

various forms of political action. Shoshana Edwards describes Tucker's relationship with George Bernard Shaw. Kenneth R Gregg describes the influence on Tucker of the pioneer land reformer George Henry Evans. Mildred J Loomis and Mark A Sullivan describe the influence of Tucker on the later individualist Laurance Labadie. Wendy McElroy discusses debates in *Liberty* on various non-economic issues. S E Parker describes Tucker's relationship with the English libertarian Dora Marsden. Sharon Presley describes the discussion of feminist issues in *Liberty*. William O Reichert discusses Tucker's freethought. Jack Schwartzman contributes an artificial dialogue between Tucker and the land reformer Henry George. Charles Shively describes Tucker's relationship with the veteran libertarian Lysander Spooner. Carl Watner describes some of the English libertarians who contributed to *Liberty*. Don Werkheimer discusses Tucker's ideas about money.

The articles appear in the order given — not according to any thematic or logical pattern, but in the alphabetical order of the contributors' surnames. Three or four are rather disappointing, but three or four are very interesting. The interview with Tucker's daughter illuminates his personality and hence his politics, and reveals him to be nicer but sillier than his writings suggest. The accounts of English libertarians contributing to *Liberty* and of

Tucker contributing to the *New Free-woman* and *The Egoist* have particular value for British readers, though one would welcome rather more background information, and some of the references to British politics are inaccurate.

One of the most important points about Tucker's career was that in 1908, after 40 years' involvement in American politics, he abandoned not only politics but America, living in France and Monaco for another 30 years, and theoretically as well as practically withdrawing from anarchism. His daughter mentions that in the First World War he was pro-French and anti-German, but none of the contributors grapples with the fact that he was also pro-war, which is as significant as the same fact in Kropotkin's career. One of the factors in the change of 1908 was a fire which destroyed his uninsured office and stock; another was his relationship with Pearl Johnson, the mother of his daughter. One would like to know more about her, and indeed about Tucker's personal life before 1908; without going quite so far as recent biographers of Emma Goldman, there must be more information about Tucker than his own account of being seduced by the veteran feminist Victoria Woodhull in 1873!

But the book is a valuable addition to anarchist biography and historiography. Unfortunately it is rather badly edited and produced, but it is relatively cheap.

N W

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# FREEDOM 50p

ANARCHIST MAGAZINE Vol 48 No 7 July 1987 50p

## ON AND ON AND ON

IF parliamentary democracy in general is a parody of self-government, then a parliamentary election is a parody of a parody, and a General Election is a parody raised to the level of a gigantic spectacle. Serious political issues become petty debating points in a media panel game, punctuated by insults, scandals and polls, until more than 40 million adults are once again misrepresented by 650 Members of Parliament. Moreover the present system of simple majority voting for a few major parties means that the House of Commons is almost always dominated by a majority group of MPs who were elected by a minority of voters. And the position is yet further distorted by the significant fact — which is virtually ignored in all the comments — that only three-quarters of the people who can vote actually do so.

In this unreal world of parliamentary party politics, the main result of the recent General Election seems to be that nothing much has changed since the Conservative Government came to power eight years ago. Our society is rather more deeply divided — not just between parties, but between classes and cultures and races and regions and countries. The hard fact for the whole left is that the haves can outvote the have-nots, and that

even if the have-nots were not outvoted they would be outwitted, so long as the present system prevails. Despite economic depression and high unemployment, despite scandals at home and crises abroad, British capitalism floats along on a stream of North Sea oil in a catamaran of financial gambling and imperialist trading. The Thatcher regime, which has become one of the most apparently successful phenomena in British history, seems able to go on and on and on, and to have the support of most of the population.

But the real results of the past three General Elections tell another story:

(Percentages)	1979	1983	1987
<b>Conservative</b>	33.3	30.8	31.8
<b>Labour</b>	28.0	20.1	23.2
<b>Liberal/Alliance</b>	10.5	18.4	17.0
<b>Others</b>	4.2	3.4	3.3
<b>Non-voters</b>	24.0	27.3	24.7

So less than one-third of the electorate actually supports the Thatcher regime. The Labour Party, which was seriously damaged in the early 1980s when the new Social Democratic Party took enough support away to the Liberals to prevent any party defeating the Conservatives, has recovered some ground, and the Alliance has failed to become a

serious third party with a balance of power in a hung Parliament. The various Nationalist parties won only 8.6 per cent in the Celtic countries, and the various Marxist vanguards almost disappeared.

Most of the fringe parties are little more than a source of rare entertainment in a grim business. The mysterious new organisation known as the Humanist or Human Party, which has no connection with the traditional humanist movement and seems to have its origins in Latin American politics, has a policy combining non-violence and self-activity, but has made no impact at all. The largest fringe party, which was founded as the People's Party in 1973, became the Ecology Party in 1974 and the Green Party in 1985, has made some impact in local politics in several places and on national politics as a pressure-group, and it did better than ever before, getting 90,000 votes in 133 constituencies, but it still won less than 1 per cent of the electorate in those constituencies. Even so, the *Green Party General Election Manifesto* was the most interesting single document in the whole campaign (£1.25 post free from the Green Party, 10 Station Parade, Balham High Road, London SW12 9AZ), and anarchists would agree with many if not most of its

continued on page 3



'THE LAST REFUGE OF A SCOUNDREL' (Thank you, Dr Johnson)

# FREEDOM

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## Late again

SORRY the July issue is late. The typesetting machine had another breakdown, this time needing a spare part which took time to arrive.

Please get copy in early for the August issue. We do not promise to publish everything we receive, but we intend *Freedom* to be a forum for anarchism, not simply a reiteration of our own particular view. Replies to previous articles should be letters, not more than 500 words long. Articles (up to 2000 words, preferred length 1000 words) should be complete in themselves, referring to previous articles, if at all, well after the first paragraph; remember there are many new readers these days.

This being the first editorial note for some time, we take the opportunity of thanking David Peers, who left the editorial collective in April. David started writing for *Freedom* in 1972, and helping with despatching and other such drudgery when he moved to London in 1976. He was invited to become an editor later that year, and remained with the collective through several changes, producing one issue, in 1984, entirely on his own.

Full time employment plus a young family plus editorship of *Freedom* is a heavy load, and David had been intending to leave since he acquired a young family. We are quite flattered that he feels confident to leave us in charge. He will go on compiling the In Brief column.

CC and DR

## JEWISH ANARCHIST GROUP

Newly formed group welcomes new members to discuss our heritage and debate about where we stand as Jews and anarchists. It is hoped to form a network of contacts and organise activities. Interested? Contact: **Jewish Anarchist Group, Box ASS, 52 Call Lane, Leeds 1.** (Please note that this is also the new address of Leeds anarchists. The correction arrived too late for our Contacts Column. Leeds DAM is at BoxDAM 52 Call Lane.)

## DONATIONS APRIL-MAY-JUNE

### Freedom Magazine Fund

Berkeley DD £5; Edmonton (Canada) HB £67; Cheadle CJ £3; Oxford GM £1; Tingwall: JG £2; Birmingham JPB £2; Bristol TC £1; Luton IAM £3; Sheringham AS £1.45; St Ives FW £1; London RH £2; Carmathen JBS £1; Dublin KO'R £1; Colchester NM £4; W'hampton JL £9; Shetland FV £2.50; Ontario RS £2.50; Tewsbury GSC £3; W'hampton JL £6; Brentwood LP £2; Cheshire NSR 55p; Bristol MRS £2.50; W'hampton JL £8.

April-June Total = £126.50  
1987 Total to Date = £381.25

### Freedom Press Premises Fund

Berkeley DD £5; Cheadle CJ £3; Tingwall JG £2; Birmingham JPB £2; London RH £2; W'hampton JL £12; Shetland FV £2.50; Nottingham AH £1.50; Heidelberg RS £1.10; Cambridge BW £2; Tewsbury GSC £3; Birmingham AJB £5; W'hampton JL £12; Edinburgh AG 50p; Cheshire NSR 50p; Birmingham AB £5; Bristol MRS £2.50; Preston JS £1; Jersey JG £4; Purley GC £7.20; W'hampton JL £12.

April-June Total = £85.80  
1987 Total to Date = £325.11

## FREEDOM AND EDUCATION '87

### • A DAY CONFERENCE •



SATURDAY, 3RD OCTOBER

COUNTESTHORPE COLLEGE  
COUNTSTHORPE, near LEICESTER  
FROM 10-6 PLUS EVENING ENTERTAINMENT

FOR FURTHER DETAILS:  
Lib Ed magazine, The Cottage, The Green, Leire, LE17 5HL

## IN BRIEF

Prince Philip's mother is to be buried in Jerusalem next month. She died in 1969.

The Swedish navy is now so practical at reacting to foreign submarines that they have been put in with the police and fire brigade emergency telephone number.

A Dutch-Australian psychic, on holiday in Rhodes in 1985, divined the present whereabouts of the Colossus of Rhodes, the gigantic statue which Pliny included among the seven wonders of the world; she says it is lying on the floor of the harbour. This year a gigantic limestone fist was dredged up from the exact spot she indicated. It proved on investigation to be one of a pile of rocks dropped in the harbour in 1984, for conservation purposes.

## ROLLRIGHT STONES FESTIVAL

JUST writing to let you know there's a free festival at the Rollright Stones on July 18, 19, 20th, and the farmer's given us permission!

For the use of this land we've agreed to plant trees, so please, if possible, could you bring some along.

There is water on the site, and we've already got a stage, generator, and some PA but some other essentials such as tarps, acts, bands, wood, people etc would be appreciated. It is essential that the site is left immaculate when we leave and this is everybody's responsibility.

The site is on the Kingstone Field next to the stone circle on the A34 (T) Stratford-upon-Avon to Oxford road. Nearest village, Long Compton.

Ruby Cornelius

The economist Lord Harris of High Cross calculated that the number of genuine unemployed in this country is less than one million. The other two million recipients of unemployment pay, he reckons, are either on holiday or working in the informal economy. His proposal for full employment is to bring wages down.

A man has been convicted of selling fake vintage wine, made from a mixture of cheap Italian wine and his own home brew, by auction at prices of up to £100 a bottle. None of the buyers complained; he was caught when a bottle blew up at Sotheby's.

The Interception of Communications Act 1985 allows international messages to be intercepted without a warrant, provided a minister guarantees that 'if intercepted material is not certified... it is not read, looked at, or listened to by any person'.

# AND ON

continued from front page

aims though with few if any of its methods. Its problem is of course that it is trying to combine revolutionary theory with reformist practice, and it is likely to suffer the familiar fate of seeing its best new clothes stolen by the bad old parties. Rather than waste time and energy in electoral politics, it would surely do better in extra-parliamentary activity alongside Greenpeace and the Friends of the Earth; but no doubt many anarchists were tempted to give it a vote of sympathy.

Meanwhile the labour movement and the peace movement are going round in ever-decreasing circles, and the Labour Party will surely be forced to drop some of the policies which lost it crucial support. Neil Kinnock may have been the man of the match, but in the end he did little better than Michael Foot in 1983, and if you are a professional politician there is no point in winning the campaign and then losing the election. Labour is dangerously identified with the old trade unions and the new bureaucracies, and it may have to cast off the 'loony left' and CND if it wants to regain some of the central ground where elections are won or lost.

It was noticeable that all the four major parties fought hard to be seen as champions of patriotism - described by Samuel Johnson as 'the last refuge of a scoundrel' - even the unilateralist Labour Party proposing to spend more on conventional defence (with conscription lurking in the background). One television commercial

for the Conservative Party went so far as to condemn 'foreign ideas', with the implication that socialism is an alien import, despite the facts that Marx and Engels did most of their work in this country, and that the native tradition stretches back from Lansbury, Blatchford, Carpenter, Morris and the Fabians, past the Chartists and Owen, past the English revolution, to the Peasants' Revolt six centuries ago.

But back in the real world, where the political is the personal and where life is lived rather than acted, there is much for us to do. The non-voters now seem to be firmly established as the second largest political group in the country, and the next task is to push into first place. But now that we have done our non-voting, we must put the rest of our policy into practice. The informal economy is larger than it has been since the Industrial Revolution began; we must make it still larger. At the same time we must extend libertarian action into other areas of social and political life. The Thatcherist policy of reducing the economic function of the state has been matched by the Thatcherist policy of increasing the military and 'law-and-order' function of the state; this must be resisted. So must the parallel Thatcherist policy of shifting power from local or central government. As municipal socialism is crushed between external pressure and internal contradictions, libertarian alternatives must be advanced. As confrontations between government and trade union bureaucracies continue, the interests of the actual workers and of the consumers must be maintained.

All over the world, ordinary people are struggling against the rich and powerful institutions which oppress and exploit them. In this little part of the world, the situation may not be so dramatic, but there is plenty of room here for libertarian politics. It is up to us, too, to go on and on and on.

FC

## EXPLOSIVE NUCLEAR DUMPS

IN MAY this year, in time for the general election, the government announced that the Nuclear Energy Waste Executive, NIREX, had abandoned plans to put low-level nuclear waste dumps in four safe Conservative constituencies.

The NIREX report to the Department of the Environment said:

The preliminary data shows that nuclides of potential radiological significance will be long lived... This poses no problem for many hundreds of years but at very long times into the future (1,000-100,000 years) the possibility of approaching the limits of safety criteria cannot be ruled out.

Recent studies have shown that over very long times, gas generation in a repository is likely to be quite large; the largest volume of gas is hydrogen from the corrosion of steel... carbon dioxide and methane are also produced as a result of degradation of... paper and wood... a significant pressure build-up in time.

The existence of this problem at all is largely attributable to the over-engineering of the shallow type of repository to provide belt and braces safety systems.

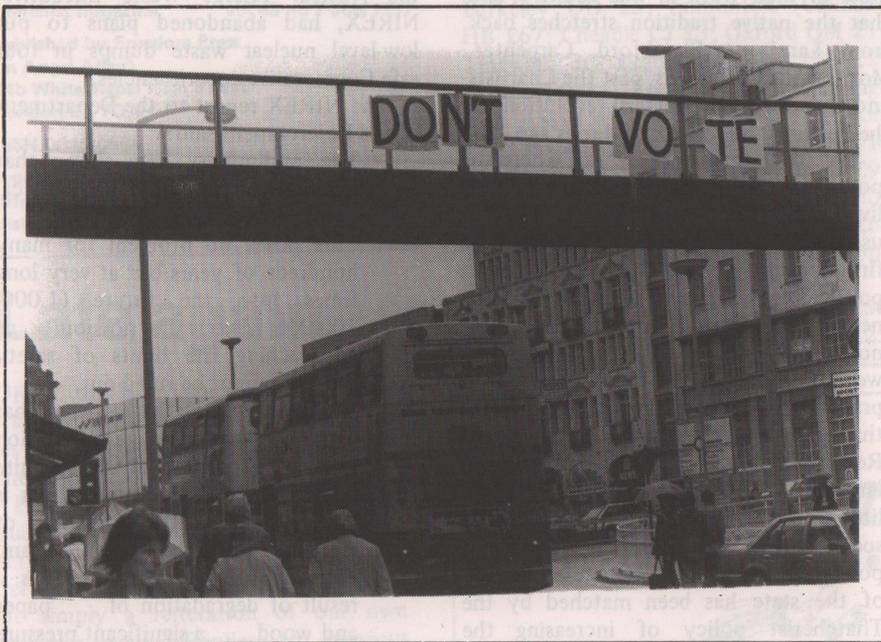
In other words, we could prevent a gas explosion in the far future by building leaky waste dumps.

People living near the four proposed new sites were offered rates reductions and other financial compensations for having the sites near them. Now the inhabitants of Drigg, who have lived near the one existing nuclear waste dump for twenty years, are saying the same compensations should be offered to them. There is no way now they can get rid of the dump, but if they were disgruntled enough they could obstruct the passage of vehicles bringing new contributions.

M McM



# The anti-election campaign



## Sheffield

WE THOUGHT that we would write and let people know what happened in Sheffield. To start with we decided to do 4,000 posters A4 size, of which there were four different designs, and later on we did another 100 A3 size posters. We were supposed to be doing posters for the Midlands Anarchist Federation, but, unfortunately we received no designs from anyone — so as it was, we decided to send out our posters to everyone in the Federation, and also as we were doing the Midlands Federation, we decided to do the Northern Anarchist Network as well.

Anyway, with the near 3,000 posters that we had left we started plastering Sheffield, we started three weeks before election so that there would be enough time to put them all up, we wanted to be careful and luckily there were no arrests.

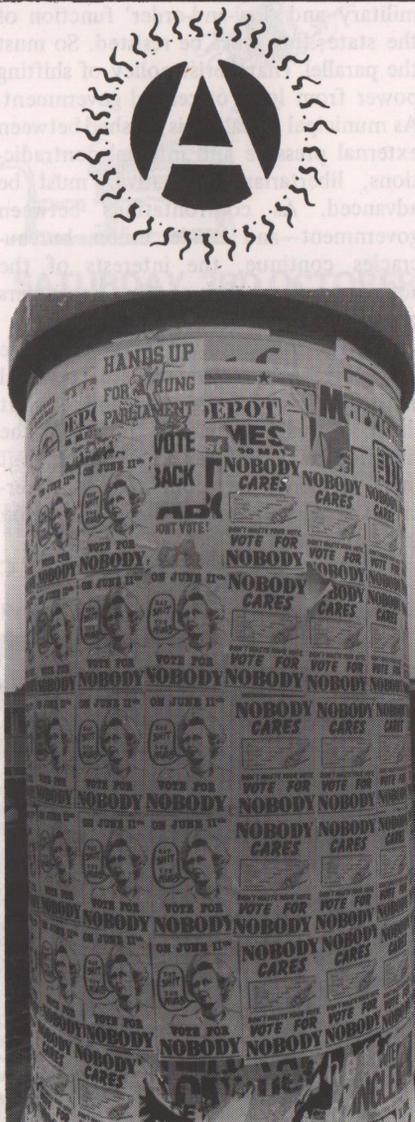
Four days before election day we went on radio and spoke about our reasons for doing a don't vote campaign.

The night before the election we went out at night and put up loads of posters (as usual) and also put up 'Don't Vote' and 'Vote For Nobody' posters.

Election day, we had a picnic and a rest from doing posters, we burnt Ballot papers and generally had a good day although the weather wasn't as good as it could have been.

Another anarchist group in Sheffield did a similar campaign, both campaigns complimented each other nicely, but I will let them tell you about that.

Blackberry Anarchist Group



Photographs from Blackberry Anarchist Group

THE success of an anarchist anti-election campaign is not to be judged by the percentage of non-voters. As we pointed out in the February *Freedom*, the objective of the campaign was to use the political and social interest generated by the election to reach as wide a public as possible with anarchist propaganda.

Polls of voting intention showed little change during the campaign. Whenever it was reported, the 'won't vote/refuse to say' response (they were lumped together) remained constant at 6%. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that most of the 25% of non-voters merely failed to fulfill their intentions. Those who did not vote because they were prevented, or because they are apathetic, mean less to the anarchist revolution than those who listened to the anarchist case but voted anyway.

The standard test for any kind of propaganda campaign is to find out what people remember of it, among a random sample of 1,000 (what we really want to know is how people changed their behaviour as a result of the campaign, but that is too complicated a question for a standard test). To the best of our knowledge this has not been done in respect of the anti-election campaign, so the best we can do is list what we know of the anarchist propaganda which was produced. Obviously we do not know all.

### Bill-posting and leafletting

On the left is a separate report from the Blackberry Anarchist Group in Sheffield, where they and the Sheffield Anarchist Group put up a total of some 7,000 small posters and numerous well-placed graffiti.

From their office in Manchester, Direct Action Movement issued a poster saying 'Elections are a farce; get organised', put up by DAM branches all over. We hear DAM had a complaint about fly-posting from Sheffield council.

Reading Anarchist Group distributed a leaflet which said in part, 'Parties in this election will offer themselves as an alternative government...but what we need is an alternative to government'. Reading was also the depot address for the posters, leaflet and sticker offered by *Spectacular Times* (see June *Freedom*).

In Glasgow our good comrade Bob Lynn published a 16-page pamphlet reproducing the arguments against voting from *Anarchy* 37 (March 1964) with an additional chapter by himself.

Portraits appeared in Bristol of Thatcher, Kinnock and the Two Davids, with the advice not to trust politicians. In Leamington, portraits were put up of 'Guy Fawkes, the only person to enter Parliament with honest intentions'.

Nottingham town centre was nicely decorated with a poster published by the Anarchist Communist Federation, 'Whoever you vote for the bosses always win', with a drawing of a capitalist picking a worker's pocket as the worker reaches up for a gift from the capitalist. *Freedom's* poster with the picture of sheep was put up extensively in the sheep-farming country near Colchester.

In London (the only place in respect of which this report is first-hand), posters were not very popular this time. Of course there were the big hoardings booked well in advance by the major parties, but few, compared with earlier elections, announced their voting intentions by means of window stickers. A few of the *Freedom* poster appeared in a few windows. Full size *Spectacular Times* posters were not much in evidence, but reproductions of all four posters at the size of the illustrations in the ST sales leaflet (67mm x 96mm) were printed as stickers and put up in many tube stations, including all the stations on the Circle Line. ACF's poster was put up on bus shelters in Holborn and elsewhere. A group of energetic young comrades handed out some 28,000 copies of their excellent 'Vote for Nobody' leaflet ('Nobody cares', 'Nobody keeps political promises' etc), to morning travellers at Brixton and Stockwell tube stations; we understand most recipients took the leaflets onto the train. Leaflets were also produced and distributed by a group in North London and by London Greenpeace.

### Press publicity

We reproduced in the June *Freedom* Colin Ward's article from *New Society* 'The case against encouraging them' (we altered the title). Colin also had an article in the *Independent*. Nicolas Walter had a couple of letters in *The Times*, one before and one after the election, pointing out that non-voters are the second largest party.

Reading anarchists were written up in the local press and interviewed on local radio.

There was a report in the *Leamington Evening Telegraph* that about 10 people attacked a Conservative Club where party loyalists were having a party, throwing bricks and bottles and battering down a door. Two people were arrested but later released without charge, presumably because the Conservative Club decided not to press charges against people who had done them some electoral good (which they might reverse if they appeared in court). There was no mention of an anti-election campaign in the paper, and no mention of anarchism (unless you count a Conservative spokesman's description of the attackers as 'an ugly rent-a-mob bent on anarchy'). But we mention it because the cuttings were sent to us with an anonymous letter saying 'Leamington anarchists finally got their act together'.

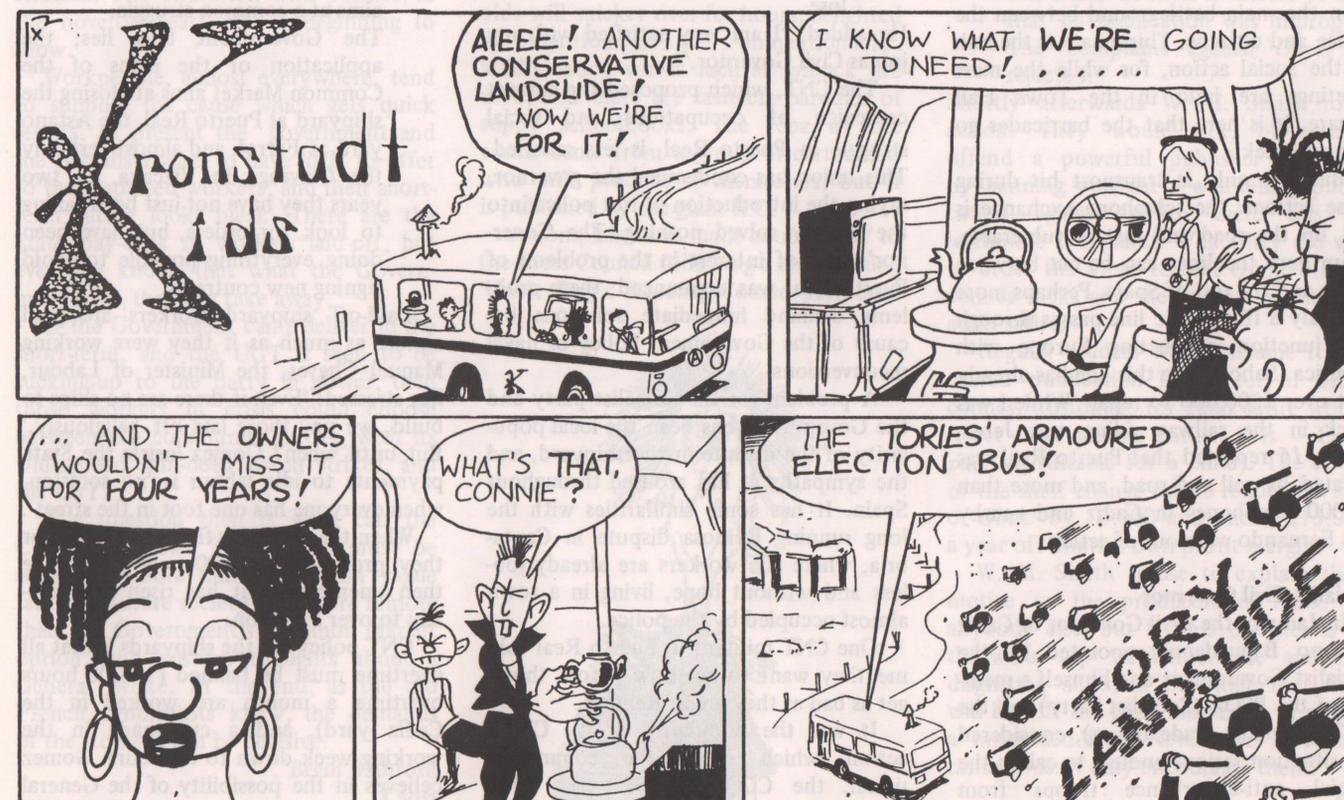
The Sussex University Student Newspaper, *Unionews*, editorially recommended its readers to vote Labour, but included, without attribution or editorial comment, a whole page (2000 words and

pictures) of anti-election material, 'Together (with nobody leading us) we can change the world! Abstain!'

A reporter called Jessica Berens, who has a weekly page mostly about pop stars in the *London Daily News*, came to see us at Freedom Press and asked where else in London she could meet anarchists. We referred her to 121 Books and Leslie's, but to the best of our knowledge the only places she visited were Freedom Bookshop, Nicolas Walter's course at the Mary Ward Centre, and the London Anarchist Forum, all good places for meeting middle-aged males. She met women and young men too, but ignored them. A photographer was sent by her to the bookshop to photograph Charles Crute, Dennis Gould and Donald Room, all with their beards in place, and the article when it appeared was headed 'All power to the cider growers' and represented anarchists as elderly hippies. Next day the same paper published a letter from us, pointing out that none of us were ever hippies, and that most of our comrades are 'young and passionate as we were in our time'.

A young and passionate comrade told us the Berens article was a good reason for avoiding the press. But when most press mentions of anarchism are of the 'ugly rent-a-mob bent on anarchy' variety, we think any publicity for the existence of a serious anarchist movement is good publicity.

Sorry if your campaign was omitted from this account. Write and let us know any additions for the August issue.



# Battleground Puerto Real

SPAIN

THE stomach is, according to one of the old French anarcho-syndicalists, the only country to which the worker owes any allegiance.

Hence for the worker, no less than the gourmet, being shunted into a railway siding in an Andalucian train at lunch-time is the embodiment of a nightmare. Worse still, when one has the knowledge that it is one's own comrades in the anarcho-syndicalist CNT-AIT, who by barricading the line at Puerto Real, in Cadiz province, are preventing one's passage between Jerez, the Sherry Capital of Spain, and a lunch of Atlantic seafood at Puerto de Santa Maria.

To take my mind off this gruelling test of my working class solidarity, I listened for critical comments on the workers' action from my fellow travellers. None came! Even when I tried to provoke some response; these Andalucians answered in a matter of fact fashion as if it was perfectly natural for workers to take over the railway network to protest at not having any work.

## Blockaded Town

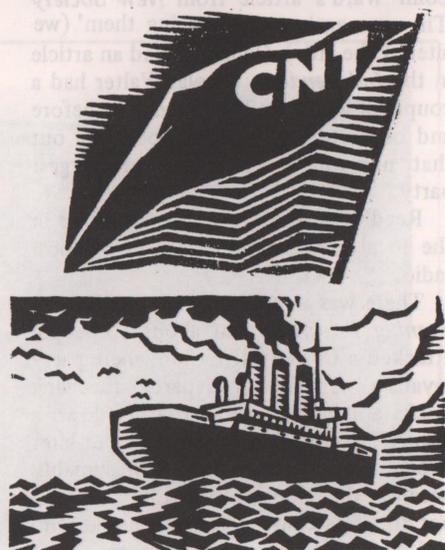
A week later, in my role as union hack, I visited Puerto Real to try to fix up better contacts with the La Linea branch of the CNT-AIT, and create informal links with the Transport & General Workers' Union on Gibraltar.

From the CNT office I was taken to the working class housing estate, which, because it lies between the main road and rail networks from Cadiz to Madrid, has been the main battleground between the police and citizens. This estate is the hub of the social action, for while the mass meetings are held in the Town Hall Square, it is here that the barricades go up each week.

But not only is transport hit during these actions; the telephone exchange is just up the road and just as vulnerable. From here the lines can be cut between Cadiz and the rest of Spain. Perhaps more seriously a fibre optic line passes through this junction connecting Europe with America. Sabotage to this line has already cost over £200,000 to repair. While I was stuck in the railway siding near Jerez, *Diario 16* reported that Puerto Real was isolated by rail and road, and more than 22,000 telephones in Cadiz and nearby San Fernando were out of action.

## Socialist Civil Governor

In January the Civil Governor of Cadiz Mariano Baquedano, appointed by the Socialist Government and himself a member of the PSOE (Socialist Party) and the UGT (Socialist trade union), considered the situation serious enough to call in the special anti-disturbance troops from



Cordoba and Merida.

On March 10th, workers occupied the ship-building factory. The police moved in but were soon forced out of the shipyard. The Socialist Civil Governor felt it necessary to declare:

Our police lack the power and have suffered inside the shipyard. Inside the factory is a group of activists who are looking for a man-to-man struggle. At this time it is vital that the forces of public order must have the support of society. It is clear that these workers (in Puerto Real) wish to create the sensation of a guerilla war, which the forces of order must join in and must not lose.

He added, 'I am very satisfied with my job as Civil Governor.'

The CNT, which proposed the current campaign of occupations and social struggle in Puerto Real, is less satisfied. This union has condemned the governor, saying the introduction of riot police into the factory solved nothing. The Governor's lack of interest in the problems of Puerto Real was denounced; these problems demand immediate solutions because of the Government Policy of naval reconversions.

A problem for the Socialist party and the Government has been the local popularity of the dispute in the shipyard, and the sympathy it has aroused throughout Spain. It has some similarities with the long running Reinosa dispute in Cantabria, where the workers are already jobless and without hope, living in a town almost occupied by the police.

One CNT militant in Puerto Real told me they want to act now before things get as bad as they are in Reinosa.

It was the popularity of the CNT's action which made the communist union, the CCOO, support the CNT

stand in March. This unity held until June, when the leaders of the CCOO in Madrid signed a national pact with the government. The CCOO may now return to the action of passing resolutions etc.

## Historical Context

I was told by Pepe Gomez, a CNT militant in Puerto Real, that the shipyard's problems had begun in 1977, with the Trade Union Pact agreed between the main unions (the CCOO and UGT) and the then Conservative Government of Suarez. This pact was cooked up between Suarez and Santiago Carrillo, then the boss of the Communist Party, to try to outflank the Socialist PSOE and its union the UGT. It failed. The PSOE got power in the 1980's, and has never looked back since. The UGT has become the biggest union federation. Suarez and Carrillo are both in the political wilderness.

According to Pepe Gomez, the problems now being experienced by Puerto Real are the same as those affecting the Cadiz and Seville yards.

In general, we are entering an epoch of a number of isolated struggles: Sagunto (near Valencia) is in conflict, the North is as well. The people in the shipyards of Spain amount to 100,000 workers who are all in crisis. In the countryside (see *Freedom* January 1987: 'Spain's Rural Idiots') there have been strong mobilisations with hunger strikes and demonstrations etc. The CNT seeks a General Strike and aims at a common struggle.

The Government tells lies; the application of the plans of the Common Market aims at closing the shipyard at Puerto Real, the Astano yard at Ferrol, and almost certainly the Olaveaga in Vizcaya. In two years they have not just been failing to look for orders, but have been doing everything possible to avoid signing new contracts.

Laid-off shipyard workers are paid almost as much as if they were working. Manuel Chaves, the Minister of Labour, has stressed: 'Even if there are no ships to build, we pay those laid off, religiously.' But until when? Gomez insists the State payments to idle labour is 'no solution, when everyone has one foot in the street'.

When the Socialists first came to power they promised 800,000 new jobs; since then unemployment has risen dramatically to over 3 million.

CNT policy for the shipyards is that all overtime must be banned (12,000 hours overtime a month are worked in the Cadiz yard), and a cut made in the working week down to 35 hours. Gomez believes in the possibility of the General

Strike in Spain as a basis for transforming society. It is not clear how he expects this to come about, since the CNT's discussions with other groups and small unions have been on his own reckoning 'friendly, but fruitless'.

## Who can deliver?

To my mind the Puerto Real struggle, for all the passion, radicalism and courage expressed by its supporters, is a hole-in-the-corner dispute. Gomez, I think, accepts this when he refers to the 'mass of isolated struggles'. He has no easy answer as to how, if at all, these isolated actions can be co-ordinated nationally. Certainly the CNT alone cannot do it in its present condition. The only other chance of it happening would seem to be by the kind of 'spontaneous combustion' believed in by Bakunin. Not a likely outcome, given the pluralistic and fragmented nature of Spanish society today. People in Spain are fast losing their peasant beliefs; it would be hard to convince the mass of Spaniards that they have substantial interests in common.

Yet Puerto Real or Reinosa (where there has been at least one death as a result of the police action) could be dangerous for the Government. If it gives too much away it may encourage imitators; on the other hand if it cracks down too hard it risks widespread unpopularity. The savage put-down of the anarchist rising in 1933 at Casa Viejas (also in the Cadiz province) helped to bring down the centre-left Government of Azaña. In the recent election 1 million fewer people voted than in the previous election. The disillusion with politics, as the novelty wears off, is beginning to show.

Workpeople, almost everywhere, tend to support the cause which gets quick results. At present the government and the Socialists seem to have little to offer to the displaced workers, and their short-term future looks bleak. There are the State pay-outs to workers laid-off, but everyone knows that what the Government gives, they can take away.

If the Government can't deliver in the short-term, and the UGT is seen to be sucking-up to the party in power, then those workers in crisis could choose between the communist CCOO, with its widespread skin-deep token strikes, and the CNT.

The question then is what can the CNT offer now? The answer must be something more immediate than vague talk of a future society even more remote than the Government's Common Market option, and wishful thoughts about a General Strike. In the end, as the old French syndicalists knew, the demands of the stomach can be decisive.

Brian Bamford  
Cadiz

# Subtle censorship at W H Smith

W. H. SMITH, the massive bookshop chain, have taken action against a children's comic called *Oink!*, apparently because Mary Whitehouse objects to it.

Of course, freedom from coercion implies the right of those who keep stores to decide what they will stock. Since the beginning of this year Freedom Bookshop has been offered and declined opportunities to stock a pornographic magazine and a fascist classic. Another radical bookshop has decided to stop selling *Freedom* on the grounds that none of us seem to want to take any personal responsibility for our own racism and sexism. We groan at the decision, as no doubt the rejected publishers groan at Freedom Bookshop. But we cannot object to such self-censorship on ideological grounds.

Objectionable censorship is imposed on publishers and dealers from outside, by the state threatening prosecution, by private authoritarians threatening to sue for libel or firebomb the shop, or, as in the case of W. H. Smith, by the Retail Head Office issuing commands on pain of dismissal to the 424 shop managers.

*Oink!*, for those who have not seen it, is a paper for ten-year-olds which seeks to amuse by flouting convention. It is full of smutty topics, not in any erotic sense, but in the sense of pimples, BO and snot; subjects which adults do not find enormously amusing but which ten-year-olds will snicker over for hours, delighted by mention of the 'unmentionable'. Mildly taboo words such as 'pillock' are used, and there are tasteless parodies of sappy schoolbooks. The idea of the comic came from a group of cartoonists who still produce it themselves, but it is published by the giant IPC.

A complaint was made about *Oink!* to the Press Council following a strip headed 'Uncle Pigg's Reading Course part one:



Janice and John and the parachute jump', illustrated in the style of a 1930s primer but reading as follows:

Janice and John have a brave daddy . . . He is doing a parachute jump . . . "My parachute won't open!" cries daddy. Oh, dear. Mummy can hardly look. Janice and John have broken daddy's fall. See mummy hide the parachute before the ambulance comes. Mummy had sabotaged it earlier. See mummy enjoy herself while her sappy family are in the hospital. Clever mummy!

Note that the sappy family are not killed; *Oink!* is in reality quite sappy itself, and careful not to alarm its readers.

However, it alarmed someone old enough to know better, who complained to the Press Council that the story disregarded mother-family relationships, and that the magazine in general was helping to prepare the ground for hooliganism, vandalism and undisciplined behaviour. Evidently the complainant asked Mary Whitehouse for support (one of the comic characters is called 'Mary Lighthouse'), and Whitehouse concurred in the complaint. The adjudication reads:

The cartoon complained of was a presumably deliberately tasteless parody of the kind of picture strip designed for young children but the Press Council is unable to say that its publication was improper. The complaint against *Oink!* is rejected.

Shortly afterwards W. H. Smith took action. They would not, of course, offend a powerful publisher like IPC by banning outright a well-selling publication against which there was no legitimate complaint. What they did was to order the shops to take *Oink!* off the comics racks and shelve it up among the adult satire.

Regular readers would assume it had ceased publication like a lot of other comics. Customers for adult satire would reject it as puerile (which it is - Latin *puerilis*, suitable for a child). The effect of the shelf change was to reduce the sale of *Oink!* by 10,000 and knock £75,000 a year off Smith's own profit margin.

W. H. Smith refuse to explain their motive to the producers of *Oink!* or anybody else, but I guess the idea is to throw a sop to Whitehouse and her disgusting allies, in the hope that they will lay off the girlie magazines. If so it is a misguided idea. Never give in to the censorious: it only encourages them.

DR

# The Demjanjuk 'trial' and the limits of responsibility

THERE was a brief scandal recently over reports that Britain is harbouring wanted Nazi war-criminals. In answer to this charge (made by the Simon Wiesenthal institute in Austria), it was pointed out that British courts have no jurisdiction over crimes which are alleged to have been committed abroad at a time when the suspected perpetrators were not British citizens. Nor was the British government prepared to allow extradition of anyone for trial in Israel unless their purported crimes were committed there.

The US and Canadian Governments have recently banned Kurt Waldheim of Austria from entering their countries, because of allegations that he was involved in actions amounting to war crimes during his service in the army of the Third Reich.

The trial in Lyons of the unrepentant Nazi Klaus Barbie is currently occupying a significant amount of global media attention, not least because it is threatening all kinds of scandals from the period of German occupation and the Vichy regime in France.

Here in Israel, we have been subjected for several months now to blow-by-blow coverage of the 'trial' of John Demjanjuk, suspected of being the guard 'Ivan the Terrible' of Treblinka extermination camp (although some claim 'Ivan' was among those killed during an uprising and mass escape at the camp in 1944). A whole radio station and a TV channel being tested prior to opening a second station were given over to broadcasting the proceedings, at Jerusalem's Central Criminal Court. Detailed reports are carried by the Press, and organised groups of students and schoolchildren queue for hours to watch the trial.

All this interest might lead one to think Demjanjuk was a leading evil mastermind of the 'Final Solution'. In fact, despite all the brouhaha, Demjanjuk does not yet stand accused of any crime whatsoever. The issue is one of not establishing guilt but rather of ascertaining identity. In other words, despite the massive media coverage given to this show-trial, not only is Demjanjuk NOT on trial for war-crimes but it is not yet certain that the authorities have the right man (although it is of course likely).

Nonetheless, the comparisons being made here are inevitably with the famous trial of leading Nazi war-criminal Adolf Eichmann in the 1960s. However, Eichmann never denied his identity, nor did he seek to belittle his role in the Nazi regime's inhuman efforts to render Europe and the world 'Judenrein'. His defense for

his actions during the Holocaust was rather that he was 'following orders'. (This same argument is being used today in Argentina to let lower army ranks off the hook; those who gave the orders may perhaps be tried, while the bastards who actually practised the torture are absolved because they were merely, unwillingly, 'following orders'.) On that basis, the Israeli court, in order to convict Eichmann, had to establish the principle that there are moral imperatives which no human law can deny or supersede. This is not merely a legal nicety nor a philosophical or theological question, but impinges on the whole concept of authority, law and personal responsibility — questions central to anarchist theory.

The Eichmann conviction and death-sentence depended on the principle that the perpetrators of 'crimes against humanity' must be held accountable for their actions even if the State regime under which their crimes were committed gave legal sanction to or even encouraged those actions. In fact, this ruling amounted to legal recognition of the basic anarchist principle that the moral responsibility of the individual takes precedence over obeying the laws of the State.

The present Demjanjuk 'trial' — hinging as it does merely on proof of identity and not on establishing philosophical or moral principles, and with a far less renowned prisoner — threatens to be a poor successor to the Eichmann Trial. (Should Demjanjuk be acquitted, the affair would be a huge embarrassment, not only to Israel but also to the US, who stripped him of his citizenship and had him extradited.)

What, in reality, is the purpose of the State of Israel in giving such enormous public prominence to what should really be mere formal preliminaries to a possible war-crimes trial against an elderly Ukrainian who — assuming he is 'Ivan the Terrible' — was never more than a willing Nazi collaborator and minor concentration camp functionary, however brutal and sadistic his actions in that capacity?

The daring kidnap of Eichmann from Argentina in 1960 caught the world's imagination as the new Jewish State carried out with ruthless determination its pledge to bring the perpetrators of the Holocaust to justice. The trial itself was of immense historical importance, but in Israel it took on additional significance. For 'sabras' (native-born Israelis) and the almost 50% of Israelis of non-European origin, the chilling testimony of survivors in the witness-box gave a new and immediate meaning to the Holocaust and added to the sense of need for the State

of Israel and its vital importance for the Jewish people worldwide.

The trial contributed to the understanding by younger Israelis of the circumstances under which millions of Jews were able to be led almost unresisting to their mass annihilation, something difficult to understand in a thrusting young State in which independence, militarism and strength were heavily stressed, perhaps at the expense of European Jews being seen as weak and therefore collaborators in their own destruction. For the new, proud generation, contempt and bewilderment were a normal reaction to the Holocaust, but one which it was not entirely in the State's interest to encourage, so central is the theme of gentile persecution to the underlying tenets of Zionist ideology.

Zionism as a national liberation movement arose largely in response to European antisemitism and its core raison d'être was to obtain a Jewish-run homeland in which all Jews could find refuge from persecution and discrimination. In a period when the Israeli State was still trying to forge a strong, unified country out of millions of refugees and new immigrants, the Holocaust could be used to emphasise the need for a secure Jewish State with a strong army for its self-defense.

Now, with the Demjanjuk affair, a new generation of young Israelis is once again being bombarded with the terrible and heart-rending evidence of elderly concentration-camp survivors; a forceful lesson to those who remember neither the Holocaust nor the Eichmann trial nor what it meant to be a Central European Jew only 40 years ago, and of course how important is the survival of the State of Israel for the Jews today. As such, the State/Zionist creed is being driven home yet again. The gentiles are not to be trusted, the Jews must have a strong State and a strong army to protect them from their enemies in the anti-semitic world outside.

Once again, Israel is demonstrating that the Jewish people will never forget. However, it is important that this should not become merely an exorcism of painful memories for those who lived through the horrors of the Nazi era, nor a vehicle for reinforcing the Zionist State cultus for a new generation. The central question should remain — although it has not yet been raised in the present Demjanjuk circus — the relationship between State and individual, between authority and moral responsibility. The warped personalities of 'Ivan the Terrible' and those

who controlled him are perhaps less important than this fundamental (but so far untouched-upon) problem.

State ideologies can either curb or direct and give rein to the worst excesses of disturbed and abnormal behaviour. Is it really too Utopian to believe that without States the organised mass-murder of our fellow-humans would become socially unacceptable and cease? If anarchism is about anything, it has first to be about tolerance and trust, and about living peacefully and in friendship with one's neighbour, however much he or his opinions may differ from oneself.

Katy Andrews

## Saksio released

IN OUR March issue, we reported that the Finnish anarchist Jouko Saksio was on hunger strike in prison, where he was serving a nine-month sentence for refusing military service. We are pleased to say our news was out of date. Jouko began his hunger strike on 21 January and discontinued it after 25 days, when he was pardoned, and released from conscription, by Presidential decree.

Conscientious objection in Finland is not usually recognised except on religious grounds, but an exception has been made in the case of Jouko Saksio, perhaps as a result of international pressure. There are still some half a dozen conscientious objectors, all non-believers, in Finnish prisons and labour camps.

## Truly beautiful

THERE are many ways in which our society keeps people apart from one another — from the various pop sub-cultures of punk, mod, heavy metal, etc, to racial discrimination, to football teams whose supporters war against one another. These are very obvious examples of 'divide and rule'. But there is one other area where the system breeds alienation and that is alienation of the self.

We turn on the television and see our beautiful pop idols parading their super deluxe videos, we see the unnaturally glamorous soap opera stars drape themselves over their mansions. Then we look in the mirror and see our plain, unspectacular faces staring back.

We flick through a magazine and see all the rich models who are successful because they are beautiful, we read all about the Royal family and all their splendour, we read about millionaire film stars and their beauty, and we read about Margaret Thatcher who looks so youthful with those clear-blue eyes. We come to the conclusion that beauty means lots of money means lots of power. Then we near the end of the magazine and we see the cosmetics commercials. So after taking careful note of the 'product' we set off to buy the thing to change our sex lives, our money situation and influence at our job (if we're lucky enough to have a job).

But after months of using the proper

skin lotion, the proper shampoo and the proper make-up our faces still look too spotty, too blotchy and our bodies are still too fat, too thin or too tall, too short. Nothing has really changed; it's still the same old 'ugly' body. So we begin to despise and hate our bodies, reject them, feel ashamed of them and finally feel insecure in them.

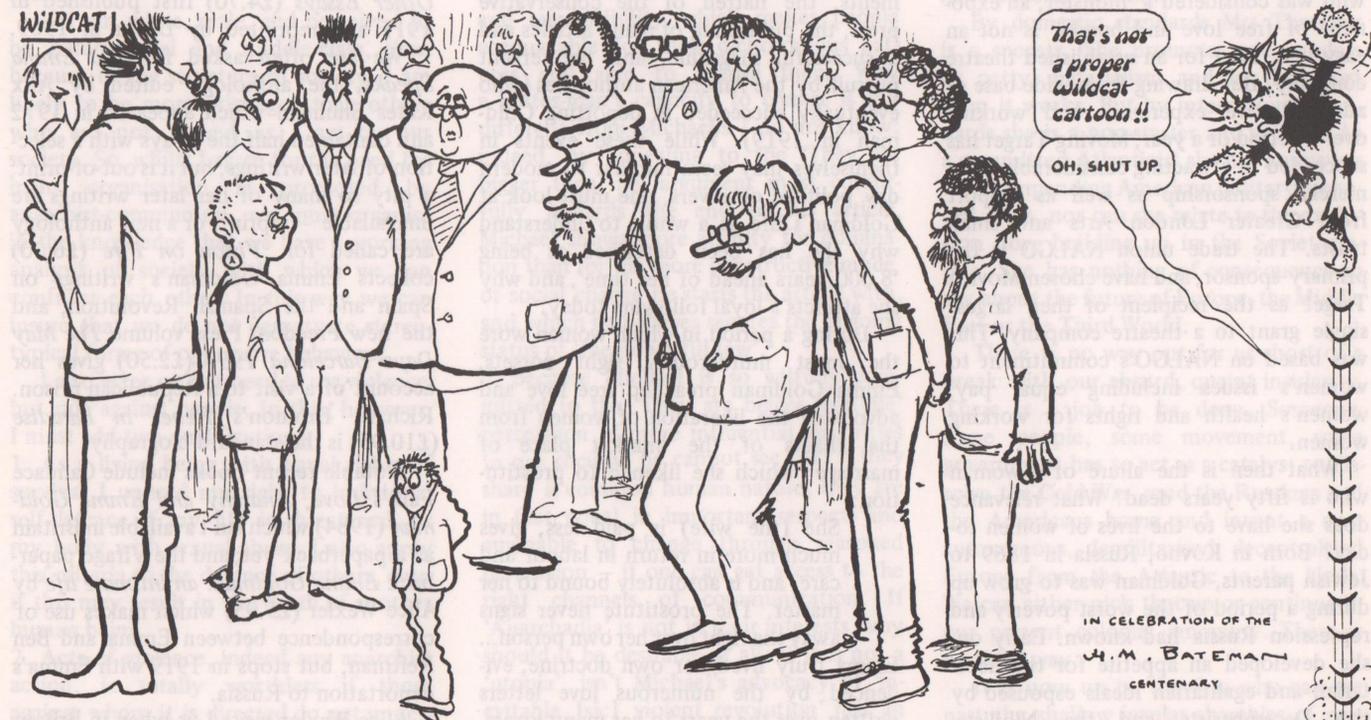
'What has all this got to do with anarchy?' I hear you ask.

'Quite a lot,' I reply.

The chances of any of the 'normal people' coming anywhere near to looking like the characters of *Dynasty* are pretty poor, because plastic surgery isn't available on the NHS yet. But we'll still try, we're working for an almost impossible goal and so never get there. As long as we are concerned with our looks so much we'll put that in front of everything. We'll worry more about blackheads than starving children, we'll worry more about our flabby thighs than the ever increasing nuclear stockpiles, and finally insecure people can never build up enough courage to make a serious threat to authority.

Until we learn to use our bodies properly through eating natural foods (not the mass-manufactured crap we've been force-fed) and through gentle exercise we shall never look truly beautiful and shall never feel confident in our bodies. So don't be conned by those glossy advertisements — true beauty and true liberty can only come from within the individual and not a stick of lipstick.

John Graham



THE ANARCHIST WHO VOTED IN THE GENERAL ELECTION

# Rebel in Paradise

*REBEL IN PARADISE*, a new play about the life of Emma Goldman, opens at the Young Vic on the 14th of July. This article is contributed by Carole Charnow of Moving Target Theatre Company, the producers of the show.

PEOPLE who discover Emma Goldman do not develop a mere casual interest in her, they acquire a fanatical passion for this 'little revolutionary in pince-nez' which mirrors Goldman's own relentless and feverish pursuit of her 'beautiful ideal'.

'Rebel in Paradise' tells the remarkable story of Emma Goldman and of her small band of anarchist comrades living in turn-of-the-century America, who contemplated the ills of their new country while designing the paradise they dreamed it could be. Making use of the rich musical traditions of rag-time, Yiddish and radical songs, the play evokes the triumph and tragedy of these victims of the great American 'melting-pot'.

Despite the many books by and about Goldman and the fact that she lived and worked in Britain for some years, she is still relatively unknown in this country. By bringing 'Rebel in Paradise' to London, Moving Target hopes to arouse interest in this compelling and charismatic woman, who was described by J. Edgar Hoover as 'the most dangerous woman in America'.

To mount a production of a new play about a Jewish anarchist and feminist who was considered a 'monster, an exponent of free love and bombs' is not an easy task, even for an established theatre company. But drawing from wide base of administrative experience and working over a period of a year, Moving Target has succeeded in attracting considerable commercial sponsorship as well as support from Greater London Arts and small trusts. The trade union NALGO is the primary sponsor, and have chosen Moving Target as the recipient of their largest single grant to a theatre company. This was based on NALGO's commitment to women's issues including equal pay, women's health and rights for working women.

What then is the allure of a woman who is fifty years dead? What relevance does she have to the lives of women today? Born in Kovno, Russia in 1869 to Jewish parents, Goldman was to grow up during a period of the worst poverty and repression Russia had known. Early on, she developed an appetite for the libertarian and egalitarian ideals espoused by the Decemberists and the Nihilists. Following the many Jews who left Russia for the beckoning shores of America, Goldman fled to New York in 1884,



seeking freedom of opportunity and a better way of life. Her idealism however, was short-lived. Before long Emma learned first hand of the appalling working conditions of the American working class and, following the hanging of the Haymarket martyrs who were arrested during workers' strikes in Chicago, Goldman resolved to dedicate her life to the 'memory of my martyred comrades, to make their cause my own'.

Her ensuing twenty years of political activism in America reads like a diary of any inspired revolutionary: hundreds of lectures and public appearances marked by police presence, arrests and imprisonments, the hatred of the conservative press, the publishing of many articles and a successful magazine, and the fervent pursuit by the American authorities (who eventually succeeded in deporting Goldman in 1919). While these events in themselves may seem familiar to modern day political observers, one must look at Goldman's life as a whole to understand why she has been described as being '8,000 years ahead of her time', and why she attracts a loyal following today.

During a period in which women wore the most murderously tight corsets, Emma Goldman preached free love and advocated the liberation of women from the chains of the 'market place of marriage' which she likened to prostitution:

She (the wife) is paid less, gives much more in return in labour and care, and is absolutely bound to her master. The prostitute never signs away the right over her own person...

Emma truly lived her own doctrine, evidenced by the numerous love letters written over the years to her many lovers. She was an early campaigner for birth control and, through her profession as a nurse and midwife, was one of the first

practitioners to introduce family planning.

Goldman possessed an engaging talent for combining the intellectual with the theatrical, and enfusing the sober life of the puritan radicals with adventure and romance. Her annual costume balls for the New York radicals, known as the 'Red Revels', were the high point of the radical social calendar. She practiced communal living and open relationships saying of her lifetime companion and once lover Alexander Berkman, 'we may love one another but we do not own each other'. She was also a great lover of opera and theatre and a respected critic of Ibsen and Chekov, both of whom she adored. Thus is Goldman's appeal: all at once feminist, anarchist, writer, philosopher of great honesty and integrity and lover, dreamer, free spirited romantic who offered women an inviting challenge:

Emancipation should make it possible for women to be human in the truest sense. Everything within her which craves assertion and activity should reach its fullest expression. All artificial barriers should be broken, and the road toward greater freedom cleared of every trace of centuries of submission and slavery.

'Rebel in Paradise' opens at the Young Vic Studio for four weeks on 14th July and at the Edinburgh Festival for three weeks from August 10th.

Carole Charnow

FOR those who want books by and about Emma Goldman, there is her autobiography *Living My Life*. (2 vols, £6.50 each) of 1931, and her *Anarchism and Other Essays* (£4.70) first published in 1911 and reprinted by Dover in 1969.

We are often asked for *Red Emma Speaks*, the anthology edited by Alix Kates Shulman which appeared in 1972 and contained half the essays with a selection of later writings, but it is out-of-print; a pity so many of her later writings are unavailable - reprints or a new anthology are called for. *Vision on Fire* (£6.00) collects Emma Goldman's writings on Spain and the Spanish Revolution, and the new Freedom Press volume *The May Days Barcelona 1937* (£2.50) gives her account of a visit to a Republican prison. Richard Drinnon's *Rebel in Paradise* (£10.95) is the standard biography.

Notable recent books include Candace Falk's *Love, Anarchy and Emma Goldman* (1984) which isn't available in Britain as a paperback yet; and the Virago paperback *Emma Goldman: an intimate life* by Alice Wexler (£5.95) which makes use of correspondence between Emma and Ben Reitman, but stops in 1919 with Emma's deportation to Russia.

Alice Wexler visited us when in Britain last year and we understand she is writing another book on the later life of Emma Goldman.



## Not against people

I WOULD like to reply to Michael Eames's article 'Violence but not against people'. Whilst I agree with the conclusions s/he comes to, I must disagree with the statement 'none of us can escape the competitive instincts which come with our physical being'. It is well known that human beings have remarkably few instincts - most of what would be called 'instinctive' is learned social behaviour. We have replaced instincts with cultural mechanisms - this is a major reason for the long length of human infant dependency.

It is true that both competition and cooperation are present in our scientific models of the workings of the biosphere. However, they belong to different levels of organisation, and are devoid of self consciousness. This is what makes us human - our self consciousness and our communication abilities.

It is up to us as anarchists to self-consciously confront each other as equal individuals; whilst recognising that because of our positions in society we are continually potential oppressors, or oppressed.

There is no room for economic or biological determinism in our analysis of society.

If I am white, male, and perceived to be heterosexual and middle-class, then because of the structure of society, I am likely to be more privileged than others who are not viewed as I am by our society. So, whilst I agree for the need for mans organisation as promoted by anarchist-communism, we must organise in the knowledge that we have a working analysis of society with which we can confront each other. In this way we can insure that we do not perpetuate stereotypical forms of oppressive behaviour.

I also agree on our need to use violence, but not against people. In this, however, I must add two qualifications:

1. As a living being with equal rights of survival I uphold my right to individual self-defence if my life is threatened, or my body with sexual abuse. I also apply this criteria to the defence of others, even if this may result in the death of another human being.
2. Acts of violence, indeed any anarchist action, is totally worthless if those against whom it is directed do not understand it.

In conclusion, mass participation in the organisation of society is absolutely

essential, but we must ensure that our organisations are free of the forms of oppression which dominate our society. And so, whilst we cannot claim that our alternatives are necessarily liberating, we can enter into the anarchist-communist movement determined to ensure that we do provide a movement that is mutually reinforcing and liberating.

Chris Hall

MICHAEL Eames' article, 'Violence but not against people' (*Freedom*, Vol 48, No 6, p13) interests me as something of a case study of the development of a revolutionist mentality - from an initial position of analysing 'the apparent dichotomy between competition and co-operation' which Michael thoughtfully reasons is intrinsic to all of us and should be 'enabled' constructively. He moves away from this to assert the need for 'reductionist head-to-head means of domination' in the last section of his article whilst repudiating it in the first.

The catalyst for this degeneration in the clarity of Michael's argument is, I believe, his analysis of 'the State', presented as a near all-powerful and malevolent monolith whose sole function is to turn people against one another and against the sense of personal awareness and responsibility which makes people accountable for their dichotomous natures and able to change them. Why a States-man's capacity to change is any different from Michael's I do not know: indeed, by appealing to the 'They are bigger than me' argument most colourfully towards the end of his article, Michael shows more affinity for domination than for the more constructive mode of social change he starts the article with, and which he believes secures the ongoing status of 'the powerful few'.

Because Michael is so wilfully committed to the 'They are bigger than me' perception of more influential minorities in our society, he cannot see that if they share a common human nature, they are in fact equal in important respects and amenable to change through reasoned persuasion - if one can get access to the right channels of communication. If 'Anarchadia' is not in their interests, why should it be desirable at all: if it is not a 'utopia', isn't Michael's advocacy of 'inevitable [sic] violent revolution' just an empty justification for indulging one's own powerlessness by adopting a doomed and self-contradictory strategy.

The case for or against violent revolution has been argued before - Michael's call for 'depersonal violence' (the term was chosen as it is confused as Michael's concept) does nothing to resolve it. If one is not prepared to fully assume the mantle of terror to combat terror - something Michael argues is marginalising - one must be prepared to concede the 'hearts and minds' approach of working through social attitudes and their expression in law and policy. Michael's new-model NVDA might be a useful tactic for opening up channels of communication, but it has to be backed by a coherent case and is certainly not a strategy of social transformation in itself. P N Rogers

## No third way

A PEOPLE get the government they deserve. We have become a shallow, failed, greedy, philistine people and on the 11th June we got our proper deserts.

The little hope that remains resides in the few who were not deceived by the election pantomime and refused to vote. Few? In some constituencies, including the Prime Minister's, abstention amounted to 30% - so there is a little health left in us.

Why does the media ignore 25% of the electorate?

Mrs Thatcher will not be in control. She leads a caretaker administration, taking care of this country for the US. The international scene will decide our future and it looks as though the decisive moment will be well before the next General Election.

By domestic standards Mrs Thatcher is a success. She promotes and panders to petty materialism and in the short term it works. But by international standards she is a non-starter and will fail. As a committed Atlanticist she has no answer to the impending American military/financial crisis, nor can she relate to the explosion now building up in the Soviet empire. She has nothing of consequence to say about the future of Europe, the Middle East or the Third World.

There is no way out for us short of a break with our absurd, quaint insularity. There is a job to be done. Someone, some people, some movement, some government has to act as a catalyst to dissolve the Cold War, send the Russians and the Americans home and invent a new autonomous, demilitarised, decentralised Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. We can either pick that up or continue in our present colonial ignominy. There is no third way.

It is now up to the few who can see past the shallow insular shambles of parliamentary party politics.

Peter Cadogan  
for the Abstention Party

# Highland crofters

## A day at the land court

IN THE Highlands and Islands of Scotland, there are a large number of 'registered crofts'. These small farms are the remnant of an older, feudal system of landholding, and the tenancy laws are a bit different from either farms or smallholdings. As far as I can gather, the crofting laws were made up in the 1880s with the same idea as the Indian Reservations — that it would save a lot of bother, by allowing the savages to have the use of some marginal ground, in some far-off corner of the realm, where they would have to work quite hard to make a living, instead of making trouble.

But the economics have changed in the last 100 years, and now the big estate companies are attracting foreign investment capital and forestry subsidies, the crofts are in the way. Now something called the 'De-crofting Order' has been invented, to get round some of the croft laws.

Faebuie Croft, near Inverness, has been empty for a few years. And it hadn't been properly worked for a good few years before that, so it is quite run-down. Last year the Crofters' Commission refused to allow the estate to 'de-croft' the place. Then the estate appealed against this decision. I was in the audience in the court at Inverness on 26 May 1987, when the Land Court heard the appeal.

I had read through the preliminary papers that were sent out in advance to the 'witnesses'. It was to be a hearing to assess 'local demand' for crofting tenancies, and there was a lot of legal waffle about the definition of 'district'. The Crofters' Commission had instructions to consider the needs of the crofting community in the district, but the estate was claiming that they had interpreted the word 'district' wrongly.

The Chief Factor of the Moray Estates Development Company started off the proceedings. He was describing the work that would have to be done to the place, and what it would all cost. I was expecting the tribunal to overrule all this, as it wasn't relevant to what I had understood the hearing was about. But they let him go on, only putting in occasional questions about the figures. And he went on and on . . . he took the whole morning to go through all the sums. All the fencing to be replaced or repaired. Ditching, Draining. A new house. A new steading. New fences along both sides of the ditches to stop cattle from trampling them back in.

All this came to £50,000. And it would have to be done quickly . . . the estate would insist on any tenant bringing the place up to scratch. Then he came to the punchline. He had an estimate of the incomes that you could earn from the place, once all the improvements were done. *The total income, if you farmed the place sufficiently, wouldn't even pay the interest on the £50,000.* So, the Factor claimed, the place is completely uneconomic. However hard a tenant worked, they would just get deeper into debt. The estate's plan was the only possibility — de-croft the place, and the estate would make it partly into bungalows, and the rest into forestry.

There were five witnesses to support the idea of keeping the place as a croft. I went out for a while, and missed some of their evidence, but my main impression was that they were fighting an uphill battle. They had been sitting in a wee room at the back while the Factor was speaking, so they hadn't heard the estate's management plan. But they were expected to argue against it. Of course, nobody had any rival estimates for the cost of the fencing and other works. There hadn't been any warning that that was the sort of question that would be asked. The witnesses were saying that it would be possible to do the improvements gradually, not all in the first year of your tenancy, but nobody could rival the Factor's authoritative presentation, with lots of figures.

The court will announce its verdict in a few weeks, but I came away with the impression that they had been convinced by the barrage of figures, and that they will over-rule the Crofters' Commission's decision. And if they do, then it clears the way for a lot more de-crofting. If that sort of economic argument is accepted, then there must be very few crofts in Scotland that would be judged to be 'economically viable'. I phoned the Land Court office later, asking them to accept a written 'alternative management plan' . . . since the witnesses had not had the time to do the sums on the day. I was going to show that it would be possible to make a decent living there, as long as you didn't start off by saddling yourself with an enormous debt. But they wouldn't accept it. They say that the matter is closed until they announce their verdict, and no more evidence will be considered.

Jake Williams  
Crofters Union no. 56/030

# Jersey

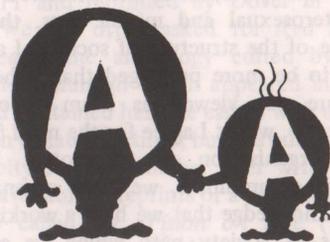
WHERE I live in the country, there are many farms run in almost feudal fashion. Many Portuguese migrant labourers work the fields, badly paid and poorly housed. Also the traditions of the Bretons are quite strong in agriculture, the pattern of things being broadly similar: local farmers using cheap labour, dominated by their dissimilar historical traditions.

Similarly, the hotel trade is largely run by seasonal workers, badly represented by unions. The indigenous population largely finds employment in the finance industry of civil service bureaucracy.

Our isolation from the mainland, and relative prosperity viz-a-viz the mainland finds its expression in social and political attitudes. The main 'issues' at the moment are immigration, the crime wave caused by the immigrants and whether to birch the immigrants.

It would be helpful if you could indicate to other subversives in the Channel Islands my existence in the contacts column.

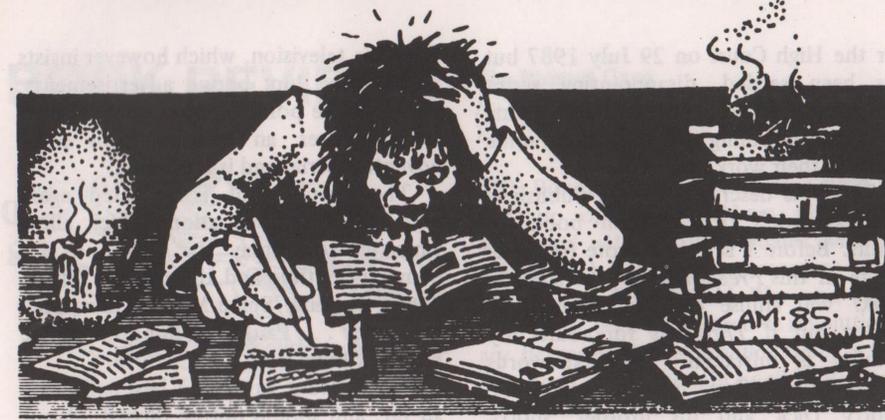
Jon Godfrey  
Les Frontieres  
Rue de Franc Fief  
St. Brelade  
Jersey



## Homophobia

IN the course of his review of Clifford Harper's *Anarchy* (Freedom, June), Dave, of Stratford-upon-Avon, refers to A S Neill's 'blatant homophobia'. I cannot find 'homophobia' in any dictionary, but I assume it means 'fear or hatred of man'. As I can find no trace of this failing in any of Neill's books (and I think I have read them all), I suggest that Dave either produces chapter and verse for his allegation, or withdraws it unreservedly.

John L Broom



## REVIEWS

### Earth

Anne H. Ehrlich and Paul R. Ehrlich  
Thames Methuen, £14.95

I MAKE no apologies for reviewing this book for Land Notes. This book is probably the most important published in recent years. It is a warning to all humanity — anarchists, the politically blind, those of many religions and those with none — that humanity lodged on this speck of matter whirling through space, this speck of matter (uniquely as far as we know) able to support life as we know it, may be reaching a point where human activity is jeopardising its ability to do so.

Biological facts of life are extremely important and if they were more widely known the ordinary citizen would be able to insist to the physicists and the multi-nationals that activities inimical to our biological environment are restrained. Photosynthesis is still the biggest creator of energy, using the only safe source of nuclear energy, the sun. All the fossil fuels were, of course, derived from this source. It looks as these millennia of savings will be exhausted in two short centuries of profligate and unplanned spending that they call economics.

There have been warnings as civilisations have sunk in the dust, yet humanity has failed to learn. The growth of population is inflicting pressures on the environment that cannot be sustained, yet a major religion continues to oppose measures that will contain it. But as the authors show, the most numerous nation on earth has come to grips with it and are aiming to keep their population at a sustainable level. They have done it by education and incentives. India tried it by more draconian methods, significantly with less success. The Chinese is the oldest civilisation, and when my uncle went to Australia a Chinese holding was often a patch of green in an otherwise arid landscape. Of course they too have denuded vast areas of land for fuel. The discovery of fossil fuels should have given humanity a chance to release the pressure

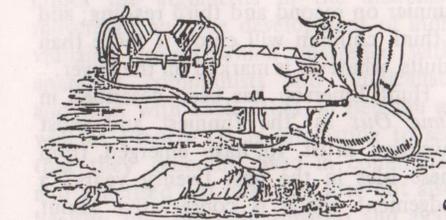
on our forests. But no! Finance is not about the economical use of resources; it is about making a few people and nations rich and billions in extreme poverty.

The structure of this book is:

Part 1. An analysis of our planet, the legacy we have and the shadow of its most dominant animal over it, reaching a point where if the planet is not rendered suddenly uninhabitable by war, it may be rendered slowly so, by a crazy economic system.

Part 2. The present predicament, cost of numbers, the fouling of our nest and disrupting of the biosphere.

## LAND NOTES



Part 3. The gradual growth of concern, the increased rush to consumption economics making the growth of concern not fast enough. However, the news is not all bad. In the last chapter — 'It's not the Planet Mongo' — the authors point out that the problems are not of a runaway planet bearing down upon us, but entirely of our own making. By diverting resources from weapons of destruction to the cleansing of fossil fuels and their more economic use, stabilisation of population, reforestation, sensible agricultural practises, humanity could steadily accrue capital instead of using it.

The growth of capitalist individualism has tended to make people myopic in their view of the world. They move from one box in another to another, using uneconomic amounts of energy. The neglect of public transport and the subsidising of the car has resulted in consequences that have yet to be faced. The re-education of humanity is left to groups with small resources like Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth, while those that benefit financially have huge

resources to resist change. The general election campaigns, published last month, demonstrate that the major parties' programmes are irrelevant to the problems facing humanity and in many respects will make the problem worse. The problems that the parties talk about, of unemployment, of health, are consequences of the economic system that have thrown up the problems so graphically illustrated in the book. The complete irrelevance, I repeat, of the major political parties is shown by the fact that none of them intend to deflect resources of people and materials to these most pressing problems. Even if one is trying to grow without pesticides and chemical fertilisers, in order to generate sufficient income to cope with the outrageous price of land; one uses plastics for weed control and for packaging. Plastics come from oil and non-renewable resources present great difficulties of disposal.

As the authors point out, we are living in the world of discount economics. The biosphere is being disrupted, the ferry disaster is a minuscule of what is happening to our ship of space, overloaded with essential mechanisms disrupted. A criticism of the way we run things cannot be better expressed than in these two paragraphs in the chapter 'Disrupting the Biosphere'.

Thus the potential values to be found in the world of other organisms are essentially non-existent to conventional economists — and to business people, politicians and others who share their myopic view of reality. They would recommend turning the Amazon basin into a parking lot if the present value of the parking fees were greater than that computed for the possible cancer cures or life-saving new crops that would be lost forever by clearing the species-rich forests. Whoever said that economists know the cost of everything and the value of nothing was close to the mark. But it turns out that they often have a view of costs that is as naive as their views of value are misguided.

'Nowhere is this clearer than in the attitudes of conventional economists and their followers towards the mounting extinction epidemic. They have decided that the loss of diversity has been exaggerated (which is certainly wrong) and that what has been lost so far is not as valuable as the economic benefits gained in the process of destruction (quite likely wrong). Confident in these truths, they assume that continued economic growth will be beneficial in perpetuity (assuming the preposterous is a cornerstone of economics). But the overwhelming cost that civilisation will pay for the extinction epidemic has not even entered into the thinking — or the calculus — of mainstream economics.'

Alan Albon

**Thrrp!**  
Leo Baxendale  
Knockabout, £4.95

**Calculus Cat: death to television**  
Hunt Emerson  
Knockabout, £4.95

WHETHER any strip cartoonist will one day be reckoned among the major artists of our time is uncertain, but it is safe to say they are critically undervalued now. Art criticism tends to concentrate on gallery art and literary criticism on work without illustrations, and there is a snob prejudice that anything funny is trivial until fifty years after it is produced.

Leo Baxendale is described in *The World Encyclopedia of Comics* as 'the most influential and most imitated comics artist of modern times.' Among his imitators are many who have never heard of him, including some who draw for anarchist magazines. He is the creator of the Bash Street Kids.

When people born in the 'baby boom' year 1945/46 reached comic-buying age there was the expected increase in comic sales; but unexpectedly all the extra sales went to one particular comic, the *Beano*. I was an ex-conscript art student at the time, and many of us young adults bought the *Beano* regularly, to be amused and amazed by the creativity of its anonymous authors, among whom Baxendale was writing and drawing Bash Street Kids, Little Plum and Minnie the Minx.

Most of us stopped buying for a few weeks when we learned that the publishers, D. C. Thompson of Dundee, automatically sacked any employee who was known to be a trade union member. They agreed eventually to discontinue this practice, but Baxendale finally quarrelled with them in the 1960s, when the NUJ Branch Secretary consulted a solicitor on behalf of a member's widow, the solicitor identified him to Thompson's directors, and although Thompson's did not sack him they ordered him to stay away from the office, and other employees not to communicate with him.

Baxendale circulated rival publishers asking for work, and to his surprise was offered lucrative contracts by all of them. He accepted the offer of *Wham!*, a twenty-page weekly with nineteen pages drawn and signed by himself (the other page was allotted at Baxendale's suggestion to the late Ken Reid, creator of the *Beano*'s marvellous Jonah). CND and the peace movement now learned how Leo Baxendale, the energetic organiser of Dundee CND, had been earning his living.

Recently he has devoted much of his enormous energy to a legal dispute with D. C. Thompson over the copyright of his *Beano* creations. The case was scheduled

for the High Court on 29 July 1987 but has been settled, disappointing script writers and artists who had been hoping for a judicial ruling that they retain some rights in their work.

*Thrrp!* is described by the publishers as Baxendale's first cartoon book for adults. Before I saw it I wrote (see elsewhere in this *Freedom*) that the smut in *Oink!* will amuse children rather than adults; but if *Thrrp!* is for adults my opinion is mistaken. The first words in *Thrrp!* are 'Once upon a time, while Spotty Dick and his brother Snotty Dick chanced to be visiting a town, there came a mysterious plague of snotties and bogies', and the first drawing includes a group of farting babies and a pile of dirty nappies. The cover is marked 'adults only', presumably on account of some unerotic references to sex and drawings of male genitals.



An original, funny book, which gets funnier on second and third reading; and I think children will enjoy it more than adults, whatever is marked on the cover.

Hunt Emerson has been described in *Time Out* as 'the funniest and most inventive artist to have emerged from these isles in the past twenty years,' a judgement which is conservative about the time and place of his talents. He has always worked in 'adult comics', starting in the 1970s when the American 'underground comix' movement was already past, in alternative newspapers, obscure little mags and comic books published by himself. His reputation has blossomed over the past five years. His last book, a (very) comic version of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, was reviewed in *Freedom* earlier this year.

*Calculus Cat* is a person whose life is unfulfilling. He works all day smiling happily while people throw things at him, and when he comes home in the evening seeks undemanding entertainment



from his television, which however insists on showing him boring advertisements. He is on the point of destroying it when it announces an episode from some adventure serial and is reprieved.

The simple plot is repeated again and again, with variations which allow Emerson to display the wealth of his comic invention and the mastery of his comic drawing. Spike Milligan illustrated by . . . er . . . Paul Klee, but quite unlike either of them.

This is Hunt Emerson's best collection so far, and should not be missed. Shame about the price, but it is authentically a book, so you can request it at a public library.

DR

**The Rise and Fall of Monetarism**  
David Smith  
Pelican, £3.95

THAT the monetarist theories purporting to explain the economic activities have become outmoded and no longer of use or interest to politicians has been clear for some time. I always regarded the Hayek/Friedman school of economists as no more than a selection of intellectual harlots anxious by their theorising to give some spurious justification to policies the ruling class wanted to carry out anyway. So when we consider the social landscape of 1987 and see trade unions with diminished membership, an extended section of society living in poverty, a generalised feeling that mass unemployment is now a permanent feature of society that we must come to terms with, we can wonder whether monetarist theories have been discarded because they have failed, or perhaps rather because they have served their purpose.

But theories in any field should be judged on how closely they approximate to the truth rather than to what extent the nostrums they point to might be useful. And on this basis monetarism was always going to fail. I have some modest claim to be among the first to point out that this would be so. I had forgotten the matter but a friend recently mentioned a letter I had written to him in 1978 saying that it was ludicrous to expect that monetarist inspired policies could have any beneficial impact on the British economy as it has clearly been in a long-term relative decline since at least 1945. The years since 1978 have tended to confirm my forecast. The country's manufacturing base, the source of its power when it had some, has been further eroded. The main growth areas are in tourism and junk food outlets, so we have become a country with a history but no future, of interest but of no consequence.

But the generally depressed condition in which the United Kingdom finds itself, being the result of a long-term process,

## BOOK REVIEWS



continued from opposite page

cannot be attributed to the application of monetarist policies. Policies based on other theories have also failed miserably in their purpose of restoring economic strength, although it can be argued that the monetarist inspired Thatcher years, by making decisive changes in the structure of the economy, have been particularly damaging. In broad terms these changes have consisted of a run down of manufacturing industry and developments in service industries. The growth of city trading and the vast sums to be made by operators of the money markets are antipathetic to this. But we can't all be 'something in the city' making £200,000 a year, and the other side of this coin is the growing employment in junk food outlets at £1.50 an hour. I find it difficult to be certain which of these two forms of employment I find more degrading.

If these are the tangible results of monetarist policies we can clearly dismiss them as having no economic value. But they have significance in political terms in that there exists among the poor sods working for MacDonalds for £1.50 an hour, a sufficiency of the naive who believe they may, by means of hard work and application, make it into the leagues of the huge money makers, and who are foolish enough to want to.

While we can certainly look forward to the closing of the monetarist era in politics we should not forget that its leading practitioners will be with us for some time yet. And as a review of monetarism both as economic theory and guide to political action David Smith's book is both useful and interesting. It traces the long period during which the monetarist economists were combatting Keynesian economic orthodoxy. I found the brief period of lionisation which these economists enjoyed an ironic commentary on the way this wicked old world actually regards even the most sympathetic of ruling class servers. For such their assorted academics have ever been, and though their time is now at an end the people of these islands will for some time be seeking to escape from the deprivations upon the economic fabric of society for which they must bear the responsibility.

Peter Miller

**The Bonnot Gang**  
By Richard Parry  
Rebel Press Paperback £4.95

THE Bonnot Gang was the name given to a group of armed robbers who were associated with the individualist wing of the French anarchist movement just before the First World War and have sometimes been considered as revolutionary heroes, and *The Bonnot Gang* is the first book about them in English. Richard Parry has rewritten his doctoral thesis on the subject as a straightforward narrative, with the minimum of general discussion and reference to sources. He apologises for 'the plethora of names', and readers could certainly do with a cast-list and a chronology. He also explains the complex nature of the evidence — police records, press reports, court reports, personal memoirs — and his attempt to pick a clear path through it 'in the good old tradition of liberal historiography'. The result is as readable and reliable as could be expected.

The book begins with a sketch of the political background of the Third Republic and an account of the parallel development of individualist anarchism and of conscious illegalism, leading to the theory of *la reprise individuelle* and the practice of anarchist crime. Parry describes the arguments in the anarchist movement and the development of individualist groups which quarrelled with anarchist communists and syndicalists and then with each other, in Belgium as well as France. (It is interesting to see that they generally lived in communes and practised not only free love but also healthy life, avoiding tobacco and alcohol, tea and coffee, salt and pepper, meat and religion.)

The plot of the book concerns the connection between the group of individualist anarchists who produced the paper *l'anarchie* and the group of professional criminals whose best-known member was Jules Bonnot. The Bonnot Gang was far from the first criminal organisation to be connected with the anarchist movement — Parry mentions such predecessors as Duval, Ortiz and Jacob — but it does seem to have been the first to use motor-cars (in December 1911). The climax of the book concerns the violent life and death of the gang, most of whose members — including Bonnot himself — were killed by police during 1912. The trial of the survivors and associates in 1913 led to further deaths for some and long terms of imprisonment for others — including Victor Kibalchich, who was later well known as the Bolshevik writer Victor Serge.

Although Parry does not try to romanticise the protagonists, the conclusion of the book does try to interpret their story as a political event arising out of the class

struggle. Readers may make of this what they will, but it is surely hard to see the Bonnot Gang as 'Tragic Bandits' or to take very seriously the anarchism which some of them professed. Their crimes were relatively minor, perhaps, but robbery and murder really have nothing to do with anarchism, whether individualist or communist. Here the book might have benefited from a more thorough account of the anarchist approach to law and crime, and a more careful analysis of the influence of Stirner and Nietzsche.

There are a few particular defects. The illustrations are not very good and the bibliography is very poor. There are some misleading references to Ferrer and Kropotkin. There is no reference to the significant fact that Kibalchich was related to the man who made the bomb which killed the Tsar in 1881. A well-known quotation from the Bible — 'If any would not work, neither should he eat' — is attributed to Lenin. (Kipling put it even more strongly: 'If you don't work, you die.') The editing isn't up to the standards now expected from the Rebel Press, but the book is well produced and fairly cheap. It will be widely read; it ought to be widely discussed. In such a discussion we should remember a remark in Bernard Shaw's contemporary play *Misalliance* (1910): 'You may recognise in time that anarchism is a game at which the police can beat you'. NW

**Benjamin Tucker and the Champions of 'Liberty': A Centenary Anthology**  
Edited by Michael E Coughlin, Charles H Hamilton, Mark A Sullivan  
Published by Michael E Coughlin, St Paul, Minnesota \$15 & \$7.95

THE American anarchist movement isn't well known outside the United States, so a new book on its best-known figure is welcome. Benjamin R Tucker (1854-1939) was the leading writer, editor and publisher among the individualist anarchists for 30 years, and was especially important for producing the paper *Liberty* from 1881 to 1908. This book is described as 'A Centenary Anthology', though it doesn't seem to mark any particular centenary (unless it is a few years late for that of *Liberty*), and it isn't an anthology. It is in fact a collection of sixteen essays on various aspects of Tucker and *Liberty*.

Charles H Hamilton begins with an introductory survey of Tucker's life and work. Paul Avrich contributes a revealing interview with Tucker's daughter Oriole. Martin Blatt describes Tucker's relationship with the veteran libertarian Ezra Heywood. Michael E Coughlin contributes an unconvincing defence of the jury as a libertarian institution. Morgan Edwards describes Tucker's attitude to