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### INTERNATIONAL PAGE

# **Nuclear Diplomacy is Mad**

American manufacturer of electrical compo- statement do not intend it to be taken literally. What pons? There is a clue in the speech of welcome nents was asked to quote for a supply of krytron ca- they mean is that there has been no war directly be- made by the Prime Minister of Britain to the Chanpacitors. An ordinary commercial enquiry, except tween the USSR and the USA, which there might cellor of Germany, even as those who bought that the only known use for krytron capacitors is to well have been were it not that the bosses of those bombs for Iraq were being apprehended at Heath fire nuclear bombs. Placed at regular intervals on countries - the people who actually make decisions Row. It would be necessary, she said, for American the surface of a hollow sphere of chemical explo- about whether to have a war - saw the possibility of short-range nuclear missiles to be stationed in westsive, they can be made to spark all at the same time being personally fried. (to within a thousand-billionth of a second), causing an implosion which compresses uranium and/or plutonium in the centre of the sphere, producing a blood. But nuclear war threatens the blood of the they could be redirected at Poland, Czechoslovakia, massive release of energy.

of Investigation, who investigated and discovered Destruction, does not sound altogether unreason- Thatcher thought of as the intended target. that the would-be customers were working for able Evidently the appalling dictator of Iraq, President rence". Their spokespeople talk about "the inde-Saddam Hussein, was getting himself a nuclear pendent deterrent" when they mean the British col-

conspiracy of directors of CSI (the capacitor manu- model from the Americans. But their attitude to the facturer) and agents of the FBI, the British political prospect of an Iraqi bomb does not square with their police, British Customs, and perhaps the Israeli spy words. service Mossad. The customers were supplied with Murderous as he is, President Saddam is not suicithe capacitors and allowed to export them from dal. He is intent on staying in power, which is not America, but were arrested when their cargo was in to say he is a greedy materialist. No doubt he pertransit at London Airport.

Somewhere along the route, to be on the safe side, carry out God's purpose in the world. He may send dummy capacitors had been substituted for the real millions of his subjects to be killed in a holy war, ones, and this is where some reports suggest that but if he is personally barbecued the cause is lost. Mossad may have been involved. The customers Those British politicians and media people who had anticipated the substitution and engaged an ex- advocate "deterrence" were all, quite rightly, horripert, Dr Gerry Bull, to inspect the goods just before fied by the carnage of the Iran/Iraq war. And if the they left London for Iraq. Before he could keep his "deterrent" argument is right, the war could never appointment, Dr Bull was murdered at home by per- have started if Iran and Iraq had been equipped with sons unknown. His bulging wallet was untouched. nuclear bombs. So why not now take the oppor-

deterrent" are really interested in deterrence.

pons have kept the peace is ridiculous, as there have dare make war on anybody. been wars every minute of the time since the atom Nobody seriously advocates this course, from main nuclear powers "continuing diplomacy by lieves in the MAD argument.

Every government is prepared, if there is no other

lection of nuclear bombs, and "updating the British So a "sting" (swindle) was devised, involving a deterrent" when they mean buying this year's

ceives himself to be in power by the will of God, to

When the news became public, we learned a little tunity of ensuring perpetual peace in the Middle about how much the apologists for "the nuclear East? Let Saddam have his bomb, and make sure all the governments on which he might make war also Taken literally, the statement that nuclear wea- have bombs (Israel already has one). Then nobody

bomb was invented, many of them by proxy for the which we may conclude that nobody seriously be-

### **News from Northern** Ireland

weight (overfed!) he is. However all the euphoria terrible irrelevancy. has been soured by the revelation that Bill Farley, owner of Fruit of the Loom, is in big trouble with The next major political happening really worth archist dawn finally comes, do we take advantage The Securitate, branded "terrorists" by the Na-US banks for other dealings of his in US textile in- watching in Northern Ireland will be the introduc- of the homogeneity thus achieved and move with dustries, specifically involving the so-called "junk tion of the poll tax. Collection of the tax will be well one voice to the new millennium? bonds". This has put the wind up the IDB and when nigh impossible here and for street violence it's questioned on this aspect of the investment into hard to beat the Northern Irish. There have been ru-Northern Ireland they have been playing the straight mours that we will be exempted here but politically bat, and praying that they haven't hooked another that would be too much of a turnaround for able, say, Irish to be widely spoken, in spite of the John DeLorean from the US shark pool. Once again Thatcher. Watch this space! workers in Northern Ireland are being put at the mercy of international capitalists who will wheel in and, when it suits them, wheel out again just as sharp - and much enriched.

On the war front the issue of collusion between the security forces and loyalist paramilitaries took two turns recently. One involved the murder of a republican in Lurgan as he came out of the RUC station where he was reporting as part of his bail conditions on an ammunition charge. The question is who told the loyalist gunman that he was going to be there? And the second turn arose from a report **D** UC men were called in to a recent public enby inflating prices for contracted-out work around individualistic and forceful stance on the language, ference was taking place.

In the economic front big news was announced else in the world are the shenanigans of politicians recently by the IDB, that government agency seen in a more ludicrous light than in Northern Irecharged with the task of industrial development land where "talks about talks" are the very best they here, with the prospect of 500 manufacturing jobs can come up with. The cat was very soundly set about what the EEC quaintly calls "lesser-used lanin the Derry area when the investment by US multi- among that set of pigeons recently when Martin guages" and specifically Irish. national textile company Fruit of the Loom comes McGuinness of Sinn Féin seemed to indicate that on stream in the next three to five years. This was Sinn Féin was ready to become what everybody else As internationalists, should we be advocating a big success for capitalism and the process of job wants them to become - which is a so-called con- some form of universal language? Should we be creation by "inward investment". The local MP stitutional party. For anarchists this jockeying for throwing our weight behind the Esperanto cause? made big noises about it, going so far as to wear a position against the background of economic folly What ever happened to Esperanto? I never seem to Fruit of the Loom sweatshirt in photos in the local and a many-sided war of attrition that benefits only hear anything about it these days. Or should we just press, which simply served to highlight how over- the army by providing them with training, assumes

### "Will Irish be spoken in the anarchist future?"

in the Guardian newspaper that huge sums of Aquiry into urban development in Derry when money are being received by loyalist paramilitaries an Irish language activist, renowned for his highly army bases. Specific mention has been made of the refused to make his submission in English. Later in grass-cutting contract at Ballykelly Army Base. the same week the same man tried to "crash" a book Also on the war front sectarian murders are on the launch at which a government minister from the Reincrease again, while the IRA's perverse actions public was making a speech (in Irish) having been continued recently when they bombed a hotel at smuggled into the city by the City Council in spite which a Congress of Trades Unions women's con- of the opposition of unionist members of the council. He was ejected by heavies on that occasion. To From this background comes the most interesting have called the RUC into an event at which a southnews on the political front for some time. Nowhere ern government figure was clandestinely present



Come time in 1988, as we learned last week, an other means". But of course those who make the What, then, is the real purpose of nuclear weaern Germany, even after German reunification.

Short-range missiles will only go about 300 miles. course, to fight to the last drop of somebody else's At present they are aimed at eastern Germany, but governments themselves. The MAD argument, that Austria, Switzerland, France, Luxemburg or Den-The manufacturers informed the Federal Bureau nuclear weapons deter wars by Mutually Assured mark. It is not known which of these countries Mrs election.

Omar Latif, an Iraqi diplomat stationed in London, The three biggest political parties in Britain are get. The real purpose of nuclear weapons is neither sense of potty. believed to be the local chief of Iraqi intelligence. all, as a matter of policy, in favour of nuclear "deter- war nor deterrence, but as a macho demonstration

of power. Governments want them for the same reason that some private individuals want hand guns and Rottweiler dogs - just to look menacing.

This would account for the horror of nuclear proliferation exhibited by existing nuclear powers (don't let Saddam have a bomb - he swaggers too much as it is).

It would also account for the Labour Party's decision to change its policy from nuclear disarmament to "deterrence". Macho individuals are often intense patriots, identifying the government's aggressiveness with their own. Macho patriots want the nuclear bomb, and the "Falklands factor" showed Labour politicians that they need the macho patriot vote if they are ever to get into power by

Nuclear diplomacy is mad - not MAD in the sense A possible solution is that there is no intended tar- of Mutually Assured Destruction, but mad in the

### **Eastern Europe Only the Masters Change**

The monolithic Stalinist states of Eastern Europe transformed itself into something more electorally have collapsed - to be replaced with other acceptable, but other manifestations of the old onestates, albeit with more liberal and participatory party dictatorships, particularly the police and army political systems and more freedom of expression. apparatuses, still survive everywhere as disciplined It is often difficult to see now where power lies. In- and armed institutions bereft of the Party and the creasingly the initiative taken by the ordinary State they were created and trained to serve. people has passed to the steering committee and in- The police forces, militias and armies of the Eas-

would have been all too much for the organisers protester banged on the windows and the politician tried to carry on with his speech, "there's that fucking anarchist again" (in English).

me thinking, Irish-speaking anarchist that I am,

ride out the tide of cultural imperialism flowing with the "major" languages - French, English, Mandarin and one or two others - then, when the an- In Romania, what's going on is anyone's guess.

But what if we don't go for this but prefer the sort of cultural and linguistic diversity that would enmany ways it has been done down by British and Irish people in the past? Irish, of course, in its association with a particularly forceful form of nationthat the BBC late night presenters in Northern Ireland can't say "Oiche mhaith" to their television in English and Gaelic.

monochrome?

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Dave Duggan

fant parties which emerged from interest groups and tern bloc were always much more overtly political novements active in the risings. As time goes by, than those of Western Europe. Basically little more these are doing nothing particularly radical: the old than armed wings of the Communist Party in its parties are revived and new ones try to mimic the various manifestations, they were designed to West. The East Germans in particular seem content counter both internal and external threats to the to form sister parties of the stolid West German hegemony of the vanguard of the proletariat (ingroupings in readiness for a new political union. cluding those from the proletariat itself). These in-In general, the further one gets from those heady stitutions employed thousands of people and paid days at the end of the '80s, the less appears to have thousands more informers - the Securitate in Rochanged. The Communist Party has vanished or mania was reported to have 700,000 low-level touts on its books. What to do with their personnel is a problem for the new authorities. In East Germany, many have been drafted into the health service where the exodus of paramedics to the West has caused a severe and chronic shortage of staff at all the city council and the local library - to bear. A man levels. Debriefing centres in southern Germany set standing beside me at the book launch said, as the up by Western intelligence agencies are full of East german ex-secret policemen trying to sell mostly worthless "secrets".

East Germany's caretaker government has said Now, knowing the protester as I do, I know he is that the Staats Sicherheitsdienst ("Stasi") is to be very far from being an anarchist but the remark got dissolved by the end of March this year, but has also announced plans for a new, smaller, internal security agency - anathema to those who made the revolution. In Czechoslovakia the Interior Minister has said the state will only stop spying on the West "when the West stops spying on us" and there has been no wholesale closure of the internal security forces (but the Czechs are having a quieter revolution, as befits a rising that began with a strike in a theatre and resulted in a playwright as President).

> tional Salvation Front which took over the revolution and shot Ceausescu, appears still to exist despite officially being defunct, and senior members still seem to be involved in politics.

The Council for National Salvation, the parliament-cum- provisional government, was largely composed of self-proclaimed ex-communists. It alism, is seen as potently subversive. So much so started out headed by Acting President Ion Iliescu, a career communist who trained in Moscow and claims to know Gorbachev well, and Prime Minisaudiences, while it's no problem for colleagues in ter Petre Roman, a Marxist with no political experi-BBC Wales to use two languages. Nor for col- ence who is widely disliked (more because he is leagues on BBC Scotland who can say goodnight Jewish than for his political beliefs). On 9th February the Council was expanded to include representatives of small factions and Romania's nine eth-I suppose that for anarchists the reality is that there nic minorities and renamed the Council for National will always be Irish spoken as long as there are Unity. There are no former dissidents on the Counpeople who wish to speak it. For the pleasure it cil's 11-member Executive Bureau. The Council gives them, for the connectedness it gives them, for says it needs trained and experienced people, and the access to a rich and unique way of viewing and therefore many functionaries of the former regime describing the world it gives them. But is this still hold high positions - only about 60 Communenough? As numbers of native speakers go into de- ist Party members, including the former Politburo, cline due to economic changes, mainly emigration, have been arrested. Clearly the revolution is not yet and given the awesome tide of mass culture being complete. On 12th February thousands gathered at delivered in the "major" languages how should an- the Front's headquarters in Victory Square, Buchaarchists respond to ensure that when the anarchist rest, demanding a harder line on Communists and dawn does arrive it is not in cultural and linguistic the Securitate, and on Sunday 18th February 102

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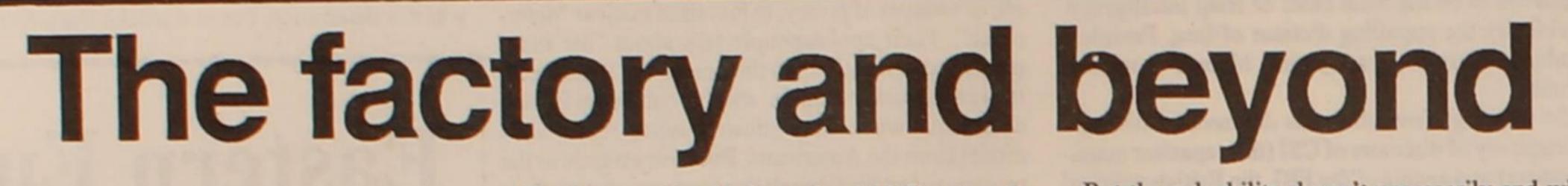
Il good liberals know that there are three Categories of people you don't discriminate against: blacks, women and homosexuals. All three groups are vociferous and political fodder for the aspirant lefty politician and any candidate who fails to mention the disadvantages that triumvirate face in present day society, does so at his peril. In employment one cannot, so the law says, discriminate against a potential employee on the grounds of sex or race, and although an employer can discriminate against the disabled there is nevertheless a requirement on an employer to seek an exemption or employ 3% of disabled workers where he employs 20 people or more. We all know, of course, that the discrimination laws in this country are a load of bullshit, but nonetheless there is a group of people apart from the unemployed who employers can discriminate against with impunity and with the blessing of the government, i.e. union activists.

Mr Tim Eggar, Employment Minister of State, recently defended the activities of the Economic League - an organisation which compiles lists of union activists for client employers. During the committee stage of the union background of job applicants. In reply Mr Eggar said that the government saw nothing wrong in employers seeking information about the trade union records of prospective employees. Although the League blacklists are not covered by the Data Protection Act because they are kept on file and not computer, Mr Eggar claimed that the League would allow anyone listed to look at their file. If you're not on their files there is one sure way to get on it - ask to see it!

Although the Employment Bill makes the pre-entry closed shop unlawful, it also outlaws an employer from refusing a job on the grounds that an applicant is a union member. The Labour amendment sought to ban blacklists of union activists in the same way as the Bill will prevent employers recruiting from pre-entry closed shops. Mr Blair claimed that the government could only be truly evenhanded if it accepted the Labour amendment banning blacklists.

The activities of the Economic League have been surrounded by controversy in recent years. Granada TVs "World In Action" have sought to discredit it and to publicise its labour

screening services which it provides to client The League also produces a monthly twoemployers, and which is the main activity of minute news review. In 1981 the League prothe League. This also appears to be the one duced a 100-page booklet entitled The Agitaservice for which companies are prepared to tors, which it claimed was a comprehensive pay. Although the League's main activity is guide to the intricate world of subversion - a all the Cowley Moles were screened by the blacklisting, they have in the past been active guide that no self-respecting anarchist should in the propaganda war distributing innumer- be without. able leaflets and monthly publications for The aims of the League are to discourage to inspect their Economic League file should management such as Industrial Subversion political interference in industry, to refute un- contact The Economic League, First Floor, and Communist Intrigue in the Labour Party. sound economic doctrines based on sentiment Asphalte House, Palace Street, London SW1.



But the culpability doesn't necessarily end with For the anarchists Mohamed and Ali Fayed ought the Guinness 7, the defendants. It emerged that none "I gotta horse": We don't know how lucky we are! to be like matinée idols riding roughshod through a In Taiwan they only have one legal form of gam- false land which still worships experts and instituof Guinness's eminent City financial or legal advi-Employment Bill, Tony Blair, the shadow bling - the Stock Market. But in the UK we're spoilt tions. sers ever told the company that it might be commit-Employment Secretary, claimed that the for choice. In this context it's hypocritical of The ting a crime if it rewarded those who supported its Economic League dealt with some 250,000 Independent (8th March 1990) commenting on the Concerning Icebergs: But the Fayed takeover of share price during the 1986 takeover battle for Disinquiries a year from employers about the DTI's (Department of Trade and Industry) refusal tillers. Indeed, Guinness had itself been recruited by Harrods is only the tip of the iceberg in the world to do anything about the Fayed brothers, to call on of high finance. In the Guinness trial over alleged Schroeder Wagg, the merchant bank, to prop up the the City to "... banish the image of casino capitalillegal trading in shares in their bid to get the Disbrewers Matthew Brown. Schroeder Wagg has just m which is too often reinforced by takeover bids tillers drinks group now continuing, the uprightness carried out the privatisation of water for the governand their aftermath". of some of our cherished British institutions has ment. The Independent entitled its editorial "Liars win, been dented.

and the City loses". God, the English are a snobbish lot. When the tory backbenchers and Tiny Rowland case in detail need only browse through the headcall for the extradition of the Fayeds', one suspects lines: "Roux [Guinness's former finance director] mergers and takeovers" (shades of insider dealing). they are put out by being beaten by backstreet charlied to save skin in Guinness affair", "Marguilies The Bank of Credit and Commerce, with offices in acters, who according to the DTI report gained Harpaid £3.3 million to buy Guinness shares" (paid by London, has been accused of laundering drug rods by misrepresenting "their wealth, their business interests and their resources to the Secretary of State, the Office of Fair Trading, the press, the House of Fraser board and shareholders, and their paid to Parnes" (Parnes, a City stockbroker and de- fluenced and Corrupt Organisation Act (RICO) by own advisers (merchant bankers Kleinwort Benn) and their solicitors". was working behind the scenes to get market infor- laws. Nobody likes being ripped-off, least of all by mation and had the "brilliant" idea of buying back The problem is one of survival. Some like Drexsome boys from a Cairo slum, but the beauty of the modern world is that, given the right circumstances, the peasant can outwit the lawyer, or the merchant banker. That's what we mean when we say someone is "streetwise". Why should we be surprised then, to see these sons of an Egyptian schoolmaster running rings around the City and the government investigators? tor of lying", "Saunders was carried away by enough. greed", "Roux says be lied as part of cover-up".

### **A Change of Masters in Eastern Europe**

### (continued from p.2)

people were arrested after a throng of anti-communist demonstrators invaded and ransacked the building, hanging up a banner stating "the revolution has been stolen".

The army is prominent among top members of the Council, and army personnel run the defence ministry and police. In the immediate aftermath of the rising, many towns and rural areas came under military control. These are now officially under civilian administration, but sometimes only after furtherdemonstrations and popular protests as Communist volte face in favour of the anti-Ceausescu demonstrators, is still a mystery. According to The Economist (6th January 1990), television film shot in the afternoon of 22nd December (the day after the revolution began when an official pro-Ceausescu rally became a popular protest) shows a group including Iliescu and General Militaru (now Defence Minister) discussing what to call a provisional govern-Council for National Salvation had already existed ing a field day with that, and we'll read all about it in Lobster in due course.)

If Romania is a good example of how not to make a revolution, Poland affords perhaps the clearest view of what is probably in store for the rest of Eastern Europe.

The security police in Poland are to be pruned the wind has been blowing and are busily burning what sanctions? files in case anyone should decide to see what they

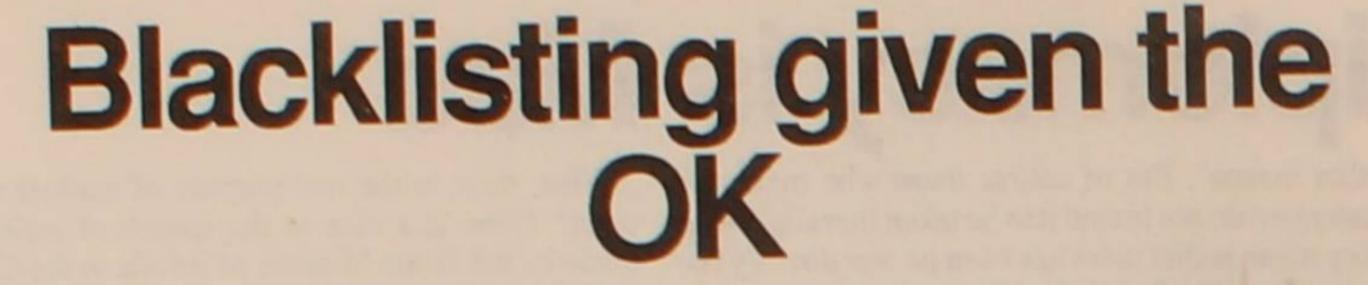
got up to whilst Solidarinosc was an illegal organisation. The People's Militia is also being disbanded, to be replaced by a police force which will be allowed to have a union.

been cut by 38% since the Solidarinosc-led government took over the reins last August. Solidarinosc was allowed to stand in elections for the otherwise Communist Party dominated Sejm (parliament) for the simple reason that stability in the country was breaking down and it was the only way the shabby government of General Jaruzelski could survive. Solidarinosc has since been happy to make almost uprising, and particularly the reason for its sudden the image of Solidarinosc is still strong enough to forestall food riots and demonstrations on the scale we've seen elsewhere is unpredictable.

anthropy but because there is money aplenty to be in terms of probability than inevitability. ment, during which Militaru apparently said that the made there. The states of Eastern Europe offer a But there is another form of conflict that must longer commanded by "socialist" state central plan- parliamentary representatives. ning bureaucracies, they are free to sell their labour That senior figures in the Church of England are

workers in the West. They call this freedom.

INDUSTRIAL PAGE



and false assertions, to oppose all subversive elements which attempt by stirring up strikes and disaffection to interrupt the smooth working of the industrial machine, and to counter attempts to damage national security. Founded in 1919, the League then claimed to be engaged in a "crusade for capitalism".

Whilst the pernicious activities of the League have created havoc with lives and have led people to being locked out of employment, the quality of their intelligence often leaves a lot to be desired. For example, League and none of them was identified. Anyone wishing to take up Mr Eggar's offer Joe McCarthy

There are other areas of concern for puritans. In Those workers who haven't had time to follow the January The Financial Times voiced worries about "the movement of share prices in advance of big Guinness), "Secret share deals clinched over money in Colombia. And in the US, Drexel Burnlunch", "Saunders [a defendant] had office diaries ham, the promoters of US junk bonds, has just destroyed", "Roux defends £3 million success fee avoided being charged under the Racketeer Infendant in the case now known as the Guinness 7, pleading guilty to felony charges under the security

Guinness shares), "Finance director tells of £5.8 el and Guinness lose out, but more survive. The million deal" (another success fee to get the Heron thing to do is cover your arse and don't go in for company to back share buying plot), "Parnes' £3 petty crime. Commit fraud on a "grand scale" like million was well earned Roux tells court" (success the Fayeds. I'm not one for swelling up with selffee), "Roux says Saunders authorised £5 million righteous indignation about these people - after all fee" (success fee), "Saunders' QC speaks of false I got sacked last month for falsifying my job appliinvoice", "Guinness witness accuses leading solici- cation. That's what comes of not being devious

Mack-the-Knife

# **Capitalism in conflict**

of owners and productive capital to maximise themselves a dignified standard of living does not was that such action would serve no purpose. necessarily lead to revolution.

Party offices became branches of the National Sal- any compromise with its government partners in persuaded to think that the capitalist state is a lesser cases of social security "fraud", etc., adherence to vation Front. The role of the army in the Christmas order to keep a grasp on political power. Whether evil that anarchist communism, there is the added the imperative of competition is morality enough complication of workers actually siding with their for him. capitalist employer against the state. For example, But, as we have seen, there are many in his party it has been known for long-distance lorry drivers to who believe their own propaganda, and who do not Western governments, led by West Germany and collude with bosses so that the drivers can spend wish to see ethics so blatantly swept under the carthe USA eager to "develop" Eastern Europe, are more time on the road than is legally allowed. Both pet (or at least they don't wish others to see it). trying to "help" the Polish government out of its are happier to do this than to obey the law, since economic crisis. Capitalist investors are already both make more money this way. Like overt class moving in on other Comecon areas - not from phil- conflict, this type of occurrence is better described were none other than Tiny Rowland's Lonhro,

skilled, cheap and industrially docile and non- surely be described as inevitable since it is inherent for months. (No doubt conspiracy theorists are hav- unionised workforce which is eager and willing to in capitalist systems. This is the clash between capibe exploited in an international free market. No talists themselves, whether directly or through their

- though not at a price set by themselves - just like now criticised for being "left wing" only illustrates the point that a very public conflict between moral Despite all the rhetoric of democracy and liberal and economic principles is built into the capitalist values, it matters not a whit to capitalists what sort system. A politician advocating "free competition" decisions by the Queen, Prince Charles and the of a government exists so long as it lets them and (sic) between individuals must also present a strong Duke of Westminster to help their employees out down (only 3,000 are left, against 30,000 a year their venture capital in and their profits out. And moral profile to meet with popular approval. The with their poll tax bills). The "liberal" mask worn ago) and "depoliticised", but they've seen the way that doesn't just apply to Eastern Europe. Sanctions, trick is to persuade the electorate that the competition is fair, since it is based upon and guided by just Katy Andrews and democratic laws.

Economically, however, Poland remains in deep N / arx once said that capitalism sows the seeds However, politicians are not equally politic in the trouble. Real purchasing power of the Zloty has IV of its own destruction. He had in mind what promotion of their public image. Nicolas Ridley, he saw as the inevitable conflict of interests be- Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, is a case tween the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. We know in point. His defence of his decision not to take any o our cost that this contradiction between the wish action against the Fayed brothers takeover of Harrods, despite the apparent consensus that they lied profits and the need of their employees to create for and cheated their way into ownership of the store,

> Ridley is clearly a moral pragmatist, particularly On top of the likely possibility of workers being when it comes to the crimes of the rich. Except in

The irony is that the group that the Fayeds beat in their attempt to purchase the House of Fraser Group made infamous by Ted Heath's referring to them as "the unacceptable face of capitalism". That the unacceptable face of capitalism can be beaten by an even dirtier dog looks like a sure reflection of the spirit of the times. The stench of corruption grows still more foul.

From its beginnings, the capitalist system in Britain was a reaction against the traditions of feudalism, traditions which included the moral obligations of a lord to his serfs (note, for example, the

(continued on page 4)

# **Freedom of the Fells**

Ativities - in particular walking, climbing and prise to discover the inclusion of a new column, "Rambling Notes", in Freedom, 27th January 1990.

Hence I noted with some interest the comments sport. Climbers are used to being denied access to environment they engender? crags in various parts of the country - and often they accept this without reservation when closure of climbing areas is warranted, such as the restriction of access to sea cliffs in Pembroke during the nesting season. And disgruntled or disaffected landowners are, fortunately, not a common sight in my area of the country, where most rock climbing takes place in one of, if not the most, beautiful of English counties - Northumberland. Rather, the experience is one of red flags flying over MoD property, together with the ubiquitous official notice promising both danger and prosecution.

As both walker and climber I have at times wondered how popular such activities are with those that regard themselves, in whatever manner, as anarchists. For it is an indisputable fact that across the population at large the pursuit of outdoor activities is soaring in popularity. Other than Red Rope, which deems itself to be a "countrywide socialist walking and climbing club", I know of no radical groups actively involved in this arena. Most climbers, whether as individual members or affiliated members (which includes the vast majority of those that are members) of the British Mountaineerin Council, rely on this body to resolve local access problems, and in the main they appear to do a reasonable job despite ambitions to build a burgeoning bureaucracy.

Apart from rights to access there is, however, an equally if not more serious problem that HS does not consider, and that is the dilemma of marrying freedom with responsibility. There are at least two important issues that need to be addressed. The first is that of footpath erosion. The denuding of tracts of land on our fells and hills occurs most markedly on our National Parks. One only has to visit the Lake District to attain some idea of the scale of the problem and the efforts of various bodies, often employing MSC labour, to contain these ever-growing

### Capitalism in conflict

(continued from page 3)

by capitalist politicians from 1945 onwards oba truly social morality.

some of her followers prefer the (relatively more so- placed by displays of indignation, as in the case of cial) "consensus-morality" of 1945-1979 to Victorian values is at the root of many of the policy dis- tween their conscience and their bank balances, apagreements within the Tory Party as a whole.

Talking of her followers, one of the local rags in diseased remains of their fellow prisoners. Brighton and Hove recently featured Egg-wina Currie on their front page. ApparentlyThames Val- talists savaging each other like rotweilers at our exley Eggs, one of Europe's largest egg producers, pense is that the public may come to see through the who twelve weeks ago took legal action against hideous sham of economic individualism, and re-Currie accusing her of slander for her famous com- fuse any longer to subsidise the excesses of the rich ments on salmonella in eggs, have themselves been and powerful. fined £10,000 by Brighton magistrates and thrown

A someone with a great interest in outdoor ac- ugly scars that we use as footpaths. Worst of all, numerous section of society, whether white or made the national news (24th/25th February) when perhaps, are certain stretches of the Lyke Wake black. Like others, Mandela is concerned to allay operating in Glencoe. general mountaineering - it came as a pleasant sur- Walk that straddles the North Yorkshire Moors. At the fears of the minority, for democracy ought in More pertinent, however, was the appeal issued times these scars are close to twenty yards wide. principle, even if it fails in practice as it usually to walkers and climbers not to venture out onto the does, to entail a duty to protect the interests and hills in adverse weather and conditions. For it is popularity breeds problems. What, then, is the answer? Are we to rest satisfied rights of the minority, whoever that might be.

of HS regarding the problems of access that con- in the knowledge that some effort is under way to So too, then, should ramblers, walkers and clim- answer to the questions listed earlier. That this was front ramblers on their wanderings through the inhibit this wear and tear? Ought we to restrict or bers temper freedom of access with responsibility. an appeal indicates that decisions of this kind have countryside. Although not a rambler myself, I can even prohibit altogether mass ascents or mass cross- This brings me to the second of those issues - moun- to be left to the individual. It is up to you as users vouch for similar difficulties that occur at what ings of hills, undertaken fairly often for charitable tain rescue. Few other organisations are worthy of of country ways, fellside paths and mountain crags, might be considered the more gymnastic end of the purposes but with little regard for the effects on the the praise that is attributed to mountain rescue all of which we use freely and gladly, to be cogniteams, and few can match their display of what Kro- sant of our responsibilities, not only to ourselves but potkin termed "mutual aid". But here too our desire more importantly to the environment and to others. Quite recently I have watched with eager antici- to enjoy the beauty and challenges of our hills often Only within ourselves can the dilemma between pation the release from jail of Nelson Mandela and outweighs any consideration we possess for those freedom and responsibility be resolved. listened to his reflections concerning the institution whom we expect to come and rescue us should we



Tikhail Gorbachev, who has just done for Rus- obviously saving the breweries money or enabling I sian vodka what Prohibition did for Ameri- them to make more in other ways. Many sites made can whisky, would be proud of the big brewers in available by pub closures in East Anglia are being Eastern England - not for their well-known support offered for development or conversion to private in Europe. of Tory party funds, but because at least they know dwellings. Property and land prices are still rising how to stop people drinking (funny, I hear you say, in this region which, especially since the electrifi-I thought that was how they made money?). cation of the mainline rail link, is rapidly being in-The big Watney/Mann/Truman brewery bought tegrated into the commuter belt of the rich South up lots of pubs in Norfolk during the 1960s, both East.

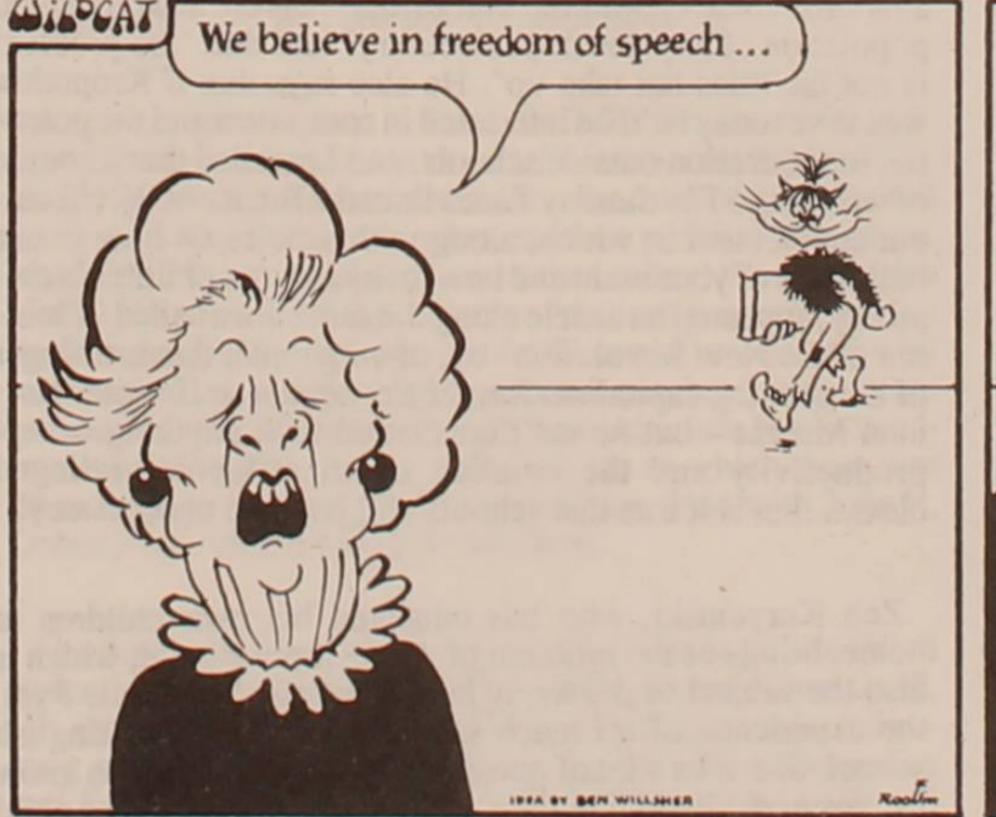
from local breweries and independent landlords, and then embarked on a programme of "asset-stripping" which has reduced the number of pubs to the extent that there are now more pubs in west Norwich which have been closed by Watneys than remain open. A smaller brewery, Greene King, is now doing the same sort of thing in the neighbouring counties of Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, with many pubs being run down or closed altogether. Pubs are not being re- sold but left boarded up, so the clientele is lost and goes elsewhere - if there is anywhere. This also inevitably deters would-be buyers who might wish to run the premises as independent free houses. This closure policy (denied by Greene King) deprives rural communities, and especially small villages, of valuable social amenities whilst

fect, poisoning their customers with salmonella-ridden eggs.

The present administration, favouring as it has done the funny-money of the financial bourgeoisie over the shoddy products of the industrial bourgeoisie, highlights the fact that capitalism, thriving as it does on conflicts, always produces casualties. scured the fact that its whole ethos was at odds with It is a dog-eat-dog system - and dogs of course cannot possess morality. Morality, unless it is to be just Now capitalism has reverted to type. Thatcher has a code of conduct enabling the soul (if any) to reach discarded the mask by stating bluntly that we'll all heaven (if any), requires a social consciousness, and be better off by looking after number one. That this is largely absent in capitalist ideology. It is re-Thames Valley Eggs, who caught in the conflict beparently chose to continue giving their chickens the

The only good that may come from seeing capi

Johnny Yen



### AN ANARCHIST APPROACH

### of majority rule in South Africa. Rightly, in my opi- suffer some misfortune. And when push comes to nion, Mandela recognises that responsibility fol- shove, most of us do expect help and aid from these lows hard on the heels of freedom. Majority rule teams if there are no others close at hand to minisshould not mean unbridled power for the most ter support. Once more the activities of such teams

here that we may unearth the only respectable

Dave Morland

Real Ale or not, from the wood or not, most British beer is just another junk food, and one with a swinging government tax on top.

Tust in case you actually find somewhere to pull you a decent pint, do you still want one? Irradiated food has been discussed recently in Freedom, but it seems that irradiated beer is also not far off Apparently a small dose of radiation (bombardment with gamma rays, x-rays or accelerated electrons, stimulates the activity of brewers' yeast. Irradiating barley can increase the yield during malting (early sprouting, when the grain releases maltose sugar for the yeast to feed on) by up to 7%, according to the off the list of top local hotel's suppliers for, in ef- Campaign for Real Ale (CAMRA). Irradiating yeast and barley will increase beer production for the same input costs and therefore, importantly for capitalist interests, the breweries' profits.

> Now I know most of us drink beer for the alcohol content rather than the vitamins, but it may still be of interest to learn that the loss in vitamins in irradiated grains is high - possibly as much as 70% in some cases. Ingestion of irradiated grains by humans has been known for many years to cause body cells to develop containing abnormally high numbers of chromosomes (nucleic acid chains carrying genetic information and responsible for controlling macro-molecule synthesis within cells). Increased rates of miscarriage, damaged spermatozoa and reduced immunity responses have also been found experimentally in small mammals (see New Scientist, 17th February 1990, page 29). The major ingredient of beer, apart from water, is grain - barley (hops are used for flavour).

If that isn't enough to worry or annoy you, consider this. Irradiation may be legitimately useful in preventing spoilage of foodstuffs, although its main use in Britain will be to prolong shelf-life, but can

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also cover up the defects in sub-standard foodstuffs. Old or contaminated barley which otherwise would be rejected (it's claimed irradiation is incapable of masking stale produce) could be "cleaned up" for use in brewing - hardly the finest ingredients, al-

though admittedly preventing wastage of produce. And have you ever wondered what, anyway, goes into a pint of beer? The brewing industry is one of the last great secret ingredients machines in the food sector - which is why the West German government is resisting pressure to allow British beer to be sold

Real ale or not, from the wood or not, most British beer is just another junk food, and one with a swinging government tax on top.

Bjarni

Riot at Strangeways (cont. from page 1) Strangeways, the inspectorate of prisons said, had been getting better of late. Television on Sunday evening broadcast an archive shot of the opening of the new visitors' centre last year, as if it were an illustration of improving conditions. But a visitors' centre is not (as it may sound to be) a place where visits take place. It is a facility outside the prison where visitors can recover from their journey before the quarter-hour meetings with prisoners take place.

The prison was built in 1878 to house 890 men. Ordinary sanitary provision in 1878 consisted of outside toilets, with chamber pots and wash stands in bedrooms. This was how the prison was equipped, and how it is still equipped. The main difference between 1878 and 1990 was that in 1990 the prison housed not 890 men but 1,600. Half the prisoners were banged up three to a cell with a space between the beds wide enough for one man at a time to walk up and down, three paces from end to end of the cell. That all three had to share a chamber pot is an exaggeration - the prison service provides a lidded bucket for each and every prisoner.

We say "was" rather than "is" because it looks as if Strangeways Prison has been wrecked, we hope beyond repair. There are too many people in prison even if there is only one there, but this country has a bigger proportion of its inhabitants in prison, and worse prison conditions, than anywhere else in Europe.



21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

## EDUCATION FEATURE **The National Curriculum** Eton

### Ground to play for

The National Curriculum? Not again! What is it this time, a teacher belly-aching that he or she can't cope? An educationalist bemoaning the re-introduction of strict subject boundaries which will constrain children's learning? A parent bemused by the jargon and feeling, once more, intimidated and marginalised in the face of a mystique which fogs

of a thin thread of hope that the National Cur- don't have to ask why, do we?) Formative asmands, if attempted within the traditional a massive and beneficial change in the way many children's learning is managed. It might also do more to effect the spread of good primary school practice, where children are encouraged to experiment, question and develop individual approaches, than its authors could lum into separate subject areas, where skills are acquired in a psychological environment which denies their transferability.

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Let me explain. When the National Curriculum was first outlined in the education press those with an inclination to approach things that way started totting up the hours for ten subjects, traditionally viewed, to be taught right through to Level 10, taking in GCSEs on the way. A stupid exercise, but never mind that. The cry went up - "it won't fit in". The clever answer was - "good". That was the opportunity to start talking about a different sort could be highlighted, where wasteful duplication and confusing pseudo- academic constraints could be eliminated. That was the time when some began to realise that if there was

too much for the teacher to do, then part of the responsibility for his or her learning could actually be handed over to the student.

IF ANY single institution can be offered as a microcosm of the establishment (i.e. the actual rulers of Britain), it is surely Eton College nd what about all that assessment that teawhich, even now, supplies about seventy seats' Chers believe they will have to do along parliament when, statistically, it would be the way? Well, some of us won't be doing it. rtunate to boast one MP. Rupert Wilkinson n his book The Prefects: British Leadership Some of us stopped doing much formal asand the Public School Tradition likens the sessment quite a long time ago. The children working of most public school communities to have become quite good at it though, except the way the constitution functions in the reliance that they do have a tendency top mark thempon ethical restraints and etiquette rather and confuses the search for understanding? selves down and need a lot of persuasion to than formal rules, and the use of ceremony to boost authority to make it dignified: 'Like general public is considerable. It could be all of these. But it is not. It is more recognise their own quality for what it is. (We ublic school authority. British cabinet government has depended for responsibility riculum will, by virtue of its impossible de- sessment - the kind which provides guidance human character rather than on written for the teacher and child on the most approprilaws. By contrast with the US presidency, the limitations of timetabled teaching, bring about ate next stage of learning - is the best kind and British executive has been free of such constiutional curbs as a fully written constitution it is best carried out together, with the child and a formal separation of powers . . . the are not so many paupers left in the country, right there at the centre, making comments British executive sits right in the legislative, it there are plenty of poor scholars and it would and being given credit for the demonstration ntrols its business and the order of that busiof learning which the teacher had not anticiness. By dominating the majority party, it pated. With this approach the child can deever have imagined. It might even transform velop a shrewd self-awareness which pinpreme court to rule a legal change unconstiour secondary schools into places where stu- points strengths as well as weaknesses and is itional.' In other words, Etonians make dents can relate one piece of learning to an- encouraged and enabled to set individual erfect politicians because they are born, bred other, instead of sectioning off the overlap- goals regarding the direction and pace for subping and interlocking elements of a curricu- sequent learning tasks. Profiling and Records democratic processes. Now, the unsuspecting other schools in the district is minimal. Eton's of Achievement provide the models and the National Curriculum, far from excluding least pay their fees out of their own well-lined the local newspapers - a great pity, for they them, might, in the long run, actually depend pockets. But the fact is that those fees are might make for most interesting reading, partion them if reporting to parents is to have any There is much ground to play for. We shall be into the next century before all the plans to introduce the National Curriculum can ma-

in particular, by Berkshire ratepayers. It works According to John Wakeford in The Cloistered like this: some centuries ago the King pre- Elite, many public schools '. . . are respected sented the college with land that today is worth for the impressive academic record of their a fortune. Thus, Eton makes huge profits from pupils, a record which is closely related to their terialise as fact in this country's schools. I doubt we shall see it happen. The overload it areas of knowledge and encourages the acrepresents contains the seeds of its own selfquisition of social-critical skills, we might destruction. We shall have the core: Maths, also get for our children some of that choice of coverage, where links between subjects Science, language and Technology. There is already too much invested in these areas for and freedom Baker claimed was at the root of them to disappear. If we start out teaching his Education Reform Act - but in ways he not happen. To challenge Eton is to challenge them in a fashion which allows the integration never foresaw. of other material, which fosters neglected

A re children natural anarchists? It would be truer to say A that the child is a natural rebel but cannot be a revolutionary because of its natural dependence on the adult. Those of us who have kept something of our natural rebelliousness in our adult lives must see the importance of the liberation of mankind through education.

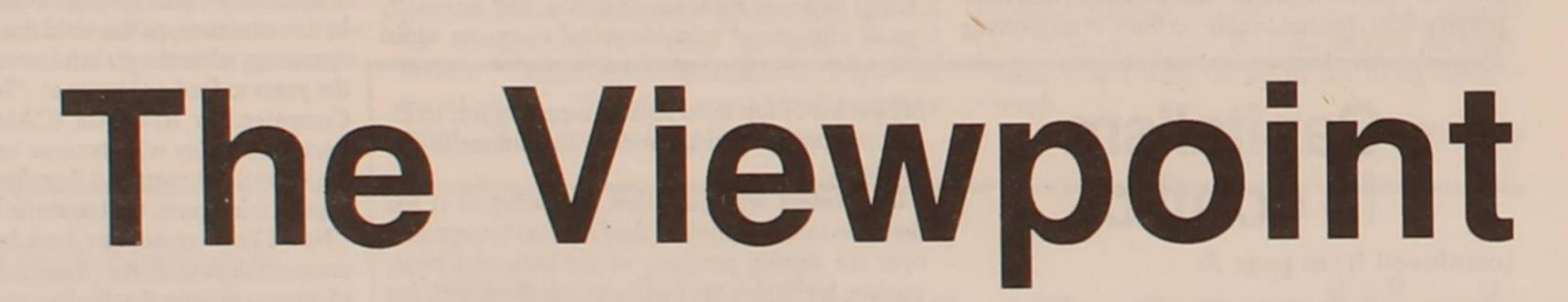
This is a subject of interest to us all for, even if we are not parents or teachers, we have all been to school, and if we do not recognise its importance, the State has no doubts on the matter, and here is the importance of The Raven 10 on Education. There are two main conflicting attitudes to childhood and education. The first is the traditional one that sees education (or rather schooling) as fitting the child to take part in adult society, and we see from John Shotton's "The Authoritarian Tradition in British Education since 1870 and its Libertarian Critique" that in the nineteenth century, when a rigid social hierarchy was generally accepted, there was no pretence about the educational system being anything other than class-based.

From the late nineteenth century onwards progressive educational systems developed, but even the more radical thinkers tended to hold the current philosophical idea that the mind of the child is a tabula rasa and that one can produce the happiest adult by means of education - this idea runs through the systems of Rousseau, Godwin (and this is why I cannot accept Godwin as an anarchist), Owen and Pestalozzi - and it presumes a class of enlightened adults who know what it best for all, and is seen today in the ideas of the Marxists and the Fabians.

I was a little disturbed in this context to read in Lib Ed the founder of the Kilquhanity School saying that he wanted to create peaceful people, since children are not like that at all it is anarchists who have criticised the peace movement as "providing blinkers which effectively prevent a rational attack on the causes of war" and have pointed out that it is obedience and not aggressiveness that enables the ruling classes to wage war. John Shotton in his contribution to The Raven makes the point that all non-libertarian systems of education are designed to inculcate in children the habits of obedience. The distinction is very clearly made between "progressive" and libertarian systems of education and between education

Anarchists and libertarians are in quite a different tradition, that coming down to us from the Romantic Movement in seeing childhood not as fitting the child into a mould prepared by adult society, but as seeing childhood as something valuable in itself (and after all we all spend about a quarter of our

and schooling.



lives growing up). But when we become adults we tend to look back at our childhoods with nostalgia and imagine that they really were the happiest days of our lives, conveniently forgetting the worries and anxieties of childhood and adoles cence - what Colin Ward in The Child in the City calls "mythmaking by the memory". If we accept this alternative view of childhood, then we have quite different criteria for bringing up our children than that of "getting on" with society. I recently read a letter in one of the better newspapers from a headmistress who wrote that some years ago she had been a firm believer in co-education but had since changed her mind because her experience had shown that girls do better in examinations in single-sex schools, and an ensuing correspondence dealt with other factors which may have caused this result, without questioning the equation of education with the passing of examination papers. Anarchists would apply quite different criteria, but I know teachers who tell me that they have to resist parents putting pressure on their children to compete in the examination system. In this issue of The Raven, Zeb Korycinska writing (from practical experience) on "Education vs Schooling: The Case for Home Learning" deals with this very point.

Shotton shown how after the Second World War, with the introduction of the 11-plus, both Labour and Tory parties accepted the idea of equality of opportunity (the subject of a recent article in Freedom) which was presented as a progressive step, and has now become accepted by the population at large with the corollary that the idea of social failure has become replaced by the idea of individual failure - if you don't do well it's not because you were born into the wrong class, it's because you're just no good - against which we oppose the cooperative and non-competitive society.

John Shotton is one of the editors of the magazine Lib Ed, and his contribution is from his forthcoming book on Libertarian Education and Schooling in Britain 1890-1990. In his outline on how state education developed, are some things I did not know, for instance that at the beginning of this century the views of the Webbs and the Fabians - that society

valuable properties in the Chalk Farm, Swis: Cottage and other districts in London and else where. The trick is that under a charitable status ruling so special that it escapes the attentions of the Charity Commissioners, the College is not required to pay any tax on profits made from those deals. Then comes the fraud: under its statute the College is pledged to offer free education to seventy boys from poor families. Now the joke: as the College fully appreciates, o parents in their right minds however poverty stricken would ever dream of taking up the offer, which could be likened to the Klu Klux Klan offering membership to negroes, with the result that the requirement is not complied with. The prestige and financial success of its old boys would suggest that Eton school fees would be very much higher than most other public schools, but that fact that they are not is one indication that the subsidy borne by the

Back in the swinging sixties there were moves made to do something about the scandalous situation. The Newsom Report made observations and recommendations that have been mostly ignored up to the swindling eighties. In 1973 Lord Butler wrote, 'while there do no harm if some of the ancient foundations returned to their original articles by including dominates parliament and — in theory at least a greater number of entrants from the public - parliament can change any law. There is no system' but as if worried that he had gone too far, he went on to say that public schools were not harbours of privilege!

The ordinary citizen of Eton is not privy to nd educated into a system that functions by what goes on behind the perimeter of the pointment and patronage rather than by College. Integration with the town and with night take it for granted that those rich people annual examination results are never pubwho send their sons to be educated at Eton at lished alongside those of the other schools in idirectly subsidised by the general public and, cularly if the ages of its examinees were given. ability to retain their older boys for three, and occasionally four, years in sixth forms. Year after monotonous year the 'locals' run a story on the silly wall game which, though doubtless played with much feeling, is of no interest to you or me, but when it comes to Eton's Wall Street game, they pretend it does Jane Jeffrey the whole rotten fabric of the establishment.

> should be raised by informed expert opinion rather than subject to democratic popular judgement - were "widely shared at the time". Why was this so? And by whom? If we can understand the historical reasons behind popularly accepted ideas then we can see how to challenge them.

Shotton goes on to survey the progressive, socialist and social democratic views of national education: "All three fail to consider the whole experience of state schooling from the viewpoint of the child, the user, the learner", and against these sets the libertarian critique which he develops through a number of anarchist teachers (Proudhon, Ferrer, Michel, etc.) down to the "Free Schools" of the 1960s and 1970s and points to the need to record the experiences of those who have been involved in such experiences - which is one way in which Lib Ed is so significant a magazine.

Michael Smith's "Kropotkin and Technical Education: an anarchist voice" points out that Britain "has the least educated population of any developed country" and that "the problem is not facilities but take-up". He also says that if Kropotkin was alive today he'd be interested in computers and the potential for education outside schools, and I recalled that a couple of weeks ago The Sunday Times issued a Business World colour supplement in which, along with articles on how to use both sides of your brain and how to assess your children's creativity, appeared an article along the same lines called "Children of the New Revolution" by, of all people, that astrologer of burgeoning capitalism former Economist staff writer Norman Macrae - but he isn't concerned with anything except productivity and the creation of an affluent privileged class.....but is it true that schools will become unnecessary?

Zeb Korycinski, who has educated his own children at home, brings us the problem of the disruptive child, which is also the subject of the wryly humorous piece by Paule Pym, the experience of a French woman teaching in an English school. She asks a lot of questions without claiming to know the answers - including the unanswerable one of why a child

### **EDUCATION FEATURE**

## Educating teacher

unhappy with the current education system. My own experience of formal education had been should have said "If you can't read this ask a teacher a relatively happy one, as the local grammar school what he did with 2,090 days of your life". The and two universities took me away from the life of school day starts at 9 o'clock and generally finishes hard physical work that had been the lot of my par- around 4 o'clock. Seven hours. However if you disents. I had always enjoyed academic study, and like count the time it takes shuffling between classes, many people in a similar situation I suppose that I waiting for the teacher to establish "order" in the had assumed that most other pupils and students felt class, waiting for him or her to get the lesson going, the same way. Four years of teaching has changed my outlook completely, and as I now prepare to impediments of school routine, you'll find that a leave the profession I feel that from whatever angle good deal of the day is functionally wasted - and you look at the education system it can only be seen that's before any allowance for the waste that con- can go. - for at least eleven years of its life.

will tell you that one of the most disheartening aspects of classroom teaching is the passivity and indifference that they face. You can have an excellent lesson from your own point of view - explaining issues more clearly than you have before, bringing in relevant and current material, enjoying the lesson yourself - but the general reaction of the pupils will be the same as if it was a lesson given on one of your "off days". That reaction is usually one that is characterised as "God . . . this is bloody boring". have spent most of my teaching with 16-18 year olds, the majority of whom exhibit little interest in the subject, beyond the amount needed to ensure the bits of paper that promise 20K jobs, with company car. But they don't start off like this. My three year old son, along with his little friends, are desperate tween? School.

Then I became a school teacher I was far from teacher". In view of the incredible number of people who are functionally illiterate in Britain perhaps it listening to instructions, notices, and all the other

> That's the success of the education to enter the economic system.

The curriculum is a ferocious taskmaster. You admit it fails. as a damaging influence on children in its grip. Ad- stitutes much of the lessons themselves. However, may want to talk with the pupils about anything but The Baker reforms have, at least, their own sort mittedly it is merely one damaging influence this life of school routine is one area in which the the next topic on the syllabus, but you've only got of logic. Those reforms seek to boost the education amongst many, but, television apart, it is one of the education system is successful - perhaps the only a certain amount of time to get through the course. system so that it may provide a better prop for the most powerful formative forces that any child faces area in which it is successful. The pre-school child You've got to teach them the course, if you're in industrial system in general. But if you wish to will, if left to his or her own devices and not trained the system then give them what's expected, you've maintain the life, and imaginativeness of the ques-Speak to any teacher of senior children and they into a routine as advised by most "parenting" books, no right to make choices for the children, just hope tioning three year old, then look somewhere else. Stephen Cullen they'll see through it themselves. Most public examination courses last for two years. Two years of head bashing, and a few months of crammed re-vision. By sweating blood a pupil can perform well THE RAVEN 10 in an examination, and the next day happily forget ANARCHIST OUARTERLY system - it prepares every single thing that they wrote in their examination. How much does anyone remember from the people in the most countless classes taken at school? I passed all my science O Levels, but I'm not sure how a telephone basic and vital way works. In fact, everything that I can remember from D. five years of science lessons could most probably be written on a side of A4 paper. I'd like to remember more, know more, but what was important thirteen years ago was passing the examination, getting the bit of paper. That was priority number one. Why for knowledge, for understanding, about every- eat when he or she feels like, sleep when he or she can't I remember now? Because I wasn't interested thing. "How does that tractor go?" "What's that feels like, ask to be read a story when he or she feels then. I didn't ask the question, the teacher did, so I bird's name?" "Why is that man digging?" Endless like, play when he or she feels like. The finished can't remember now. The pre-school child wants to questioning, an insatiable desire to know, without product of the school system will work when he or know, they ask the questions, they generate the inlimits, without boundaries. From constant curiosity she is told to, will eat at lunch time, will take his or terest; that interest comes from within, it's not and vivid imagination at three, to uninterest and her leisure time when allowed. The pupil is primar- forced on them from without. Education in schools abandoned imagination at 17. What happens be- ily passive, he or she can sit out the boredom of the is to a large extent, for the majority of pupils, of the lesson because they know that in another 40 "stick on" variety. The teacher ensures that enough Eleven or thirteen years is a long time to spend minutes they will be free, either for five minutes be- material is stuck on for the short period of time redoing anything, especially for five days a week, es- tween classes or for another evening. He or she is quired by the examination board, the next day the on Education pecially for about 38 weeks a year. A few years ago willing to knuckle under the boredom because he glue dries out, and that which was so painfully at-NUT car stickers read "If you can read this thank a or she knows that it's a proven way of earning more tached to the pupil drops off.

# of the Child

should be expected to grapple with a problem which is beyond its capability.

Education or Processing by Lynn Olsen makes the links between social change and educational change. Significant social change, says Olsen, "cannot be predicted". Our society processes people into repeating the mistakes of the past because it cannot tolerate change.

So far these articles have concerned schools, but the topic of higher education is covered by John R. Doheny, who asks what is a university and what is the place of the intellectual in it? There can be no doubt that many of us who have been through the higher education system have felt deeply frustrated by many aspects of it ~ this would seem to be particularly true of those who study the "liberal arts" subjects, less so it would seem of those who study the natural science Doheny makes the distinction between the Organisation (his capital "O") and the "small groups" within the university which form what he calls the "critical university".

In the late 1960s when in Paris, the LSE, Hornsey and elsewhere the students were in revolt, Freedom carried some interesting and acrimonious debates on the roles of students and academics (it was a time when student politics were more Marxist or "New Left" dominated than today) the arguments tending to centre around whether "student power" ("no we don't want power, we want control") could be equated with workers' control, it then being pointed out that "students are not workers but consumers", and the distinction between administrative and academic staff, debates in which there was often more heat that light. We could have done with John R. Doheny's level-headed approach then.

The Raven concludes a selection of articles by Colin Ward under the general heading "Four Easy Pieces and a Hard One". His easy pieces are easily outlined: the first is a rejected review of a neglected book, Michael Smith's The Libertarian and Education (Allen & Unwin, 1984) in which he (Ward)

10 11 12 13 14 15 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

says that Neill "just couldn't stand the high-minded and manipulative progressives". He has made me want to read Smith's book and, I hope it will now start to get the attention it obviously deserves.

"Schools of Freedom" is about rural schools, including the Small School at Hartland in Devon run by Satish Kumar. I have just been sent a free copy of Smalltalk, the Friends of the Small School newsletter which is frankly a kind of prospectus and appeal for funds in that by subscribing to the newsletter you become a Friend of the Small School. The meals are vegetarian and a recipe is given for Gingered Cabbage. Perhaps in the course of his researches Shotton should investigate the effect of school dinner on the pupils of the various schools. Also covered are the Burston School in Norfolk where the children came out on strike in support of their victimised teachers in 1914, and the village colleges of Henry Morris in Cambridgeshire.

"Morris as Anarchist Educator" is about William, not Henry, Morris, and "What's Going to happen Yesterday?" (a Russian joke) gives the anarchist view of Kenneth Baker's National Curriculum

The last and longest piece, "Towards a Poor School", is the hard one: the question of a choice between inequality and freedom in education. People love freedom so long as it doesn't interfere with their chances in the rat-race. Ward mentions the absurd lengths of training which are needed to enter the professions, the corollary being that poor families and poor children expect their teachers to teach them things things which will be useful. "They too have abandoned freedom as a goal". It is clear from various references that Ward wrote this piece some ten years ago, perhaps about the same time as his book The Child in the City, recently reprinted (Bedford Square Press, £7.95), which deals with the child in

when he or she leaves school. His or her job may The irony of the current system is that even those also prove to be mind-bendingly tedious, but they that it is supposed to serve - employers, politicians will be able to stick that out as well, because they've and industrialists of every hue, be they socialist had thirteen years of 9-to-4 routine. That's the suc- planners or the board of ICI - recognise that it cess of the education system - it prepares people, in doesn't work. The current government's education the most basic and vital way, to enter the economic reforms are all designed to improve the pre-work system. Thirteen years standing up and sitting down training of tomorrow's employees. The National at command is the best education you can get for Curriculum, the stress on technology training at all half a century of clocking on and off. Indeed, some levels, the creation of City Technology Colleges, things learnt in school are even more useful; my all these initiatives are admissions that the educafather walked out of his job on a Cadbury's produc- tion system that has been designed by the industrial tion line when he was told he must raise his hand if system can't even produce the goods for that very he wanted to leave the line for the toilet. His com- system. Complaints from the world of business are ment was "Where do you think this is, a bloody endless. Teachers undermine the "work ethic", school?" He left, but thousands are still there, obe- school leavers lack basic literacy and numeracy, pudiently holding their hands up until told that they pils aren't familiar enough with the "world of work". It's their creation, yet even they have to

6



relation to the urban environment in a wide ranging way. In his Raven article the Prime Minister is "he" and Mr Callaghan, and the fact that it is only these references which date it should be a warning to any who think that replacing Thatcher with Kinnock will make any fundamental difference to the education system.

Ward is a stimulating and often irritating writer in that one constantly wants to argue with him over various points, and I suspect that he does this deliberately. It may well have taken Edwin Lutyens three weeks to learn his "trade" but does Ward really admire his awful buildings? I recall our art critic Arthur Moyse's comment that "like the Egyptians, Lutyens built his own memorial in his own lifetime, and it was left to Michael Foot shambling into Whitehall on the 11th November 1981 to destroy Lutyens' image".

Ward somewhere wrote that at the age of five the child can't wait to go to school, and at fifteen can't wait to leave. This can't be true of the children at Kilquhanity School in Scotland, founded by John and Morag Aitkenhead in 1940, which is the subject of the latest issue of Lib Ed. There is a short but fascinating description of the school and an interview with John Aitkenhead, and an account of his recent visit to Japan where a few educators are very interested in British ideas on libertarian education in contrast to their competitive exambased system. Comparisons are drawn between Kilquhanity and Summerhill. Unlike Neill, Aitkenhead has never been a prolific writer, unlike Neill he is not convinced of the value of boarding schools, and unlike Summerhill a large number of children come from the local area. I recommend this issue of Lib Ed as supplementary reading to The Raven 10. Charles Crute

The Raven No. 10 on Education, 96 pages, FREEDOM PRESS, £2.50

Lib Ed magazine No. 13, Spring 1990, Libertarian Education Collective, The Cottage, The Green, Leire, Leicestershire LE17 5HL, 75 pence.

The Child in the City by Colin Ward, Bedford Square Press, £7.95

Smalltalk no. 1, Friends of the Small School newsletter, The Small School, Fore Street, Hartland, Devon EX39 6AB, £5 for members subscription

21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

### **Lessons from the Peckham Experiment**

n Freedom of 11 August 1951, Dr G. Scott Williamson, a founder of the Pioneer Health Centre in Peckham, known as the Peckham Experiment, protested at Freedom's use of the word anarchy to describe what had been created so extraordinarily at the Centre. He proposed as an alternative "autarchy - self-government through self-discipline". He had a point, as Alison Stallybrass suggests in her new book.\* From her work with children since before the War she has been able to prove that, given freedom to develop naturally according to its needs, a child will grow into a self-regulating adult attuned to people as a whole.

permit the emergence of order through spontaneous action." Aha! But the Centre's life was to be curtailed finally by government indifference (naturally) in 1951, and didn't survive long enough to disprove the authors' next sentence: "to sustain the anarchy as order emerges is more difficult, for the order itself tends to degenerate by habit into a system which is rigid."

sistant observing the families' children. The experiher own which enabled her to continue her study of children for a further 14 years. She published her findings in a remarkable book, The Self-Respecting Child, which was re- published last year by Addison-Wesley.

### Berkman on Bolshevism

The Bolshevik Myth Alexander Berkman Pluto Press £7.95

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This is the latest in the Libertarian Critique series of paperback editions of some anarchist texts which have not already been reprinted in cheap form.

Alexander Berkman's book about his two years in Russia, which was first published in 1925, is one of the great classics both of anarchist literature and of literature on the Russian Revolution, and it is good to have it easily available again in a facsimile reproduction of the original. This edition has two extra attractions - the addition at the end of an almost completely accurate transcript of The Anti-Climax, the final chapter of the book which was excluded by the publishers and produced £1.95 (original price £4.95) plus 78 pence postage by the author as a separate pamphlet, and the addition at the beginning of an introduction by The International Anarchist Movement in Late Nicolas Walter which is based on his article in The Raven 3. As a result this is the first time Hermia Oliver that the whole book has appeared in the form £4.95 (original price £19.95) plus 56 pence postage intended by Berkman and also with an informed and informative introduction.

Berkman's text is or should be familiar to all Mark Philp serious anarchists, and it has added force in the context of current events. As the Communist regime collapses, the vivid account by archist who observed it at first hand seventy lions of people have lived through. As Walter says, it "remains as valuable as ever or even more so in the new age of glasnost and perestroika". His introduction gives a survey of the life and work of Berkman (and his closest colleague Emma Goldman) with special reference to his changing views of the Russian Revolution, and also a discussion of the relationship of the published book with the manusions and additions. Walter has done some comparatively impecunious Harper fans.

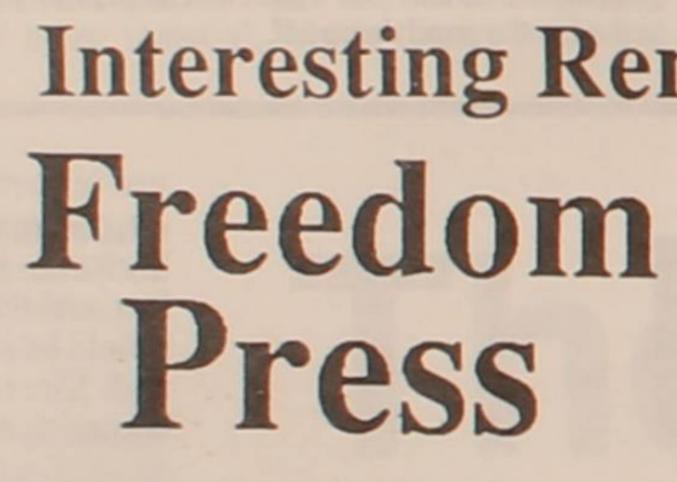
The importance of first experiments and experi- who wanted the Centre brought back to life. Dr and forced to close finally in 1951. ence cannot be exaggerated. In Science, Synthesis Scott Williamson told them: "You are a community. We are given samples of heartfelt impressions by and Sanity, G. Scott Williamson and Innes Pearse Demand the place back. You'll get it!" After a fight, people who belonged to the Centre whose lives say this of adolescence: "... in the new world open- democracy gave back the Centre. It was in a filthy were changed by it, and who bewailed its closing, ing to him, there emerges the impetus to a new state, and the swimming pool was filled with conand remember it as a magical period in their lives. orientation of the use of all the primary facultisa- crete. The people cleaned it up, and when it got William Morris gave an idea of its atmosphere in tion he has acquired in childhood." Bertrand Rus- going again the effects of conscription were being News From Nowhere. sell concluded that the character is formed by six felt. At 15 or 16 the boys became unsettled, and years old. And as Ethel Mannin said, "it's only in when they returned tended to marry too quickly. imposed on the country, we are reminded of some freedom that they can learn for themselves." An- At that time too, science was becoming besotted twenty years ago when "the Local Education Autharchy, if it's to be a meaningful force in society, with the use of questionnaires to prove quantitive orities began to deprive head teachers of their re-

findings, and enamoured of the new computer. Dr must needs begin at the crawling stage. In her book, Alison Stallybrass has brought Scott Williamson's "efforts to convince the scien-In the book by Doctors G. Scott Williamson and together the threads of her experience, under- tific establishment that the study of health forces of the children's day and to institute frequent test-Innes Pearse published in 1938, Biologists in standing and reflection, which for anyone new to one to consider unquantifiable factors, and that ing on the American model." In 1965 the first inde-Search of Material, we find "so it would seem that the subject of the Peckham Experiment makes a these must be brought into the field of science failed pendent free school since 1940, Kirkdale, was a very strict anarchy, if we can use that term, will good introduction. She also introduces more recent to make any impression." nature and needs of human beings".

research which corroborates the Peckham findings. The Medical Research Council itself was "unable This book gives the ingredients for living in free-On the first page we are told that the Peckham Ex- to see the value of research findings that were not dom, and might be described as a young anarchist's periment achieved an aim: "knowledge of the basic reducible to figures." In fact, Sir Austin Bradford guide to the human being's potential. It may also Hill who was known as "the father of statistics" was lead readers on to read the important books by the one of the main guns at the MRC. Dr Innes Pearse biologists themselves - some of them are now back The two doctors were biologists who created an in her book The Quality of Life says: "Besides this in print.\*\* **Rodney** Aitchtey environment where the spontaneous behaviour Space-Time world of quantity in which we all exist, of families, people of all ages, could be observed in there is another world in which we live: the world \* Being Me and Also Us: Lessons from the Peck-There were about 500 families enrolled when Ali- an objective, non-interfering way. "Dr Scott Wil- of specificity of pattern, unique, ineffaceable. That ham Experiment by Alison Stallybrass, Scottish son Stallybrass joined the Centre in 1936 as an as- liamson was often heard to say, I am the only per- world of quality - the living world, has its own con- Academic Press, £7.95. son with authority and I use it only to prevent any- tinent and dynamic, and its own laws and regu- \*\* See Freedom 24th February 1990 for a list of ence there inspired her to establish a playgroup of body from using authority over anybody else." larities." She knew well enough from her own ex- books available from Freedom Bookshop. From time to time there would be someone trying perience. to organise others. "An official of a printer's trade union" wanted a political democracy at the Centre with a central committee to impose majority rule!

The Police and Labour The building itself was described by Walter Gropius as "an oasis of glass in a desert of brick". (Before the war, or after with a quarter of Peckham's houses being destroyed by bombing?) With walls of glass outside and in, everyone was visible to Conflict and Order: The police and labour diswhat was seen as the sinister development of a naeveryone else. Someone remarked of the building putes in England and Wales 1900-1939 tional police force. Yet what Morgan states in her at night that it looked like a liner at sea. People on Jane Morgan conclusion is that: trains could not have missed it. Clarendon Press 1987 "In the first four decades of the twentieth century the ap-

In 1939 the Centre was requisitioned by the government and became a munitions factory. After the During the 1984-5 miners' strike much outrage was found changes. There evolved the concept of a national war the government showed no indication of relin- expressed by the left and others at the violent police force designed to counter either a local or a nationquishing it. In 1945 there was a list of 500 families tactics, their assumption of dictatorial powers, and



### The Education of Desire Clifford Harper

Victorian London

I will rely on the work of Michael Taylor for the first In the 1930s this increasingly co-ordinated, retwo parts of this account. Taylor provides a useful discuspressive and violent police force was unleashed on sion of anthropological studies of acephalous comthe various national and local unemployed demonmunities, and I treat this material as adequate evidence **Godwin's Political Justice** that societies without states are possible." (M. Taylor, strations. The government effectively tried to blud-Community, Anarchy and Liberty, Cambridge 1982). I geon these protests off the streets and imprison its also follow Taylor in arguing that anarchy is possible £2.95 (original price £12.95) plus 95 pence postage leading militants. given the existence of community. Community requires at least three central elements: These books are all "out of print" in the sense that

1. That the set of persons who compose a community have a sympathetic but critical revolutionary an- they are deleted from the original publishers' catabeliefs and values in common. logue. Freedom Press Distributors has acquired all 2. That relations between members should be direct and . years ago reminds us what a nightmare mil- the remaining stocks, and offers them at the new prices on the same terms as Freedom Press books.

many sided. They are direct in so far as they are unmediated by representatives, leaders, bureaucrats, etc., Freedom reviewed each as it was first published. and they are many-sided in so far as they cut across many areas of members' lives - work leisure, family, and so on. Harper's work is a collection of his drawings until 1984, showing his painstaking work for American 3. That acts within a community are characterised by the reciprocity, particularly balanced and generalised reprocomic books and elsewhere, built up of dots with a city. In both these cases the individual acts in such a way technique reminiscent of impressionist painting, as to combine short-term altruism with long-term self-inand the early examples of the "woodcut" style of which he has now become such a master. An over-Taylor goes on to say that community is generally charlong interview led one critic to call for "less interacterised by friendship which has the central properties of script diary (which survives in the Alexander view and more comics", but Harper is too meticuintimacy (a friend is a second self) and activity - doing Berkman Papers in Amsterdam). This will be lous an artist to produce "more comics" quickly to something together, not just being together. familiar to readers of Freedom who also read fill up the space. Deservedly well received the first It involves mutual concern and although the reciprocity The Raven, though there are a few later revi- time round, this book is commended to younger and of friendship means that one get back what one has given, there is no calculation of benefit or costs. It requires an useful research on the background of the Oliver's book is the result of much research in approximate equality and strong, secure selves.

So much of this book has a contemporary feel and book, but only in Europe, since he hasn't no- London, Amsterdam and elsewhere, into the people Communities are this rendered stable by factors other relevance, especially in relation to the 1984-5 mithan those which Godwin identifies. Godwin's view of a ners' strike and the recent public order legislation. ticed a couple of relevant American items - an who made up London's various bickering anarchist community ordered solely by the exercise of private academic thesis by Harold J. Goldberg on how groups between the international congress of social One of her concluding comments on this period also judgements and public discussion relies heavily on ration-The Anarchists View the Bolshevik Regime revolutionaries and anarchists in London 1881, and has a contemporary relevance: alist premises - notably that truth is single and uniform (University of Wisconsin, 1973) and a manu- the end of the century. Who blew himself up in "The conclusion must be . . . the inter-war years whereas we would want to place a much higher premium script of Berkman's book in the Emma Gold- Greenwich Park, and why? Who was behind the saw the balance tilt significantly in favour of the on socialisation and education." man Papers in the New York Public Library. Walsall bomb plot? Who exactly were the Freedom power of the state and the law enforcement agencies in controlling the activities of working people." But despite such minor drawbacks this is now group described by David Nicoll as a "collection of None of these useful books is likely to be re the most useful edition of The Bolshevik Myth. middle-class faddists"? Who was David Nicoll to printed. Buy them now while you still can. MH talk? Answers to all these questions were available DR Eddie May

### BOOK REVIEWS

The future preoccupation with sickness was upon us with the misnamed National Health Service. The Pioneer Health Centre prototype was left unfunded

Now. with the National Curriculum about to be sponsibility for the curriculum and the organisation founded in South London - and survived until 1989.

### **Interesting Remainders from**

for a mind-boggling £20 in 1983, and are now available for a more modest outlay.

The Philp book (which ranges more widely over Godwin's life and ideas than its title might suggest) is written in the style of an academic thesis, but lively and readable, as we see from this longish extract:

"To support this argument I need to show that anarchic communities can be viable concerns; to describe the necessary conditions for such a community; and to show that Godwin lived in such a community.

proach of the police towards labour unrest underwent prowide threat from labour. The idea was steadily developed by the Home Office, in association with chief police officers, between 1900 and 1939. This increased centralisation was paralleled by an increase of police operational powers ... The outcome was an extensive redefinition many felt an erosion - of civil liberties and the decline of police accountability, locally and nationally."

Throughout her analysis of the Government and police response to labour disputes during this period, Morgan shows how control of police tactics and actions was gradually removed from any real form of local democratic reform - just at the moment when the Labour Party was making the breakthrough in local government elections! Chief Constables became evermore autonomous from local accountability, autocratic and open to Home Office "advice". Furthermore, the police became increasingly repressive and violent, often backed up by armed troops and draconian powers, as during the miners' lock-outs of 1921 and 1926.

Morgan also analyses the motives behind, and consequences of, the changes in the law relating to picketing, meetings and demonstrations. Despite their ever increasing power, Chief Constables throughout this period were continually asking for ever greater powers to "police" (read crush) industrial disputes and working class political expression. This they were given by the 1936 Public Order Act, passed in the wake of the controversy over the violent meetings of the British Union of Fascists, This was just the type of legislation that the hierarchy of the police (and Tory politicians) had been calling for. Not surprisingly it was against the left and working classes that the 1936 Public Order Act was most consistently used, Morgan illustrating the generally more sympathetic police approach to Fascist demonstrations.

# The Scargill Scandal

Freedom editorial office was evacuated of editors to provide a London fund-raising office for the Bates pit NUM branch of Blyth, Northumberland. Bills were paid, collections were taken, articles sympathetic to the strikers appeared in practically every issue. Nevertheless, Freedom was castigated for "failing to support the miners", because it failed to follow the Marxist press in heaping adoration on Arthur Scargill.

As an associate of the Freedom editors of the time, I have always been a little proud of our refusal to join the Scargill cult. And now, just when it seems our stand might be vindicated, it is wantonly abandoned.

The front-page article on 24th March achieves a level of Scargill worship never surpassed. Not only does it assume Scargill's innocence, it also makes excuses in anticipation, just in case Mr Scargill should take no action over the dreadful attack on his reputation.

There is no case for the assertion that "the taunt voiced by Robert Maxwell, virtually inviting Arthur Scargill to sue for libel, seems to have been made in the certain knowledge that neither Scargill nor the NUM are in a position financially to go to court on this matter".

The NUM is already financing an independent enquiry, so the cost of collecting graph. part of the cost of a court case, is to be incurred anyway. Assuming the allegations reads: "This greater participation for against Scargill and Heathfield are lies, women also puts men under female contaking the slanderers to court will not trol because they will have more control only restore reputations but also yield over male ideology and language". This considerable profit. If neither Scargill nor was badly put. The sense of what I was the NUM has enough ready cash, their trying to say was that the participation bankers will finance the action on the through equal opportunities of middle

During the miners' strike of 1984-5, the basis of an independent legal report. (Perhaps this is why the NUM has decided to start with an independent legal enquiry, for the working class. instead of issuing a writ in the first place.)

LETTERS

crowing is that he believes the allegations against Scargill and Heathfield are incontestable. And of neither Scargill nor the only believable explanation will be that the allegations are true.

### Equal **Opportunities**

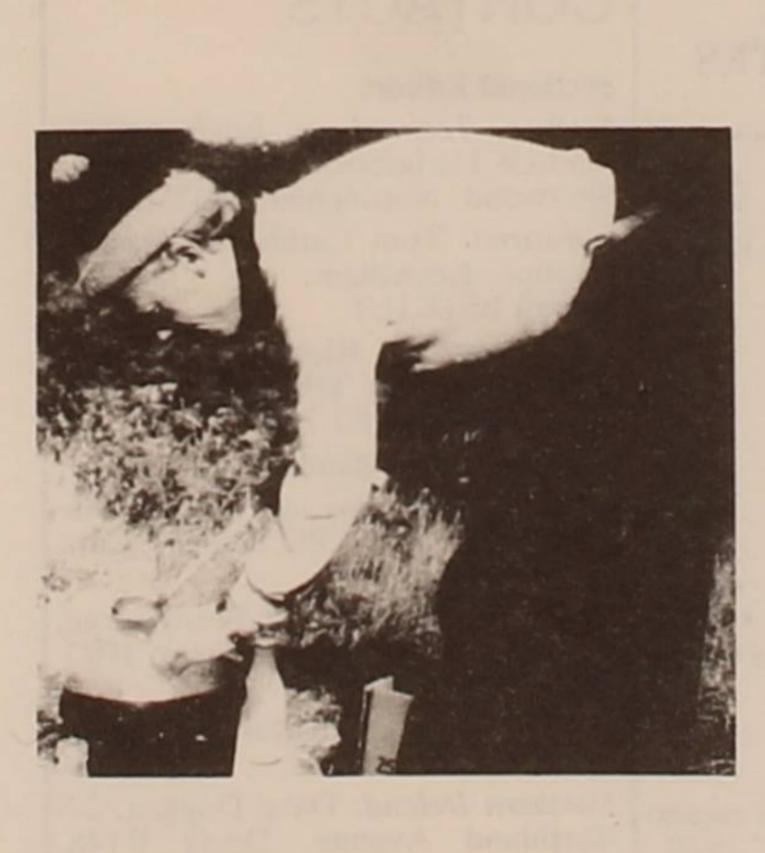
### Dear Editors

Whenever I look at what I have had published I keep thinking what I should have said and did not make clear. However on this occasion you made a printing error. At the bottom of the first column of my "This process of entry is not at the expense of the working class". What I actually said was: 'This process of entry is not at the expense of the middle class but at the expense of the working class enmakes nonsense of the rest of the para-

amending the end of my paragraph which

Incidentally, the suggested immigra Obviously, the reason Maxwell is tion of 250,000 Hong Kong ethnic Chinese into Britain will make the situ- and folded - ready to dispatch on the ation worse. For the Tories to suggest that Thursday. But the address labels these are the well-educated, the profes- didn't turn up until the following Mon-NUM goes to court on this matter, the sionally qualified, in higher status jobs, day! so not likely to add to the unemployed is Raven 10 was printed and the an upper class view. It is saying Britain sheets sent to the binders and covers Donald Rooum no longer requires a pool of unskilled la- to the laminators to then send to the bour to do the menial jobs as unemploy- binders to supply us in good time to ment has already created this. That these dispatch. The envelopes (labelled!) Peter, Tim, Elizabeth, Mark, incomers will block the upward social were just waiting to be filled. But the Pat....after all these years. Actually mobility of the working class including binders in one part of London and the you should all be thoroughly the children of post-war immigrants will laminators in another could have make it a very unpopular policy with the been 1,000 miles apart. The former working class. Many of my students, had everything ready but no covers themselves largely Asian women, are which were sitting in some corner of now thinking of emigration away from a the laminator's premises. Did it occur society which is blocking their oppor- to the binders to phone the laminatunities - Canada currently appears a tors? Not at all! Only anxious enpopular option. So the talented working quiries from FREEDOM PRESS to the class are being siphoned off making Bri- binders woke them to the fact that article "Equal Opportunities" you print: tain a caste rather than a class society. they could phone the laminators ....

ory of human development - not a utopi- A Decade of Anarchy (FREEDOM Castle Douglas MA £5, Bangor WDE an dream of the future, but a faith for the PRESS, £5) - "Covering Ourselves" trant". As you will see the incorrect line present - not a nostrum for the cure of all about how the monthly Anarchy J £2.50. human ills, but the alteration of the ma- (1961-70) was produced. In spite of terial conditions of society, but a protest production difficulties 118 regular against certain definite evils, pointed out monthly issues appeared during and organising evidence, which is a large Could I also take this opportunity of by reason and experience, as entrenched behind the prejudices of our moral blindness. This protest, this theory, this faith, it carries into every department of life as it is, confident that men will one day see the beauty of life as it might be. Charlotte M. Wilson



reoffrey Ostergaard died on 22nd March 1990, aged 63, having suffered from leukaemia, a disease which he had successfully resisted for a very long time.

He was Senior Lecturer in Government a the University of Birmingham, and in his quiet, ironical way, always relished the absurdities of the job he held. In many respects he was the ideal anarchist academic, as he explored the issues which we as propagandists, found difficult, just because what actually happened didn't entirely conform to our the-

A long series of occasional articles in Freedom over almost forty years, in The University Libertarian, in Anarchy and much more recently in The Raven, compared theory and practice in ways which we ought to have absorbed. We are all aware for example of the difference between theory and practice in the consumer co- operative movement. Geoffrey examined these at length after careful statistical research in a series of articles in Freedom in the 1950s, and together with A. H. Halsey ly The Raven.

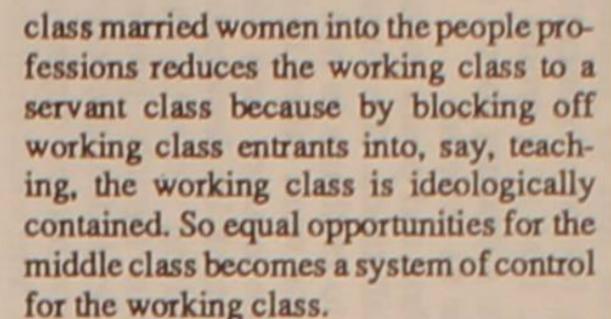
**An Appreciation** 

wrote a book, Power in Co-operatives which, so that the notion of a permanent quota of socially-conscious persons does not hold."

He applied the same sociological searchlight Geoffrey for a different reason. He had been to the syndicalist movement and its role within trade unionism. Two masterly articles discussed this. The first, "Anarchism and Trade # Unionism" written under the pseudonym Gaston Gerard, discussed the dilemmas of revolutionary participation in inevitably reformist | I the greatest crime of all, disturbing the game bodies. The second, "The Relevance of Syn- | birds. More commonly it will just be expensive, dicalism", looked for the significance of the | which is what happened in Wychwood Forest, part tactics of revolutionary syndicalism to mod- of the Oxfordshire 2,500 acre estate of the Rt. Hon. ern direct action movements like the anti- Lord Rotherwick as he likes to be called. Here every bomb campaign. Fortunately both these ar- year up to 10,000 pheasants, 180 deer and 50 ducks ticles are available today. They follow each | are shot by his paying guests. He clearly does not other in the FREEDOM PRESS Centenary Series volume of A Decade of Anarchy.

But Geoffrey's unique contribution to anarchist theory was in his years of work in setting, in an anarchist framework, the Indian leebrated disciples, Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan. Western anarchists, in spite of an automatic commitment to internationalism, seldom pay much attention to the anarchism that emerges, not from translations of Kropottions of other societies, Geoffrey Ostergaard gathered the material for two major books. The Gentle Anarchists, which he wrote with Martin Currell (Clarendon Press, 1971) and Nonviolent Revolution in India (Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1985). For a quick overview of his findings in relation to contemporary Indian politics, see his article on "Indian Anarchism" in issue no. 2 of the FREEDOM PRESS quarter-

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(The Practical Socialist, Januar

### **News from Angel Alley**

Freedom Press Group "propose" but it's the typesetters, plate-makers, printers, laminators, binders et alla who "dispose". The last issue of Freedom was all set and printed

Peter Neville Such are the trials and tribulations of our kind of publishing. You should "Anarchism is not a system, but a the- read Rufus Segar's amusing piece in Fund those ten years. And it should be the same now.

> Compared with our"inefficiency what can be said of those of our comrade-readers, many of them known to us for more years than Hadleigh J £2.50. any of the oldies at FREEDOM PRESS will admit to, whose subs expired

in December and who have still not renewed in spite of having been cut off for two issues this year. We sent them the last issue and are sending them this issue, otherwise they wouldn't read in this column that this is definitely the last reminder. All readers whose subs expired in February and earlier (76 and earlier on your address label) who do not respond to this last appeal will have their names removed from the magic memory machine for ever!

Sorry to lose you Alan, George, Ian, ashamed of yourselves!

Our best thanks to the readers and comrades who have contributed to this issue of Freedom and to our donations list below.

### Donations 9th March - 29th March 1990

### Freedom Fortnightly Fighting

£5, Wolverhampton DL £2, Hadleigh

### Total = £14.50 1990 TOTAL TO DATE = £479.80

Freedom Press Overheads Fund Gegenbach AK 75p, London W6 HSM £4, Castle Douglas MA £5, Wolverhampton JL £2, Brighton JY 90p, London anon £3, Coventry MP £2,

Total = £20.15 1990 TOTAL TO DATE = £311.30

# **Geoffrey Ostergaard**

The pair of them, though as different as chalk in the words of Anthony Topham, illustrated and cheese, were together for 42 years, travelthat member participation was related to the ling hundreds of thousands of miles on a varsize of the organisation and that "Participation iety of academic quests, and at the time of was declining both relatively and absolutely, Geoffrey's death were planning yet another journey to Catalonia.

> Back at the University they remembered there ever since 1953, and he remained there

was closed to him. He was victimised, not because he was an anarchist but because he was a rock-like defender of academic freedom. Whether it was a matter of revolting students in the 1960s or the case of David Selbourne of Ruskin College in the late 1980s, Geoffrey Ostergaard was their tireless champion, regardless of his agreement with or dislike of their motives. The phrase that comes into the minds of col-

as the usual spiral of academic advancement

leagues and students thinking of him, is "moral staunchness". When you think about its implications this is a marvellous quality to remember in anyone.

Colin Ward

You could be shot for it, accidentally of course much like his neighbours, for an ancient footpath running for a mile and a quarter through the woods has been closed to the public for 24 years. Local villagers are allowed to collect firewood on two mornings a week and we can all walk along one of his gacy of M. K. Gandhi and two of his most cel- paths on one day of the year, Palm Sunday as it hap-

At least that was the situation, but five years ago the conservatives lost control of Oxfordshire County Council and the new council began helping walkers' and community group attempts to get the kin, but from the cultural and religious tradi- path re-opened, recognising that it would provide a useful link in the local pathway network. Although was a complete exception to this generalisa- he hosts the West Oxfordshire Conservatives' antion. He and Eva spent years in India while he nual jamboree on his estate, the good lord said no. it will interfere with all the killing for pleasure I provide. I will also lose my privacy. Combury House, where I live when I am not staying in my mews flat in SW1, is only 800 yards from the path. It is true that he would not be able to see the walkers from the house, but as his land agent said, "Lord Rotherwick would know they were there".

> Rotherwick found an expert who calculated he would lose about £45,000 a year, made up of £29,200 for the shooting of fewer pheasants and

Rambling Notes

deer, £5,000 for the increased deer damage to crops and trees and the cost of preventing it, and £10,000 for an extra gamekeeper to guard against poaching. He calculated compensation for his losses at £600,000.

A long campaign culminated, as is usual in these matters, in a public inquiry presided over by an inspector. He announced his decision in December 1988 with the comment "the proposed path will add considerably to the convenience and enjoyment of a substantial section of the public and persons resident in the area and it is expedient that the path should be created".

The path is now open and that should have been the end of the matter, but Rotherwick thought otherwise. He values his estate at £11 million (well, house prices have risen) and is demanding £1.6 million in compensation from the council. This, as John Vidal pointed out in The Guardian, works out at £713 a yard or £20 an inch. But, as a Conservative councillor said, "who wants a footpath through their garden? Be it a kitchen garden or a forest, you are entitled to compensation."

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