is that, in each country, the Indian peasants will have time for effecting direct action in the form of attention-grabbing protest, taking part in public meetings, press conferences and meetings with farmers' organisations and having some rest and relaxation.

### Goals of the caravan

The peasants are coming to Europe for the

following reasons:

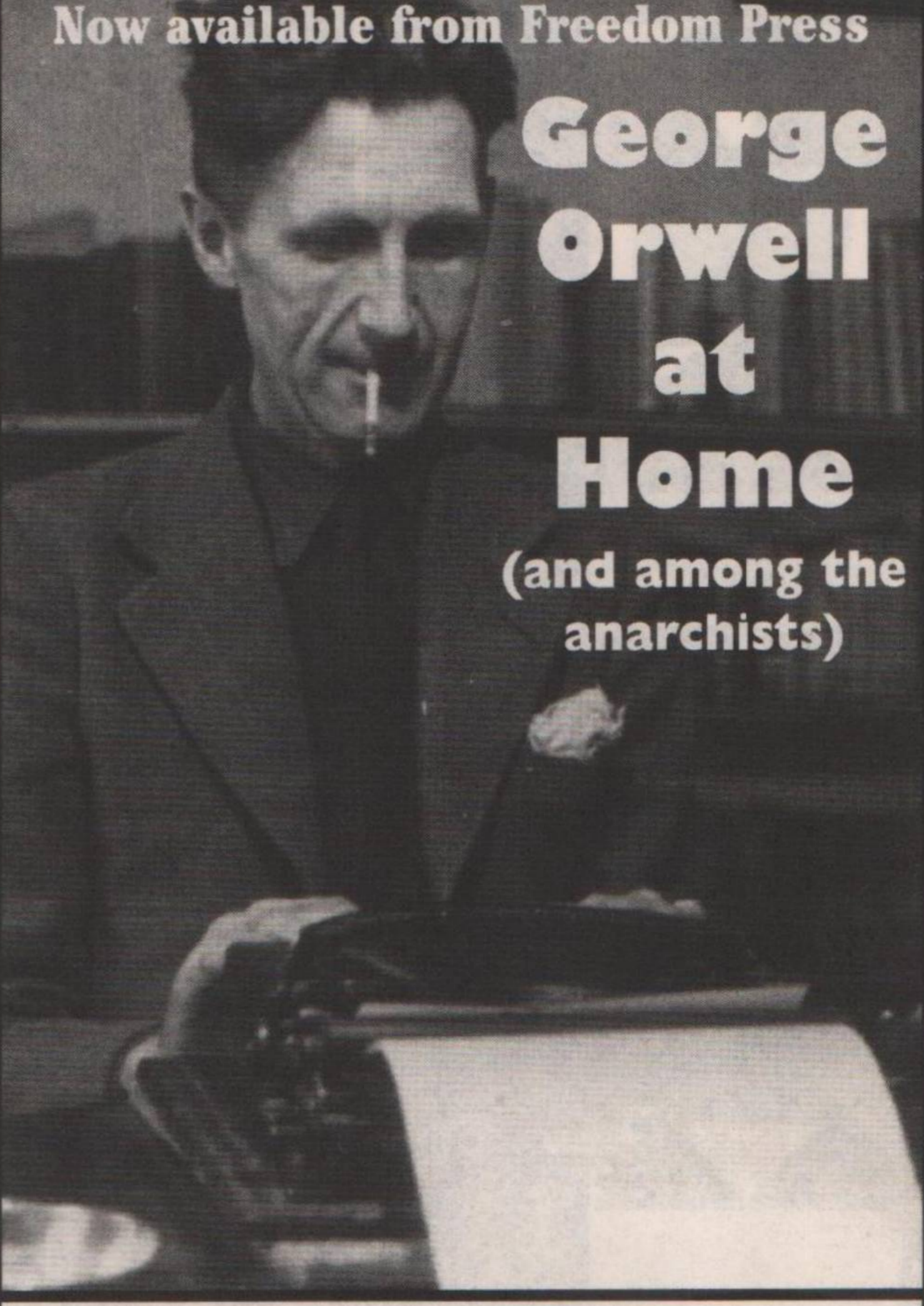
- to confront people in the countries they visit with the consequences of economic globalisation. The Welcoming committee wants to involve as many people from different backgrounds in the organisation and activities of the project.
- to promote understanding and co-operation between the Indian peasants and European organisations like trade unions, environmental organisations and, of course, farmer organisations.
- to attract the attention of local, national and international media to the disadvantages of free trade and to protest against the WTO.
- to promote non-violent civil disobedience as a means of action for political change.
- to effect mobilisation in order to hold decentralised mass actions and resistance during the next ministerial conference of the WTO which is to take place in Washington the autumn of 1999.

### Protest issues

The caravan will, in all cases, devote attention to the following issues. Listed below, together with these issues, are a number of possible protest venues.

- *The world's leading political organisations.* Good occasions are the European Summit and the G8-meeting in Cologne. Good locations include: the WTO headquarters in Geneva; OECD in Paris; the European Commission and Parliament in Brussels and national parliaments.
- *Multinationals.* Actions at various headquarters, lobby groups like the European Round Table of Industrialists, EuropaBio, World Economic Forum, and possibly at stock exchanges, banks and the European Central Bank.
- *Agro industries, Green Revolution, biotechnology, patents on life.* For these issues protests could be held at FAO, the European Commission, EuropaBio, Monsanto, Novartis, Nestle, Unilever, Cargill and Bayer.
- *'Third World' debt problems.* With actions at the G8 meeting, at banks and at public institutions like ministries and parliaments.
- *Militarism and nuclear issues.* Possible participation in a peace demonstration ending at the NATO headquarters in Brussels.

Now available from Freedom Press



**George Orwell at Home**  
(and among the anarchists)

This large-format book of essays and photographs is now available from Freedom Press at £6.95 (post free inland, add 15% if ordering from abroad)

**FREEDOM PRESS**  
84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

## What price revolution now?

The following exchange of letters appeared in *The Independent* earlier this month.

Ted Hughes said: "Before us stands yesterday". So it does, but what if we choose to ignore it?

Throughout 1998 we have seen fit to dismiss the 350th anniversary of 1648, the climactic year of the English Revolution: the Second Civil War; the defeat of Stuart absolutism, Pride's Purge and the creation of cabinet government in the Council of State. It was the year that set the pattern for the American and French Revolutions. Bunyan said of its message: "Until you know this you are to yourselves unknown".

There may be some remedy at hand. The new year is the 400th anniversary of Cromwell's birth and the 350th of the end of Charles I, to be marked by an exhibition at the Museum of London. Into both we can read the deeper constitutional significance of 1648.

Peter Cadogan  
(1st January 1999)

Contrary to Peter Cadogan's letter, there is no reason to celebrate the anniversary of the replacement of one dictatorship by another one three and a half centuries ago.

The changes from the Stuart monarchy to the Presbyterian parliament, to the Puritan Rump and the Republican Commonwealth, and then to the Cromwellian Protectorate, however exciting for the media of the time, did almost nothing for political democracy, as was pointed out by the Levellers, or for economic democracy, as well pointed out by the Diggers - both of whom are far better candidates for commemoration - and

nothing at all for the mass of the people. No wonder most of them welcomed the Restoration of the Stuarts a few years later.

Unfortunately the pattern of revolution against an aristocratic bunch of armed gangsters being betrayed by another religious or bureaucratic, militaristic or racist bunch of armed gangsters was followed not only in American and France but later in Mexico and Russia, Spain and Argentina, China and Cuba.

What price revolution now? Instead of wasting time on a meaningless anniversary, we should try to learn from these examples how it was betrayed and why it became a dirty word.

Mary Lewis  
(7th January 1999)

## Corrections

Dear Freedom,

Typing and printing errors have led to mistakes in two recent reviews.

My review of the English translation of Daniel Guérin's anthology of anarchism (9th January) got the title wrong. It is *No Gods, No Masters* - not *No God, No Master*.

My review of Peter Marshall's book *Riding the Wind* (23rd January) made a muddle of an important thing said by him and the comment made by me. He calls his system 'liberation ecology' - not 'libertarian ecology'; and my comment was that this has unfortunate echoes of 'liberation theology' - not 'libertarian theology'.

NW



**FREEDOM** fortnightly  
ISSN 0016 0504

Published by Freedom Press  
84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX  
Printed in Great Britain by Aldgate Press,  
London E1 7RQ

**Freedom on the  
World Wide Web**

<http://www.tao.ca/~freedom>  
e-mail Freedom Press at  
[freedom@tao.ca](mailto:freedom@tao.ca)

**a-infos**

daily multi-lingual international  
anarchist news service

To: [majordomo@tao.ca](mailto:majordomo@tao.ca)  
Subject:

.....  
subscribe a-infos

Freedom and The Raven  
**SUBSCRIPTION  
RATES 1999**

	inland	outside Europe surface	outside Europe airmail	Europe (airmail only)
<b>Freedom (24 issues) half price for 12 issues</b>				
Claimants	10.00	-	-	-
Regular	14.00	22.00	34.00	24.00
Institutions	22.00	30.00	40.00	40.00

<b>The Raven (4 issues)</b>				
	inland	outside Europe surface	outside Europe airmail	Europe (airmail only)
Claimants	10.00	-	-	-
Regular	12.00	14.00	18.00	16.00
Institutions	18.00	22.00	27.00	27.00

<b>Join sub (24 x Freedom plus 4 x The Raven)</b>				
	inland	outside Europe surface	outside Europe airmail	Europe (airmail only)
Claimants	18.00	-	-	-
Regular	24.00	34.00	50.00	36.00

<b>Bundle subs for Freedom (12 issues)</b>				
	inland	abroad surface	abroad airmail	
2 copies x 12	12.00	13.00	22.00	
5 copies x 12	26.00	32.00	44.00	
10 copies x 12	50.00	60.00	84.00	

Other bundle sizes on application

Giro account number 58 294 6905

All prices are in £ sterling

**The Raven**  
anarchist quarterly

Number 38

**1968**

**Back issues still available:**

- 37 - Anarchism in the Americas and China
- 36 - Class Struggle and Social Protest
- 35 - Urban Environment / Psychoanalysis
- 34 - Communication (3) : Language
- 33 - The Arts
- 32 - Communication (2) : 'The Net'
- 31 - Economics and Federalism
- 30 - New Life to the Land?
- 29 - World War Two
- 28 - Noam Chomsky on Haiti
- 27 - Fundamentalism
- 26 - Science (2)
- 25 - Religion
- 24 - Science (1)
- 23 - Spain / Emma Goldman
- 22 - Crime
- 21 - Feminism
- 20 - Kropotkin's 150th Anniversary
- 19 - Sociology
- 18 - Anthropology
- 17 - Use of Land
- 16 - Education (2)
- 15 - Health
- 14 - Voting
- 13 - Anarchism in Eastern Europe
- 12 - Communication (1)
- 11 - Class
- 10 - Libertarian Education
- 9 - Bakunin and Nationalism
- 8 - Revolution
- 7 - Emma Goldman
- 6 - Tradition and Revolution
- 5 - Spies for Peace
- 4 - Computers and Anarchism
- 3 - Surrealism (part 2)
- 2 - Surrealism (part 1)
- 1 - The History of Freedom Press

**£3.00 each (post free worldwide)**

**FREEDOM PRESS**  
84b Whitechapel High Street  
London E1 7QX

**Meetings & Events**

**The London  
Anarchist Forum**

Meet Fridays at about 8pm at Conway Hall,  
25 Red Lion Square, London WC1R 4RL  
(nearest tube Holborn). Admission is free  
but a collection is made to cover the cost of  
the room.

— **PROGRAMME 1999** —

**5th February** General discussion  
**12th February** The Free Individual and  
Sovereignty in a Just Society (speaker  
Malcolm Hill)

**19th March** General discussion

**26th March** The New Working Class  
(speaker Peter Neville)

Anyone interested in giving a talk or  
leading a discussion, please contact Peter  
Neville at the meetings (or telephone 0181-  
847 0203, subject to called display and  
answer phone so people who withhold their  
numbers or fail to leave a message will be  
ignored) giving your subject and prospective  
dates and we will do our best to  
accommodate.

**Peter Neville**  
for London Anarchist Forum

**Revolutionary Socialist Network  
ONE-DAY SOCIALIST CONFERENCE**

**Saturday 20th February**

**The Great Western Staff Association  
Club, Station Approach, Bristol**

*Conference programme*

- 10.30am Registration & coffee
- 11.00am Trade Unions in Europe
- 1.00pm Lunch (available from the Club)
- 2.00pm Current political activity/situation
- 3.15pm Mental health
- 4.45pm Tea
- 5.15pm Future organisations

Fee £3 (£1.50 unwaged)

Bookings to Glen Burrows, 1 Blake Place,  
Bridgwater, Somerset TA6 5AU.

If you require an accommodation list  
or wish for child care to be arranged,  
please contact Tim Price on 01392 431352.

**East Midlands Anarchists  
OPEN MEETING**

on Saturday 6th February  
from 1.00 to 5.00pm  
at the Derby Rainbow Centre  
88 Abbey Street, Derby

For further information contact:  
East Midlands Anarchists,  
Box EMAB, 88 Abbey Street, Derby  
e-mail:

[Jonathan@Simcockj.freereserve.co.uk](mailto:Jonathan@Simcockj.freereserve.co.uk)

**Red Rambles**

A programme of guided walks for Libertarians,  
Socialists, Greens, Anarchists and others. Bring  
food, drink, suitable footwear and waterproof  
clothing. A rota of cars will be used - full cars  
will travel to walks.

**Sunday 28th February**

Lost Village walk (Ingarby, Quenby, Lowesby,  
Cold Newton). Meet at the John Storer  
House car park, Wards End, Loughborough, at  
10am. Walk leader Ray.

**Telephone Vivienne for more info:**  
**01509 230131 or 01509 236028**

**Fourth Annual Bay Area  
Anarchist  
Bookfair**



on 27th March 1999 from  
10am to 6pm

San Francisco County Fair Building,  
Ninth Avenue and Lincoln Way in  
Golden Gate Park

**SUBSCRIPTION FORM**

To Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

- I am a subscriber, please renew my sub to *Freedom* for ..... issues
- Please renew my joint subscription to *Freedom* and *The Raven*
- Make my sub to *Freedom* into a joint sub starting with number 38 of *The Raven*
- I am not yet a subscriber, please enter my sub to *Freedom* for ..... issues  
and *The Raven* for ..... issues starting with number 38
- I would like the following back numbers of *The Raven* at £3 per copy post free  
..... (numbers 1 to 37 are available)
- I enclose a donation to the Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund / Freedom Press  
Overheads Fund / Raven Deficit Fund (delete as applicable)

I enclose £ ..... payment

Name .....

Address .....

..... Postcode .....