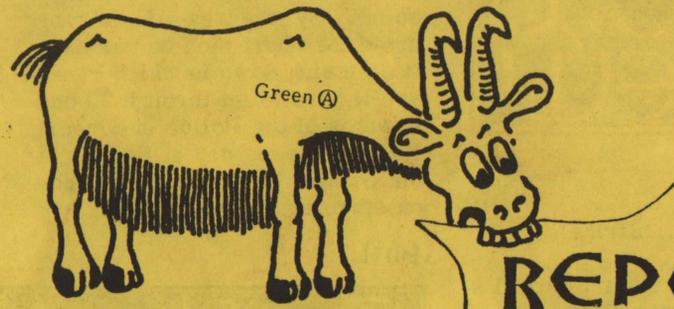


Jan 19. London Greenpeace is suggesting a day of protests against McDonalds to show that fast, junk food is unhealthy (it's full of chemicals), unecological (rainforests are being cut down for cattle ranches) and exploitative (the Third World is starving because their land is growing food for us).



ACTIONS

GREENHAM COMMON

It's cold and wet at Greenham and because of the recent wave of evictions and because the firewood is wet so it's almost impossible to keep fires going, support groups in Berkshire and Oxfordshire are running a daily meals service on a rota system. Contact: Reading, 483183.

Bedford Anarchists force interview on local radio

Chiltern Radio's Bedford studios were occupied by the Bedford Anarchist Collective. They didn't manage to get into the studio proper but their action induced the management to give them an interview on the air when they were able to put across the anarchist perspective on the miners' strike and press censorship. That's real publicity!

Did sarge say they had to stop on the red light or the green? Oh, sod it, beat the shit out of them anyway.



Printed by Dot Press

ANIMAL LIB DEMO

Three to four hundred animal libbers marched through Oxford protesting against university animal experiments. It was forceful and impressive. It passed all the major experimental laboratories demonstrating its anger at man's inhumanity to animals. The march was joined by a bus-load from Bristol.

Powerful demo in Germany.

The 9th International March for Peace this year was not so much a march as a camp of about 250 people committed to Non-Violent Direct Action for Demilitarisation. Its main focus was the Nato was manoeuvres, war games as preparation for the Third World War.

My main impression of the camp is of mud, two weeks of wading through mud, lying at night freezing in a leaking tent. But despite the physical difficulties my memories are very positive

Maybe for me Trust was very important. My fears of being arrested in a strange country by fierce, helmeted police, armed with batons, CS gas, etc plus my one great fear of doing something that could endanger the rest of the group - could only be cast aside when I felt I was working with others, when I felt I knew what everyone was thinking, when my actions were one of a number of actions that make up a whole successful action.

For instance on the last Wednesday

REPORTS

of the camp we had a whole day planned of what became very powerful actions. First we went into the village (Grebenhain) and I was amazed to watch as the siren for the Four minute warning sounded (every Wednesday there is a practice - imagine that - Nuclear war feels a great deal nearer to the people of Germany) the members of our camp just dropped to the ground. The die-in felt even more sinister because of the silence, broken only by the click click of journalists' cameras - like vultures. Some people started to cry, I felt cold inside, I stood while the bodies lay around me, some being dragged away by robot-like figures in white suits and gas masks - somehow I felt that nothing, nothing in the world had the power to destroy me. After the Die-in we somehow managed to perform our street theatre. Suddenly there appeared water cannons and masses of helmeted police, but after a bit they disappeared again.

But the police knew we'd be causing trouble that day - we had already warned them. For we were attempting to prove to the villagers that the army really did keep nerve gas and other chemicals (gift gas) in the depot just outside the village. We warned the depot that if they did not grant us entry we would go in and see for ourselves - and we did. After a Press Conference outside the depot gates, we encircled the fence and suddenly human ladders were being formed and swarms of people leapt the fence. It was quite amazing, with journalists present the soldiers had to be careful - that of course did not stop them from being at times very rough as they caught up with us: they used CS gas too, all of which the wind sent back to them!

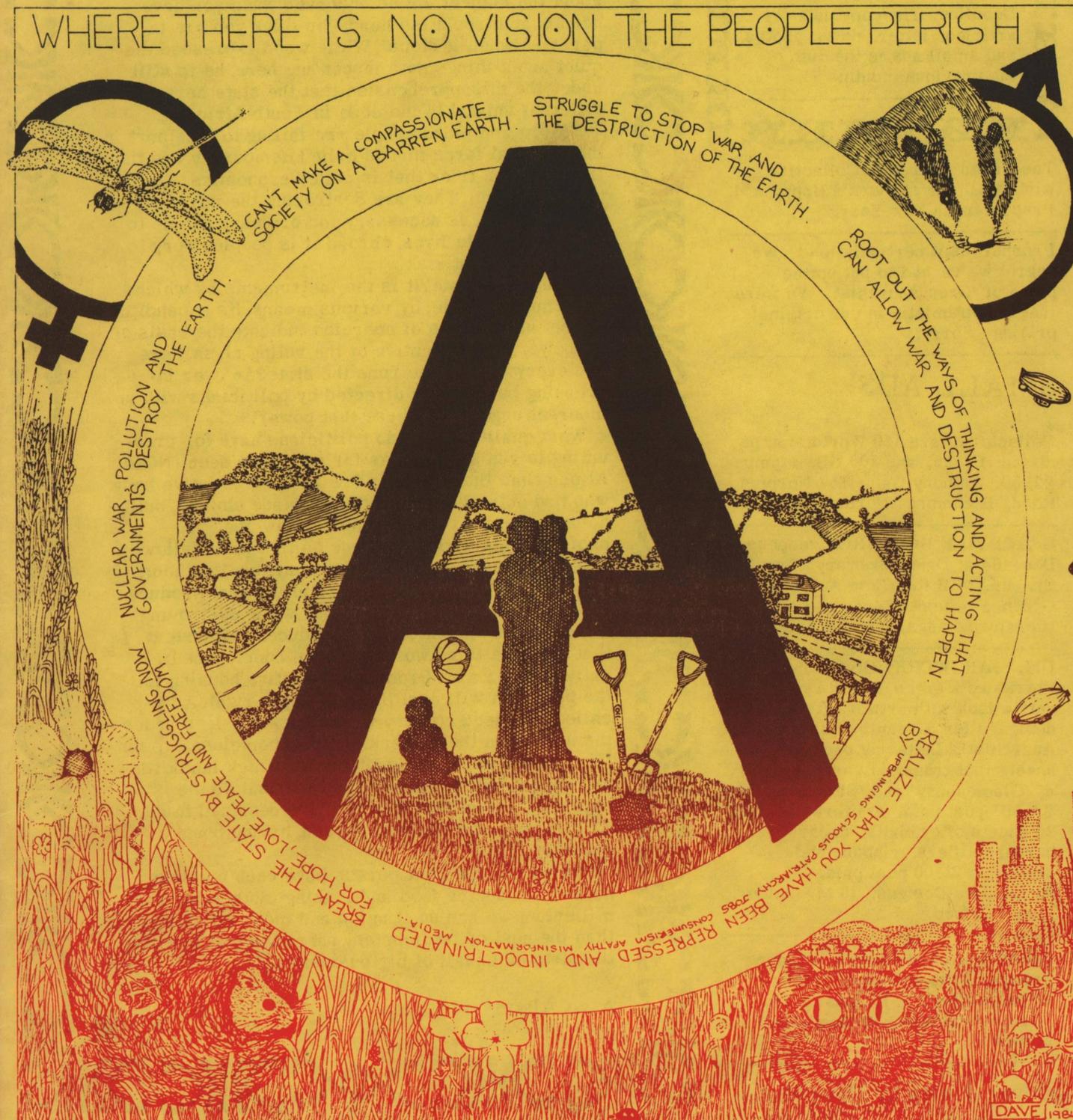
It was a great success and to cap it all two of the British group perfected an escape from the police that would rival anything in the Great Escape.

Anna T. Leslie

GRASSROOT ANARCHIST

The enemies of the people are those who know what people need

MOLESWORTH. CLASS WAR. CRASS. DIVISION OF LABOUR? TECHNOLOGY? CLIFF HARPER.



GREEN ANARCHIST

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the previous month.

The Green Anarchist Collective
wishes all our readers a Happy and
Preposterous New Year.

Prosperous it certainly isn't. We
regret we've had to put up the
price of 'Green Anarchist'. We were
just too optimistic in our original
pricing. Sorry.

SMALL ADS

Collector offers 150 World stamps
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GRAPEVINE BOOKSHOP reopens
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Alternative Designs, 19 Magdalen
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Green Anarchist badges, 1", dark
green and two shades of yellow:
10 badges for £1.70. post paid.
'Green Anarchist', 19 Magdalen Road,
Oxford.

Cover design by Dave Haden

INDIVIDUAL AND THE STATE

In November of this year I went to a meeting addressed by Donald Wood, the South African newspaper man who had to flee from that country talking about the subject. As he observed 'when you have been beaten about the head, you think you are in paradise when it stops'. While wood expressed disquiet about things now happening here, he is still under the misapprehension that the state here is a different animal to the state in South Africa.

More and more people are failing to take part in the perennial farce that is called democracy and the financial con trick that is called economics... the two are linked. They are destroying the infrastructure that is necessary for ordinary people to lead reasonable lives, abroad it is peoples' very lives that are at risk.

What is the state? It is the instruments by which governments rule, by various means. Its expenditure on the instruments of coercion indicate the basis of its power. The executive of the ruling class, here and everywhere. Who runs the state? An ever increasing bureaucracy directed by politicians with an inherent urge to increase that power.

What qualifications do politicians have for presuming to run society? As far as can be seen NONE. At one time there were a few in the legislative body who had actually produced food, made clothes, built houses or mined coal, No more. Now, they are professionals who make laws so that their fellows can make vast sums of money interpreting them. They support a system of agriculture that produces food that is too expensive to buy while destroying the capital from which it is produced. A system that robs the third world with the connivance of native politicians. Produce ineffective housing for the poor that will cost billions to put right. A so-called civilised country where people sleep under the arches on the embankment the homeless are put into dangerous accommodation, for which landlords are paid a fortune. They pass laws that do the opposite of what they say they are designed to do.

You, me and the next person, having been building

You me and the next person have been building houses, producing food and making clothes for a millenium we can do it again and more efficiently than the nest of incompetent parasites that now run the state on behalf of big business.

Alan Albon

STOP THIS FENCE

Molesworth numbers are growing to stop the missile base construction.



The campaign at Molesworth is getting under way. There are now about 120 Molesworth 'Moles' trying to stop the construction of the new cruise missile base. Surveyors are now surveying the whole site, each protected from the Moles by about ten policemen. There have been 3 arrests so far. One has been imprisoned for 5 days for refusing to be bound over with £160 costs. His crime? Waving a hat at the surveyors theodolite.

In court for obstruction, David Taylor demanded that the local MP be subpoenaed to show that the government was conspiring to commit genocide. The magistrate thought that this was more the province of the Secretary of State for Defence. "Go for it," shouted the court to David.

CND is organising an event at Easter; star marches to Molesworth. worth are being suggested. CND has already bought a lorry for the 'village'.

Because of the weather it's not certain that the MOD will try to start actual work on the fence until the Spring, but we have to be ready for anything.

PLANS FOR EASTER.

CND is holding its big Easter Demo at Molesworth, on MoD land. At the moment there are two marches planned, one from Leicester and one from 'somewhere north of Watford', each taking three days (Friday to Sunday, 5-7 April) with a rally at Molesworth on Easter Monday.

At the same time there will be a four day Gathering on the site with workshops, music, entertainments and vegetable planting. A bit different to Hyde Park!

There are also plans for bicycle star rides from all over to Molesworth.

THE MOLESWORTH PLEDGE

Meanwhile, now that surveyors have finished their work, their next step will be to get their fence built. It's reckoned that they might try to start that in late February when the worst of the weather might be over.

To stop the fence CND is organising the Molesworth Pledge 'to ensure that the peace movement has a significant and continuing presence at the site'. If you sign the pledge you

'undertake to join with others to defend Molesworth if work is started there to construct a cruise missile base.' (You are not necessarily committed to civil disobedience)

Regions have been grouped together to cover different days of the week, and the rota will go into operation as soon as work actually begins at Molesworth. So stand by!

LOCAL OPPOSITION SOFTENING.

Till now local opposition to the 'protesters' has been fairly virulent, egged on by the conservative MP, John Major. But now some local residents, alarmed by the fanaticism of the anti-peace lobby, have organised a meeting to declare local opposition to the base.

TROUBLE IN EDEN

3 or 4 oddballs were vibed off the site because of their aggressive behaviour. The next night they came back with a JCB and destroyed the Eco van and the former Munchies and Slurpies van being used as a tea and information point. They then drove back across the base to be apprehended by a large number of MoD police looking for their missing digger.

Xmas is turning point for miners

An NUM official told us that he thought Christmas would be a turning point in the strike when the trickle back to work, by some, would stop. He thought a major factor would be the reduction of coal imports from Europe by European trade unions who are watching the miners' strike with a sympathy that should worry Thatcher. The NUM man thought that finally Thatcher would be forced to compromise by pressures from big business who are starting to feel the pinch of the strike. Meanwhile funds are flowing in for Christmas. After Christmas they'll need more help.

ALCONBURY

Blockade and break-in to support the Alconbury 9.

Alconbury is a USAF spy base near Huntingdon in Cambridgeshire. It is also the future command control for Cruise missiles at Molesworth. On Sunday, 2nd Dec. there was a mass action at the base in support of the Alconbury nine, who were arrested in June and charged with conspiracy to commit criminal damage. The nine were living at Alconbury peace camp, which was closed following the arrests.

Our group consisted of three affinity groups, seventeen people crammed into the back of a minibus. We arrived near the back gate, where the police were being unusually friendly - even wishing us luck! Near the fence, though, there was a heavy police presence trying to keep the protesters on the road. Our groups made a dash for the fence. About eleven climbed over the barbed wire and razor wire coils. We headed for the runway but got stopped by the police. We sat, refusing to move. Several people were rugby tackled. One was pushed into the razor wire and badly cut. The police were supported by American soldiers, some with dogs. Some Quakers were lifted back off the fence, while others were arrested with us. As we were dragged off to the vans, singing all the way, the police kindly gave us a tour of the base on the way to the front gate.

The day was generally fun, with the MOD police being generally friendly. The same cannot be said for the police at the front gate, where there was a blockade. Many people were roughly handled. A Bedford anarchist was arrested for swearing at a policeman who had pushed him into a ditch.

Over sixty people got in, with about 16 charged. Some 600 people took part in the blockade and supporting events. The action was a success in itself, but is in fact the first event in a new campaign against Molesworth, the new Cruise missile base and its control centre at Alconbury. All activists should go to Molesworth and take part in direct action when construction starts. Also action is required against all contractors where ever they are working, so you can get involved in your own area.



A chilling image seen at Greenham Common

DRUG BOOKS PULPED

Acorn Bookshop in Reading, last April, was raided by the police who took away hundreds of books and comix. Finally three Reading magistrates have decided that most of the books were not obscene and some have been returned. Some have not. The police say they're looking for them.

But various comix and books were ordered to be pulped. Those which presuppose familiarity with drugs have been deemed obscene and liable to corrupt, in Reading. In London in two similar cases they have been deemed not liable to corrupt!

CND DEMOS

A trend is developing.

In two demos. in London C. N. D. is showing an interesting trend. It has always been very willing to condemn Russian nuclear arms as strongly, if at all, as American weapons. But on Dec. 8th. it organised a demo to visit the Communist block embassies and,

handed in protests at their nuclear politics. On Dec, 12 it organised a demo in Trafalgar Square, the conventional vigil and speeches, but it also allowed for non-violent direct-action into Whitehall. . . . "depending on the number of people present". It happened. . . A sit-in at Whitehall, and 92 people were arrested. C. N. D. is also backing Molesworth a green-anarchist initiative. So it looks as though the socialists are losing influence in C. N. D. to the more radical activists.

More farmland to go for an airport.

More farmland is to be covered in concrete if the government accept the report recommending expenditure of £2 billion on developing Stanstead as London's third airport. (That £2 billion is a government trade subsidy to shareholders).

Censorship test case

Early in Jan. Gay's the Word is facing committal proceedings for importing 'obscene' literature. The charges are being brought not by the Police under the Obscene Publications Act where a defence can be made on literary grounds (as with 'Lady Chatterley's Lover'), but by Customs and Excise under import legislation which forbids material which only needs to offend public taste, which makes literary merit irrelevant. This is being recognised as an important test case against censorship.

ETHIOPIA

The famine is caused by government.

There is a devastating drought in Ethiopia. Thousands are dying of hunger. But they are dying, not because of the drought, but because of their government. To starve Wallo, Tigre and Eritraea, who are fighting for independence, into submission, the Socialist government of Ethiopia forbids, by law, the transport of food from one province to another. It forbids, by law the storage of food. For centuries Africans have lived with drought. They know perfectly well how to cope. They store food against the 'seven lean years'. Today that storage is called 'hoarding' and forbidden so

that the government can get its hands on the food to feed its soldiers and bureaucrats and to export to pay for the cars and other luxuries of the elite. (They've just imported thousands of bottles of whisky for the independence celebrations)

The best land is being taken over by the state farms to grow cash crops for the towns and for export. We

import coffee, melons, peppers from Ethiopia, so the land is no longer available to grow crops for the people in the countryside.

Wood for fuel is as short as food. Ethiopia exports timber.

The drought is real, but Africans are not stupid. Without government they cope very well. With government they starve.

HIGH FLYING

Gorbachev, the apparent heir-apparent to the Russian No. 1 flew into London. Mrs Thatcher flew to China and then on to America. A high level Russian delegation flew to China. Next year the Queen is flying to China (to head a trade delegation). What's all this high level diplomatic activity?

A Chinese spokesman has just said that Marx cannot answer today's problems. That's heresy. It was amended the next day ('printer's

error') to all today's problems. It's still heresy. If China is changing to the mixed economy, then the capitalists can see lots of money to be made. So they're sending in the Queen, Mrs. Thatcher, anyone.

The other theme, arms reduction, is Russia's major concern. It just can't afford to match America's Star Wars project. So it is trying to get Europe to pressure Reagan to stop it. Russia seems to be succeeding. Thatcher and Mitterand have already condemned it.

Industrial pollution is killing another sea.

The Adriatic Sea between Italy and Yugoslavia could be dead within two years because of pollution by nitrates and phosphates which stops oxygen being dissolved into the water.

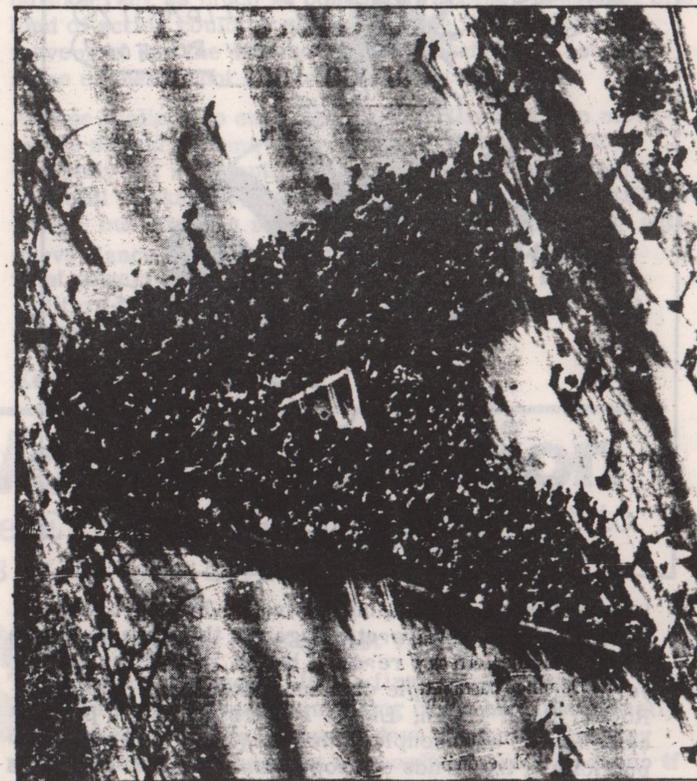
The main sources of these pollutants are industry, chemical fertilizer from agriculture and domestic detergents which flow down the rivers and build up at the outflows into the Adriatic. The hardest hit area is round the outflow of the river Po at the north end of the Adriatic but the damage is reaching further and further south. The main solutions are cleaner industry (or less industry), organic farming and non-phosphate detergents.

Info; AUM, Via Vechiotti 7, Servigliano (AP) Italy

Horst Stowasser is now serving 35 days in a German prison for writing that soldiers are 'professionally trained murderers'. In 1932 Karl Tucholsky was acquitted for the same thing. In 1984 things are getting rougher. (Info: Anarchistisches Dokumentationszentrum)

Madrid spells it out

Photo from 'Liberacion'



CLASS

Class War isn't breaking windows

"In this cell that is ours, there is no pity,
No sunrise on the cold plain that is our soul,
No beckoning to a warm horizon.
All beauty eludes us and we wait."

WE LIVE in a permanent state of class war through no fault of our own.

Thousands of people dying of hunger every day whilst others wallow in complacent decadence: that is class war.

Natural resources being destroyed in the name of profit and greed, against the will of the people who need those resources to live: that is class war.

Being forced to go to school, to 'work' most of our lives in order to have what we need to survive: food and shelter gratuitously handed down to us: that is class war.

'Stepping out of line', 'stealing' in order to survive, speaking out against those in control, trying to change the way things are means prison or death if we get caught: that is class war.



Imperialist troops keeping control in Northern Ireland, Bloody Sunday, the reaction against the miners' strike (already planned and ready to be put into action ten years ago), two people dead on picket lines, Colin Roach, Blair Peach, Liddle Towers: deaths in police cells are so commonplace that they only receive publicity if thousands of people demand it: that is class war.

Nowadays most people take the police force for granted.

as though they are as much a fact of life as the food we eat and the land it comes from. The police force was created 150 years ago by a wealthy, landowning politician who wanted better protection from the peasants.

It is so blatantly obvious, it is there for all to see it is our way of life: we are all part of the class war!

And people still ask what we mean by class war!

Throughout the world there are two classes: the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. The rich and the poor. The exploiters and the exploited. Those in control and those who suffer.

Which side are you on? On the one side we have the multinationals, the monarchs, the governments, the 'landed gentry', the rich, those who have never been cold or hungry: those in control, and the servile lackeys who obey their every wish.

On the other side we have the people who were born in the 'wrong' bed, the poor, the hungry, the prisoners and those who strive for freedom, equality and peace: those who suffer.

There is no neutrality, to try and remain neutral is to do exactly what the oppressors want: to exist in a blind state of mute acceptance. To remain neutral is to side with the oppressors.

This is our reality: our lives stolen from us at birth, we are all prisoners and we are all hangmen until we begin to strive for freedom.

It is hard for most people to see this reality due to the training we have received through the school and the media: we are becoming permanently brain washed into seeing each other as stereotypes and accepting this reality as the only way: divide and rule, very subtle, very clever. We have all had to struggle for what little humanity we have.

It is impossible for anyone with any humanity left to accept this reality.

I want to be free, I want other people to be free. I want to live a life based on mutual aid, co-operation, trust and faith. No violence, no authority. I live in a police state. I must fight for that freedom. This reality is based on violence, so that fight is necessarily violent. I am constantly aware that the food I put into my mouth is at the expense of people and animals everywhere, who have unwillingly given their lives so that the exploiters may sell me that food: that is violence.

To talk of change within the law is ludicrous. To talk of achieving anarchism through parliamentary reformism (as I have read in previous 'Green Anarchists') is pathetic.

The State makes the laws, therefore what is within the law is within the containment of the State. The law is to maintain the status quo.

Which side are you on? Are you for freedom or against

WAR

just for the fun of it.

it? The struggle will be a long one. We won't achieve equality through two years of struggle, but maybe after forty years, maybe never, but we must try: to do nothing because you could only do a little is playing into the hands of the oppressors once more.

The only way to achieve anarchy is through mass insurrection. We need to bring together the parallels between the miners, Greenham women, the Animal Liberation Front and anarchists everywhere. We need to unite with the common aim of freedom and equality, and work together towards mass insurrection, work together towards widespread rioting and looting, no-go areas for the authorities, collectivising our homes and places of work, establishing communes where we look after each other. We must take up the offensive against the rich and the powerful: make them feel the insecurity they force upon us, force them to realise the capacity for change within their system.

For every attack they launch against us, we must attack them ten times over.

The tactics we must adopt have been proven to be successful: guerrilla warfare, the only tactic the oppressors cannot contain: mass insurrection, as displayed by the hit squads on miners' picket lines and by the Animal Liberation Front who are everywhere and nowhere at the same time, made up of numerous autonomous groups who launch an offensive, hit hard and then disappear again. They are impossible to infiltrate or contain because they have no central organisation for the state to recognise.

The struggle is a long one and we must be careful: too many people are dead or in prison because they made unnecessary mistakes. Prison is no place for

revolutionaries, prison is living death. We must plan well and be very careful. Grasses and infiltrators must be dealt with thoroughly.

When we start to get somewhere, the state begins to show just what repression it is capable of, as demonstrated by the recent raids by South East Animal Liberation: they did six successive raids, three of them at the same time, they liberated many files and caused much damage. Now comes the repression; 25 arrests and questioning still going on.

There are 9 people from Alconbury Peace Camp on trial 'charged' with 'conspiracy to cause criminal damage'. The evidence against them is that the way they think is contrary to the laws of the country. 5 people are on trial in London, charged with the same offence, simply for being in the area just after some shops were smashed up. Bail was set at £2,500 and three of them have been remanded in custody.

The Animal Liberation movement in general is facing more and more repression, 'conspiracy' charges are proving more and more popular, all because we are getting somewhere.

Sounds like what they say about the police state in the USSR doesn't it? But it's not, it's 'Great Britain', so be careful.

Let us take back what is ours by right of birth. The time is now. The method is mass revolt.

Love and Freedom.

A member of 'Class War' newspaper collective.
Suggested reading: 'Class War'. 'I want to riot, not to work.' Inflammable leaflet. Aldgate Press.
'Towards a Citizens' Militia.' by Stuart Christie. Cienfuegos Press.

CLASSROOM REVOLUTIONARIES

Passing notes between desks takes on a new meaning

Dear Janey,

Hi, man. etc. I'm thinking of becoming a pig. 'Ello, 'Ello, 'Ello! It's alright, it was just a JOKE! I hate them. Thatcher's stormtroopers, etc. Still not going to join me in leading the uprising? When we seize power, we'll throw them into camps and put Thatcher up against the wall.

Dear Kath, Sorry I can't join you - I think it's all wrong and that, but I don't want to do anything as drastic as some of the things you say - OK? Keep dreaming!

Undear Janey, If you are really committed to the belief that it all stinks, you should be prepared to take action against it. Don't you want to live life to the impossible limit? By the way, they probably dismissed Karl Marx as a dreamer too, but I don't intend waiting till I'm before the rebellion takes place! Be on the winning side, anarchy and peace, man!

Undear Kath, Well, I don't want to spend all my life on the dole, without money, arguing and battling against the whole world. Yes, I do want to live life to the limit, but having money and family might help. Don't wait, do something, I'll most probably help eventually, but I'm not giving up my whole life for it.

Dear(ish) Janey, Well, that's not MY idea of heaven. Still, there's no point in arguing with you. I'll have to find others like myself who want an alternative lifestyle.

Dear Kath, What I mean is to try to have a career and build my own life and family - work and get money etc. in return. Home, kids etc. It'll be an exciting life. I'm gonna see the world, get married as late as possible, have kids and a lovely home and my own business. It would be pretty miraculous if we all had the same idea!

Kath.

EDUCATE YOUR DESIRE



Cliff Harper is the leading designer of the Alternative movement

The education of Desire. The anarchist graphics of Clifford Harper. Anarres Co-operative 10, Bradbury Street, London N16. £4.95.

Nobody who has been in or around libertarian or anarchist circles over the last decade can be unaware of the work of Cliff Harper. I first became aware of it almost exactly ten years ago following his production in 1974 of a series of seven drawings giving his vision of a self-supporting communalised urban utopia. Sadly this set of drawings has long been out of print., but two are reproduced in this present volume to remind us of how good they were - especially as they were among the first works of a self-taught artist.

These are followed by three drawings of communal workshops, and it was looking at them all together that I realised that in all these work-scenes everything was being done by women not a man in sight.

Does this mean I asked myself that, come the revolution women will do all the work? Or that there will be no revolution until all the men have been eliminated? Turning to the text I discovered the answer to be more simple: Cliff was going through a very strong Pro-Feminist period and it transpires that in this Utopian Time he took a conscious decision not to draw any men at

all. Unconsciously, it could have been because his companion Ame was working straight jobs and bringing in some money, while Cliff was developing his art.

The text consists of the gist of a tape-recorded talk between Cliff and Adam Cornford which started out as an interview, but developed into a discussion with the interviewer contributing as he admits, a good deal more than is customary. This has worked admirably and we can be sure that this is a much more fruitful text than if it were simply a question and answer session.

In it we get an insight into what you can expect if you determine not to compromise with the system and set out to teach yourself how to fight it on your own terms through learning the disciplinary lines of drawing and designing and putting the resultant skills at the service of the social revolution. This was after some hard, but obviously, for a time at least, enjoyable, experiences in living anarchistically, first in Cumberland (hard) and then on an island in the Thames It was called Eel-Pie Island Commune. It had 25 bedrooms and at one point we had 100 people from all over the world living there. It was anarchy and I've lived in an anarchistic way for two years now.

This particular hotel, empty when Cliff and his group squatted it in the Sixties, has quite a history - for ten years George Melly with Mick Mulligan and his Magnolia Jazz Band, had raised the roof on Saturday

nights through the fifties. The anarchist commune, however finished off the place, for after the gas and electricity was cut off, the wooden building itself became the only source of heating. Cliffs life shows a certain perversity became the only source of heating. Before the end Cliff experienced the weird circumstance of enjoying more financial prosperity than ever before or since, while at the same time contracting tuberculosis which neglected nearly killed him. Cliff's life shows a certain perversity. While t.b. is traditionally a disease the suffering artist contracts through neglect Cliffs case was the other way round. Art was the disease he contracted after losing Eel-Pie Island-nearly dying- going through a series of unsatisfactory squats settling down with Ame and for the first time finding the tranquillity to work. Personally I would not describe finding the stability in the love of a woman as a defeat... but that's how Cliff saw it at the time, for he has, he says... always regarded my art as the result of a defeat. I've never felt very happy about it.

Very odd that, for later in the book, he clearly shows some pride in the popularity of his work and is one of the hardest workers I know. The defeat he refers to of course, is the feeling that he had given up revolutionary living, settled for rented premises and started work, which he never wanted to do. The fact that he works entirely on his own (that is, until the drawings are done and it's time to co-operate with the Printers) and is free to choose what he does more than most workers, must cushion the blow a bit.

I can't hold off any more from discussing the work. I have to admit that I have never warmed to Cliff's drawings more than in admiration for their skill and attention to detail (hence for my regard for the Utopian scenes mentioned earlier) for I find them rather static. I realise that this is deliberate (I think) and it certainly gives them a certain power. But then, I am always uneasy in considering Art as propaganda. For myself, I have always regarded my own work as a cartoonist as propaganda, not art... a distinction as clear as that between doggerel and poetry, propaganda tends to be temporary and ephemeral. But Cliff's work has a permanent quality and seen here in mass very impressive. And in spite of different styles from time to time you can tell a Harper a mile off. He is an artist not a cartoonist, still less a caricaturist, ... clearly shown when, in Black freighter, a song by Bert Brecht and Kurt Weill (Nina Simone does a lovely version) Cliff does a blanket steal from George Grosz's Das Gesicht der Herrschenden Klasse (The Face of the

Das Gesicht der Herrschenden Klasse (The Face of the Ruling Class)... and, well, why not? Black Freighter is a story from 1930s Germany about a cleaning woman in a sleazy dock-side hotel, who gets her revenge on her

Development of a style. 1977 to 1982.



bosses, with a little help from a passing pirate ship. Who better to borrow from than George Grosz? There is an element... deliberate in most cases... of the sinister in Cliff's work, especially in the recent use of heavy blacks and in these undoubtedly the very stillness reinforces the menace. One unhappy strip, I thought, was the one which deliberately set out to be happy or at least funny in its treatment of Richard Carlile and his family's struggle for free speech in the 1820s... but I suppose the technique may be justified if the result is as the last frame: the story being read by Comix readers who wouldn't read a book. Many fascinating points to be got out of this statement: read the text and enjoy the drawings... and be sharp eyed about it. For instance, look at the two end papers front and back, consisting of two-page spreads of a drawing repeated over and over again. Or is it? Look at the bottom right hand corner of each spread...

Finally one must praise the production. Well laid out and beautifully printed... no doubt very much due to the process camera operator'.

PHILIP SANSOM

PS: Shouldn't this book have been sponsored by a tobacco company?

Footnote: 'Ame' is pronounced 'Amy' or 'Amé' but never seems to carry an accent.....

As a pacifist WILL I BE PREPARED TO PASSIVELY STAND BY AND WATCH OUR LONG STRUGGLE DESTROYED BY THE UNCARING CYNICISM OF THE STATE?

..... Inevitably in a short article such as this, it is necessary to localise issues, but I realise that if any revolution is to be successful it MUST be international. It is not for me to define the type of struggle that others should follow in their own nation, they are informed of the issues and I have to trust that their considerations have been made to suit the locale. WHAT I MUST TRY TO ACCEPT IS THAT THEIR STRUGGLE IS MINE EVEN IF I DON'T WHOLLY SUPPORT THE METHODS.

10 Although I have considered myself a pacifist for as long as I can remember, my belief in pacifism has, perhaps because of the manner in which others have manifested it, worn thin. How can separatism be seen as pacifist? How can deliberate provocation and then deliberate servitude, as in blockade philosophy, be seen as pacifism. WE ARE ALLOWING OURSELVES TO BE PASSIVE VICTIMS, THIS IS NOT HOW I BELIEVE PACIFISM SHOULD BE PRACTISED. I no longer believe that mass protest will achieve anything but, at the best, mild reforms. I no longer believe it to be morally acceptable to see my comrades picked on and abused by agents of the State. I no longer believe that by demonstrating my own sense of awareness and love that it will have any effect whatever on those who have been brainwashed by the State to hate and hurt. By taking polarised positions WITHIN the Peace Movement we are conforming to the State's divide and conquer policy. More than any other philosophy, I believe that the feminist/N.V.D.A. faction is responsible for forcing the wedge of divide into the Peace Movement. How is it that actions that I might take are dismissed as macho where actions such as the Greenham fence pulling are heralded as demonstrations of a new spirit of womanhood. AREN'T WE JUST PEOPLE? Isn't anarchism the practice of self awareness, isn't pacifism the practice of self awareness, isn't feminism the practice of self awareness? WHERE IS THE PLACE FOR THE DIVISIONS THAT I FEEL ARE IMPOSED UPON ME AS AN INDIVIDUAL BY THOSE WHO ARE AFRAID OF THEIR OWN INDIVIDUALITY. I AM TIRED OF THE EXCLUSIVE GROUPS, TIRED OF THE WEDGES, TIRED OF BEING ALONE WHEN I FEEL TOGETHER.

I believe that it is time to AGREE amongst ourselves that DIVERSITY is DESIRABLE and that our various actions should be presented to the State AS A UNIFIED BLOCK. Might it not have been an act of generosity and love for the slogan to be 'Greenham PEOPLE are everywhere' and might it not have been MORE EFFECTIVE? Or is it too late to agree amongst ourselves?

I believe that it is time to diversify our actions, that we should form small groups who plan their own actions ranging from the now almost 'socially acceptable' form of vandalism, graffiti and super glue attacks, to the less acceptable 'vandalism' of bricks, paint bombs, wire cutters and matches. Now, I'm not so naive as to think that a paint bomb attack on an Army Recruitment office is going to bring the State to its knees, IT ISN'T. I do believe, however, that constant, widespread actions against ALL the institutions of the State could act as signals, or catalysts to a much broader dissent. Hand in hand with increased activity, there MUST be a wider distribution of information. If we sabotage a nuclear power station, we MUST make sure that as many people as possible know WHY. Of course we will have to be discreet, but the State MUST KNOW WHY IT IS BEING ATTACKED if it is to eventually fall. It is our job to INFORM ourselves of the workings of the State and to UNDO IT. We must match our actions with our intelligence and LET THEM KNOW THAT WE KNOW. Our art and our creativity are, I believe, our most powerful weapons. We must use that creativity to predict futures, we must start to prepare for a new world. No revolution is worthwhile unless there is a clear plan of what is desirable beyond it. Isn't it time to start stating WHAT WE'RE FIGHTING FOR? Isn't it time to start creating policies for debate concerning our future. We are so often forced into regression. We hide in our dark pits, peering at the light far above us, isn't it time TO START REACHING FOR THAT LIGHT.

I AM NOT A WORM.

Now, perhaps, I have come to the hardest section of this article, the meanest test of my essentially pacifist nature..... I believe that as the public become aware of the possibilities of real change, they will firstly passively support and then, given the right impetus, actively support the struggle. BUT the State, its agents and the agents of 'friendly' States, (hence the need for an international movement), will NOT be prepared to stand by and allow the people the freedom that they demand, but by then the people will not only have glimpsed that freedom, THEY WILL NOT BE SATISFIED UNTIL THEY HAVE ACHIEVED IT. So, for those of us who were a part of the great Peace Movement revival of the late 70s, who at that time were able to believe the purist pacifist theories of the earlier Peace Movement, there will be posed the crucial question... DO WE FIGHT ON? DO WE FIGHT ON OR DO WE SUBMIT TO THE INEVITABLE BARBARITY WITH WHICH THE STATE WILL REACT TO A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION? If the Peace Movement is truly a Peace Movement it CAN NOT AND WILL NOT TOLERATE THE EXISTENCE OF THE STATE IN ANY FORM WHAT-EVER BECAUSE TO DO SO WOULD BE TO ACCEPT THAT IT IS NOT ACTUALLY PEACE THAT WE SEEK, BUT A MERE SENSE OF SECURITY, A SENSE OF SECURITY CONTROLLED BY THE STATE. By seeking REAL peace, just as by seeking an end to sexual role play, we are seeking REVOLUTION because BY NO OTHER MEANS WILL OUR DEMANDS BE MET.

I believe that there will come a time when we are no longer confronted by the 'thin blue line', but by the fat khaki one, that is, I believe that the Peace Movement is by its demands creating a climate that will inevitably blossom into CIVIL WAR. I believe that ALL members of the Peace Movement, be they leftist, rightist, feminist, pacifist, militant etc. are contributing to a situation THAT WILL LEAD TO BLOODSHED, AND THAT IF THAT MOVEMENT IS TO SUCCEED IN ITS STATED AIMS, IT WILL LEAD TO MORE AND MORE BLOODSHED. It is no good pretending that this isn't the case, IT ALWAYS HAS BEEN THE CASE, AND ALWAYS WILL BE. So, as a pacifist I am actually directly contributing to a situation that essentially contradicts everything that I believe. Catch 22.

11 As a pacifist WILL I BE PREPARED TO PASSIVELY STAND BY AND WATCH OUR LONG STRUGGLE DESTROYED BY THE UNCARING CYNICISM OF THE STATE? Isn't our years of hard work TOO PRECIOUS to be given away without a fight? By the acts that I have thus far involved myself in I HAVE ALREADY DETERMINED THAT ONE DAY IN THE FUTURE I HAVE PLACED SOMEONE'S FINGER ON THE TRIGGER, WILL IT BE MINE? When the time comes, pacifist or not, I believe that I SHALL BE RESPONSIBLE, AS SHALL WE ALL, FOR THE INEVITABLE SITUATION OF WAR IN WHICH WE FIND OURSELVES. We will be faced with the dilemma of whether or not we fight beside those who believe that it is their moral responsibility to do so. IS IT NOT THE CASE THAT IF WE ARE CONTRIBUTING TO THAT POSSIBILITY, WHICH WE INDISPUTABLY ARE, WE WILL BE MORALLY RESPONSIBLE TO SEE IT THROUGH? PERHAPS THIS CONFRONTATION WON'T HAPPEN IN MY LIFETIME, BUT THAT DOESN'T ALTER MY RESPONSIBILITY IN HAVING CREATED IT. MY FINGER OR YOUR FINGER? WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE? IT IS OUR SHARED STRUGGLE AND WE ARE ALL MUTUALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR ITS OUTCOME. SO, when the time comes, I accept that I will have played a part in creating a situation of armed confrontation. IF I FIND MY FINGER ON THE TRIGGER, WILL I PULL IT? THAT IS A QUESTION THAT I CAN NOT AND WILL NOT ANSWER. I categorically KNOW that if the world isn't destroyed by the State, THERE WILL COME A TIME OF REVOLUTION. I CATEGORICALLY KNOW THAT ALL OF US IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT WILL HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THAT REVOLUTION. I CATEGORICALLY DO NOT KNOW WHETHER OR NOT I WOULD BE PREPARED TO PULL THE TRIGGER AND IN THAT, AND THAT ALONE THERE IS A SPARK OF LIGHT THAT RISES FAR BEYOND ANYTHING THAT THIS ARTICLE HAS TOUCHED UPON. BECAUSE I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER OR NOT I WOULD PULL THAT TRIGGER I HAVE, I BELIEVE, MAINTAINED INTACT OUR MOST HUMAN AND ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS.... CHOICE AND HOPE. I hope that one day I might be able to create a philosophy that does not include suffering and pain, that gives us ALL dignity and integrity and I hope that we will all choose to take that option. For the while, my sense of reality precludes such possibilities, but I shall continue to look elsewhere, IN HOPE.

How very far removed from what I KNOW is right and decent and life-loving this all seems, yet how, apart from ignoring that sense of life, can I honestly perceive the outcome of our struggle in another light?

In love, peace and hope, a member of CRASS.



DIVISION OF LABOUR?

Conventional economics supposes that Division of Labour benefits both rich and poor. If it only benefits the rich, the whole corpus of economics falls flat on its face.



Adam Smith, author of 'The wealth of Nations', writes: "The differences or natural talents in different men is, in reality, much less than we are aware of, and the very different genius which appears to distinguish men of different professions when grown up to maturity, is not upon many occasions so much the cause as the effects of divisions of labour. The differences between the most dissimilar characters, between a philosopher and a common street porter, for example, seem to arise not so much from nature as from habits, customs and education."

Division of Labour is the means whereby the rich make the profits from the work of the poor. Division of Labour causes unemployment and waste. It prevents each and every human contributing his best. It puts a lower ceiling on how productive a society and individuals can be. It prevents free and versatile development of technologies which may genuinely benefit everyone. Technology developed through the division of labour causes slowness of invention, it stifles learning, causes one-dimensional development both of human potentials and of material wealth. It stifles and prevents inventive spirit and independent initiative.

Division of Labour prevents the utilisation of the most efficient method of training entire populations, ie. utilisation of learning in practice, which is the only way a society can properly educate all its people with versatile skills which can be genuinely useful to oneself and others.

Division of Labour develops just one talent, but destroys many potential ones, leading to uneven development of body and mind, universal lack of social mobility and an opportunity to do versatile things.

Division of Labour causes loss of freedom and necessary democratic values. It makes the interests of one person conflict with another. It builds dependency, control and subservience. Everyone is controlled by someone else. Human willpower is curtailed and destroyed.

Division of Labour is the ultimate cause of almost all the social economic ills and diseases, the ossification of work, learning an leisure process. It is the division of labour within productive work in a society which is the main cause of inequality (both biological and material) of every kind. The social consequences of the Division of Labour conflict with christian and liberal values. It divides men and women, young and old, the new workers (so-called middle class) from the old workers. It is the basic cause behind social tensions and divided nations. It is the cause of

alienation and zombification of vast populations in the world - it limits their vision of reality. The productive activity in the erroneous method of division of labour discrepancy between the need of the present and the positive potential of the future.

The word 'health' or 'medical fitness' merely indicates the top limit of the general state of incapacity imposed by the mould of division of labour. Health, like intelligence, is a functional term. There is something wrong with all of them - they are all unhealthy.

LONGER TO SPECIALISE

On the basis of prevailing methods, in the future it will take longer and longer time for individuals to specialise in some fields. A limit must be placed on how far qualitative development in a field can occur if the length of time which a specialist worker in a field is expected to push the boundaries of the unknown or always improve on the existing qualities. In this way the span of individual life would be the limit of how much knowledge or experience we can acquire. So we have to find the alternative ways of getting the same things - ie. those goods which come through hyperspecialisation - through some other ways. There must be a better way.

A cell structure is a possibility. Assume there were a group of people specialising in something for which it takes three years to reach the necessary level of specialisation. If they were to keep recording the knowledge and experience gained, then at the end of the three years, one person can be freed and a new one can come in for his three year specialisation.

In a world without Division of Labour people would have rights and means to do all the things they wanted to do, to contribute all they are capable of.

They would be a healthier, more mobile, more educated, sociable, productive society; multidimensional people, capable of self-reliance, mutual aid and co-operation.

It would mean a society with more real efficient and open

systems of education in which not only a few but all people can be properly trained, with more efficient utilisation of technology and learning. a more meaningful and productive human existence, a more fulfilling human activity where there is always something to look forward to for older people, alternative rewards in life.

It would mean a genuine democracy, liberty and equality between new and old workers in which there is a real freedom from control, dependency and subservience, a just and fairer social economic situation in which each and everyone has some purchase over the forces which control them, people with genuine willpower, a society with social harmony in which love and peace prevail and better more civilised human relationships, a space to dream for everyone, where rights and interests for one do not conflict or hinder that of the other.



Kuldip Dhoot

Richard Hunt writes: Division of Labour is derived from the theory of Specialisation. Economists say that specialisation grew from the leisure allowed by the surpluses of agriculture, ie. the expropriation of the crops.

Wrong. Agriculture is harder work than hunting and gathering. More food is produced but it is harder work per unit of food. (Boserup: 'The Conditions of Agricultural Growth'.) Hunter-gatherers spend only two hours a day gathering food. They never store it because there is never a shortage of it.

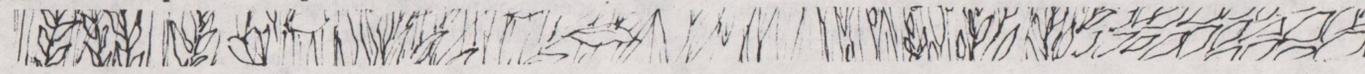
But when their population increases they reach the level that can no longer be sustained by hunter-gatherer techniques. They are forced, by hunger, poverty, into agriculture. And agriculture means harder work, digging, sowing, hoeing, watering, fencing, etc etc. Agriculture does not mean more leisure.

Specialisation, like agriculture, is caused by poverty, not leisure. It is caused by the peoples' loss of their land. They are therefore forced to earn food by basket-making, pot making, soldiering, anything for food. Specialists, the artisans, are low-caste. In Nepal, "Each of the larger settlements has, attached to it, a number of low-caste families, either blacksmiths, leather-workers or tailors." (Gellner and Humphrey). In Polynesia, "in some villages there is a despised community of craftsmen and traders, highly skilled in wood-carving and basketry." (Diamond). In mediaeval England, "the status of the individual craftsman had not, it would seem, stood high. Such a man would be outclassed by the land-holding villein, and his skills, although they might keep his family in the village for a generation or two, seldom promoted them to permanent residence. Those, for example, who, at Warboys in Huntingdonshire, occupied themselves as artisans did so because they could not have made a living for themselves on the land. They were small-holders at best, and migrants, taking their trades to whatever community might offer them a temporary market." (Platt).

THE MYTH

Specialisation is caused, not by leisure but by poverty. It is not advance, it is deterioration.

The theory of Division of Labour is a logical extension from the false premise of specialisation. It says that, given



specialisation, if a barrister, for example, can earn ten units of wealth per day and his secretary can earn one unit, it is in both their interests to work together but to stick to stick to their own jobs.

Wrong again. It's certainly in the barrister's interests. He can make much more money while he's not making the tea or typing the letters. But however successful is the barrister, the secretary, doing the menial jobs, never earns more than the minimum wage which is determined by the hungriest secretary. Today jobs are being lost to the Philippines and Taiwan where wages are lower. Wages today are still determined by the hungriest Division of Labour benefits the able, not the less able, the rich not the poor. Workers do not accept the servility of employment, do not do dirty, cold, tiring, repetitive or humiliating jobs because of the supposed benefits of the division of labour but because, without land, they would otherwise starve. "Where land is cheap, where everyone who so pleases can obtain a piece of land for himself, not only is labour very dear, as respects the labourers' share of the profits, but the difficulty is to obtain combined labour at any price." (Gibbon Wakefield)

HISTORY REPEATS

But if the economists and governments can pretend that the Division of Labour benefits everyone, they can justify taking the land from the people on the pretext that everyone will benefit in the end. That was the excuse for that legal theft, the Acts of Enclosure, that cash crops would be produced more efficiently if there were fewer larger farms and the new landless peasants would then provide factory fodder for the capitalists. The theory of the Division of Labour is the justification for tyranny.

From the theory of Specialisation and Division of Labour is derived the Theory of Comparative Costs, the economic theory which is starving the Third World. This says that each country benefits by making or growing whatever it is best at and importing the other things.

Wrong again. Today 78% of Guinea Bissau is growing peanuts for our cooking oil. They starved in '69, '70, '71, and '79.

'Comparative Costs' always benefits the core against the periphery. In a town the necessities of life have to be bought, water, fuel, food, clothes. Therefore the cost of living must always be higher in a town. Therefore wages and labour-costs must be higher. Therefore labour-saving machinery will be necessary and economic, and the products, given sufficient output, must be cheaper than the periphery product. If the periphery, in this case the Third World, allows Free Trade, free access to all those cheaper core products, all they'll get is unemployment. (Sometimes attempts are made to take the labour-saving technology to the low wage periphery. Governments soon forbid this when they find it causes core unemployment. The Multifibre Agreement now limits Third World imports into the West. Further 'voluntary' restrictions can be expected. Those who advocate Free Trade never allow it in their own countries, and in not doing so, themselves reject the theories of Division of Labour.

Anarchic Self Sufficiency

The second part about technology in our society.

I RECENTLY talked to a successful 'High Technologist'. He said, "I'm proud of serving mankind. I love to make breakthroughs - to help our economy and my fellow men (sic)." He worked on armaments. It was computer control for missiles, I believe.....

In effect, this technologist was craving for status and power (over people and things)... and above all - like nearly all of us - for money. I find it extraordinarily difficult to get any 'high flyer' technologist to come along, say, and give an elementary talk or contribution to a group of working class young people in what I have called a 'vernacular technical club'. That these privileged people, in fact all of us, should do this in a convivial society ought, I would have thought, to go without question. But we do not have a convivial society and alienation between have and have-nots runs very deep....

Where did the driving force for the dizzying spiral of technological 'advance' with all its status grubbing come from?

The scientific revolution - or what was once called the New Philosophy, is often linked with the remarkable schemes and prophecies of Francis Bacon. He wrote the 'Novum Organum' and 'The New Atlantis in the early 1600s. There is much evidence that the Royal Society was founded on the inspiration of "our Lord Bacon", to quote Thomas Spratt, an officer of the Royal Society at the time. The expensive pattern of what was to follow - and the industrial revolution started shortly after all this, and in Britain - is seen in Bacon's description of his scientific research establishment as written in his science-fiction story, 'The New Atlantis', "The end of our Foundation is the knowledge of causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible." This famous aphorism gives the basis of a breathtaking vision virtually involving the idea of unlimited progress.

This vision, and the dominant forms of the protestant wing of Christianity after the Reformation, gave the West the go-ahead for this idea of 'progress', and the Puritan work ethic required for its exploitation. The religion had a 'sky Father Figure' and was totally male dominated and hierarchical in nearly all other ways. It was the ideal breeding ground for the rise of capitalism and resource exploitation. At this point I wish to make clear that in no way do I want to tread on anyone's religious sensibilities. Nevertheless, the libertarian critique that sharply attacks dominating hierarchical religious forms is on firm ground here. In no way can these forms be seen by radical workers as anything but evil. The basis of this interesting line - together with the demonstration that Marxism is but an apostate form of this Western religious ideology, is discussed by Professor Lynn White

in 'Notes for the Future', (Robin Clarke, ed.). Not all that is linked with Christianity is hierarchical and rapacious. I met a Quaker last year and when in discussion I said (feeling a little provocative....) "Quakers are really the Anarchists of the Christian religion, aren't they?" The immediate reply was, "Yes, that's right...." Whether all Quakers would see this point or not I don't know. But Quakerism is a fringe in religion - just as Anarchism is a fringe in Socio-political life.....?

I have contributed this unlikely area of discussion in a piece about technology and ecology because it is profoundly at the base of much of our 'other worldliness, our disrespect for the Earth and its resources - and our rapaciousness. It helps to account for the social and technological crises which are striking at our existence even more violently. It also accounts with some subtlety, for our attitudes towards women and for our 'slightly less than human' attitudes regarding those we feel to be 'a little nearer the monkeys' by race in the creation hierarchy.....?

WE CAN'T ABANDON TECHNOLOGY

Whatever the original drive to master the world and therefore to master people also, we still have to live with it. As I mentioned earlier, there is no way we can abandon technology and technique. This point applies to both the argument to convince 'society' or 'the State' or those with manipulative power over technical means to give them up (they won't....); and also to those individuals who wish to escape to some nether region away from technology (there's nowhere to run). Nevertheless radical action is called for to take over control and uses of technical means. This is where Alternative Technology and Self-Sufficiency (AT&SS) are educative. We may be approaching the so-called Post-industrial period, but it will certainly not be a post-technical age - unless we blast the Earth in a nuclear holocaust. Arguments can be advanced that although Britain was the first to enter the industrial revolution, such change was actually not thorough-going here. We may be placed in a good position to pass on to this next phase (post-industrial) because we never quite left the pre-industrial one.

You should study technology and its effects from a Libertarian point of view, because who controls these, controls people and resources.

Technical means tend to normalise language, attitudes and options. There appears to be a vast choice, but in practice there is a high degree of uniformity. Units of measurement is a case in point. Unless you use the S.I. system (Metrication), you tend either to be ostracised, or excluded. Again in practice, technical elitism shuffles and grades knowledge so that what was up to the minute, high-value knowledge yesterday, becomes old hat today.

This is independent of 'use value' and is a kind of (as I say, elitist) 'exchange value' of scarce know-how. And such know-how must be a kind of highly objective esoteric knowledge - craft skills or tacit knowledge doesn't count. A good discussion of this point is given in 'Architect or Bee' by Mike Cooley. Actually we as Anarchists know this and we don't require some Marxist analysis to point it out. But everyone else also knows it and jokes about 'knowledge obsolescence' and how old Jack - aged 40 - 'learned his stuff in the Ark and should be pensioned off'. The majority of people do nothing about such myths because most are totally unradicalised. There is an absence of such attitudes in the radical AT&SS movement because it is 'use value' which counts. But such Libertarian movements remain very small...?

TECHNOLOGY EXPROPRIATES SKILLS

Connected with the last observations regarding knowledge obsolescence is the emphasis on labour elimination by 'robots' or 'automation', 'computer control' - call it what you will. There is certainly technical means to complicate job tasks in production and distribution so that simple involvement of workers in these are eliminated. We are treated to a barrage of "this will eliminate drudgery in repetitive tasks" by expert pundits - and indeed this may be so, especially if there is a real use value production attached to durable artifacts instead of the highly technical 'planned obsolescence' throwaway attitudes to consumption capitalism engenders, (which it must if you think about it). The problem is that the highly automated throwaway ethos deskills many of us. A most radical part of the AT&SS movement is to rescue these skills and develop them. The capitalist outlook is expropriating skills as it once did property and wealth, therefore anarchic direct action in the AT&SS area is subversive.

This aspect is certainly true if the division between hand and brain work is considered. This elitist barrier between practical skills and theoretical ability clings amazingly and therefore must serve a valuable purpose in maintaining the class/hierarchical structure. In spite of Kropotkin's critique of this artificial barrier (discussed in article 1) it continues. But there is rejection of this division in the Alternative movements.

There is an accompanying problem that could have serious implications for us by reducing the freedom of access and choice. This reduction is achieved by technical means. The State and powerful interest groups can use these means to control populations and individuals. I am not just indicating computer data banks - with limited access to weaker brethren, or the use of powerful drugs developed by chemical technologists to

control mood, docility and obedience in children and adults. Nor am I commenting specifically on, say, such problems as the utter domination of the transport system by cars - with their ridiculous inefficiency both thermally and in materials use. All these are problems enough, which we are promised will be overcome by more technical research. (This is the famous 'Technical Fix' syndrome - even in conservative circles it is wearing a bit thin.) But without being paranoid, the comment 'the Technically Strong State' is the one to watch.

TECHNOLOGY FOR SUPPRESSION

Gradually as violence, racism, nationalism, and dissent in general worsens, crowd control, surveillance, physical/technical means of suppression (plastic bullets - water cannon....) and other sophisticated strong arm methods will have to be deployed by the State. Also, the technical means of (possible) survival by an elite few in the event of a nuclear conflict requires urgent attention. All these developments, from phone tapping, bugging, TV camera surveillance techniques, to techniques of psychological torture (as used in Northern Ireland) and drug treatment (as used in American prisons - and, it is said, here also), are already deployed. Discussions of these developments have appeared in great detail by investigative journalists and writers, often from a Libertarian perspective. The 'Spies for Peace' revelations about the secret nuclear shelters that appeared in the 1960s was an excellent example of what can be done.

Thus technology needs its critical edge. This itself must be technically effective but also ecological and people-based. I have not found any movement capable of carrying this responsibility except the radical AT&SS movement, based on anarchist principles of networking and Mutual Aid. Such action operates mainly in the informal economy, which is an important area of action of the 'voting with your feet' kind. This ignores State controls and the bureaucracy as much as possible. (Another branch of this kind of action could be said to include the Squatting movement and the Freeschoolers/Deschoolers (at least some of them - not coopted) in education.)

Anyone inclined to enter the AT&SS direct action movements should become aware of what is involved. It is certainly not a soft option - a kind of arcadian dream of peaceful workshops, lovely fields, hand-crafted artifacts (only), but involves alternative computer programs, anti-surveillance activities, technical investigations into what powerful people are doing with nuclear systems, military technology and other extremely anti-human misappropriations of resources.

Ken Smith.

Make the Third World connection

American activists are urging the European peace movement to link their anti-nuclear campaigns with the South American solidarity movements.

At an East-West Peace People study weekend three Americans presented a paper showing how the growth of the American 'solidarity' movement had coincided with the decline of the anti-nuclear and nuclear freeze movements. They suggest that the failure of the American peace movement to connect with imperialism in the Third World has led to the peace movement's demise, just as the British peace movement declined after its

failure to involve itself against Vietnam.

Their paper concludes: In the first place it must be realized that the American ruling class has traditionally been concerned with European developments, and they would certainly be hesitant to openly invade Nicaragua if they believed that it would stoke the fire of resistance to American cold war and nuclear policies. However they too have learned the lessons of the Grenada debacle

between Britain and the U. S. and will consequently tread in evermore deceptive and deceitful ways.

It is extremely important that the peace movement in Europe transform itself by insisting on the sybiotic connection between nuclear weapons and intervention (in Central America) if it is not to 'miss the boat' and write itself out of existence. The European movement must learn the lesson that is being presented to it by the U. S. peace movement today; that is, it will wither away unless it can adequately link issues and realize that nuclear weapons do not exist in a vacuum.

Instead we have to address the Cold War head on by insisting on the connections between (among other things) self-determination and peace, sexism and militarism, racism and exploitation, and all these to nuclear weapons and intervention.

These connections, though, must not only be made in writing, discussion and in theory, but most importantly in practice. Consequently the banners of anti-militarism and non-intervention must both be carried to those points that are associated with, or that have been made political symbols by, the peace movement (i.e. Greenham, Faslane, Molesworth, Upper Heyford, etc.). In this way the peace movement will be forcefully and directly making the connection between these movements, and at the same time it will be avoiding the mistakes of the British movement of the 1960s (i.e. failing to take up Vietnam), and the American peace movement in the 1980s.

These actions at U. S. military bases, though, must also

be forms of resistance that are based on direct action. One of the lessons of the Vietnam war was that, as a tactic, direct action was the most effective. It is the turmoil of mass direct action, by creating situations in which it becomes politically impossible for the military to conduct its operations, that ultimately constrain the militarists.

It is important, then, to reiterate the necessity of carrying out actions at the nuclear shrines that have been focussed on by, and associated with, the peace movement, for these are the sites where action is most effective in opposing American intervention in Central America. In particular the form and content of these actions can be similar to actions such as those which took place at Wethersfield in March '84 and Chilwell in July '84. That is, an appropriate criterion for choosing a site might be the presence of, or accessibility to, U. S. military personnel, especially if they happen to be 'interventionist' troops such as the Rapid Deployment Force. Furthermore, it must be kept in mind that a large segment of the U. S. military personnel 'happen' to be people who have been forced into the services because of their economic positions in the U. S. As is always the case, these military personnel, a large percentage of whom are black and hispanic, are now being asked to kill their brothers and sisters in Central America.

Victory to the Miners!!!

In Solidarity, Bryn Clark, Dan Coughlin,
David Riker. 91 Irving St. Somerville, Ma.

MEAT MEANS MURDER

Meat means murder. Think especially about the need-less slaughtering of animals for food. Why should animals have to suffer for human greed? Surely if people had to see the animals they eat being killed in abattoirs, or if they had to do that killing themselves, they would not eat meat. Most people think it is disgusting to eat a cat or a dog - why is that so different to eating a lamb or a calf? It's still flesh, and would probably taste the same in a burger or a casserole.

Apart from the pain, degradation and suffering involved for the animals who are reared solely for slaughter purposes, there are several other reasons for giving up meat and fish, and becoming a vegetarian.

1. Raising meat wastes protein as animals eat far more food than they produce - vegetable protein is more economical.
2. Excess animal fat is dangerous and animals are often stuffed full of drugs, chemicals and hormones.
3. Meat and animal fat lead to heart disease.
4. The animals slaughtered are often diseased and meat can carry cancer, TB and other diseases.
5. Meat is very hard to digest. It takes longer than any other food to digest, up to six hours or more in the stomach - this takes up a great deal of body energy.

6. Meat creates nervous, restless energy in the body and mind

7. Meat is very expensive.

Man was originally a vegetarian before Noah and the Flood, so it is a myth that man is naturally a meat-eater. People should eat food that causes the least pain to other creatures and living things. Plants feel less pain than animals do, because they are as we know an unconscious form of life. Many plants don't need to be totally destroyed to provide food. Meat is not necessary in the diet - adequate protein can be obtained from other sources, e.g. grains/pulse/beans and nuts. Vegetarian meals are not just lentils and salads, as most vegetarians could tell people if they listened.

Think about what you are really doing - by eating animals, you are indirectly slaughtering them yourselves. Why should half the world's population starve due to some peoples' greed? There is adequate food in this world to feed everyone - not just greedy, selfish Western people.

Meat equals murder. Think about it. Animals cannot talk or fight back - we can.

Andrea

LETTERS PAGE

Dear Green Anarchist,
Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the law.

In case anyone was put off by Richard Hunt's opinion of 'Where We Stand', (GA.No2), I'd like to say that some of us (at least) certainly do reject violence! Anarchy has got a really bad name through its association with violence, and I think if we are ever going to get the Anarchist message across to enough people to actually achieve Anarchy, we are going to have to dispel a lot of fears first.

My dictionary defines Anarchy as: absence of government in a society; political or social disorder; a doctrine that all government should be abolished. I can't find anything that even implies violence, let alone shows it to be inherent.

Presumably social disorder has got a history of being violent; and governments have reacted violently towards people seeking to abolish them!

Really, I don't think there's any more violence in Anarchy than there is in any other part of society. Violence just attracts the most publicity - look at the miners' strike! We don't see many peaceful pickets on television, do we? And I'm told there are plenty.

I think it's high time for we Green Anarchists, with our clarity of thinking, to set an example to the less popular variety of violent Anarchists, and to the society we so much want to change, and totally condemn violence on every level.

Remember the vision! And let's not taint it! Anarchy with peace will be idealism. Anarchy with violence would be a nightmare.

Personally, radical as I am, I would rather have the system we've got at the moment than contemplate the stereotype Anarchist yobs marauding around, dishing out freedom with a gun. And I think that is what people think.

Yours ecologically, Cathy Ashley.
Plymouth Ecology Party. Plymouth Campaign against the Police Bill. GreenBikers Group. 16 f. Williams Ave. Prince Rock, Plymouth.

Dear GA,

I would like to say that I do not like the way that you wrote the article about Birmingham STC. Basically you have implied something that I hope you didn't mean and which is certainly not true. You suggested

that the ten people who were arrested in the van from London were responsible for the gluing up of the bank etc. This is not true and it is very dangerous and irresponsible for you to print something as suggestive as that statement was. For a start there were only nine of us charged. The driver was released after 34 hours in the cells. The police treated us like shit which is what we expected. They have charged us with going equipped for Criminal Damage but we are expecting them to add charges. So we would expect some decent coverage from the Anarchist press, but what do we get? A load of distorted shit. It's about time that the Anarchist press got their facts right before they dump other people in the shit. You have done it. Black Flag did it, and Peace News do it quite often. Your paper does not serve its purpose if it doesn't communicate facts about our action or events or else those actions become worthless. Anarchy, love, peace. One of the Birmingham defendants.

Dear Editors,

..... It is extremely doubtful if Stirner's philosophy can be fitted into an anarchist frame of reference. For years I thought it could, but now I do not. Anarchism, of whatever school, forbids the "domination of man by man". It is a doctrine of renunciation, like Christianity. There is nothing in Stirner's 'ethic of power' to stop any conscious egoist from dominating anyone else, if he or she has the capacity and the interest. Stirner writes, "My freedom is diminished by my not being able to carry out my will on another object like a government, an individual, etc." And "Take hold and take what you require! With this the war of all against all is declared. I alone will decide what I will have." If one can envisage a general practice of Stirner's egoism, then Kropotkin is probably not far off the mark when he prophesies that it would lead to the ascendancy of the more gifted over the less gifted. Since I do not regard this as a necessarily 'bad' thing, I have come to the conclusion that it is time for the uneasy and equivocal connection between Stirner and anarchism to be severed, and that the conscious egoist and the anarchist go their separate ways.

Sincerely, S.E. Parker, Editor of 'Ego'. Garden Flat, 91 Talbot Rd. London. W2.

God, like Stirner's non-social 'ego' may be an illusion. The proletariat and the State are surely not. Prisons are real, police truchceons hurt and need to be avoided. Exploitation can't be understood if we treat prisons as illusions.

The danger of Stirner's theory is where it logically leads. However wary we are of Marxist authoritarian socialism, if we accept Stirner's self-interst egoism, we are led to dog-eat-dog capitalism (though Stirner was against the nation state). That's why the free-market capitalists have advocated individualist anarchists like Stirner. It is important also to disentangle Marx's authoritarian politics from his social theories. His materialism and his analysis of capitalism are important to understand and have contemporary relevance. By dismissing his ideas and following Stirner we will simply remain ignorant of the forces that confront us.

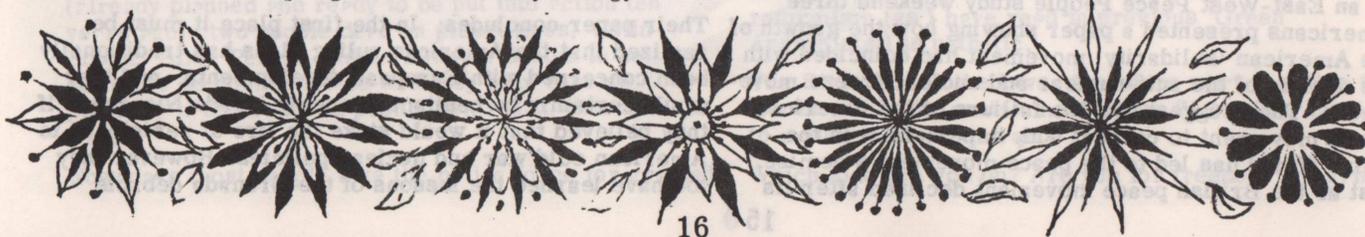
All good wishes, Brian Morris.
18 Hillyfield, Lewes, Sussex.
Donald Room replies,

Brian Morris's opinion that Marx and Engels refuted Stirner, is astonishing. It is no refutation of a book on butter to say it is not about cheese, nor any refutation of an ethical treatise to say it has no sociological perspective.

"Reality" and "substance" have different meanings. Some nouns, for instance 'carrot', refer to objects; others, for instance 'journey', to relationships between objects. The reality of a journey is indisputable, but a journey has no substance in the sense that a carrot has substance. Stirner's 'ghosts' are misconceptions in which relationships are mistaken for substantial objects. S.E. Parker

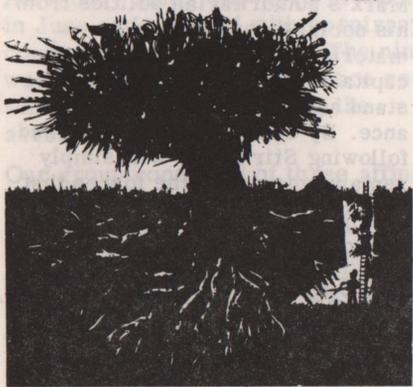
is the author of a lucid introduction to the latest edition of Stirner's work, 'The Ego and Its own' (Rebel Press, £4.50 and well worth it). He is mistaken, however, in his recent findings that Stirner and Anarchism are not fully compatible. Anarchy in Malatesta's definition is not a society where domination of man by man is forbidden, but a condition in which domination of man by man is impossible. It is to be achieved, not by universal renunciation of power, but by universal refusal to be dominated.

If you oppress me, Stirner says, "I do not surrender to you, I only wait, and when I can come at you I will." Were there a general practice of Stirner's egoism, it would be impossible to organize people on the basis of domination, because as soon as the ruler's attention wandered, her power would cease.



BOOK REVIEW

Uprooting War



'Uprooting War'. Freedom Press £4.00 + p/p.

This is a brave departure for the Freedom Press group from the old classics, which although they contain perennial truths, leave a gap in connecting them with today's and tomorrow's world.

As the recent CND conference indicated, in its concern for symptoms it fails to deal with causes. Indeed many members of the Peace movement think that war, that has

rightly been described as the health of the state, can be dealt with in isolation from the radical problems of injustice and economic inequality. This of course is slowly changing and this book tries to make an analysis of the situation in the modern world.

I do not think that it altogether succeeds as a modern classic; it seems a bit dull and long, but for any serious student of the modern situation it should be read for the information it gives and the analysis of that situation. The book should be of use to shorter pamphleteers and propaganda by the word.

As Brian Martin the author says: - "It is all very well to have a superb strategy against war... as for any other social goal... but nothing will come of it unless people take action. How are people mobilised for social action? And how in particular are they mobilised for social action that confronts roots rather than the symptoms of social problems?"

Alan Albon

'E for Additives' by Morris Hanssen. Thorsons. £2.95.

This book is a comprehensive guide to the 'E's that are put into today's food. 'E's being the chemical additives. It defines the name and number of the 'E' chemical, informs you of its origin, animal, plant, etc. and tell you of its function in the product, and then goes on to tell you what effects you can suffer from eating it. This book is a must for healthy eating, useful

for allergy sufferers, vegetarians and vegans.

The Custard Scare! Ingredients: Starch, salt, colours, E102, E110, E127, flavouring. E102: Tartrazine dye, synthetically made, causes skin rashes, hay fever, breathing problems, and blurred vision. E110: Sunset yellow FGF: synthetic coal tar dye, causes swelling of blood vessels, gastric upset, vomiting and skin rashes. E127: Erythrosine, another coal tar based chemical, red colour causing sensitivity to light. And that's just in custard powder.

It's still allowed to go on, and what is the government doing? NOTHING. Why? Because it preserves all their fucking mountains of food while children starve in Ethiopia.

Marcus.

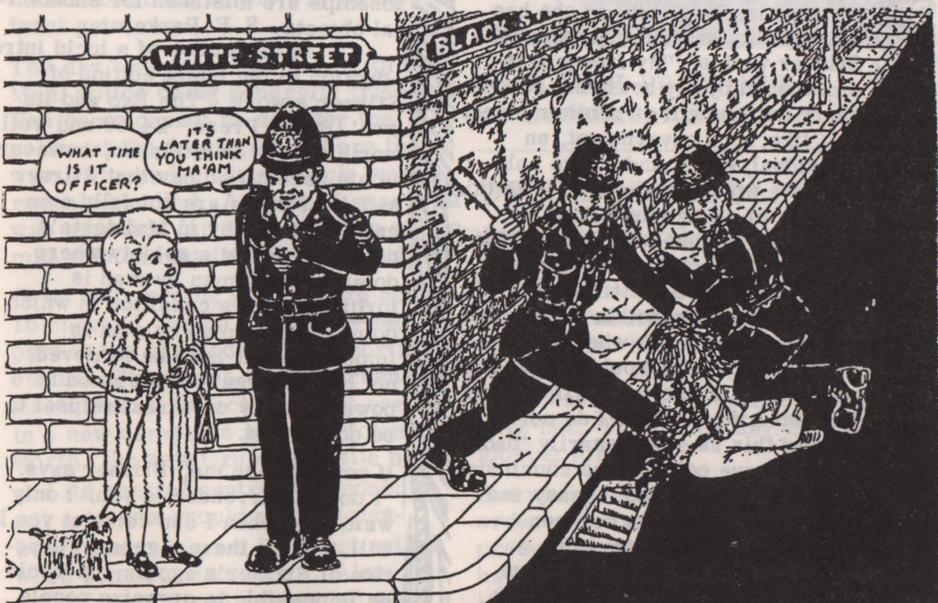
'At Least Cruise is Clean'. Lynchcombe. Niccolo Press £1.20.

A pamphlet which reveals the business interests of Newbury Rotary Club, and lists the members, especially pointing out their financial gain from USAF Greenham Common. Available from 'A' Distribution. 84b, Whitechapel High St. London E1.

Green bikers

Ostensibly bikers are aggressive and offensive and not much else, but this is mainly because of media distortion. I agree that their image is essentially masculine, but I see it as a harmless channel for masculinity which might otherwise manifest itself in aggression. On the feminine side, a great deal of artisticness is displayed when it comes to building bikes and there is a lot of caring and community spirit within the biking movement. Bikers are lovers of beautiful things, unspoiled countryside, peace and freedom etc. They are inherently nonconformist. If the potential for bikes were only realised, they could provide a basis for small businesses and cooperatives, and could utilise engineering skills currently employed in such things as defence. (It's amazing how many motorcycle spares are manufactured in Devonport Dockyard!)

Cathy Ashley, Green Bikers Group, 16f Williams Ave. Prince Rock Plymouth, Devon.



COMMUNITY POLICING

RECORD REVIEW

The Enemy Within. 'Strike'. (Rough Trade).

Amusing blend of Arthur Scargill's speeches dubbed over Keith LeBlanc Funk rhythm track. The proceeds from this record go to the Miners' Solidarity fund, so buy it to support their fight, and our fight.

The Poison Girls. 'I'm not a real woman'. E.P. (Xntrix). Good value for money. 12" 45 E.P. This shows the Poison Girls have musical competence, while still bringing across their important messages of peace, feminism, and anarchy. This is a record certainly well worth buying.

Toxic Shock. 'A Dubious Deal'. (Vindaloo).

This record, although very simple, musicwise, brings across the message clearly, the oppression of women by our society. This is an excellent value, 6 track, 12" EP, especially £2.50.

Nik

FILM REVIEW

Disappointing 'DUNE'

The year is 10,191- The spice exists on only one planet-Dune. Music by Toto, Photography by Fred Francis- thanks Fred. 'The spice must flow' Reverend Mother intones, Our Hero, Pol sticks to his pure Hollywood script. May the land of god be with you- what is this? Did I expect too much? Of course I did. But what's this, the Arkonians have arrived Perverts all, catch Sting in the raw. Pretentious nonsense. It ain't a trip movie like Eraserhead neither is it 2001. It would like

From 'Too Much Pressure'. →

Cartoons by Brick.

Published by Peace News. £1.50.

to be a Kung-Fu job though. All in all a great disappointment with too few laughs to keep you going. By the way- if you can avoid the short then do unless it's pissing down in which case you'll have to sit through 20 odd minutes of the Police in concert, No, not the big day at Hendon, but Stinger and his mates dead on stage in Atlanta.

Phil.

GARDENS

Pruning.

The ground should all be dug up by now to let the frost break up the clods.

So it's a good time to look at the fruit tree pruning. Received wisdom has been taking some knocks recently. It was always thought that branches should be sawn off close to the trunk to stop new shoots growing from the edge of the wound. But the regenerating cells which produce the new unwanted shoots also produce the callous which covers the wound. So if those cells are cut off, the wound is unable to heal.

And it's been found that bitumen paint does not help heal the wound. It slows down the healing.

It's generally thought best, in shaping fruit trees, to take out the leading shoot and create a 'cup' shape to let the light in. But in America, apparently, they leave the leader in. So it looks as though any way is OK.

Another piece of received wisdom is don't prune when there's a frost...?

RECIPE

Caroline's Mum's overnight Fruit Cake. (Vegan)

Ingredients.

½ lb. flour, wholemeal, of course.
1 teaspoon baking powder
1 teaspoon mixed spices (cinnamon, nutmeg, ginger)
1teaspoon bicarbonate of soda.
A pinch of salt.
2oz candied peel.
12 oz. mixed dried fruit.
2 oz. cherries.
4 oz margarine - 'Granose'
5 oz. brown sugar.
1 tablespoon of honey or molasses
¼ pint orange juice + one tablespoonful.

Method:

1. Mix dry ingredients.
2. Cream marg, sugar, honey/molasses.
3. Stir in flour and orange juice alternatively.
4. Add fruit.
5. Leave overnight, covered.
6. In the morning stir in tablespoonful of orange juice.
7. Put into line 8" greased tin.

Centre of Gas 3-4 for 2 hours Gas 2 for ½ hour. Cover cake for last hour.

N.B. for vegans who like cakes or recipes which need eggs: for each egg replace with 1½ desertspoons of tahini which binds like eggs, or soya flour with water, + use baking powder.

Caroline Bradbury.

