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	equally applied to chemica and there we can see the his words, for the Ameri have been preaching to the especially now to Iraq the i of engaging in chemical w do no better than threaten retaliation in kind if Iraq res use of chemical weapons! <i>The Guardian's</i> Wa correspondent (17th Augu that: 'The US dealt a sha years of efforts to outlaw weapons when its chief i	d or that the US might retaliate in kind if two that the US might retaliate in kind if president Saddam Hussein unleashes an attack with Iraq's stock of poison and nerve gas. The US warning was made public in Geneva, in the forum where more than 40 countries have grappled for more than a decade to achieve a comprehensive world-wide ban on the use, possession and production of the use possession and production possessice posses posses and production possession and
Lebanon is now suffering for Lebanon is now suffering for policies of the French occupation back in the 1920s and the Bri sowed the seeds for the pres	Way back in 1959 Bertra words of wisdom with which words of wisdom with which words of wisdom with which concurred: "It is not enough to ban nucle weapons. If you ban nuclear weap completely, and even destroy all weapons. If you ban nuclear weap completely, and even destroy all existing stock they will manufactured if war breaks out. We must work towards some syst which will prevent war. It require different imagination, a differ outlook and a different way of view all the affairs of men from any that	been in the world before." They have not been confirmed otherwise since apart from the th superpowers agreeing to scrap soi of the 'old stocks', since 1959 Fran has joined the nuclear elite and o wonders what Israel, India al perhaps even Iraq have got tuck away for a rainy day. And Brital Boadicea is committed to update ageing H-bombs in a vain attempt boost this has-been among t industrial nations of the world. But Russell's strictures can
said that britain would not bargain over hostages in Iraq and Kuwait, but appealed for more military and financial support for the trade embargo against Iraq warning that the sanctions "must have teeth". Her faith in sanctions were unequivocally expressed in the Downing Street press conference held on 21st August when she said "we shall in fact have succeeded if he withdraws from Kuwait by means of sanctions" and		and who would say that there has been an improvement in the situation there. And the Falklands adventure is costing many millions every year and this government is still no nearer an agreement with Argentina. For centuries Britain and her continental neighbours were at each others throats and at the end of each war they re-drew the frontiers and created new problems, not only in Europe but throughout the world. Surely the time has come for the advanced industrial countries of the
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### Yankee Go Home!

(continued from page 1) Afghanistan, nearly two years since the Russians returned home the Americans are still interfering on the side of the 'rebels' who are now fighting each other.

And if ever one needed examples of the disastrous effects of American interference in the affairs of other countries its role in the various South

In our opinion the United States is the greatest threat to peace in the developing world and it is surely time that freedom-loving people throughout the world should be saying so in no uncertain terms. Forget about getting Saddam America).

supply the developing world with the sophisticated weaponry, not only will the poor in the third world go on starving, but the kind of carnage which has become normal throughout the third world will continue.

\*See British Imperialism and the Palestine Crisis, selections from the anarchist journal Freedom 1938-1948, with a postscript on the Intifada 1989 (Freedom Press, 104 pages, £1.95 post free inland).



(continued from page 1)

Mr Ledogar, US representative at the UN Disarmament Conference, told the other delegations, including Iraq diplomats: 'If we are attacked with chemical weapons, we must have a variety of reserve options, including the option to respond in kind, Not long before, America and the West as long as we still have some chemical weapons'

Later yesterday, in response to widespread surprise and criticism, US officials tried to tone down Mr Ledogar's words. His main intent, they claimed, had been to comment on the disappointing progress at the chemical weapons trigger-happy attitude to chemical weapons....

They suggested that Mr Ledogar's remarks represented a long- standing US commitment against the use of chemical weapons

alternative to the nuclear bomb."

paper to be ignored.

before."

That's what anarchism is all about!

\*In Protest Without Illusions, Freedom Press 1981, 168 pages, £2.50.

# The 'Forgotten' **Foreigners in Kuwait**

• overwhelming majority of the people in shall not eat. the USA and Britain are behind their governments in their determined stand over Kuwait. We wonder how many of this 'overwhelming' majority know anything very much about this country and its population.

We all know about the Western hostages -American countries has always been on about 4,000 Britons, 2,500 Americans and according to Asian diplomats in the Gulf. the side of reaction and big business at another 1,000 Westerners. But in Kuwait with The largest contingent - about 78,000 the expense of the ordinary working apopulation of less than two million, there are from Sri Lanka, whose labour minister G. M. not. So why are Bush and Thatcher worrying at least one million foreigners. There are some Premachandra, visiting the Gulf, said the themselves about Kuwait? They say they can't 300,000 Palestinians, and about 100,000 come maids are short of food and are being harassed. take into account the Europeans stuck there. from each of Egypt, India, Pakistan and Sri Sri Lanka was the cheapest source of maids And they surely are not worrying their thick Lanka and the remainder from Bangladesh for Kuwaitis. More monied families preferred heads over the fate of the Sri Lankan maids and the Philippines. As one can well imagine Filipinas.... most of them do the dirty work and were Incidents of abuse by employers were so And though the Iraqis have plundered the Hussein out of Kuwait. What we need is | employed to satisfy every little whim of the frequent that Sri Lanka banned women from banks and strong rooms and have got away to get Americans to return to their hereditary ruling caste. Needless to say the going to work in Kuwait. The ban was lifted with a few hundred million dollars and some backyard (and that doesn't include South | latter are all safely out of the country living it on 1st August, the day before the Iraqi gold bars - the hundreds of billions invested up in one of their many holiday homes (we invasion. Sixty maids arrived on that day and remain in the ruling cliques hands. They will So long as the world — with all the imagine some joined the grouse shooting have not been heard of since.... American military bases — is the fraternity in Scotland on 12th August) or There are also about 50,000 Filipinas in be surrounded by their army of maids and Yankees' backyard there will be no peace. gambling away some of their ill-gotten Kuwait. Reports from refugees say that there lackeys. More receptions for Mrs Thatcher to And so long as countries such as America, fortunes in Las Vegas or Cannes. But the have been numerous incidents of Iraqi soldiers attend and try to do business. France, Britain are only too ready to immigrants who have lost their masters and knocking at the doors of Kuwaiti houses When will the unthinking majority realise can't afford to go home even if they were demanding that families hand over their that they are being taken for a ride by the allowed to are also now being threatened with Filipina maids. Some of these have been media and by the politicians? starvation since they are no longer receiving raped."

### Hypocrisy Reigns Supreme

Thew would disagree that the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq should be condemned with the utmost vigour - but to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait prominent, Western leaders have responded with a degree of hypocrisy that would be laughable were it and the situation not so tragic.

President Bush responded to the Iraq invasion with a pious condemnation of the invasion as illegal and of Hussein as a bandit. generously helped by Gulf states like Saudi Arabia — couldn't give enough aid and armaments to their erstwhile ally in the Iran-Iraq war. Now, the invader of Panama has the temerity to condemn Iraq for doing precisely the same thing as America has done in Panama (with much less bloodshed). negotiations, and on the failure of America still has pretensions of being the participants to criticise Iraq's world's primary power and obviously regards itself as being above the international morality it expects others to be governed by.

Not to be outdone in the hypocrisy stakes, Mrs Thatcher is now a firm believer in the policy of sanctions, regardless of her previous arguments that sanctions only hurt the little people and not the Whether or not the US Administration is policy makers. She is now blithely calling for the really prepared to use chemical weapons, toughest package of international sanctions ever the fact that the possibility has been assembled, the likes of which would have brought raised is likely to dent US credibility in the apartheid regime to its knees within a month. spearheading the drive for a The reason for the u-turn in policy is that quite comprehensive chemical weapons ban, frankly the blacks in South Africa don't count in and strengthen the arguments of such comparison to the black gold of Gulf oil - they just countries as Iraq who claim that chemical don't have the same power and influence on the weapons are the poorer countries' world economy as oil does. So after supplying Saddam Hussein with all the armaments his oil It's obvious surely that once war is | could buy and supplying him with example after unleashed all the treaties, all the 'rules', example that 'might is right', the West now all the conventions are just scraps of explodes with self- righteous indignation and hypocrisy that he should follow their example and You can't humanise war. War has to be exert his power in the Gulf. When he was gassing abolished and as Bertrand Russell put it, the Kurds of Iraq, what did that matter? But now he to do so requires "a different outlook and actually starts to interfere with the West's access to a different way of viewing all the affairs of oil, now that's a different thing altogether it would men from any that has been in the water | seem. There is a saying about us reaping what we sow, and this we are now doing - reaping the bloody harvest of our respective leaders' foreign policies.

EM

### THE GULF CRISIS

The opinion polls assure us that an wages and in Kuwait he who has no money

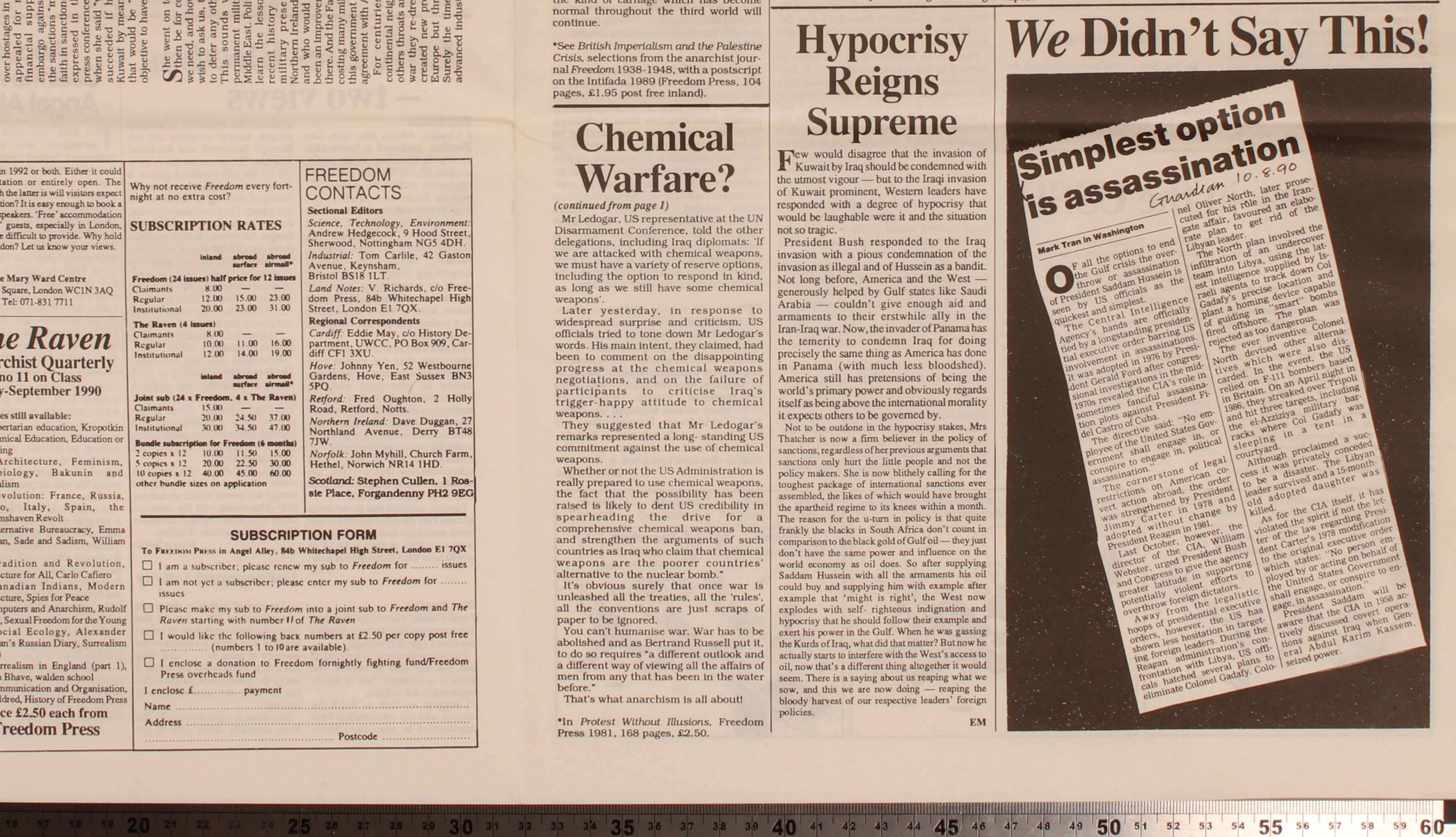
#### 100,000 maids stranded

According to The Guardian's correspondent in Dubai (18th August 1990), "An estimated 100,000 maids are stranded in Kuwait, many penniless and abandoned by their employers,

#### **Business as usual**

While the servants starve Kuwaiti businessmen (now in very comfortable 'exile') have started up with share dealing. Some £30 million in dividends had accumulated for the Kuwaiti Investment Office and by the end of August The Independent on Sunday was reporting that the Kuwaiti's financial community had regrouped and had made London its base. As the senior Kuwaiti financier put it, "We are ready for business. The only difference is that now we do it here and not there".

As the Kuwaiti ruling class had boasted some time ago, investments throughout the world (but principally in Britain) were so large that it didn't matter whether the oil flowed or and the other 900,000 from the third world. make 'exile' very comfortable and will soon





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### News from the USSR

### Anarchists on air

n 4th May KAS members Vadim Damye, Alexander Shubin (Moscow) and Sergei Krivov (Samara) went on the popular Soviet youth television programme 'Vzgliad' (Point of View). They were able to refute some of the propagandistic distortions in the communist establishment media's coverage of May Day events. The banners and slogans of the democratic opposition, and of anarchists in particular, had been subject to an avalanche of hysterical abuse more reminiscent of official ideology in the '70s. Police treatment of sitting demonstrators in front of the Chinese Embassy at the time of the visit of Li Peng was also discussed.

On 7th May a short programme about anarchists was shown on Leningrad television, which is watched by about 35 million people in the European part of the USSR. Four well-known anarchists appeared in the programme - Andrei Isaev from Moscow KAS, Dimitri Zhvania from the

This news selection was prepared by Vlad Tupikin, Moscow (telephone 311-11-80 until 11pm). Assisted by Alexander Shershukov (113209 Moscow, ul Bolotnikovskaia 38-6-47, telephone 121-70-01). Edited and translated from Russian by Will Firth (bei Lippmann, Prenzlauer Allee 200, Berlin 1055, East Germany).

Anarcho-Communist Revolutionary League (Leningrad), Peter Raush from the Anarcho-Syndicalist Freedom Association (Leningrad), and Aida Basevich who was a member of the Russian Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation in 1922 and who then spent many years in Lenin's and Stalin's prison camps but always remained true to the ideal of anarchism.

On 5th May on the weekly programme 'Wind from the East' the French anarchist radio station

programme was prepared by KAS correspondent Alexander Shershukov and Radio Libertaire's Paris correspondent Vladimir Naumov.

On 12th-13th May in front of Moscow State University a hunger strike of solidarity was held on the anniversary of the start of the students' hunger strike in Peking, which was bloodily repressed on 3rd-4th June 1989. Students at Harvard University, USA, initiated the call for worldwide solidarity actions. Moscow KAS members Nikolai Muravin, Maria Vorozheikina, Peter Riabov, Eugene Reutt and others played a very active role in organising and conducting the hunger strike which had 400 participants (196 of whom carried through to the very end of the strike). The action received good press, but the organisers were somewhat disappointed because they had distributed 36,000 leaflets and were expecting a much bigger turn-out. (By way of contrast, the 100,000-strong mass meeting in Moscow on 21st May 1989 was nmoned with only 10,000 leaflets!

### Moscow News

Then he was interviewed by a correspondent V of the liberal Moscow magazine Moscow News about the anarchist participation in May Day actions around the country, active KAS member they do best - make complete asses of Andrei Isaev began by saying: "Please don't start calling me the leader of KAS, like the Soviet press usually does! We don't have leaders and superiors. Nevertheless, the 13th May issue of Moscow News referred to Isaev, predictably, as the leader of KAS. This is just typical of the kind of distortion commo to the whole spectrum of the state press.

#### Commemoration

Then, in an attempt to go one better in An 2nd June a small memorial service was despicable behaviour, members of Belfast arranged by KAS in Moscow for the victims City Council got themselves into a tizzy over of the Soviet Army's massacre in Novocherkassk the appropriate way to greet Keenan when he the Anarchist Communist Federation (1962) and for Peter P. Siudy, a veteran workers' finally made it to his home city. SDLP and (Aug-Nov 1990, issue 20, price 40p plus 15p movement militant who was beaten to death on 5th Radio Libertaire broadcast a detailed report on May in still- mysterious circumstances. At the freedom of the city, while DUP and some OUP anarchist May Day rallies in the USSR. The service the events of 1962 were outlined and lessons councillors didn't want to have anything to do with him at all. Keenan was travelling on an Irish passport and credit for his release is resting with Irish government diplomatic moves. And Unionists are having none of it.

# May Day in the USSR

In the first anniversary of the founding of KAS, anarchists went out into the streets and squares of the country.

and joined with the columns of demonstrators from Kagarlitsky). other democratic opposition organisations. Among the slogans on their flags and banners were: 'Power to the peoples, not the parties', 'Tell us, communists, when is your state going to wither away?', 'Anarchy isn't chaos - it's the harmonial co-existence of free individuals'. Among the slogans chanted were: 'Down with Leninism'. 'Down with the KGB', 'Farewell communism', 'Freedom for Lithuania', and many others.

The anarchists drew a lot of attention from photographers and also from ordinary Muscovites, while. This was the first time in more than seven

on Red Square. The anarchists were then joined by members of several other groups, notably from the by resigning en masse and getting off their People's Socialist Brotherhood (following the backs. In the meantime Brian Keenan will principles of the Social Revolutionary party of have to suffer at the hands of people using him In MOSCOW around 120 people carrying red and earlier this century) and from the All-Russia as a political pawn yet again, and I wonder if black banners marched through inner city streets Committee for Forming a Socialist Party (led by

The march set off to the building where the great Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin was born and where now - contrary to Kropotkin's will - a State organisation is housed, the embassy of the so-called State of Palestine. KAS is trying to attain the transfer of the building to Moscow's anarchists for use as a community centre and a museum on the anarchist movement. The embassy had been picketed previously on 25th February. This time priests. Some of the more far-out loopers in the consular staff came out and spoke. They expressed Church decided this was too much and willingness to move to new accommodation if such many of whom fell in behind the anarchists for a premises were provided by the Soviet authorities.



### WORLD NEWS



drawn for the Soviet people and all progressive movements in general. Alexander Shubin (a Moscow KAS member) said that the best monument to the fallen in the massacre and to those repressed since then (including Siudy) is the forming of independent, self-managing trade unions. Siberian KAS member from Khabarovsk, Vitaly Blazhevich, who had just finished a long trip through many regions of the USSR, said to the gathering: "It's hard to imagine just how popular anarchist spirit has become in the masses. We are strong and will become much stronger. Anarchist ideas are alive and are going to make big impact!"

#### The anarchist press

n 3rd April in the Siberian city of Tomsk a new KAS paper Golos Truda (Labour Voice) came out with the headline "For an independent Siberia

with free trade unions!' Four issues had come out until this newsletter's deadline on 2nd June. The paper is attractively illustrated and seems to be popular with readers. The editors can be contacted at the following address: 630059 Novosibirsk, ul Tsentral'naia 1, Igor Kuznetsov.

The anarcho-syndicalist publication Svobodny Trud in Volgadonsk has made a big step forward. The first three issues of The Anarchist were published in wallposter form in 20 copies, and the eight-page May edition, with a much larger printrun, appeared with the new title Chelovek i trud (People and Work). The issue covered the history of May Day, the platform of the Humanist Green Party, the formation and activities of alternative groups and parties, news from abroad, an article on the demands of militant miners, etc. Various sources confirm that the anarchist papers in country centres out-do other alternative publications there in terms of energy and professionalism.

## **News from Northern** reland

The release of Brian Keenan after four years in captivity in Beirut allowed Irish politicians, North and South, to do what only themselves. Charlie Haughey was to be seen fawning over Brian Keenan in a most embarrassing way, while making his own private doctor and rooms in a Dublin private hospital available to Keenan. This must have been particularly sickening for citizens of the Republic of Ireland forced to use the crumbling and expensive public health facilities.

I'm sure that many of the citizens of Belfast, while genuinely delighted that Keenan has been released would prefer it if their city councillors gave them the freedom of the city there will be times when he may yearn for the simpler life of captivity in Beirut! But let's be happy at his release and hope he joins us in the struggle to create the freedom of all cities.

In the meantime the Church of Ireland has Lundergone a schism which has largely gone unnoticed. It started when the Church of Ireland decided that women could be ordained threatened to split. When their threats weren't enough they went ahead and formed the (continued on page 4) Church of Ireland (Traditional Rite). It now

emerges that they will be affiliating to the Anglican Catholic Church which arose in America after a split in the Episcopalian Church after a similar decision regarding women priests. The Americans say they will wheel right in behind the new Church, said to have about 50 members, offering support and ministers. I'm sure the Church of England will be watching these developments with interest as it shapes up for its decision somewhere in the next three years. It is certainly interesting to watch the religious monoliths crumble ... and fall??

Deligion in Ireland is to the fore in the Current issue of Organise, produced by Alliance councillors wanted to give him the postage from Freedom Press Bookshop). There are two articles worth reading on Ireland in this issue and I recommend anarchists interested in Ireland to have a look at them. The attack on Sinn Fein in one of the articles is miles over the top, and the postconference statement says nothing to or about British working class people in Northern Ireland. Also there is more rhetoric than reality when it comes to 'things to do' regarding working class solidarity in a society divided by nationalisms. But there is plenty of good stuff in the issue and all credit to the ACF for directing attention to Ireland in this way.

> There's still some ground to cover here, specially in job discrimination. A recent report from the Fair Employment Commission noted that when a job for a senior works manager was filled by offering it internally to employees of Dungannon District Council, all 17 applicants were Protestant — 49% of the local population is Catholic. Then, of a total of 66 senior officers employed by Antrim, Ards, Carrickfergus, Newtownabbey and North Down councils, only two are Catholic. And that's all middle class jobs! The working class hasn't got a look in.

Dave Duggan

### 1,000 Military Advisers in Iraq ...

Tp to 1,000 Soviet military advisers remain U stationed in Iraq and appear to be providing assistance to President Saddam Hussein's armed forces despite official Soviet condemnation of the Iraq invasion of Kuwait, according to US government sources.

Their presence has created behind-the-scenes friction between Moscow and the United States and threatens to strain superpower co-operation in resolving the Middle East crisis.

"It's our understanding that they have the obligation not to have advisers there", a senior US official said on Saturday. He said the matter had become an issue between Washington and Moscow.

The status of an additional 500 military advisers from other countries - mostly private citizens representing companies which have sold arms to Iraq — who are also still believed to be in Iraq remains uncertain.

From The Los Angeles Times

### ... and Britain trained 4,000 Iraqi air pilots and military personnel

Vestern troops on red alert in the Gulf may see v some irony in the fact that many Iraqi Air Force pilots were trained in Britain during the

Inquiries by The Observer reveal that a Sussex company, Specialist Flying Training Ltd., was established in 1981 with the principal purpose of training some 80 Iraqi students to fly as part of a £9 million contract from Saddam Hussein's militarybacked regime. The company had also taken smaller contracts from Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates.

Air Marshall Sir Peter Wykeham, who resigned as chairman of the company in May 1985, a few months after the contract expired, declared that he deeply regretted helping to train pilots from a country with which hostilities had developed.

Wykeham, a distinguished World War Two pilot, declared "Naturally I feel very concerned about what has happened. But I could have had no ideas about the way events turned out".

He said the Iraqi contract, which covered three years, was won by Specialist Flying Training by default: "Most of the RAF training schools were full up. There were some 4,000 Iraqi military personnel under training in Britain at one stage during that period".

From The Observer, 26th August 1990

### **May Day Celebrations** in the USSR

(continued from page 3)

In KHARKOV about 100 anarchists took part in the May Day rally. Many of them had been attending the founding congress in Kharkov of the Ukrainian Anarchist Federation. Together with supporters of the progressive Ukrainian nationalist front Rukh and other democratic organisations, they marched through city streets. Among their German. Most (not all) of the jokes are from the slogans were: 'Socialism without freedom is every republic, region and individual', etc. During the rally Igor Rassokha megaphoned to the crowd a short history of anarchism and a run-down of the contemporary anarchist movement.

In LENINGRAD too, anarchists took part in the May Day rally organised by the newly-elected City Council. Unlike Moscow TV, Leningrad TV did show anarchists in their round-up, but only accompanied by a rabid verbal attack.

In ANGARSK (near Irkutsk in Siberia) anarcho-syndicalists, social democrats and 'new socialists' organised their own May Day rally. Among the speakers to the rally was well-known Siberian anarchist Igor Podshivalov. Despite inclement weather, around 100 people took part in this small town's alternative May Day.

Podshivalov reported than a congress of Siberian KAS organisations was to be held in mid-July and that it is possible that a Siberian Anarchist Federation will be formed.

In KALUGA (south west of Moscow) 105 people took part in a May Day rally organised by the local

# **Swords into** Ploughshares' trial

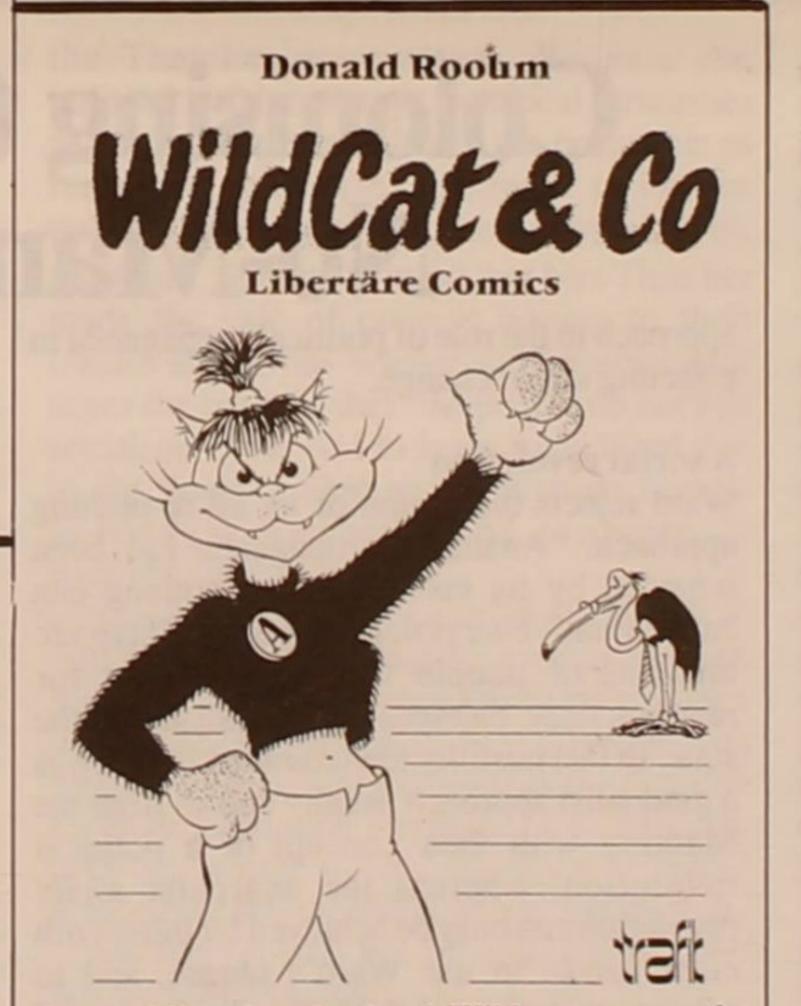
n 21st March this year two Christian anarchists, Stephen Hancock and Mike Hutchinson, entered the United States Air Force base at Upper Heyford and disarmed an F-111 bomber with hammers and blood. Their trial was scheduled for Monday 3rd September. As we go to press we do not know the outcome, but we do know that the maximum sentence is twenty years.

Their previous appearafice, before Judge Leo Clark at Oxford Crown Court on 23rd July, did not look promising. The hearing, for 'Plea and Direction', was to enable them to plead and for the judge to set a date for the trial.

The first indication that things weren't going too well was when Stephen tried to make an application to have a 'MacKenzie' friend (a MacKenzie friend is someone who can sit with the defendant in the dock). The prison officer behind him and the Clerk of the Court ordered him to sit down and be quiet. This happened

The judge then ordered that the charges be read out and asked Mike and Stephen if they were 'Guilty' or Not Guilty'. They both refused to plead, which immediately sent both the judge and the prosecution to their legal textbooks. They then decided that "the jury should decide this". Meanwhile Stephen was still trying to make an application for a MacKenzie friend. he also kept saying that he couldn't hear everything that was being said (Stephen has a hearing impediment) and eventually Judge Clark assented to having John Bugg sit with Stephen.

It slowly began to dawn that the judge wanted the trial to start that day! Mike and Stephen asked if they had received all the prosecution evidence (they had heard a



Just published: a book of Wildcat cartoons in Freedom Press Wildcat Anarchist Comics and slavery and barbarism (Bakunin)', 'Autonomy for Wildcat Strikes Again, translated by Peter Peterson and Rita Wunderbar. All are redrawn to fit the new format, and lettered in German, by Donald Rooum. From Freedom Press Bookshop, 64 pages, £4 post free inland (please add 40p towards postage when ordering from abroad).

> Voters' Union. Anarchist participants, members of KAS, carried banners which read: 'Down with the Communist party' and 'Freedom means the right to choose'. Members of the Democratic Union carried a banner reading 'Give the Communist Party freedom of immigration!'. The fact that it was possible to arrange and hold the rally was to a large degree due to the relatively good showing of democratic forces at the recent City Council elections. Of the 149 Council members, 63 had signed the programme of the democratic alliance 'Action'. Since 8th April anarcho-communist Nikolai Politsyn has been holding a two-hour daily vigil for peace on Theatre Square in Kaluga.

> Anarchists participated actively in May Day actions in many other towns and cities around the USSR.

# **NEWS AND FEATURES**

rumour that they hadn't). The judge interrupted to say "Of course you have!", but the prosecution had to admit they hadn't.

This then meant that there had to be an adjournment for the defence to be served with the evidence. The judge then asked the prosecution about the availability of their witnesses but pointedly did not ask the defence.

The judge rules that he saw no reason for the case not to begin on the 3rd September. stunned Mike and Stephen kept asking questions which the clerk and the judge ignored — they simply called the next case. Contact Swords into Ploughshares, 7 Plum Lane, London SE18 3AF. Telephone: London 071-739 1752 or 081-316 6278, or Oxford 0865-53212.

### **The Generous American** Employers

A ccording to The Independent's HWashington correspondent: "Some United States companies have cut off salary payments to employees held hostage in the Gulf, leaving their already anxious families in America short of funds.

Michael Saba, an Illinois businessman who has started a pressure group for hostage families, says the companies insist they have legal rights to stop wages and benefits once an employee is prevented from working, for whatever reason.

Mr Saba, who escaped from Baghdad in a taxi seven days after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, described the attitude of the companies as 'despicable'. He refused to name them because, he said, negotiations with relatives were still in progress."

## **Rambling Notes**

et us celebrate this week two victories The refusal by some commoners to accept in the minor confrontations with the extinguishing of their rights (21st authority that have been reported in this column during the past six months. When the law games played by the judiciary conflict with the war games played by the military it can be to the benefit of us walkers.

Firstly, the footpaths across Romney Marshes linking Lydd with the sea cannot now be closed. Kent County Council's ignominious conniving with the army to extinguish them (24th March) failed when Lord Justice Woolf, sitting with Mr Justice persuade Forest Heath District Council to Pill in the Queen's Bench Divisional Court, ruled that they had not carried out correctly the statutory procedures laid down in the 1980 Highways Act, so reversing a decision last March by Folkestone magistrates. The notices put up by the Council stating their intention to block up the paths 'misleadingly' stated that there would be an alternative route. Or, as a non-legal mind would put it, they lied. The case was brought by the Ramblers Association and the Council had to pay their costs. So the paths the MoD were forced to reopen will now stay open, that is unless the Council starts the blocking procedure all over again. And will the army still be using the firing range?

Secondly, more than a thousand peace campaigners, detained and fined for criminal trespass on Greenham Common airbase, can have their convictions quashed and their fines repaid. They may even be able to claim damages. The Law Lords, overturning the 1986 convictions of two Greenham women, decided on 12th July that the by-law which prohibited entry to the base infringed rights of common and briefly showed the peace camp women celebrating, ITN did not. Now, there is a continual flow of women in and out of the base and, if the MoD had a human face, after this humiliation it would be blushing

However, when the authority of the state is thwarted its violence soon surfaces and the landowners right to ask trespassers to leave by the most direct route has sometimes been interpreted by MoD police (on whose orders?) as meaning 'let's use our superior strength to evict with violence'

Guardian readers may have enjoyed reading the law report (13th July) or possibly, like me, failed to make much sense of the technicalities but nevertheless welcomed this defeat of state authority by Greenham women, however temporary.

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April) has been rewarded. Needless to say, the MoD is considering drawing up fresh by-laws criminalising trespass and still plans to invoke the 1854 Defence Act to try to abolish the commoners' rights. Anyone who has a conviction they want quashed will find useful information in the September issue of Peace News.

The government is also having trouble with its military by-laws at RAF Lakenheath (16th June). They failed to stop us walking the public footpath across the base and Mildenhall magistrates dismissed the prosecution case for trespass against several peace campaigners on the grounds that the offence was not known in law because the by-laws had not been correctly introduced. However the footpath can still be extinguished by Statutory Instrument in Parliament.

All those arrested under any of the military land by-laws, whether charged or not, are invited to apply pressure for redress by writing to the Lord Chancellor, Home Secretary and Attorney General. More information can be obtained from the June issue of the Southern Resistor or that assiduous walker of rights of way across air bases, John Bug (telephone 0353 699 267).

Less successful have been the campaigns against low-flying military aircraft (14th July) and the MoD's plans to blow up Rhu Spit to facilitate access by Trident nuclear submarines to the base in Gareloch (19th May). The response by the MoD to criticism of low-flying aircraft expressed by the House of Commons defence select committee, expected in July, was delayed was therefore invalid. The BBC TV news until the autumn and an announcement of a reduction in the scale and intensity of low-flying exercises would be expected as a response to growing public pressure. But the US government's nuclear sabre-rattling in its fight for oil in the Middle East has rather changed things. Yorkshire residents near RAF Leeming have been asked to put up with more low flying (do they have a choice?) because, of course, the lads have got to practise a bit more now.

> As for Rhu Spit, defended by Faslane peace campers and Sea Action members from being blown up, it is now slowly sinking into the loch. Don't ever underestimate those wily MoD civil servants. The channel-dredging alternative has so successfully undermined the spit that it has had to be fenced off, for the protection of the public, you understand.

**Beyond Politics** 

Beyond Politics: an outline of systematic ideology

by George Walford Calabria Press, paperback £2.95, hardback £9.95\*

very anarchist should read this book. It is nor a put-down of anarchism, but a a healthy exercise.

We must all have asked ourselves, at one time or another, why when anarchism is so obviously right do so few people agree with

One answer to the question is offered by Systematic Ideology, a theory of relationships among social attitudes, originated by Harold Walsby in the 1940s. George Walford does not waste words, and he takes a whole book to outline the theory. nevertheless I will attempt a three-paragraph summary.

I start with the common observation that they find themselves, and prosper as best they can within it. In the jargon of Systematic Ideology, they can follow the ideology of expediency

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Going on from expediency, the next is a jargon term for this ideology, but for the purpose of this summary it is enough to note that its political expression is conservatism. political expressions are liberalism, socialism, communism and anarchism.

If these ideologies are arranged in increasing



decision had to be made whether or not to expounding it to the layman. When pec an entirely new book on the same topic.

Talking Houses is made up of ten lectures, can do in practice. one from 1975, the others all from the 1980s, and delivered in a variety of places (London, Welwyn Garden City, Nottingham, Newcastle and Leicester, and in the United States and

#### Talking Houses by Colin Ward

Freedom Press, 142 pages, £5.00 (post free)

and in decreasing order of size and influence, the two arrangements turn out to be identical. are no bosses and everything is done by We also get the same arrangement if we put the ideologies in increasing order of political from other anarchists in the rigidity of their individualism, increasing order of economic thought. collectivism, increasing confidence in theory, An unalterable doctrine was laid down in advocates of government. decreasing dependence on experience, and the 1904. To join the SPGB you have to pass an Ineither an essay in anarchist propaganda chronological sequence of their beginnings. examination proving that you understand the That so many different criteria produce the doctrine, and agree with it. If you -special case, of a general effect which can be presentation of anarchism in a thoroughly same arrangement indicates an underlying subsequently admit to changing your mind explained extremely simply? Could it be that unfamiliar light. The erudition leaves you principle. Evidently the smallness of the about any detail, you can either resign or be you have to use words in unusual senses to gasping. The lucid, witty style is a delight in anarchist movement is not a temporary expelled. This is not just a method of make Systematic ideology mean anything itself. And it makes you think, which is always contingency, as anarchists like to think, but an preserving unanimity among a revolutionary special? Could it be that Systematic Ideology inevitable consequence of a natural law.

George Walford has been debating with to paraphrase what is written, the revolution erected on a foundation of special pleading? anarchists for years, and is familiar with all the will take the form of the international working obvious arguments. You might argue, for class consciously, simultaneously, and the belief that anarchism has a chance of instance, that the anarchist movement cannot suddenly embracing the SPGB doctrine. To success - if I did not believe that, it would be be inevitably small, because the anarchist describe this as extreme political movement in Spain was quite large. Walford has anticipated you. He contends "that the sense. Spanish 'anarchists' thought and behaved differently from the movements known by that title elsewhere", and he neatly supports this contention with a telling quotation from Murray Bookchin about 'rank and file' most people just accept the society in which Spanish anarchists being "permitted a considerable degree of freedom in voicing and publishing material against the leadership". Again, you might quarrel with the idea that the sequence 'liberalism - socialism communism' is arranged in order of ideology does not just accept the existing increasing political freedom. But Walford social order, but consciously supports it. There finds evidence for this in the frequency with

which communist parties split. The rule of conformity within each faction is explained as follows: "mental independence reaches a And there are four further ideologies whose point where severe party discipline has to be imposed to maintain a functioning organisation" Freedom readers may well agree that

Italy), and to a variety of audiences (town planners, architects, anarchists, local government officers, historians, teachers and community workers), the talks forming the chapters of a book with a continuous theme, which may be summed-up in the word 'dweller-control'.

Ward says that he has been writing on housing for forty-five years and has nothing new to say, but this is true only in the sense that in making propaganda for anarchism we need to put forward our relatively simple message again and again in ways which relate to people's actual needs. It is no small measure due to the continued efforts of educators such as Ward that many people professionally involved with housing and town planning have come to take seriously at least some aspects of the anarchist approach, at least to the extent that much of the material in the earlier book has dated.

Ward writes in his introduction that when people tell him that anarchism has no relevance to current issues he gives them his In 1976 Freedom Press published Colin books. "I would like to have a pile of similar Ward's Housing: an Anarchist Approach books about dozens of other current topics of which was, as he puts it, "cobbled together" ordinary life to push onto enquirers and into from writings published over many years in the wider debate. I keep wondering why they Freedom and a wide variety of other aren't around". One can only say that for such periodicals ranging from The Architects a projected series of books this volume would Journal to The Times Educational make a good start, and wish that there were Supplement. The book proved popular enough many writers as good as Ward, who combines to be reprinted with a postscript in 1983, and a detailed technical knowledge of his subject this edition too has sold out. When the with the skill of the man of letters in

Anarchism will not be accepted by the majority of people unless it is seen as an extension of the bottom-up, as opposed to the top-down, approach to the solution of practical problems. "We are much more likely to win support for our point of view if we put anarchist answers which can be tried here and now, than if we declare that there are no answers until the ultimate answer: a social revolution which continually disappears over reprint, Colin Ward was approached and enquire about what anarchists have to say on the horizon". And people have to change from rather than revise the earlier and in some this or that topic they have the right to expect being inert and passive consumers of what respects outdated material, agreed to provide not a few catch-phrases but a detailed and capitalism provides, to being convinced that practical exposition of what not we, but they they are capable of housing themselves. Ward's message is that "People draw their The present volume is shorter but tighter and inspiration from what other people succeed in more cohesive than the earlier one (as well as doing" and his example here is the Lewisham being far more attractively laid-out) so that Self-Build Housing Association as the kind of those who have read Housing: an Anarchist project, non-existent in the 1970s, which is Approach will want this new book, while "statistically insignificant but tremendously those who have not will find here not only all important", in that a wealth of popular talent the non-specialist needs to know about was given an outlet. (This project was housing but also a very thought-provoking discussed in detail by the anarchist architect

### A NEW FREEDOM PRESS TITLE

of anarchism is not the Freedom readership, but the Socialist Party of Great Britain. Certainly the SPGB is an anarchist party, in

elite, but a scheme for the revolution itself. For is an erudite, elegant, ingenious structure, individualism is to use words in an unusual

You could devise many a spectrum, on the model of the Systematic Ideology spectrum, with 'the ideology of expediency' at one end, and a minority opinion at the other end. The minority opinion might be genocidal racism, the creed of the Jehovah's Witnesses, or any far-fetched notion which actually has adherents. Or you could put 'expediency' in the middle of a spectrum with, say, anarchism at one extreme and absolute monarchism at the other. In each case there would be moderate opinions between the expedient and the extreme, and in each case it would turn out that the greater the social change advocated, the fewer would be the people advocating it.

The explanation for this is quite simple. Humans, like other mammals, generally prefer familiar things because they have learned how to deal with them. If somebody advocates an untried method of building, or sanitation, or order of the extent of social change they want, anarchism is at the extreme of political physical training, we know immediately that

individualism. However, Walford's archetype they have a particular interest in the subject. Most people are not particularly interested in those subjects and feel safer with well-tried methods — 'better the devil you know than the the sense that it calls for a society where there devil you don't know'. Resistance to social change has the same biological basis. It is voluntary co-operation, but its members differ quite independent of the social system you start with — imagine an anarchist society in which there are moderate and extreme

Could it be that Systematic Ideology is an extremely complicated explanation for one

I suspect so, but I am prejudiced. I cherish no fun at all to be an anarchist.

\*From Freedom Press Bookshop, post free inland (please add 15% towards postage when ordering from abroad)

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### **Colonising the Political** No-Man's Land

approach to the role of political propaganda in effecting social change.

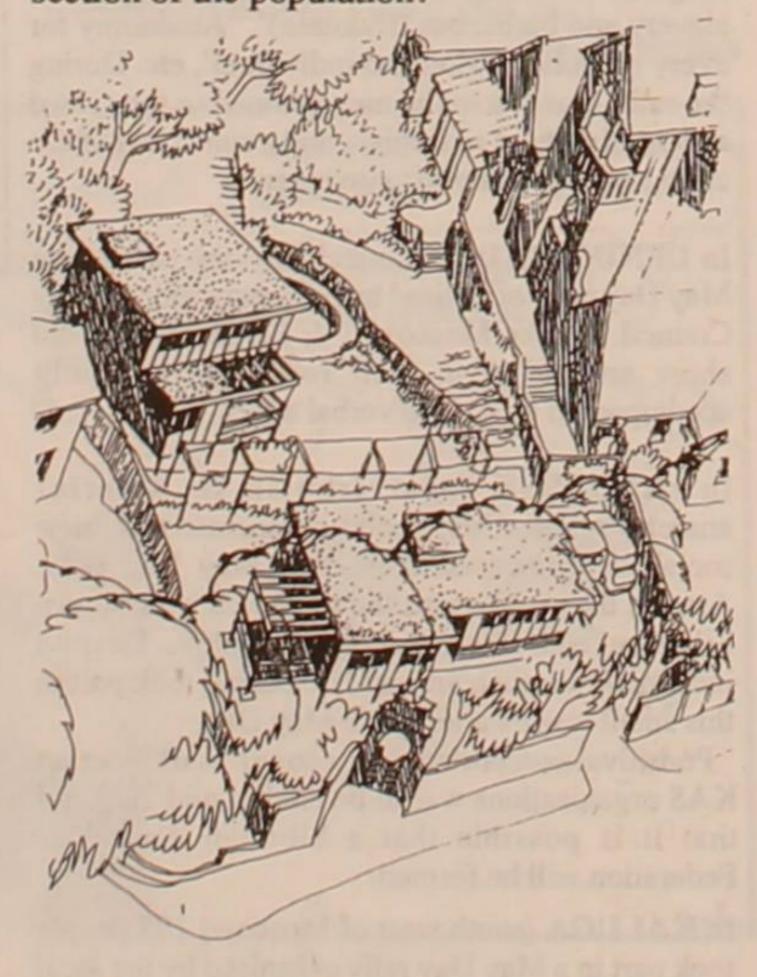
#### A social revolution

approach. "Anarchist propaganda has been impeded by its insistence that nothing can particular bunch of politicians who happen to happen until everything happens". There are be office-holders: "Having the right political millions of people who cannot wait for system is no guarantee that you're going to get revolutionary changes in capitalism or the the right social attitudes. But this very fact state. In fact hostility towards what they see as reminds us that we can't wait for the electoral a gradualist approach usually comes from the racket to swing our way. We have to pursue Marxists with their concept of a political the ideas that are important for us without revolution, whereas the anarchist social regard for who is in power". revolution can only be achieved by those with clear heads, to use Ward's phrase, and to The housing problem achieve that social health the elimination of How can so basic a human need as shelter social evils such as the housing problem is a present permanent problems for a significant prerequisite

Brian Richardson in The Raven no 6, 1988, one of whose drawings forms the frontispiece of this book).

A further point Ward makes is that the battle Ward rejects the notion of an all-or-nothing has to be fought continuously everywhere. We cannot blame housing problems on the

section of the population?



## **BOOK REVIEWS**

### Caveat Emptor

#### Alan Sugar: The Amstrad Story by David Thomas Century, 366 pages, £14.99

A lan Sugar was the golden boy of Thatcher A style capitalism and Victorian values in that the public good is not the public welfare, but how many fffs one wheelbarrows over to one's listening bank. It is the world of the South Sea Bubble, of the 1929 American share buying stampede and the factory floor pyramid caper of fantastic interests on your providing more and more money is paid in.

For myself I would have tossed the book aside with a world-weary shrug of the right shoulder if it were not that Robert Heller has been called upon by those in high office to do an in-depth analysis of Thomas's book. Those among you whose dedicated weekends are spent with an A1 road map looking for a barricade will rest their knapsack and having opened their fertiliser-free sandwiches raise a Robert Heller is. And Robert is of the world. A well staffed office in Soho from which Polish George and I were ordered out of, an authority on the plight of the yen, the dollar or the mark, TV wise and a man wise in the ways of the art world gallery wise. Cry the name Flowers among the Cork Street / Bond Street entrepreneurs as they sweat over the cash registers among the finest creations of the human mind and they will raise their cups of Earl Grey tea shouting 'Good ol Bob', for Heller is not only an authority on the yen, the mark and the dollar, but he is the brain and the money behind one, two, three successful art galleries of that world wherein political power and economics dictate the size and subject of the week's masterpiece. Alan is of the age when if one was unable to write one bought a

### The Housing Problem

"The question we should be asking ourselves is why the simple human task of housing oneself and of adapting and improving one's immediate environment, should have been made tortuous and complicated, when it ought to be simple and natural".

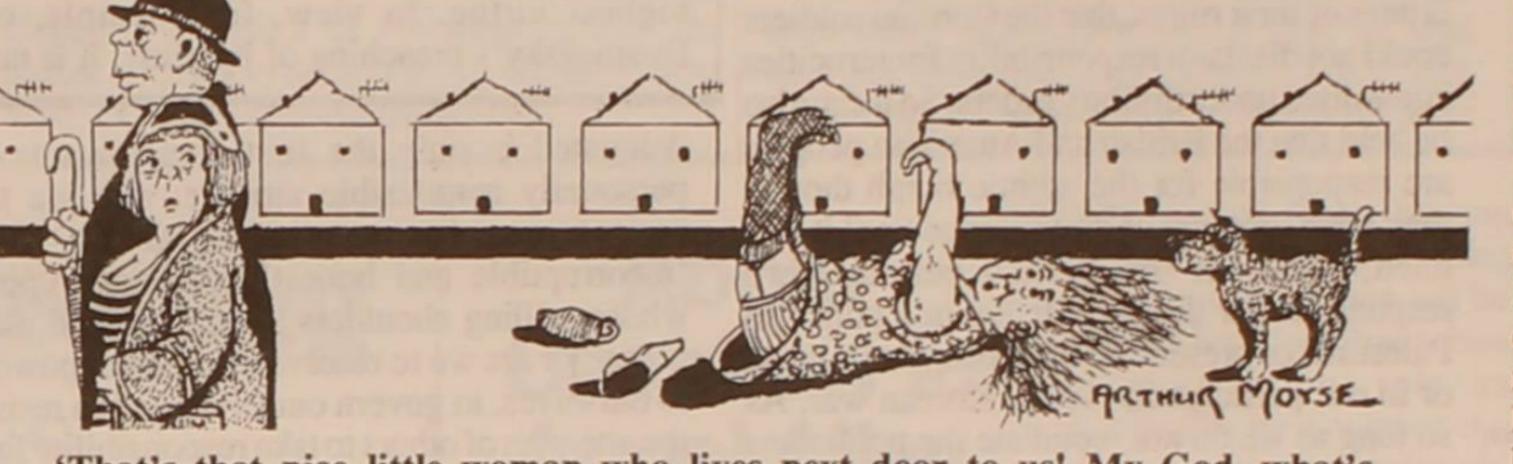
We have an economic system which does not cater for the less affluent in ways which satisfy their natural aspirations, so that the highest praise a local authority tenant can give his home is to say that 'it doesn't look like a council house'. Ward points to the monopolistic nature of local authority landlordism, and the lack of genuine freedom for tenants to move or to adapt their accommodation to their individual requirements, and shows how dependence and resentment are an inevitable aspect of the landlord-tenant relationship. On the other hand, the social order suits the well-off very well, and Ward shows council housing as a form of regressive taxation.

The other aspect of the same problem is the fetish of professionalism in town planning, with the gap between planners and planned-for, and part of Ward's purpose here is to demystify the town planning profession.

#### Causes and cures

How could such a state of affairs have come about? The origins of the problem lie back in the nineteenth century when the major problem was seen to be that of reducing housing densities and slum clearance in the interest of public health (whether the intention was benevolent or due to fear of social a consensus between progressive Tories and Fabian Socialists that the only answer to the enormity of the problem lay in the burgeoning municipalities taking over the function of the urban landlord, a consensus broken only by

computer and it was a gift to palm off to any Stock Exchange haunting yob complete with hand 'phone and briefcase or the primary schools for working class children. The twenty with computers that could stand comparison year old yobs lost their jobs and their with any of the major producers and in that computers and there has been a drastic and jungle one is in a world free-for-all with no unforgivable fall in the ability of working mercy. It has happened time and time again in class children to read and write for the plastic the British film industry when producers computers that sold as instant learning proved having made local profits from 'Carry On' worthless in the world of economics and type of films believe that with one Oscar they working class education. Alan Sugar's gift to can compete with the American production his age was to market these toys for adults and line entertainment. In politics and in mass Christmas loan club contributions always sales-figure-wise, as we say in the consumer production as Thatcher, Kinnock boardrooms, he was a raving success. His and Henry Ford demonstrated one creates a talent was to be able to organise and he worked strong based monopoly and while the wets, the on the old street market pitch spiel in that one militants and the family car of the Car Show bought cheap goods in bulk, shaved the selling of the Year will all have their moment of glory, profit to an absolute minimum and sold out in in the end the entrenched monopolies always an hour or so — it is the 'car boot sale', it is seem to be there living off their fat and like Harry who for two hours midday in Soho's mid-European destroyed Communist Parties Berwick Street market sells off wads of crawling back grinning 'I shall return'. The chocolates cheaper than the shops. Small return quick sales. Alan Sugar did the same quizzical eyebrow demanding to know who sale on a mass market but always cut prices and not in the interest of the consumer but in deals with the suppliers. He also copied the method of the mass building property boys using sub- contractors whenever possible and



'That's that nice little woman who lives next door to us! My God, what's happening to our society when no one stops to raise a finger to help her?'

political Left has always seen local authorities privileged". as the providers, and hence the occupants as In proposing direct participation in the recipients, once the consensus is broken planning process and dweller-control in public ownership becomes equated with housing, Ward refers often to the socialism. Bearing in mind that Mrs Thatcher made the sale of council houses to their tenants into a vote- winner and the number of times she has said that "the people do not like socialism", it is odd to learn from Ward that in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe individual ownership of property is encouraged.

Town planning likewise and with the best of intentions has developed from a concern with sanitary reforms and government intervention in the housing market, to a hierarchy of professionals administering a mass of complex legislation which has been unable to prevent, when it has not actually been responsible for, the blight of large areas of our cities, and yet does not solve the problems it was designed to solve.

#### **Opposing camps**

Ward shows the history of housing and of town planning as a series of conflicts between out of existence the values by which ordinary two opposed approaches to local citizens govern their own lives in favour of administration — the top-down approach bureaucratic paternalism, leaving those values which values efficiency more than around to be picked up by their political democracy, and the bottom-up approach with opponents". its emphasis on fostering self-reliance in The socialist movement got itself into the citizens; the world- view of those who see position of dismissing as petit-bourgeois planning as a popular movement associated individualism all those freedoms which the with non-professionals - the vision of people it claims to speak for value the most. Ebenezer Howard and Patrick Geddes, And worship of the State has led it to reject its opposed to that of the professionals such as populist inheritance and allow the political Thomas Sharp who, with his vision of order Right to pick up its language. Ward calls it and logic despised ordinary people for the "the stolen language which the Left has individualism of their choices.

Ward welcomes the relaxation of planning controls, and sees the need for planning to destroying local decision-making, has merely compared with the enormous waste of money upheaval is another matter). There came to be recover its populist approach - to be a movement and not a 'library of legislation'. "As an anarchist, of course, I am in the opposite camp to Sharp. If we have to polarise Tories but by a series of Labour one of the hard-won lessons of a century of our attitudes between order and disorder, I fear administrations. Ambitious local politicians housing history". order most, because I know that the order that move on to Westminster - Ken Livingstone,

the Thatcher government. Because the will be imposed is the order of the secure and shanty-towns of the third world where local initiatives are great and social problems relatively few compared to the cities of Europe and North America. We need to change the role of the administration from that of provider to that of enabler, and the role of the citizen from that of recipient to that of participant.

becoming his own middleman. Sugar felt the need for the touch of class in that though the market was there wine-sipping with the City lay with supplying the middle class but in the end, I believe, he fell into the old trap of moving into the upper end of the market and that was when he began to supply the market Amstrad Story is readable and like the lost city of Atlantic or do-it-yourself brain surgery, entertaining but of little value. In politics, entertainment, economics, religion or mass murder a new star is born and it flares, dies and falls and for a few weeks the media gives us dull entertainment for our coins. There is little new in it and I type with the stupidity of age.

#### The language of the Left

If Ward were representing a housing lobby, he would ask for more individual choice, while aware that he was using a Thatcherite phrase. The political Left has, he says, "committed an enormous psychological error in allowing this kind of language to be appropriated by the political Right. If you look at the exhibitions of trade union banners from the last century, you will see slogans like Self-Help embroidered all over them. It was those clever Fabians and academic Marxists who ridiculed

socialist utopia". But the political Right, in followed Labour-Fabian precedent. Most of

At this moment in time Iraq is using all its military muscle to force Kuwait to increase oil prices and before one moralises is this any different from the grace and charm of the Kray brothers or the Richardsons with their razor-sharp protection racket. In the 1920s each few London streets were served by its 'small' milkman with his float and the dairy combines moved in with a free tub of cream and a slab of butter and literally within weeks our 'little man' was ruined. With these monopolies prices mock Thatcher for physical force dictates that prices will be dictated by unseen, unknown controllers. A German supermarket chain is to move into London with no shelf-display but straight-out-the-case cut prices, but I will lay my bet on Sainsbury's and the rest of the 'sell by date' boys to remain in business. I will sit in the White Hart pub listening to the experts on the Middle East and the solution to the oil situation and think of the Burger King fast food chain who offer a plastic toy to the child gnawing through the 'children's meal' whose parent finds that what they assumed was a free gift is covered by an extra 63 pence added on to the bill. There are those who say 'you moan about your £80 a week and the price of beer, why don't you make a million pounds?' and the answer is the same as to those who stand before a ten thousand pound abstract painting crying 'I can't paint but I could have done that' and the answer to both is 'I would if I could but I can't and if you can then join the enemies of the human race and do it'. P. G. Wodehouse is dead and no more Jeeves stories and hand on heart I don't think Thomas's tale of Alan Sugar and his adventures through the world of quick sales, shaved profits and economics will replace Wodehouse, but penniless though I be I can still moralise and Century, the publishers of Alan Sugar the economic whiz-kid should not price their book at £14.99 for they know, I know and the buyer knows that £14.99 looks like £14.00 but in ghastly reality is £15.00.

Arthur Moyse

for example, of County Hall fame, got a safe Labour seat as the result of the deposal of the sitting member Reg Freeson, who Ward regards as the only Minister to have had any understanding of or sympathy for co-operative housing.

A century ago Marx and Engels dismissed the survival of peasant economies. Ward shows how in Italy it is those who are closest to an artisan or peasant background - the first generation industrial workers from the South - who find it easiest to become self-employed or to participate in co-operative ventures. Kropotkin, in favouring decentralisation and the breaking down of large scale industrial conurbations, is in line with the planning pioneer Ebenezer Howard, and the present generation of planners is beginning to reject the use of legislative frameworks which lack popular support, and slowly returning in full-circle to Howard's idea of popular franchise.

#### The future

If people's illusions are destroyed by Thatcherite extremism they may go in a libertarian direction or they may envisage something post-Thatcher which is far more Left-authoritarian. Look not to political but to social opposition, and remember that support for our ideas comes from achievements that have been won.

"What I want to see", concludes Ward, "is not a mass solution but a mass of small, local, small-scale solutions that draw upon the involvement, the ability and the ingenuity of people themselves. There will be muddle and confusion, duplication of effort, wasted cash and misappropriation of funds. But what discarded on their way to their version of the makes you think this hasn't happened in the days of big, public solutions? It will be nothing and resources in the mass housing drives of the the reductions in the powers of local '50s and '60s, and the residue of misery and authorities were made not by the Thatcherite disillusion that they have left behind. This is

**Charles Crute** 

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**Politics and** Responsibility

impractical, unrealistic, irresponsible and those responsibilities to others. It is they who alone. unconstructive. He is unconstructive, it is said, are unconstructive, because by urging people his sniping at those who accept the responsibilities of office, he says that he would he is unrealistic because he will not recognise that mankind is not perfectible and that authority is necessary for the protection of society; he is impractical because he will not recognise the value of the work done by reformist bodies in 'improving social conditions'; and so on.

But the anarchist will show that these very words are descriptive of the political attitudes of the critics of anarchism. It is they who are impractical for they do not see that their reformist remedies for social problems, their practical legislative measures, merely set up new problems in solving the old, nor that the 'enlightened' policies of governmental systems are more than cancelled out by the governments' predatory activities. It is they who are unrealistic about the nature of man, because they will not recognise the truth of William Morris's saying, "No man is good enough to be another man's master", because they will not accept the evidence of history that the best-intentioned system of authority contains elements of tyranny.

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It is they who are irresponsible, because they foster the notion that the citizen can meet his

### Doing Business

Doing Business: a mischief-makers handbook by Dirk Spig

1 in 12 Publications, £2.00\*

This is a do-it-yourself guide to investigative reporting. Concisely, but completely, it describes how to obtain information, how to write it up effectively, and how to get it published. In content, it is up with the best of commercial DIY guides, and well above the standard of most little handbooks published by the radical press.

I hope the publishers have the funds to circulate the pamphlet to teachers of journalism, because I can imagine teachers recommending it to students as a handy reference to sources of information. I did not know that company records filed at Companies House, are available on microfiche at public libraries.

The single page on writing technique (confusingly headed 'Into Print') tells you precisely what to look for when going over your first draft to improve readability. A useful checklist, not only for those who do not have the privilege of literary training, but also for the more experienced.

Dirk Spig is described in the blurb as a Bradford poet. He certainly does not conform to Chaz Bufe's definition of a poet, one who cannot write prose. His own investigations have been into Freemasonry. 1 in 12 also publish The Secret Society of Freemasons in Bradford and The Brotherhood Betrayed about the Poulson affair. Do not be put off buying the pamphlet, however, if you are not interested in the Masons.

This pamphlet is for everyone who wants to investigate any public matter, or to publicise anything.

\*From Freedom Bookshop, UK post free, elsewhere please add 30p towards postage.

A mong the criticisms levelled at the responsibilities to himself and others by

the politician is not, as he claims, to the individual, he had lost. electors, but to the political system within called. But it is not a game for the people whose abnegated power provides the motive force, and whose delegated responsibilit becomes their authority.

It was held at the Nuremburg trials that the German people were responsible for the crimes of their rulers, that the German soldiers could not disclaim responsibility for atrocities committed under military orders. So it can also be held that the British and American peoples they were ignorant of its existence until it was used, and that the British people were responsible for the late Mr Bevin's policy in or in our participation in the Korean war. As so long as we do not repudiate the politicians who initiate and support these policies, it is our us and from us? responsibility. But withdrawing our responsibility from those to whom it has been

### Slavery, Racism and Resistance

Black People in the British Empire: an introduction

It is good to have Peter Fryer's introductory text Black People in the British Empire now available in paperback. It is readable and well-researched, and explodes a lot of myths, particularly on the supposed benign nature of the British Empire, and the suggestions by some liberal scholars that the nineteenth century — the golden age of liberalism — was an era of peace and tranquillity in the world. As a preface the book has a pertinent quotation from Ayi Kwei Armah. It reads: "The present is where we get lost — if we forget our past

transportation of many millions of Africans to the Americas) was a major factor in the accumulation of capital necessary for the by Peter Fryer development of industrial capitalism in he argues, to legitimate British capitalist Pluto Press, 1988, £7.50 Britain. This 'transfusion' of wealth through the development of plantation slavery — and the profits from this trade were enormous was supplemented also by the rapacious struggles and resistance to both slavery and plunder of the India sub-continent. Fryer describes the process of the 'de-industrialisation' in India, the elimination the many social upheavals and revolts that in particular of the India textile industry, and occurred in the Caribbean both before and emphasises that the economic exploitation of India by British mercantile interests was the suppressed by the colonial authorities with root cause of the poverty, and the famines that much repression and bloodshed. These revolts occurred at regular intervals throughout the were not just isolated incidents: they often eighteenth and nineteenth century. The involved a massive upsurge of discontent. The abolition of slavery, and the establishment of so-called Baptist war of 1831- 1832 in and have no vision of the future". British imperial rule in India after the mutiny Jamaica, for example, involved over 60 It is a thought that many anarchists could of 1857-1858 did not however put an end to well heed, for many seem intent to ditch as the exploitation of the people of the Caribbean irrelevant the theories and past struggles of and India. The Indian economic historian the abolition of slavery in 1833. In India too, libertarian socialists like Bakunin, Kropotkin, Ramesh Dutt, for instance, calculated that the history of British rule is also a history of Goldman and Magon. Among many radicals around the turn of the century about half of struggle, of resistance to Pax Britannica. One there seems nowadays to be an insatiable India's net revenue of £44 million flowed out Indian scholar described British rule in India tendency to embrace many of the latest of the country as profits. Fryer stresses that the intellectual fads — scientism (sociobiology) emerging industrial working class in Britain or spiritualism, nihilistic post-modernism or was exploited by the same capitalist class that the yuppie homage to the market economy. exploited black slaves in the Caribbean, and Fryer's study, however, purveys a different that in the nineteenth century patriotic ethos. It is a historical study, and it is about the enthusiasm for the Empire was deliberately past. But it is a book that helps us nevertheless whipped up by the imperialists and the to understand the present. establishment, who deeply feared social The book is all about British imperial unrest and possible revolution in Britain. history, and it is divided into three parts. The

The second part of the book is on the first part is on the origins of capitalism, and is ideology of racism, which Fryer sees - as the specifically focused around the history of the black sociologist Oliver Cox long ago argued UFD British Empire. Following the seminal ideas (a writer surprisingly not mentioned by Fryer) of Eric Williams, Fryer shows how the as emerging directly from plantation 'triangular trade' (which involved the forced

### FEATURES AND BOOKS

### Mass Movement

The pleasure that a man finds in belonging to a mass movement arises, always, according to Mr Hoffer, from a feeling of inadequacy on the part of the disciple. It may be a sense of sin, or a sense of failure, or mere Anarchist are the charges that he is marking on a ballot paper his delegation of timidity, that makes a man unable to stand

Of these, the sense of sin is perhaps the most because he ridicules the political parties and to give their support to political movements potent. When a man joins in a mass movement their aims but has no plan of his own to put in and 'properly constituted authorities', they are he is persuaded that the movement is wholly their place; he is irresponsible because for all destroying people's capacity to support good and that its virtue is reflected upon themselves and to solve their own problems. himself. His load of sin, on the other hand, is When people with political concepts of life ejected on to an opponent's movement. In this not accept authority even if he had the chance; accuse anarchism of being an irresponsible way he is able at the same time to love his coattitude, the question to be asked is, religionists, to hate the infidels, and to feel that irresponsible to whom? The responsibility of sense of personal worth which, as an

Fear of the outer world and hatred of self are whose framework he acts. He is convinced thus essential ingredients in the psychology of that he is acting responsibly in all the those who become converts to mass expediencies, deceptions, changing alliances movements in their active phase. These and policies, in which he indulges. And so he undesirable emotions are multiplied and is, within the limits of the political game, the externalised as the movement spreads, and 'give and take of the political arena' as it is thus become sources of persecutions and ruthless wars.

If Mr Hoffer's analysis is right, as I am convinced that it is, the only cure for fanaticism lies in self-respect, and in preventing the growth of that sort of morbid humility which is regarded by some as the highest virtue. In view, for example, of Dostoevsky's preaching of humility, it is not

Which is the responsible attitude?

Freedom, 1st September 1951

surprising that he was an intimate friend of the Procurator of the Holy Synod, whose persecutions he supported. A collection of abject individuals can be turned into a cruelly fanatical society; but only a community of self-respecting individuals can practise freedom and tolerance.

Bertrand Russell (discussing The True Believer by Eric Hoffer, published by Secker & Warburg, 1952)

### **Public Gallery vs Hove Council**

(continued from page 8)

when defendants turned up alone their cases were heard at a frightening speed. Hove and Portslade anti poll tax unions did their best to draw these issues to people's attention beforehand by leafletting thousands of houses, but if people don't turn up at court there's little we can do except organise a doorstep greeting party for the bailiffs.

Over 20,000 people in Hove and Portslade haven't paid their poll tax; a pretty impressive figure for a small and conservative area with only two anti poll tax unions (Brighton has eight APTUs, and the council is a long way behind Hove in the issuing of summonses). The national news has just given two sets of figures (one from the Audit Commission, the other from a BBC survey) suggesting that non-payment figures are as high as one in four delegated is only the first step towards a or five. These are excellent, of course, but the are responsible for the atomic bomb though personally responsible attitude. Are we to true figure which includes non-registration is search out for new allegiances, for likely to be higher. In Scotland, numbers not 'incorruptible and honest' politicians upon paying have actually increased in the second whose willing shoulders we can unload our year of poll tax. Such widespread and Palestine, or present British policy in Malaya, power, or are we to resolve to keep out power determined resistance to government is to ourselves, to govern ourselves and to resist unprecedented in recent years. Let's make the attempts of others to take responsibility for | sure as many people as possible are kept informed and advised by their local APTUs to keep this momentum going.

#### Johnny Yen

slavery and colonialism, as a justification for the enslavement of black people. He notes how the two doyens of British liberal philosophy — Hume and Locke — were both implicated in the colonial slave trade, and expressed racist views. Fryer emphasises the political function of racism, and the fact that during the period of Empire it permeated every aspect of British cultural and intellectual life — school textbooks and children's literature included. Racism offered a device, expansion and rule. Empire and racism were thus intrinsically related.

The final part of the book discusses the colonialism. Black people were never simply passive victims of exploitation. Fryer surveys after emancipation, rebellions that were thousand slaves — and this revolt, Fryer suggests, was undoubtedly a factor that led to as like a house built over a mine of gunpowder. Fryer thus explodes the myth still propagated by liberal scholars, that the rise of capitalism simply involved a series of technological break-throughs and the expansion of a 'non-coercive' market economy. He shows therefore that the foundation of the British Empire, contrary to the official version, was based on the control, exploitation, and the brutal oppression of the subject peoples, and that racist doctrines were used to justify its expansion.

It is a book well worth reading. **Brian Morris** 

### **READERS' PAGE**

## On the Margin

TATas I born an anarchist? I have always known myself to be unique and have a very early memory of myself as a baby in a wooden rowing boat on a placid lake, above me the vast sky, and of my mother's eyes, such a beautiful shade of green in that cloudless blue sky. From what I learned later the lake was somewhere in Serbia and I could not have been older than six months.

Every one of us have these private memories. As we become older we remain the only custodians of vanished lives, for us they are more important than world events except anarchist by the age of fourteen and there history shaped my private consciousness.

I was not meant for war and bombs fell all around me. I walked among the debris of houses, hot metal shrapnel whizzing past me, to find my loved ones, my little world, the people who once dangled me on their knee. Shot, executed, gassed, mutilated - I have so much anguish in me still — would I have become an anarchist had the 'world' treated me better? Yes, for then it would be anarchist

Do I blame myself for anything? In my new adopted home the ravages of war were still visible. The train ride from Dover to London was a delight. Silver service in a Pullman coach. Such gentility. And nobody pocketed the silver.

Today on the train to Portsmouth, a fast

bumpy ride, rattle and shake, I had to use the first class loo, the first class carriages practically empty, dirty toilet, dirty looks.

I am visiting a good friend who is in hospital in Cosham — the usual thing, she is in a coma after an accident. Her brain, they say, is damaged. She has been in a coma for twenty days. The minicab driver has been ringing the hospital each day. She was his passenger, a car parked obscuring his sight, a lorry came from nowhere, bang.

She is a linguist (seven languages), a mother of two adolescent children, she was looking when the two coincide. I knew that I was an for a school for her daughter in Hampshire — of time-wasting, success or otherwise is at all that way for a bang. All that care, knowledge, humanity's loss. Now in a coma, without sensation, still alive.

> Haven't we warned against the mechanical world? The emergency wards are full of the victims of the road lobby.

I'm an anarchist for more reasons than one. I'm not saying that capitalism is impossible, that state capitalism is not possible, I'm not | magistrate who spent so much time telling saying that the organisation of things as now | people their rights and allowing them to ask exists does not 'work'.

wiser and we ought to be listened to. But then | Disruptions from the gallery finally tried his how do you talk to a world in coma?

I hope to return to the subject next fortnight. | ordered out. John Rety

(John, an ex-editor of *Freedom*, is also the unpleasant impression on us that he was author of Song of Anarchy published by Box | barracked from the gallery from the Two, £4 from Freedom Bookshop)

Love Lies Bleeding - two views

#### **Dear Editors**

I Claudia, which, like Love Lies people, sexual strivings are felt Bleeding, received a favourable through deadened and hardened review in Freedom, is an unfair, muscles. The soft warm tender glow oppressed section of society, i.e. absent and in its place is a desperate women. Furthermore, it effectively feeling of wanting to '.break out' of says 'to hell with the human race' by one's body. For the armoured person, taking no account of future the sex act seems to be filled with generations, i.e. children. The danger. All the old childish anxieties flamboyantly dressed (why?), come up with the sexual excitation, facially 'made- up' (why?) the mixed feelings, the guilt, the drug-taking (why?) author is not, castration fears. To 'succeed' surely, in a very strong position to becomes the end-all of the act, to 'get mount such a withering attack on her it up' or 'lay her' or 'make her come sisters, most of whom would thrive ... the fantasies make the act unreal in a society that put the welfare of and destroy any feeling of tenderness children first.

I do not think anarchists, generally, Fawcet Publications, 1971). appreciate that the human race depends upon a woman's instinctive The Sexual Life of Savages in 1929, desire, to procreate and the where he describes the magical, within the limits set by what the difficulties mothers face in that natural and uninhibited mores of the general body of the people are respect in a male-dominated world. I Trobriand Islanders, where perfect willing to accept. But occasionally it would not blame Claudia, or any promiscuity was allowed, and gets out of line, trying to do woman, for not wanting to procreate encouraged between adolescents something that large numbers are not under the conditions that prevail but, until they found the mate with whom willing to tolerate, or to refuse postage on their copy of Freedom. looking at the animals, and they wanted to stay. animals, I would suggest that their strive to come to terms with the power lies with the people rather than lives must suffer as a result.

of Love Lies Bleeding found women rather than invent cynical rationales better anarchists than men. If women for the bad behaviour of others. were as selfish as men, a lot of us would have been abandoned at birth.

#### Dear Freedom

she doesn't go deep enough.

ingrained in our culture.

I suggest we look to Reich for tolerate". reasons why our relationships have This is not always obvious, for the Observer of 24th June.) degenerated to sado-masochistic State normally takes care to act

games: "In neurotic armoured ..." (Orson Bean Me and the Orgone,

Malinowski published his classic

energy and power within us and our the State.

Karen Noble

### **Underground Activity**



the definition of 'small businesses' - bill of £8,000 for the year. they are, for the CBI, businesses with

something they demand; when that

I am not surprised that the reviewer total relationship with the universe, Early in World War Two there was a struggle to get the tube stations open to the public as air-raid shelters. The authorities refusing to give way, journals collapse because they are the people simply took over, buying slack about sending out reminders. Freedom Fortnightly Fighting tickets but not travelling, settling We are not, and yes, we have lost a Fund down for the night with their bundles number of readers, many familiar New York FT £30; Wolverhampton JL and baskets of food. On the night of names among them, as a result. But £4, Forest Row OM £4, Clwyd JK £5. In Freedom of 14th July, the article 27th September 1940, there were we are also getting many new I read Claudia's Love Lies Bleeding. 'Anarchism' by DR points out that estimated to be 180,000 on the readers, and bringing out the paper Her comments are very trenchant but "Even the most oppressive of bosses platforms. That number was only a fortnightly (and paying the printers!). needs at least the tacit consent of the tiny part of the population even of With this issue we must warn readers Freedom Press Overheads The notion that love 'is a sacrifice' majority of subjects . . ." and "The London, but it was enough to carry whose subscriptions expired on 30th Fund and that any man or woman who limits of political power are decided, the decision. The State cannot stand June (85 on the address label) and New York FT £20, Hull MS £2, Wolloves is a romantic fool is deeply not by the good will of the powerful, against the big numbers. (Data from 14th July (86) that they will not be verhampton JL £4, Rexdale Ontario but by what the unpowerful will an article by Tom Hopkinson, former receiving the next issue of Freedom AB £115, Reading RH £2, Saffron editor of *Picture Post*, in *The* unless they renew in the meantime. Walden ME £4.10.

36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60<sup>-</sup>

# **Public Gallery vs Hove** Council

Today (15th August) saw the first poll tax summonses in Hove to come to court. About 100 or so activists turned up to cram into the public galleries of the two courts where the hearings took place. Only twenty-odd were allowed in each. The scenes witnessed in each court contrasted sharply, and may give those of you anticipating a summons an idea of what to expect. From the point of view of the generally-agreed strategy least partly a matter of luck.

In court 2, the magistrate was impatient from the start; he was not forthcoming with defendants' rights and gave statements the most perfunctory hearing. Every one of the cases I witnessed had liability orders slapped on them almost as a matter of course.

By contrast, court 1 was presided over by a token questions that one could almost make What I'm saying is that anarchist thinking is | the mistake of thinking that he was on our side! patience, however, and several of us were

> The stricter magistrate made such an beginning. He was irritated enough to order

out individuals who shouted angry comments about the way he did his job, but he looked decidedly uncomfortable when we all clapped and chanted 'no poll tax, no poll tax!'. All defendants were clapped and cheered and all liability orders were booed. Despite the setbacks that the issuing of liability orders represents (they enable councils to take 'further measures within their power' to recover outstanding poll tax debts) the atmosphere was largely enthusiastic and humorous.

Perhaps the most frustrating problem for the anti-poll tax movement as a whole is the fact that most people summonsed don't actually turn up for their cases. Nearly 500 cases were booked for today, but perhaps less than 30 turned up to contest their case. This only makes things easier for the councils; all those that don't turn up simply have liability orders issued virtually automatically. For those that did turn up, there were several activists present willing to act as 'McKenzie's Friends'; they can act rather like solicitors in giving defendants advice in court (e.g. time-wasting questions, requests for adjournments and so on). This system worked reasonably well where defendants and advisors made contact; (continued on page 7)

Freedom Press doesn't even exist! decided to increase the subscription an outlet and £500 they owed us! But we do, and the cashflow problem rate by £1 a year which will mean that Nowadays publishing a book such hits us too. The way we can manage inland readers will be contributing for as our latest volume Spain to survive financially is firstly by the first time to the postage on their 1936-1939 which is 272 pages paper keeping overheads to a minimum, but subscription copies. We feel sure, not at the expense of an efficient bearing in mind that postage on a perhaps five years to cover costs service both in the bookshop and with year's subscription to Freedom will be £4, that few readers will have cause to complain. We shall be getting in touch with the large number of readers receiving free copies of our to find! journal with a view to persuading them, if they can, to pay at least the to this enterprise - we haven't the

> list paid up is vital to ourcashflow, our funds. and some think we have been ruthless in cutting them off the lists when they fail to respond to at least 1st August - 31st August two reminders. So many small The new subscription rates will apply George Walford | as from the 6th October issue.

> > 21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

mail orders. Then by seeking to ast but not least, in this 'cashflow' develop our book publishing (by the \_\_\_\_\_saga, a word about our two funds. end of the year there will be no less We have no secret funds and this than 50 Freedom Press titles in print) year have also had to manage as well as our role as trade without two generous friends whose distributors for a number of anarchist financial support for a number of our publishers in this country and in North titles is well known. The problem at America. To add to our problems this the moment is that at Freedom Press The CBI forecasts that the year we are publishing 24 issues of Distributors we are suffering from recession will hit small Freedom and four issues of The slow payment by distributors and businesses hardest simply because Raven compared with 12 and two booksellers. At the end of July we unsympathetic hatchet job on an felt by the self-regulated person is they will not be able to cope with respectively in 1989. This has added sent out statements totalling nearly cashflow problems. Larger another £10,000 to our printing and £14,000 - no kidding! By the end of enterprises can hold out (probably by postages bill. Postal charges are August about £3,500 had come in. keeping their creditors waiting too!). going up this month and will add at We have also received forms to What intrigued us by the report was least another £1,000 to our postage complete for a meeting of creditors in regard to Grass Roots Books of Manchester, who at one time were a turnover of less than £20 million a \ / e are keeping the selling price one of the best outlets for Freedom year! Well, by such a definition VV of Freedom at 50p but have Press's literature. Bad news to lose

> bound has cost £4,000 and will take from sales. We have just published Colin Ward's Talking Houses and have another two and possibly three new titles coming out before the end of the year — that's another £15,000

We at Freedom Press give our time time to make money as well, so we look to those of our readers who have acknowledging that we, too, are I feel, like Reich, that we must happens the outcome shows that final The need to keep our subscriptions the time to make money to support

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