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FEATURE PAGE

HEALTH AND ANARCHISM

In the 19th century working class organisations Working-Class Patients and the Medical Estabsaw as coffin clubs.

hospitals as well as Poor Law institutions, hold'. together with the 'panel doctor' system inher- This remark lifts the debate to a level where health care for all.

fear of being dismissed as Thatcherites. London.

been systematically starved of cash.



A happy family group in the Peckham Centre Cafeteria

have a lifetime of compulsory investment in ' hope into reality'. medical care.

thority and voluntary enterprise. Locality and development, The Self-Respecting Child. accessibility were not part of the calculation. Peckham enthusiasts recognise that the real Many of us have heard the architects of this tragedy of post-war health provision is that we policy confess that they got everything wrong. have never run a health service, only an illness else in failing to develop the level of discussion ham pioneers did not mean preventive medicine; of health provision beyond the crude division they meant the pursuit of the conditions for that says 'NHS Good, Private Care Bad'. But personal, family and social well-being. For there are a whole range of activities and experi- people like us, curious about the preconditions ences we might have explored. A few years for resourcefulness and independence, Peck-

in Britain set up a network of friendly societies lishment: Self-Help in Britain from the Midand sick clubs to pay for medical care for mem- Nineteenth Century to 1948 (Gower/Temple bers. This was also one of the functions of the 1986), a history of working-class self-governing early trade unions. Kropotkin eulogised this medical societies which argues that the selftendency in his book Mutual Aid. Revolution- organisation of patients provided a rather betary syndicalists despised it since in their view ter degree of consumer control of medical serthe workers should be organising a general vices than has actually been achieved in govstrike instead of bothering about what they ernmental systems since 1911. When this book appeared Dr Roy Porter commented that its In 1911 a Liberal government made health importance was the fact that David Green insurance compulsory for all employed workers. 'takes that hallowed belief of progressives -(It did not cover their dependents.) Following that the improvement of the people's health the wartime Beveridge Report the postwar hinges on state intervention - challenges its Labour government nationalised the accumu- historical accuracy, and questions whether it lation of voluntary, charitable and municipal is, in any case, a good doctrine for the Left to

ited from the earlier system. Aneurin Bevan, there ought to be an anarchist response starting the Minister of Health at that time, was famous from first principles, part of the debate in both for his battles with the British Medical Associa- East and West about where socialism went tion in the effort to institute 'free', universal wrong. Meanwhile there are occasional enmicrofilm copies in your nearest university lib- Home: A Radical Experiment in Health Care about their Family Health Club: 'It seems that a periodic medical examination.

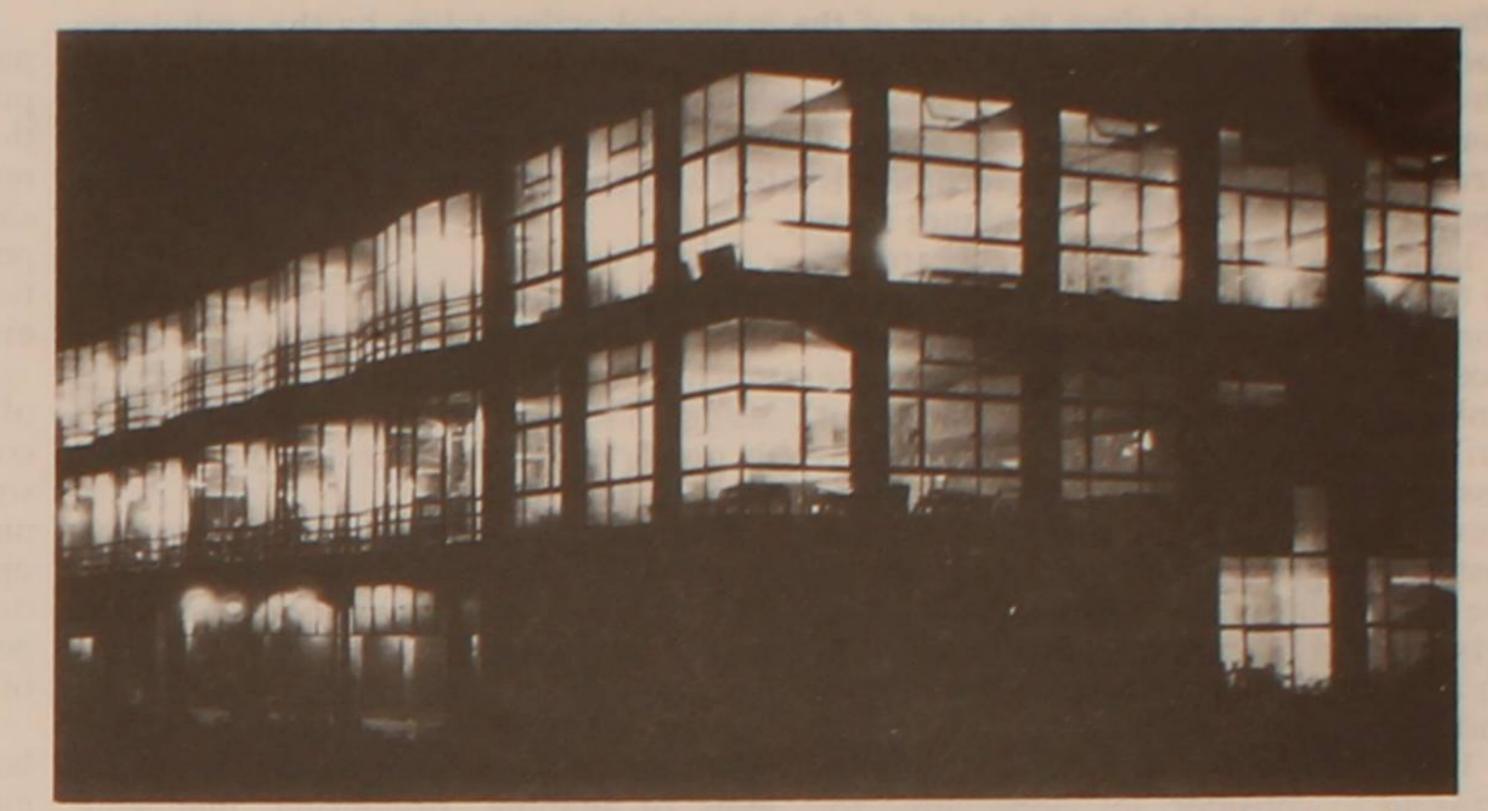
rary.)* Over forty years later the general cli- by Gillian Wilce (Bedford Square Press £5.50) a "sort of anarchy" is the first condition in any They started in a small house run as a club mate of ideas has changed so much that anarch- which describes the first year of the Lambeth experiment in human applied biology. This until 1929. The next step was to raise the ists dare not criticise the Health Service for Community Care Centre in inner south condition is also that to which our members money from charitable trusts to move to a

anarchists into the same camp as the opposi- Service and of local government has been care- welfare work in south London they concluded had raised the cash and built the Pioneer tion politicians who believe that the only thing fully and deliberately overcome here to pro- that most urban dwellers were so 'de-vitalised' Health Centre, designed by Sir Owen Wilwrong with the Health Service is that it has vide a 20-bed unit for people who need nursing that babies were born deficient in health. To liams. It was glass-walled inside and out, as care but don't need all the high technology of study the characteristics of health they devised Couldn't we find a way of expressing the a vast hospital, and who can be helped to care issues differently? There's a lot to be said, and for themselves at home. It represents an imthe particular arguments you use depend in pressive degree of co-operation between genepractice on who you are arguing with. If you ral practitioners, health visitors, friends and are arguing with people on the political Right relations and respects the individuality and digit is important to stress that those tedious pen- nity of patients. It is a community asset, desioners whose existence upsets their plans for signed by an architectural co-operative (Ted a self-financing Health Service have spent a Cullinan Partnership), and Gillian Wilce comlifetime paying for it, not only through Natio- ments that, 'The attitude which informs the nal Insurance contributions and income tax but Centre's practice — a desire to give back to people, both individually as patients and collectively as communities, a degree of power Hewetson: over their own health care — is relevant not control and the quality of individual lives matinstance, where developments like the Weller Streets Housing Co-operative in Liverpool are giving people the opportunity to be in control of their own environment rather than being at and centralised authoritarian provision."

> The Architects' Journal, describing the building itself, found it to symbolise 'our hope for a National Health Service Mark II, an important evolution of what is left of the civilised (Freedom photo) values which gave birth to the currently

The reference here is to pre-war initiatives If you are arguing with people on the politi- of immense interest which could not be slotted cal Left it is important to emphasise that the into the rigid organisational structure of the fact that the NHS is the biggest employer in post-war NHS. Pre-eminent among them was Europe has nothing to do with socialism, sim- the Pioneer Health Centre at Peckham, also ply with centralism. It was everyone's bad luck in south London, discussed with great enthuthat the post-war Labour government's ideal siasm in FREEDOM until its final closure in was the centrally-organised public corpora- 1951. This is one of those experiences which tion, on the model of the BBC or the then needs to be continually re-assessed in every LPTB. Every few years an incoming govern- new generation. The centre died but the ideas ment commissions some firm of management did not. Pioneer Health Centre Ltd still exists consultants to redesign the NHS and every few and in the past ten years has ensured the repubyears after that the ordinary, fallible resear- lication by the Scottish Academic Press of all chers who undertook the study confess that, the old Peckham reports. The same publishers in retrospect, they gave the wrong advice. have just brought out, at £7.95, a new study Similarly, for decades, the NHS put its called Being Me and Also Us: Lessons from money in the vast regional hospital complex, the Peckham Experiment. The author is a Peckwiping out its inheritance of small local units ham veteran, Allison Stallibrass, who also with their origins in philanthropic, local au- wrote a modern classic in the literature of child

We anarchists are as neglectful as anyone service. In stressing the word health the Peckago, for example, David Green wrote a book ham was a verification of our deepest anarchist





principles were basically anarchist, he would raise deprecating protests for he disliked to be incidentally enabled him to secure support for With Dr. Innes Pearse he founded the his projects often from the most unexpected

Dr. Scott Williamson died on June 4 1953 at rules!' He set out to free the initiative of memthe age of 69. FREEDOM (June 13 1953) pub- bers and he succeeded to an astonishing delished the following appreciation by John gree. To our comrades who declared that his only within the health service but to all forms Dr. Scott Williamson was the founder of the so labelled. 'Call me a Community man', he of social provision, all areas where democratic Pioneer Health Centre at Peckham but he would say and that was as far as he would go. exerted a far wider influence on his contem- But he recognized that the principles of Peckter. It has its cousins within housing, for poraries' attitude towards health. He lectured ham were in fact anarchist, and it was only a on a number of occasions to the London Anar- certain practical shrewdness that insisted on. chist Group's audiences and always kindled a keeping clear of polemical labels, and which most warm response in his hearers.

grasped. Scott Williamson's work will increase 'There is only one rule at Peckham', he used in importance for he was a pioneer in new

Pioneer Health Centre in 1928 but after 5 years quarters, which determined his cautiousness. the mercy of either market forces or remote set about using the experience gained to set His interest in bringing individuals to terms on foot a much more ambitious project. This with their environment led him to add a farm he had realized by 1938 with the new building to the amenities of the family club. Originally - now famous - in Peckham. His object was so that his pregnant mothers could have fresh to investigate health and to define this elusive milk and fresh greenstuffs. This was a typical concept. Health as he conceived it meant no endeavour of Peckham - to start from the mere absence of disease: he wished to study individual, to try and supply his wants and human behaviour in human beings who were needs, and to remove the obstacles thereto. free, not only from disease but from all sorts No doubt it was this faith which gave him his threatened post-war NHS Mark I . . . 'a con- of other pressures arbitrarily imposed by interest in the problem of fertility, and made tinuation of that fine inter-war libertarian tra- urbanism. The family club which constituted him also a co-founder of the Soil Association. dition where local community health pioneers, the Health Centre at Peckham therefore set The Pioneer Health Centre has received through prescription charges, originally im- together with architects, transformed their out to free its members to follow their own wide acclaim, but the implications of its posed by a Labour government. Most people separate, and then finally shared, visions of bent, while Scott Williamson and his team of teaching have not yet begun to be fully biologists observed what happened. to say, 'and that is that there should be no concepts of human progress.



most readily respond . . .'

(Freedom photo)

couraging signs, even within the demoralised convictions. The founders were a husband- the idea of a family club, to be joined on two At the time this journal's attitude was and embattled Health Service of today. A and-wife pair of doctors, Innes Pearse and conditions: first, that the whole family must witheringly critical and dismissive. (Read the book has just been published, A Place Like George Scott Williamson. In 1938 they wrote join, and second, that families must agree to

purpose-built family club big enough to be self-This is infinitely regrettable because it forces The hierarchical structure of both the Health It began much earlier, in 1926, when after supporting from subscriptions. By 1935 they (continued on page 7)

AN APPRECIATION Dr SCOTT WILLIAMSON

18 19 20

Dr Scott Williamson in conversation with Dr Bak (left) and Dr Innes Pearse (centre)

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21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

59 60°



of more understanding.

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We then listened to a gentleman describe any ill effects to them (no doubt he Research scientists will know that experiments may continue for years without any definite result. The definite experiment is tates of the World Bank and the IMF?) rare and to be cherished.

the consumer.

-Eds]

only in resolving the inevitable industrial But what of the health service and the If this could be successfully achieved in

of the rest of the world.

finance is needed elsewhere, and even wiped out when it is decreed 'that it is better for the poor to stand on their own

Managements, with the best will in the world and the highest professional principles and standards of health care can do no more than that required of them by In turn the unions when they are representing the legitimate interests of those When seeds specially selected to produce high accepted as a safe level of pesticide contaminaemployed in the medical health services, are logically permanently locked in a controlled managements and 'managed' emmands of a profit-making, capitalist economic system of society and the needs of social justice for all.

It must be recognised that because of the fiercely competitive struggle for commercial and financial ascendancy through- ubiquitous on large farms land on footpaths were joined bizarrely by the British Agroout the industrialised world, unless overseas or foreign sources of exploitation farmers stop spraying whilst you pass, others and better checking of the safety of pesticides. (profit-making) can be increased, domesservice, even 'free' trade unions can no low flying aircraft approaching, take cover if of Agriculture laboratory at Harpenden near longer be afforded by the hitherto acceptshowing the other face of its Janus head. limitation of action, the politically and in- ing through a sprayed crop — unless they and it has been claimed that at present rates solution to either the current or future clothes. However, even clothed, some walkers agrochemical industry is not so bizarre after with the so-called scientific evidence was organising, funding, management and after getting too close to a shower of pesticide. characteristic. A report indicating a possi- control of a really free, comprehensive ble danger was described as faulty in health service. In its adherence to the sole method. This ignores the common exist- efficacy of parliamentary political demo- and a very effective pest killer. But it was also stupidity of some farmers and the profitence of what appear to be contradictory cracy, the British labour movement can damaging to wildlife, particularly birds and seeking efforts of the industry, but according results for complex systems which are do little more than continue, during the insects, and became concentrated in the food to the Southern Resistor something much more often shown to be compatible in the light life of the present government, to fight a losing rearguard action against the bosses and their political representatives, cling- it has not been used in this country since 1984. to its recent use as a Cruise missile base and at length how he had fed some rats for ing to the forlorn hope that the election Government chemists began to suspect it of its continuing use as a base for F1-11 bombers years in irradiated food without detecting of a future Labour government will swing the balance to the advantage of the com-

received some benefit from this). mon people. (Like successive Labour administrations did, under Wilson and Callaghan, as they succumbed to the dic- by analysing pine needles of different ages things can go wrong. A few years ago they

Rats have very different habits from to playing the parliamentary political humans and we should expect to have game of who can best run the capitalist food of the best possible quality. It is economy and/or state control of a free certain that irradiation will degrade food health service for all? If the lessons in the and is being introduced in order to exploit history of all past governments has really taught anything it is that they differ in Norman Albon intent and degree not in kind, varying only in accordance with political and economic [Norman Albon has been involved in research circumstances and always subject to the related to foods for two large companies and overall control, not by the political will of six universities in England, France and the USA the common people, but by domestic and increasing multi-national interests.

2 1 2 3 4 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

INDUSTRIAL PAGE

So why continue to play the game of Such bodies established doctors in

associations by the syndicalist organised hospital workers, known as Sanitary Syndicates. These associations were formed to include doctors, nurses, pharmacists and other concerned with the public health services.

parliamentary party politics? Instead of every village in the areas concerned, set movement in the name of real freedom even peasants in the remotest villages should aim at ridding themselves of their could be brought to the modernised hospipolitical thraldom, taking the sort of ac- tals operated by the syndicate. The showed despite the economic plight of the As an alternative to replacing one form country and the engagement in a life and socially useful life of the country, to orga- tered and adequately provided by doctors, the methods of parliamentary democracy.

tory of the organisation of medical ser- class, and an adoption of the will to take

Tom Carlile

Pesticides LAND NOTES with Everything

flict of interests between politically con- produces toxic chemicals to deal with the problem. We learn to live with the side effects.

Europe.

is absorbed to cause mild liver damage. These by aliens from outer space. results suggest that what is now officially

yielding crops turn out to be more susceptible tion is not so safe and provides more evidence to pests, the agrochemical industry obligingly of the excessive use of chemicals in farming.

consuming our sub-lethal doses of these chemi- New chemicals are continually being marketed cals with our food. Take a walk in the country and there are arguments about the dangers they and you may have the pleasure of being present, but there is no disagreement that the showered with them as well. Some of the £450 facilities for independent checking of their safety million a year (1986 figure) spent on pesticides are inadequate. Last August unions, Friends and sprayed from the high-tech machines now of the Earth and other conservation groups . and, if you happen to be passing, on you. Some chemicals Association in a demand for more don't notice you or don't care. Also the use Most of this work is at present done by about you can and wish you had a gas mask. One London. They are in the process of reviewing 'that almost no pesticide or herbicide in use up on 40 new ones produced each year. As a Because of their largely self-imposed today should present a hazard to anyone walk- result only a few of these are approved annually

We are exposed to some risks from the agri-Remember DDT? In general use 30 years ago cultural use of pesticides due to the greed and chain. Most of us probably still have detectable sinister goes on at the Boscombe Down air amounts of DDT in our fatty tissues, although base on the edge of Salisbury Plain. In addition disturbing hormonal balance in humans and, it harbours a couple of old Hawker Hunters whether because of this or the public outcry which are used to spray toxic substance on to about its effects on the environment, its use troops doing chemical warfare training on the was discontinued. However Swedish scientists, nearby Porton ranges. Of course sometimes from across Europe, have demonstrated that missed the troops and sprayed herbicide on What, it may be asked, is the alternative air contaminated with DDT drifted into West-adjacent farmland. Last October one of the ern Europe from East Germany in 1984 and planes, in trouble, ditched its unidentified suggest that it is still being used in Eastern chemical load in mid-air and Amesbury was at the receiving end. The visible damage was paint stripped from cars but who knows or Grain destined for storage is sprayed with cares about the harm that might have been pesticide by agricultural workers to protect it done to the people who, unlike the soldiers, from attack by insects. It has been shown had no protective clothing. Of course it took recently that when such grain is fed experimentally, some time and pressure before the Ministry of to laboratory rats and mice, sufficient pesticide Defence would admit that it was not an attack

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New Jobs for Generals

Somebody in the government arms procure- warrant lowering our guard. The truth is that in stock.

Just how long this charade can go on is any- We could all become very greedy and see in

sees it. Britain now has more war-junk in stock meet the high mortgage repayments. than any other country.

laughs — is that while we have substantial ed plans to build 59 frigates and other vessels. stocks of reserve fighter and bomber aircraft, West Germany, Spain and The Netherlands we do not have the crews to fly them. Recruit- welcomed the idea almost as soon as the Berlin ment of keen young men to fly killer aircraft Wall fell. The USA and Canada wanted to go has fallen.

uncomfortable fantasies.

we are lost . . . so they say.

lenger tank contract must still stand, protected ican bases in Britain will have to close down. sometime in the future.

European situation is much too uncertain to

ment business has probably just signed another Eastern Europe is likely to be in the melting the country. There are more than 200 of them of Curiosities that reform in the East is not sufficient to warrant any arms reduction.

body's guess. New aircraft soon become old arms reduction a chance of lowering our inaircraft. Unused, they will have to be scrapped. come tax. This would help to pay the Poll Tax, This is good for industry. It keeps people in and it might even reduce the number of properwork. That is how the Ministry of Defence ty repossessions if more people were able to

The hilarious truth — stand by for belly are moving elsewhere. Nato has already ditchahead, but they were outvoted.

British defence chiefs and strategists are Bloc troops have been cut by 500,000, and trying to locate possible dangers in order to there are signs that hardware manufacture has the several new technologies — for example in the technologies — for example in the technologies — for example in the several new technologies — for example in the technologies — for example in the several new tec justify their own continued existence. A pity just about halted. Western intelligence sources field of computers. Kafka is not alive to reduce it to one of his sourly assert that this has not had any appreciable effect on Red Power.

At the same time, there is a growing belief Sitting in No. 10, picking at old sores, The ball-breaking crunch will come in Vien- areas of Europe will be thinned out with the na later this year at the East-West arms talks. removal of up to 15 per cent of aircraft, tanks Freedom's Special Ear-Wigger at No. 10 re- and artillery. In America cuts of \$150bn in

by the supposition that it may prove useful The Whitehall Warriors are worried. They Yet Thatcher is caught up in her own knicker much longer. A lot of them can see the sack money from defence contracts, according to elastic. After waving goodbye to Ronnie on the horizon. After retraining for civilian Reagan, she wants to keep in Gorbachov's jobs, quite a lot of them could become ace good books, and she is now fudging immediate photocopier salesmen, or join the chaps who arms reduction by telling him that the East peddle portable telephones to City executives.

12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 stanless hardened 22 23 1° 24

The US Government has just announced its of Russian tanks sweeping all resistance before military defence budget of almost \$3 trillion. them, are beginning to look more and more After a series of Russian unilateral disarma- remote. Therefore it should logically follow ments and against a publically admitted decline that planned strategic responses and weapons in the Soviet military threat, this figure in real systems should be modified accordingly. Yet terms means a cut of only 2.6% in US defence the manufacturers of such strategic weapons as the European Fighter Aircraft, like British spending. In terms of rolling back the carpet of the Aerospace, will argue their technological leader-US military presence in Europe, three USAF ship within Europe, and export possibilities, bases in England and four in Europe are to be would be seriously harmed. Thus the work on scrapped or have their usage redesignated. this fighter, which will cost £20 million each; It seems that the momentous events in East- will no doubt continue. Scrapping it would save

ern Europe and the general thaw in East-West £5 billion - a cash influx which the NHS is in order for more aircraft. At more than £1m pot for a long time yet, and she is safe in relations have done little to alter US percep- real need of. each, these now redundant toys are gathering pointing out the obvious. She has even gone tions of defence spending requirements. The Clearly the 'military-industrial complex' is a dust in hangars and storage depots throughout to the length of persuading her own Cabinet | reason for this is not that the US is totally large one indeed, wielding great influence in locked into the Cold war rhetoric of an earlier the corridors of power. What chance real time, but that modern capitalism has become defence cuts and peace when so many major dependent upon military spending to finance capitalist concerns have such a vested interest? technological advance. Developing new No wonder troop cuts are always the first, technologies, from theoretical development to since they can be rectified so much faster than practical trial and usage has, in general, cuts in research and development, etc. Also, become too expensive for individual they are much more public and potentially a companies to undertake alone. Furthermore, political winner - proof positive of a governthe competitive nature of capitalism often ment committed to defence spending reduc-While Margaret is boxing in the dark, things precludes detailed co-operation in the tions! Meanwhile it's business as usual. development of new technologies - co-Eddie May operation tends to preclude competition. Into this breach has stepped defence. The

evermore technological nature of modern warfare and the constant need to stay one step Cardiff ahead, has fuelled the arms race and the need So what is the other side doing? Eastern and weapon systems. Thus defence needs have SOLIDARITY WITH for evermore technologically advance weaponry

This technological aspect is highlighted by Throughout Wales, despite the rain, solian analysis of where the proposed 2.6% cut in the US defence budget will fall. The 1980s darity actions with the ambulance workers expenditure was concentrated on hardware took place on 30 January. In Cardiff close that we cannot live without enemies. It is being Thatcher is unlikely to get very far with her and systems, like Star Wars. The cuts of the to 500 peopole gathered under the statue put about that there has to be a shadow some- trumped up caution. By the time the Conven- 1990s are to be focused on troops and personnel. of Aneurin Bevan at noon to show their where to loom over our lives. if the enemy is tional Forces in Europe Treaty is signed by Thus funding on the really expensive programmes support with the ambulance crews. The not Russia, then the label must be slapped on Washington and Moscow later this year, she like Star Wars, the Stealth Bomber, Trident university practically closed down for 15 something else. Without tension of some sort, could find herself without any support. For the and the MX Missile, are to continue and be minutes and Welsh broadcasters joined in first time in half a century the Forces-strewn increased. That there are serious doubts about the national action. Various government their eventual feasibility does not really matter departments were affected as civil - the technological spin-offs will continue. If servants took action too. they do work, the US will have stolen a tech-In the Rhondda, the Llwynpia hospital nological march on all their military and trading ports that the Heroine of the Falklands War defence expenditure spread over five years rivals (bar the Japanese, perhaps). The Russians staff walked out half an hour earlier than is adamant that cuts cannot be made in arms have already been agreed. Margaret was not will certainly be left behind, in the same posi- other people, so as not to disrupt the spending. She has insisted that the £1bn Chal- too happy about that. She knows that Amer- tion they occupied in the late 1940s when patients' dinner provision.

America has the A-bomb and they did not. the Ethical Investment Service (Guardian, 29 January 1990). These include the expected engineering and electronic companies, but also Thus the declining Soviet threat to Western the ambulance workers 100%. Alex Peterson | Europe, with the visions of the massed ranks

THE WAR INDUSTRY

TRIDENT TRIUMPH

over the past year. This is a real reduction of ramme might have suffered. keep using the word 'real'.

in the mid-1990s at around the time when there feet to contest the move. will be a significant demand for ploughshares. We asked our mole to find out how many the future fitting of these useful vessels. more to come.'

The strategic weapons system for the new Just think of it, we are going to have killer

trials, so far without much success.

There has been a slight internal difficulty at the Atomic Weapons Establishment, due to a

Freedom readers will be gripped to know that lot of people jacking it in. Presumably they at least some of their income tax contributions found the job hard to stomach as they laboured are now being saved by none other than the away at making warheads for weapons. Then big-spending Ministry of Defence. The the government agreed to jack up the pay estimated costs of the Trident programme have levels on the assumption that you can buy anydropped a further £432 million in real terms body. Had they not done so, the Trident prog-

£1631 million over the original estimate. They Last December a Whitehall-inspired master stroke was to transfer the Atomic Weapons Our respected and reliable mole at Defence Establishment to contractors. If in doubt, pritells us that the revised estimate now stands at vatise. It has to go through Parliament, but only £9380 million. He adds that the mighty that will not present any problems, and the Trident project programme will enter service Welsh Wonder Boy will not even get on his

Freedom's mole has been riffling through jobs this humane and forward-looking industry the files by candlelight to discover that a couple is producing. He said 'seven thousand direct of Trident submarines, already named Van- and six thousand indirect jobs, rising to 16,500 guard and Victorious, are under construction and 13,000 in peak years. Up to the end of at Vickers Shipbuilding and Engineering Ltd, September 1989 British firms were awarded Barrow. Fat contracts are fluttering around for 464 contracts worth \$133 million. And there's

subs has been tested by the US navy, and six subs throbbing away under the Polar Ice Cap out of eight test firings have been successful. in years to come with absolutely nothing show-What's a couple of duds between friends? ing on sonar or radar, because by that time In the background, continues our obliging the Russians will have scrapped all their nucmole, the Tactical Weapons System is on trial, lear subs and landed plum jobs in the new and a hell of a lot of money is being spent on MacDonalds in Moscow and other Russian

John Dean

US and Europe: What Chance Defence Cuts?

In other parts of Wales the solidarity This situation is not unique to America. action took various forms, from dinner know that Thatcher cannot hope to hold out Over 50 of Britain's top companies make time demonstrations in Bangor and Llanelli, to factory walkouts in Ystradgynlais and elsewhere.

All in all, a very effective demonstraconcerns like Barclays and Trusthouse Forte. tion that the peoples of Wales are backing

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POVERTY ROW

shortage of original talent, hyped trivia must period it was everybody's party time and was what the 17th century Dutch punters got. be over-priced and basement junk recycled so Gorky joined in complete with Freud paperthat within the art galleries of the freedom- backs. Gorky did most of, or all, his copy-cat loving Western world art dealers are frantically art from the black and white illustrations in opening fresh galleries with the expertise and the Cahiers d'Art and one must be honest and the energy of career men opening brothels for say that that was the end of his limited talent, a fresh influx of high-spending GI Joes landing but dealers' salvation came with the fluid to liberate a new Far Eastern hell hole. There abstract period when having rejected surrealis no economic poverty for the art gallery clientele, ism Gorky found his form with the unknown only a poverty of intelligence and understand- and un-numbered millions slapping coloured ing and a desire for craftsmanship and its paints onto wincing sheets of hardboard. As culture, so that in London galleries the same the John the Baptist of American Abstract old 'fluid' abstracts fill the walls and what was Expressionism, he led the way into the bank once the unsellable work of the lonely dead is for Rothko and De Kooning and the rest of grave-robbed for instant sale for the yuppie the boys. Gorky took up tap dancing in July trade. Blame not 've art dealers or those fanta- 1948 when he hanged himself in his barn. It sising that the old broad brush stroke places was a sad end for a man whose only crime was them in the broad sweep of European art, for to enjoy the act of painting and who saved so 'artist' and dealer must live and their only alter- many an art dealer and gallery curator from native is to have to labour hod-carrying for ending their unworthy lives in their village McAlpine. But the Town and his wife, ever poor house. But for the Town and his gentle faithful to the call of the broad brush, and the wife who likes the stamp of authority on the PR person have stood by their A-Level Art ol' visual works, the Royal Academy in all its and, high-stepping over the spat-out jellied eel majesty gives us Frans Hals. Frankie, as we bones and the take-away empty gefilte fish call him in the White Hart pub, 'after nearly cartons, are paying their dictated homage to 200 years of neglect was rediscovered in the the works of Arshile Gorky at the Whitechapel mid-19th century', and truth to tell Frankie Art Gallery resting against Freedom Book- was never lost. A down-market Rembrandt, shop. Gorky was an Armenian with the he churned out the portraits of the Dutch honourable name of Vosdanig Manoog, but affluent bourgeois factory-fashion, and he was Gorky was a good band-waggon artwise so Vos satisfied and they were satisfied. Frankie con-

The Relevance of Anarchism

revolutionary ideas which reconciles, as no other revolu- another is suicide. If we want to live at all, we have to tionary concept does, the necessity for individual free- live in the world as it is - but as anarchists we are going dom with the demands of society. It is a commune-ist to do our damnedest to make it as we would like it to philosophy which starts from the individual and works be. We know how beautiful life could be, but we have upwards, instead of starting from the state and working to start from the ugly reality. downwards. Social structure in an anarchist society Now each anarchist will make his own moves and if PERJURY, n. A common leisure time activity of policemen. would be carefully and consciously kept to a minimum we respect each other we will respect our comrade's and would be strictly functional; where organisation is own scale of priorities. Thus, for example, the anarcho- PHILANTHROPIC, adj. Motivated by guilt. necessary, it would be maintained, but there would be syndicalist will be concerned primarily with achieving no organisation for its own sake. This would help to workers' control of industry, and this necessitates buildprevent the hardening of organisations into institutions ing up workers' confidence in their own powers. Every - the hard core of government.

ment. Not just a particular government, but government an industrial context will throw in his effort to help win POETRY, n. The French Poodle of the arts. An expression as an institution. This is explicitly expressed in the word a dispute which perhaps in itself is irrelevant as far as of egomania. 'anarchism', meaning the philosophy or ideology which a money-less society is concerned, but which will teach aims at 'anarchy': the absence of government. This aim the workers more about tactics, about the value of direct PUBLIC SERVANT, n. A government functionary who rules is shared by other ideologies - socialist and communist action, about their importance in society, the strength those he 'serves'. -who see the 'withering away of the state' as a desirable they gain through solidarity, the creativity of their work, goal, but conceive the way towards that goal as lying their dignity as human beings - perhaps a hundred through the use of the very institutions they want to lessons. abolish. Anarchists maintain that the use of the repres- For we should not forget that there are two aspects sive institutions in the name of the revolution, or of of anarchism: the end and the means. We have implied progress, or of freedom, corrupts the revolution, in- the end: anarchy, the society without government or RELIGION, n. 1) The first refuge of the desperate; 2) A

hibits progress and crushes freedom. For anarchists, the end determines the means. If your the wages system and the exploitation they bring; withend is a society without government, then you do not out the state which defends that exploitation through do anything to support the idea or fact of government the law, the police, the prisons, the constitutional muror to encourage the idea that government can in any der of the gallows or the gas chamber, all backed up way be desirable. If your aim is the abolition of the by the army, navy and air force; the inculcation which state — which is the concentration of the institutions of passes for education, the subtle pressures of the government — then you do nothing to encourage the bureaucracy and the church. Anarchy means the relife of the state by pretending it can be used for libera- placement of these anti-social forces by free association tion. All the means by which people are governed are and mutual aid, by free access to the means of life, by anathema to anarchism.

This adds up to a coherent and logical ideology and ideal! within itself anarchism is a perfect set of ideas. In its Anarchism also means the struggle to achieve all this. application to the existing 'real' world, however, it is A bitter struggle against ruthless forces which will appabeing applied to very imperfect situations. And fur- rently stop at nothing to maintain the power set-up as thermore, anarchists themselves differ in their interpre- it is. The great advantage anarchism has is that it is not tations of anarchism, both in relation to current events side-tracked into diversions like the parliamentary and in the emphasis they put upon the various aspects struggle, like 'workers' government' or the 'dictatorship of the overall philosophy.

syndicalists who advocate the abolition of the wages gy. Anarchism teaches the governed to use their system support workers on strike for higher wages; indi- strength where it matters - at the point of production; vidualists who are opposed to the state see no reason and to use it in the way it matters — by direct action. why they should not avail themselves of the social ser- More can be done to house the homeless by half a dozen vices when they are unemployed; anti-parliamentarians squatters than by a thousand well-meaning local support the abolition of a law (hanging, abortion, homo- councillors. sexuality) which can only be done through parliament; The means of freedom for the end of freedom: that anti-imperialists condemn 'national liberation' move- is the relevance and the strength of anarchism. How it for the 'benefit' of the workers. ments which are fighting an imperialist oppressor; anti- can be applied from situation to situation will vary. war militants who have gone to prison rather than take There will even be situations where it cannot be applied. WAGE LABOR, n. 1) Death on the installment plan. 2) The up arms to support a violent revolution . . . and so on. But it represents the only way to achieve what we want process by which those who work enrich those who don't. This is not quite as absurd as it may appear, since to achieve: freedom.

Anarchism is a philosophy of freedom. It is a body of the only alternative to compromise at some level or

victory in even a minor struggle encourages this confi-The heart of anarchism is its opposition to govern- dence; every defeat diminishes it. So the anarchist in

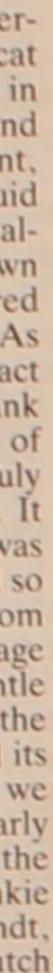
any of the means of government, without money and the joy of making and sharing and living. A delightful

of the proletariat', trying to achieve power in order to TOBACCO, n. A toxic addictive substance, the chief draw-

THE ARTS



RIDICULOUS





Where I part company with Frankie is that it is so much conveyor-belt art with slap-happy brush work on 'unimportant' areas such as the boots and skirts in the 1648 'Family Group in Landscape', with the whole background painted by a Mr Pieter Molijn, or the 1630 Thatcherite economics has reached its logical became Gork. Gorky, like Dali in the early centrated on faces, giving them the self- 'Fruit and Vegetable Seller' when the huge conclusion in that it has produced a surplus of years, churned out middling pastiches of every- satisfying smile and the twinkle in the eye style mass of fruit and vegetables are painted in a money for a social elite and a minority market thing from Cezanne to Picasso, and if it made of contemporary German beer mug decora- completely different style by a Claes van Heussen. unable to honour that cashflow. With the prime 'him happy, why not? But come the surrealist tions. This is what the punters wanted and this Frankie is, nay was, the genius of the week, but when the Town and his wife minus catalogue dribble over Frankie's primed canvas they should beware which mini-genius of late last week they were bending the knee. But if they, or you, wish to view the Frans Hals that we all learned to love on mother's knee, then hie with the Town and his panting wife to the Wallace Collection wherein hangs Hals' 'Laughing Cavalier', for the reason the Royal Academy ain't got it is that the Wallace Collection cannot be loaned out. But among all the State and private dealers' rubbish there are those artists, minor in themselves, that one always remembers with affection such as Hilliar, Kit Woods or Bura. Wolfgang Schulze is for me such an artist. Always overshadowed by the postcard art of Paul Klee, his tiny postcard art shone on the walls of the old Dover Street ICA before the student middle class took over to ruin the scene. Like Vosdanig Manoog Adoian becoming reborn as Arshile Gorky, Wolfgang became Wols because of a misprint in a telegram. Wols died in 1951 from eating poison horse meat plus alcoholic poisoning, and thus ended a life gypsy-style dodging the Germans as a draft dodger and always in poverty moving from one Left Bank small hotel to another. In 1939 he was interned by the French as an enemy alien and sought by the German army, but poverty always found PEANATS, FRANS HALS, ANTHUN MANSE him. Of the little I have been able to see over (continued on p.6)

HERETIC'S DICTIONARY (continued from previous issue)

PEOPLE OF COLOR, n. 1) Code words by which the politically correct recognize each other. 2) A politically correct term used to refer to non-caucasian peoples. Not to be confused with the politically incorrect term 'colored people'. The popularity of this term could well foreshadow an important linguistic trend — the withering away of the adjectival use of the past participle (the form employing 'ed' as a suffix). If this occurs, we can look forward to constructions such as: 'The little girl bought three balloons of color'.

PHILANTHROPIST, n. One who returns part of the loot.

POET, n. A person who cannot write prose. See also Narcissist

REASONABLE FORCE, n. A police term which normally refers to a vicious beating or unwitnessed murder. The exact meaning, however, will vary considerably depending upon the victim's race and economic status.

convenient means of avoiding such unpleasantries as independent thought and reality; 3) A means of feeling superior to others; 4) A successful cult.

SLACK JAWED DROOLING IDIOT, n. A member of an 'electronic church' who gives so much of his income to it that he subsists on Alpo at the end of the month.

SMOKER, n. A person who believes he has the right to annoy and poison those around him. Unlike the user of non-addictive drugs, the smoker is to be pitied and tolerated rather than persecuted and imprisoned. See also Asshole.

SPIRITUAL, adj. 1) Lacking in common sense; 2) A term of self-congratulation employed to assert superiority over others.

SPIRITUALITY, n. A meaningless but uplifting term often found in 'personals' ads.

This can lead to apparent contradictions. Anarcho- abolish it or the historical process or any other mytholo- back of which is that it does not kill its users more quickly.

UTOPIAN, n. A pejorative term meaning 'neither in the interests of the powers that be nor of those who would like to take their places'.

VAMPIRE, n. 1) An owner of rental properties; 2) A government functionary identifiable by the letters 'IRS'; 3) In the Eastern Bloc, a member of the vanguard which rules society

Chaz Bufe

BOOK REVIEWS



The Greenpeace Book of the Nuclear Age: the to high levels of radiation from abandoned Dream World hidden history, the human cost by John May

Gollancz, 378 pages, £6.95 (paperback)

power. This record of disaster, incompetance, main body of the book. cover-up and tragedy reveals the flaws in The book closes with a call by Andy Stirling safest option.

are less well known (the exposure of 22 people managed'.

continued from p.5)

the long years, I recall it with pleasure. He left a great mass of surrealist work with paint and photograph and the Goethe Institut has mounted a touring exhibition of Wols' work and one wishes, nay prays, that in their wisdom they will exhibit in London for me and the Town and his wife. While secrets within secrets of the Secret Service are frantically being covered up by our nation's leaderette and chums, it is of interest to know that there is even a secret art list compiled by among others ol' Sir Anthony Blunt, late of the Queen's Royal Collection and the Russian Secret Service. It is a list, secret, of great works of art that must never be allowed to leave Britain ranging from Poussin - knife-slashed in the National Gallery — to a Van Dyck. A year or so ago I sat with poor ol' Sir Anthony Blunt in an Irish pub in Notting Hill when the poor old sod had been booed out by a clique of patriotic gays in the Notting Hill cinema, and as we made small talk I asked him why my name was never on the private invitation list to the Queen's Gallery and he smiled his slow sad smile and said, 'Ah'. Yet if only then I had known about the 'great works of art never to be exported' list I could have sold him one of my paintings. 'Same again, Sir Anthony?'

Arthur Moyse

1987). There are detailed accounts of large scale free from Freedom Press Bookshop disasters such as Chernobyl and the tragic indi-

BNFL's 'green' arguments, both in the sense for the use of '... less harsh and disruptive that public mistrust is based upon ignorance energy sources — the sun, the earth, wind and (the number and scope of nuclear accidents water', and for an end to the illusion of 'progjustifies this mistrust) and in the sense of ress' based on massive industrial growth which nuclear energy being the environmentally creates our society's huge demand for energy. | War Without Honour The horrific environmental destruction out- Fred Holroyd At the heart of this book is a chronologically lined in this book makes a mockery of BNFL's Medium £6.95 organised inventory of nuclear accidents from claim that nuclear energy is not environmentally the nuclear age of optimism in the 1940s to damaging. The descriptions of nuclear accidents | It is no secret to anyone to the Left of David rial wasteland of the 1960s and 1970s. the present era of disillusionment — with inci- arising from coincidences, misunderstandings, Owen that the State operates through police, dents as recent as 1989. Some of these events errors of judgement and managerial incompe- spies and the armed forces to attack and stitch are well established in the public consciousness tence demonstrate the folly of the belief that up its opponents. What is interesting is when (for example Three Mile Island) while others it can be a safe energy source if it is 'properly someone on the inside decides to tell all. Peter

and tragedy is essential reading, and will double-dealing, in which democracy and the remain so for as long as BNFL are spending rule of law are bent for political purposes. POVERTY ROW £1.5 million per day at Sellafield and engaging in expensive advertising campaigns.

> **ANARCHISTS IN THE** SPANISH REVOLUTION by José Peirats

The author, José Peirats (1908-1989), was active in the clandestine Libertarian Youth when he was only 14 years old, and participated in the anarchist militias in 1936. With the death of Franco he returned to Spain where he continued to play a valuable role both with his person and his pen, until a few months before his death in August 1989.

In the publishers' opinion this is the most comprehensive, critical history of the Spanish Civil War and the role played in it by the CNT-FAI, the anarcho-syndicalists and anarchists.

£6.00 post free from FREEDOM PRESS



vidual stories of people like Karen Silkwood IF you are looking for an antidote to the tal on various felony charges. But time 'Just how green are you about nuclear power?' and nuclear scientist Louis Slotin (who died as fat autobiographies of powerful men - moves on, the war ends, and Winslow ask British Nuclear Fuels plc in their full-page a result of a laboratory accident involving a 600 pages of hardback with a lavish array struggles to maintain his Free Society Buladvertisements featuring a colour chart with Plutonium core). As May points out, there is of photographs of the author with 'perso- letin as his wife and friends drift off. 18 shades of green. BNFL's increasingly an international bias in these stories - there | nalities' from the worlds of finance, poli- This book is of historical interest in that desperate attempts to sell the idea of a 'nuclear is a mass of material from the USA and far | tics and 'society' - look no further than it gives an insight into small town US stufuture' are now based around just two premises: fewer from France (which has a massive Kent Winslow's Dream World. His story dent politics, and the reaction to it, in the that public doubts and fears about nuclear commitment to nuclear power) and Britain. opens in the wastes of the Anza-Borrego 1960s; but the greater interest is the bruenergy are based upon ignorance, and that This is a result of the USA's Freedom of Infor- desert in California, a suitable backdrop tally true picture it gives of one man's life, anyone who cares about the environment will mation Act and not safer management of for the start of a terrifying childhood at along with the internal tensions of politics accept that nuclear power stations are the only nuclear resources by the European countries. | the hands of a maniac father. From the at the edge. Winslow doesn't spare himtenable option since they do not produce The book begins with basic introductions to beatings of his early years, and the slave- self at all, his failures and fears are all carbon dioxide and thus (unlike fossil fuel the historical development of civil and military like existence of work on his father's radio there, his acceptance of compromise in stations) do not contribute to the Greenhouse exploitation of nuclear power, and the risks station in Mormonville, Winslow escaped order to survive in a hostile world. These Effect. They boast of their(?) £1.5 million per involved in both domains, by specialists in to college life just as American youth was are the vital elements of autobiography day investment at Sellafield as a demonstration these fields. There is also a chapter on the facing up to the draft and Vietnam. For worth reading, the universality of experiof their confidence in the future of nuclear 'Fundamentals' of the subject: radioactivity, some, like Vice President Quayle, and ence and emotion that the reader retypes of radiation and their effects on living seminary Mormons, there was a way out, sponds to with recognition. Similarly, As implied by its subtitle, The Greenpeace things, fission and fusion, the principles of for others there was a nasty little death in radical groups are unsparingly dealt with. Book of the Nuclear Age is concerned with the nuclear power and the engineering principles | Vietnam, or political radicalisation on the His own student group was fatally marred cost in terms of human suffering and human of nuclear reactors. This introductory material campuses or on the way to Canada. Wins- by the presence of authoritarian anarchlives rather than capital investment. John May is accessible without being patronising, and low avoided the draft and became in- ists, and police provocateurs, who found delves into a dark history which is conveniently provides information which is essential to a volved in anarchist politics for the simple fertile ground in the personality clashes disregarded by many apologists for nuclear genuine understanding of the events in the reason that '... I. . have a duty to resist of the group. A Black Panthers rally that

Wright in Spycatcher after falling out with his John May's compendium of nuclear disaster | masters gave a picture of the hidden world of

When he began to question the assassination and dirty dealing of the secret service, he was rushed off to psychiatric hospital in an attempt to shut him up and cast doubt on his revelations. Holroyd, Colin Wallace and Stalker all fit into a murky picture of government manipulation and brutality. Like a spy novel the plot is obscure at times and the hero has his failings. Yet bit by bit the truth comes out and Holroyd in speaking out has confirmed our worst suspicions and revealed a little more of the black history of our times.

Dark History Draft Dodger's Story



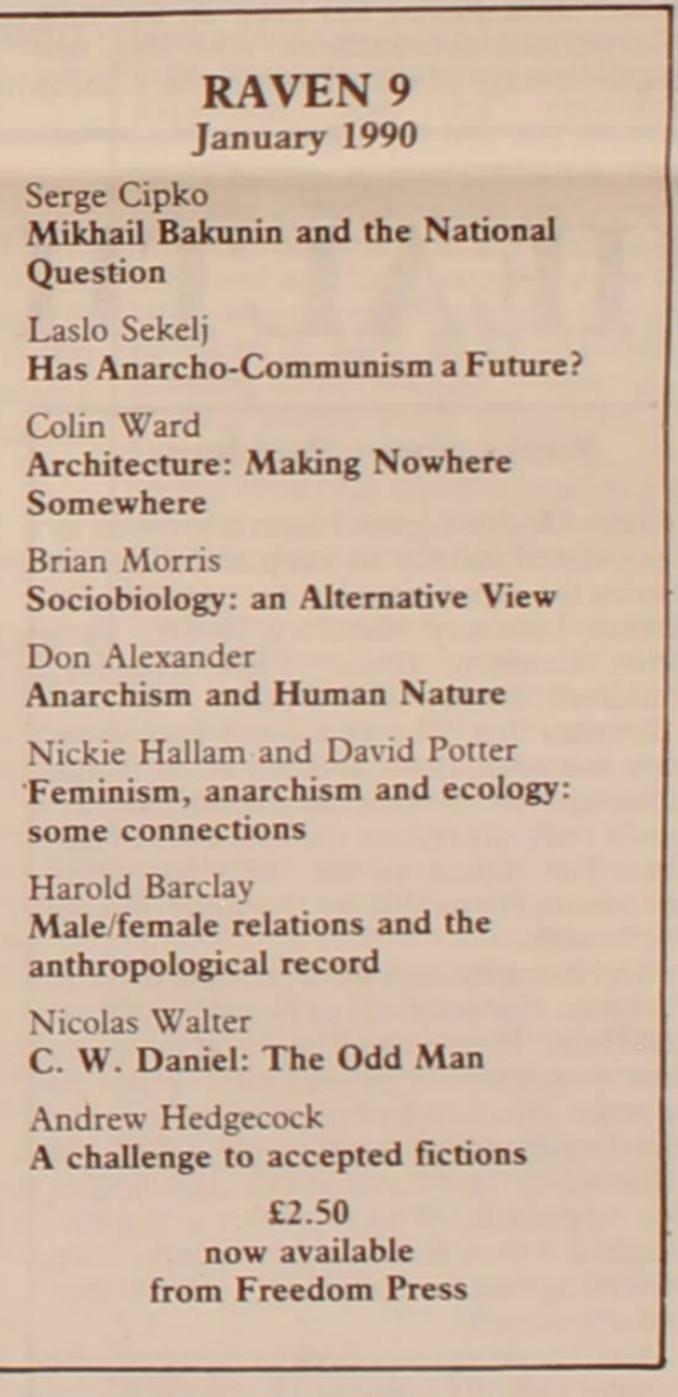
Fred Holroyd's book is another example of this kind of exposure. In it he tears the veil Andrew Hedgecock | off secret activities of the army in Northern Ireland during the '70s. His story is all the more powerful because Fred was a keen and able army officer who believed in defending his country against the Queen's enemies. He was a man of honour in the conventional sense of fair play. His book gives a careful and detailed account of anti-IRA activities. 'I could give many examples of how the law was made a mockery of in the province during this time. Army intelligence manufactured bogus press cards for undercover work, which directly put journalists' lives at risk. The army also carried out burglaries on private property under surveillance.

being told what to do'. The violence of caesium-137 capsules in Goiania, Brazil, in by Kent Winslow, The Match!, £5.50 post the police, and the duplicity of the university authorities leads to confrontation, Winslow's arrest, and subsequent acquit-

> is a cross between 'leapin' Jesus' revivalism and para-military intimidation is seen as a strange mirror image of Mormon bigotry and the blue and khaki uniformed brutality of the police.

Winslow's Dream World fades out into isolation and loneliness, and despite the humour of the book, one cannot but see him as almost a broken man. Here is Orwell's Gordon Comstock in the mate-

Stephen Cullen



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INTERNATIONAL PAGE

SOVIET JEWS AND US AID TO ISRAEL

or thereabouts. He was in fact referring to the of 1990 alone. where they damned-well chose in the areas America is where the Israeli Government is Israel from Uncle Sam. under the purview of the Israeli State, includ- hoping to find it. There is already a waiting The Israeli Government still seems firmly to the would take is also far from certain. ing the territories occupied in the 1967 war list of over a year to book a seat on a flight believe that the US ultimately won't actually What is certain, though, is that whoever Arab delegation from the Arab League is to a problem made more acute by the continuing and hostile borders on almost every side, sim- perhaps know this better than many others. visit Moscow, Washington and Dublin (Ireland bloody Intifada (uprising) in the occupied terri- ply cannot afford to support the high costs of is presently chairing the EEC) to try to counter tories. Most construction workers, as in other State defence spending. The Government is the mass exodus of Jews from the USSR and low-status jobs, are Palestinian Arabs. During asking the US (which has an annual immigra- the two years of the Intifada they have held tion quota of 50,000 people from the USSR) frequent political strikes and many have withand Europe to take in as many Soviet Jews as drawn voluntarily from the Israeli labour marpossible rather than leave the State of Israel ket. Many more, for security reasons, have as their major destination.

Eastern Europe by storm has finally reached within the State of Israel proper. With 2,000 the heartland of the Russian Empire, with hun- Soviet Jews already arriving each week by the dreds of thousands marching on Red Square end of January - up to 450 arriving every to demand reforms and freedom. This is a night on scheduled flights via Budapest - the direct outcome of the movement for peres- Israeli Government has already asked the troika initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev. Unfor- USA for help in absorbing them. tunately, the wave of glasnost which has swept This request for further aid comes at a sensithe Soviet Union has had its darker side - tive moment. Recently, US Senator Robert open discussion has led to the bubbling back Dole openly questioned the USA's current to the surface of many social tensions and foreign aid policy. Most American overseas nationalisms which had been repressed during 'aid' clearly isn't aid at all but a political subthe years of Stalinist Communist Party oppres- sidy. According to Dole, the US aid budget sion. The secessionist tendencies of the Baltic — which amounts to about \$40 per capita per republics and the open civil war in the south- annum - is 'top heavy'. Two-thirds of the west are clear examples of this. Another less entire budget goes to just five countries welcome consequence has been an alarming Pakistan, Turkey, the Philippines, Egypt and rise in vitriolic antisemitism. With this, and Israel. Of this, Israel receives over 50% -

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been barred by the Israeli authorities from The democracy movement which has taken crossing the 'green line' (1967 borders) to work

HEALTH AND ANARCHISM

Books about Peckham

Pioneer Health Centre Limited survives as a registered charity to keep stressing the lessons the experiment has for us today. Its current honorary secretary is Mrs Pam Elvin, Camilon, Birtley Rise, Bramley, Guildford, Surrey GU5 OHZ.

It notes that 'The pendulum has swung would radically reduce the incidence of disease. The climate of the 1980s has never been more favourable for the study of positive health.

And it emphasises the importance of the Peckham characteristic of Non-Directional Self Help: 'People choosing to do things on their own initiative proved after a time to be more effective and to produce a richer social environment, than would have been achieved by the more traditional authoritarian approach. Whilst greater economic freedom exists today, other trends have worked against the individual's self reliance and expression .

Apart from a pile of Peckham pamphlets Pioneer Health Centre Ltd has ensured the publication by the Scottish Academic Press, 139 Leith Walk, Edinburgh EH6 8NS, of later books by George Scott Williamson and Innes Pearse, and the reprinting of the original Peckham reports. These are:

The Case for Action - a survey of everyday life under modern industrial conditions with special reference to the question of health. Innes Pearse and G. Scott Williamson. 162pp. Faber and Faber 1931, 2nd ed. Scottish Academic Press 1982 £3.25 Biologists in Search of Material — an interim report on the work of the Pioneer Health Centre. G. Scott Williamson and Innes Pearse. 107pp. Faber and Faber 1938 3rd ed. Scottish Academic Press 19822.50 The Peckham Experiment — a study of the living structure of society. Innes Pearse and Lucy Crocker 384pp. Allen and Unwin 1943 (6 impressions), New Edition, Scottish Academic Press 1985 £5.00

These books can be ordered through FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

(continued from p.2)

believed that a National Health Service efforts to get it adopted by either local author- pioneers were. to incorporate it into official provision.

 $- \frac{12^{1/2}p}{a} - a$ family a week), and not free; to all the adults.



Busy member in the Nursery at Peckham

therefore trying to convince the US that Israel still has a necessary role to play as the prime watchdog of American interests in the Middle East. One line being put forward is that with The right of people to live wherever they want exit restrictions, a huge emigration of Jews is well as the changing world geopolitical situa- ever more sophisticated weaponry being was recently defended by no less a liberal than now under way. Most are bound for Israel, tion, US oil production is falling off and this bought in by Middle Eastern States and with ex-Stern Gang terrorist Yitzhak Shamir, the which is only too willing to have them. Within means the US Government has good reason the demise of the Iron Curtain, the Middle present Prime Minister of the State of Israel. the next year, a minimum of 100,000 Jews are for trying to improve its relations with oil-rich East could become the world's new ideological He was not, as you might perhaps have hoped, expected to leave the USSR for Israel - main- Arab states. Dole's proposals have already eli- battleground. The region is already unstable referring to the aspirations of millions of Pales- ly from Russia, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Geor- cited howls of protest from the Jewish com- and prey to religious factionalism and wars, so tinians to return to the homeland which they gia, Bokhara and Azerbaijan. Some have put munity in the US, which is also experiencing this may not be so wild a prospect as it at first fled (with some provocation, viz. war) in 1948 the likely haemorrhage at 300,000 by the end an upsurge of antisemitic feelings, but have a sounds, although the Arab States may not be good chance of actually going through, thereby able to rely much longer on Soviet arms and right of Soviet Jewish emigrés to 'return' (a The State of Israel is clearly in need of finan- drastically reducing the amount of 'aid' (most support as the Russian Empire finds itself inpeculiar phrase) to Palestine and settle any- cial help to deal with the expected influx, and of it spent on the defence budget) received by creasingly consumed by domestic problems and unrest. What form such an ideological bat-

which the PLO has recently claimed as an inde- out of Moscow, and the current Zionist preoc- do this, but with the political situation between fights whom, wherever and for whatever ostenpendent State of Palestine. This is a very tricky cupation is with rescuing the Jewish commun- East and West changing so rapidly, America's sible reason, everyone loses - the ordinary issue, hence Shamir's otherwise odd-sounding ity of Baku from the fighting in Azerbaijan perspective on the Eastern Mediterranean is people who are unwilling pawns in the machipronouncement, and comes in response to between Shi'ite Moslem Azeris and Monophy- bound to alter, and Israel will not be un- nations of the petty State governments of the growing pressure on the United States Govern- site Christian Armenians. Coping with this affected. For the State of Israel to survive, it Middle East will never be the beneficiaries. ment, Israel's sponsor and guarantor, not to sudden flood is already causing the Israelis must continue to receive the massive subven- No-one had anything to gain from continuing help fund the resettlement of Soviet Jews in headaches - the most pressing need will be tions from the US on which it depends. The wars, religious divisions and oppression, and the occupied ter ories. During February, an for buildings in which to house new arrivals, Israeli economy, with the continuing Intifada the people of the Middle East should already

Katy Andrews (February 1990)

Two Marches in Derry

The annual commemoration march for These developments were watched by Firstly the release of the Birmingham Six events in Eastern Europe. was made the major theme of a weekend On the day, one of the largest ever an attempt was made by the Republican aimed at security personnel there. A



NHS structure.

what members actually did. The centre of the mains. This newest book is fascinating from an end to marches on Bloody Sunday and building was a swimming pool, and there was several points of view. First, she has sought other occasions. a theatre, a gymnasium and a children's out people who were members as children or nursery on the ground floor, with dance halls, young parents and has gathered their recollec- struggle waged by an elite band of guerrillas a cafeteria, a library and medical rooms. tions of what the place meant in their lives. It always leads to just this sort of event. With It ran from 1935 to 1939, and after the war is a very impressive testimony. Second, she the military side seeking to set the agenda back since the 1940s and 50s when it was from 1946 to 1950. It ended in 1951 after all shows how ahead of their time the Peckham for the next moves, political analysis and

> tres' had become part of official doctrine after Association and rented a farm to ensure that the chorus of ritual condemnations from the National Health Service Act of 1946, the members could buy nutritious bread, milk and the opportunity left, anarchists must be directors approached the Ministry of Health vegetables and to provide holidays in the sun. clear in their response to such events, Fifty years later old Peckham hands remember | saying that there is much more than anti-They failed for five reasons: first, it was con- that delicious bread. Thirdly, she demons- state violence involved in real social cerned exclusively with the study and cultiva- trates that the founder's preoccupation with revolution. tion of health, not with the treatment of dis- the family as a unit was not, as it might seem

> > were at the heart of the Peckham venture.

But for anyone looking beyond the irresponthe pursuit of individual and social health.

[*Better still secure a copy of World War - Cold War: (Freedom photo) Selections from War Commentary & Freedom 1939-1950 from Freedom Press £6.95 pp342-360 on The

Bloody Sunday — that day in January anarchists with interest as they indicated when paras shot dead 14 people on the a move out of the 'ghetto' for the republican streets of Londonderry - was prepared movement and a response to the politics in an altogether different way this year. of 'mass movements' now highlighted by

of marching and workshops and discus- crowds attended the march. Then the IRA sions to mark the anniversary. Secondly bomb went off on the walls at the city, movement to broaden the base of support young boy from Strabane, the town which for the march by toning down the para- enjoys the reputation of being the unemmilitary trappings of bands and by attempting ployment blackspot of Northern Ireland, to include non-republicans by focussing was killed by falling debris which was scattaking advantage of relaxations in the USSR's more than the other four combined. But as on the release of the Birmingham Six. tered across a wide area of the Bogside. Organisers of the march have been in a state of shock since the event, amazed by the lack of political thinking the decision to mount an attack on security personnel showed. The repercussions within the republican movement will be severe, and for anarchists the blow dealt to possibilities of mass actions in this city is serious. administration, and so did not conform to the Who in their right mind would go on a march now? And the Roman Catholic the Peckham biologists needed to observe That's all history now, but the message re- Bishop of Derry is now certain to call for

As anarchists we know that an armed popular inclusion are always under threat. ities or the NHS had failed. Since 'health cen- They were founder members of the Soil While not falling into the trap of joining

Two days after the events on the march ease; second, it was based exclusively on the today, a limiting, but an enlarging factor. to commemorate Bloody Sunday, a small integrated family, not on the individual; third, Members' recollections show how they gra- march and rally took place in support of it was based on a locality, it had no 'open dually accepted all the children as part of the the ambulance workers. Some people on door'; fourth, its basis was contributory (2s 6d family, while children and adolescents related the left were disappointed at the small turn-out, but everyone was heartened by and finally it was based on autonomous self- Finally, she asks, and ventures answers to two notes of militancy struck by different the question: could we replicate the experience groups of women workers. Shirt factory of Peckham today? The original building cost workers were advised by the union official only about a fifth of the cost of the typical in the ITGWU not to come out for fifteen super-cinema of its period, though it was ex- minutes. They were to donate fifteen pensive to run. What modern outlay do we minutes of their wages to the ambulance compare it with? The standard local 'leisure workers strike funds. Nevertheless a centre' caters for a very narrow band of the group of women did come out and joined community, it is managed today on an increas- the rally. In an amazingly similar situation ingly commercial basis. Above all, it has no shop stewards and workers in a large links with the ideology of self-catering, health- department store cum supermarket counselling, personal and social autonomy that decided to come out. A shop steward phoned the USDAW union office in Belfast to inform them that they were all sibility of current government policy, which coming out and was told in no uncertain won't actually be changed by a change of its | terms that they were to stay in. Despite political masters, Peckham is a reminder of a the confusion caused by this response, a tradition of radically different approaches to group of women did leave their workplace and join the rally.

It is in this way — by workers taking charge of their own circumstances — that small steps in the direction of real social revolution are taken.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 6 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52

Dave Duggan

Welfare State - Eds]

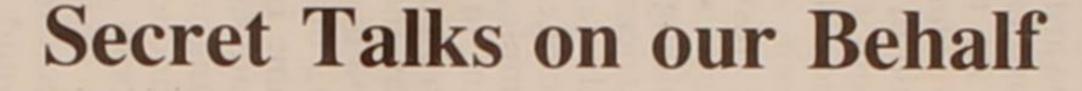
Celtic Twilight

Dear Freedom,

didn't actually specify why I thought are all part of a global village econo- last 100 years have demonstrated so (in Raven 9) sets up Mrs Thatcher comrades in the Eastern bloc 'regionalism' was a good word and mically and culture is neither a static cruelly that Bakunin was right and he to prove his theory that States, in countries. In this issue we publish 'nationalism' a bad one. In response nor a homogenous option. Human was wrong, Bakunin must be giving order to survive, will allow females a letter from a comrade in Hong to John Broom's disagreement with beings are subjects not objects and an indignant heave or two at Bern to participate in the 'direction' me over this matter I will try to spell are capable of innovation and creativity. that an anarchist paper should see fit their policies. But Mrs T directs thing in common: they ask that we it out:

'nationalism' because it avoids the towards the creation of a fairly mas- Free World?' (27 January). The writer speak for the male Establishment We have been responding within identification of the nation as a sive global culture simply in order to obviously has not got a clue as to what (Crown, Church, Law, Whitehall, our limited possibilities sending political-territorial unit, founded on face adequately the challenges and is going on in the world. Political Commerce, Armed Forces, etc.), them Freedom and various pamconquest and power, with culture opportunities of daily life. On what commentary my foot! whilst including the possibility of a basis is nationhood a value to be I wonder did Donald Rooum subject to scapegoating at any time. What we should try and do is send which I am opposed, that is to say its Scotland a nation? Yes and no. In this silly article. identification with the trappings of neither case does a more or less posi- Will any other readers join me in oversee the infibulation of young material that already exists in state. This form of nationalism draws tive affirmation justify the ideology blowing a loud raspberry? upon the energies of cultural and of nationalism which is a mystifying regional identity and uses them in the theory based on notions of difference service of anti-ethical ends: statism and exclusion and the magical trappings or the appearance of order that arbitrary of power we call sovereignty. power erects to protect its prestige. Wales is in a sense two nations -Admittedly 'regionalism' does not those who speak Welsh and those Has Anarchohave the glamour of the other word who don't. At the present the former and no doubt its sudden adoption is haemorrhaging through massive Communism a Future? admitting that the built by — Men! would weaken the drive for autonomy cultural invasion. If there is a solution within certain regions, e.g. Scotland, to this it will not be one entirely May I join Laslo Sekelj in stressing the but this is only to say that the truth pleasant to an anarchist since it must importance of the issues raised in his solidis not always convenient or politic. In involve some form of local immigra- ly thoughtful article in Raven 9: 'Has a theoretical discussion such con- tion controls, at least in the short Anarcho-Communism a Future' He opens

nalism is preferable. But, as Paul Petard points out in the December



'The Prime Minister flew out from Information is absolutely vital to Anarchists refer proudly to events in exploitation. London today for secret talks with the workings of a democracy - there Spain as showing that the movement can the President of . . .'. Such announce- can be no freedom without it. British play a direct part in great events. Yet, as ments are a commonplace, and governments can, and do, declare Sekelj shows, that was an occasion when (Memoirs of a Revolutionis nobody seems to raise an eyebrow. war without our consent, let alone those who called themselves anarchists Presumably the British public believe our knowledge. Some of us will be departed radically from anarchist princisuch secrecy to be essential to keep dead or too old to care when the thirty ples. the outcome of such talks from foreign year rule allows some of the Falklands Spanish experience is in line with the governments. What may not be War secrets into the light of day. history and present position of anarchoappreciated is that the deliberations Meanwhile we can only guess that the communism. The indications are that the lished a list of lodge members of the involved and long experience with and agreements made in these clan- claim to Antarctica land rights was significant future of this movement, like Freemasons in south Wales. It international relations and is hoping destine meeting are not for home behind the government's determina- 'its past, lies in the influence it can bring appears that there are nearly 10,000 to leave in early March. Readers consumption either.

present government had been voted through the United Nations. Certainly it may produce. into office by an overwhelming it was not to do with the nationality majority, there might be some slight of the islanders because they were justification for allowing the leader not granted British citizenship until to go behind our backs, but in fact it after the recapture of the Falklands. non-voters, it becomes immediately the Security Services who control us apparent that at the present time the through the Prime Minister and the Dear Comrades, that is only half of the story.

If we consider the means by which trivial. our MPs are offered to and elected concern to the rebels). And, as we children of the famous consensus and wealthy with minimal access for irresponsible than we were, could be the weak and impecunious (the situa- relied upon to grow bored or disention has probably got worse rather chanted and turn the opposition into than better since 1981, when seven the government. It made little differmulti-national companies or wealthy ence, for we believed much the same Correction families owned all the mass circula- things." tion newspapers in Britain).

would disagree on the basis that spots and one dictatorship behaves reducing further the government about the British people she is think- paper printers in their dispute mandate to make covert deals with ing about the wealthy ones, and when with Rupert Murdoch. foreign states. These voteless youngs- she talks about sovereign rights she ters, let us remember, have to pick is not thinking about the Aborigines. up the pieces from us and make the best of it for the rest of their lives So, if you are lucky enough to be when those in power are dead and over eighteen, will you vote for someburied.

ments on their behalf.

Now, if it were the case that our face of world opinion, as expressed rather than in any directly practical effects it the largest voluntary organisation

one chosen for you, but not by you, FREEDOM PRESS publications: José

Any More **Raspberries**?

Dear Editors,

If Marx is now turning in his grave at Harold Barclay in 'Male/female rela-

cultural politics. It is true the word esteemed? Why is oppression some- design his excellent cartoon in which She is where she is by kind permission them pamphlets in their different 'nationalism' has different meanings thing to be opposed? These are the the Free Range Egghead says 'One of Denis, the one with the lolly -- the meaning that Mr Broom seems questions that we have to consider. shouting slogans, one woffling on. and, therefore, a bit of direction. to want to assimilate it to is one to Is Wales a nation? Yes and no. Is That's teamwork', after he had read Similarly, the fact that in some in Switzerland and the Amsterdam

siderations should have no place. term. But this is only to say that we by confirming, with multiple references, Law is simply an instru-It is in this respect, then, that regio- have not as yet reached utopia. that the essence and criterion of anarch-Steffan Dennis ism lies in opposition to government and ment invented for the Spanish Civil war 'the members of the anarchist organisation . . . joined the govmembers of the FAI joined the govern- ing masses. Its sole misment while others fought and died and killed in support of the government.



What this boils down to - and who won't have any influence on the Peirats Anarchists in the Spanish kind of idea what would be the right ing is to send you a copy of The there's more, as a certain non- Establishment which, through a secret Revolution, 384 pages £6, is now kind of materials for propagandising Raven on approval sometime in Cabinet comedian would say — is Cabinet, can order you to go and available and advance orders are people who don't know much or any- March. If you like it you may decide that less than one-quarter of the shoot at, or be shot by, another poor population have given the Prime wretch from another dictatorship Series Volume 2 Spain and the Minister the right to make secret masquerading, like your govern- World will definitely be ready in /Reference is made to this letter in body who might and we will think EFC March. News from Angel Alley - Eds]

READERS' PAGE

George Walford London N5

Donald Rooum

Thatcher as Scapegoat

Dear Editors.

do such things?

Harold has a good try at exonerat-

in the country!

came to power on a minority vote. Even if we disregard disillusioned ishment (the Crown, Whitehall and the Security Services who control use of the Estab-ishment (the Security Services who control use of the Estab-the Security Se

we have to go further.

Hong Kong is probably one of the

and at least organisation.

News from **Angel Alley**

In the past few months we have been receiving letters, manifestos In my article 'anarcho-regionalism' I issue, it is in no sense adequate. We Highgate because the history of the tions and the anthropological record' and other communications from of Kong. All these letters have one I believe that we need to invoke energies to publish such utter rubbish as the nothing. She is a spokesperson who in the West should help them with 'Regionalism' is preferable to of a transcendant nature and aspire article in Free Europe? is directed by male advisers, who anarchist propaganda material. and, like all Prime Ministers, she is phlets . . . all in English, however. languages, and if we had the funds, and with the help of CIRA parts of the world grandmothers Institute in providing us with the women does not necessarily mean these different languages, reprint Tony Gibson that they have any power of 'direc- small editions and send them to Cambridge tion' - who gives them the orders to our contacts in these countries. Our Italian comrades — publishers of the monthly Rivista A - are ing us males, but to put the blame on thinking along similar lines and 'systems of oppression' is to avoid have launched an appeal for admitting that those systems were funds. They have limited their appeal, which closes on 30 April, EFC presumably to encourage their Berkshire | readers to respond as a matter of urgency. We are not proposing to put a date limit on our appeal, but we are nevertheless proposing to work in collaboration with them and with CIRA (International Centre for Anarchist Research) in Swansea the state. Then he points out that in the maintenance of exploita- Geneva who already have many

> ernment'. One can go even farther: some the idle rich over the toil- FREEDOM PRESS have also proposed to CIRA that a comrade should be sent to the countries of the Eastern sion is the perpetuation of bloc on a fact-finding mission, and to make direct contacts with our comrades there. Our proposal is Kropotkin backed by a promise to contribute £500 towards travelling and living expenses for the comrade involved and Rivista A will also be contributing to this initiative. The comrade undertaking this assignment tion to hold on to the islands in the to bear upon political and social thinking, masons in south Wales alone - making wishing to contribute to this vital project please send donations to FREEDOM PRESS without delay, for by the time this issue is in print we will have already sent the £500, robbing Freedom's 'coffers'!

Speaking of which, with the last 100 subscription reminders to lated (or if there exists any anarchist readers who had still not renewed government represents no more than effective part of the Cabinet) a virtual I visited your bookshop in June and material in Chinese, there must, but their subs which expired at the end one-third of the population - but 'dictatorship in which none of us have was very impressed. In Hong Kong where?) and distributed. There of December. We cannot appeal to a right to any information above the anarchism, or indeed, any kind of would have been a great opportunity them in this column since they radical socialism is quite unknown. during the riots and demonstrations won't be receiving this issue of The only people I have found to be- last June but I could not produce any- Freedom unless they have by the population, we are, democratic- The 'Opposition' in our Parliament lieve in libertarian ideas have been thing fast enough as the number of responded in the meantime. But wise, in further trouble because it is not is a complete myth. Ex-Labour MP white expatriates like myself, who 'true' libertarians or any true anarch- we also sent out another 60 reminders disputed that the media, in particular Brian Walden, who apparently gets unfortunately are quite out of touch ists in Hong Kong is very low and we to readers whose subs expire television, plays a vitally important more joy out of talking about people with the working class here because haven't really organised ourselves, between January and the first role (such is its influence that the talking, wrote: 'The two front benches of the language barrier. However, I yet. With the handover to China in issue in March. Save us the extra capture of the TV broadcasting build- [in Parliament] liked each other and do believe that it would be possible 1997 and with no real freedom except work of sending out more remining in Bucharest was of paramount disliked their back benches. We were to bring about some degree of radi- for those sitting on top of their money ders by dealing with your sub now. calisation and I was wondering if you piles, who don't have to stay here And for those of you who want to all know, television and newspapers we were spoiled of course because could help me with it. What I mean anyway because they've got about 50 know how your subscription to are largely controlled by the powerful the electorate, which was even more is may be selecting some literature other nationalities, it is about time to Freedom stands consult the label that I could perhaps try to get trans- do something, to make sure that on the envelope and the bottom British colonialism won't simply be row of figures. The second figure replaced by Chinese colonialism. from the left tells you: 77 (10 That is what many people say, but March), 78 (24 March), 79 (7 April) or 80 (21 April).

most capitalistic places in the world. Raven 10 is the first of our 'planned' However, since history repeats There is a factual error in the item Money can buy you anything but issues and it's also 'planned' to be It needs to be said, though many itself, leopards cannot change their headed 'Subversive Strikebreak- those without money have to sleep dispatched in the first week of adults know what is best for young very much like another 'democracy', ers' in the 10 February Freedom. on the streets and slave their backs March. There are still a number of people, that one-fifth of the popula- we should all be aware that when a The EEPTU did not scab on the off in factories, inhaling asbestos and Freedom readers who are not tion - those under eighteen years of Prime Minister talks about human striking miners in 1984/5. They a dozen other gases. It obviously is Raven readers. How can you tell age - are disenfranchised, thus rights she means OIL, when she talks scabbed on the SOGAT 82 news- unnecessary to explain that those whether you also want The Raven with money naturally run this place if you haven't ever seen a copy? . those without can't even vote. We think that once you have you The problem is that the poor are tak- will feel that you just can't afford ing this all lying down, we can't tell not to receive it regularly! And for them what to do but it is our duty to Freedom readers a joint subscriphelp them and we can give them mod- tion means that The Raven costs els and suggestions of possible action you only £2 a copy post free (96 pages of good articles printed on You would probably have some good paper). So what we are propos to take out a subscription — if you the experiment well worthwhile.

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