

EVENTS

All November. 'Turn the Tide against Trident'. Direct Action against Trident every day from Nov. 1st to Dec. 1st. Contact: Faslane peace camp, Shandon, Helensburgh, Dumbartonshire, Scotland.
 Nov. 5. Glasgow 'Stop the City'.
 Nov. 5. Day of Action in support of the miners. Across the country.
 Nov. 27 'Whisper and Shout'. Riff-Raff Poets' 20th anniversary party at Seven Dials Community Centre, Earlham St. London. WC2. Jeff Cloves, Pat Van Tweest, Dennis Gould, and Jim Huggin on violin.
 Dec. 21. Celebration of the Winter Solstice at Molesworth Green Village.

UPPER HEYFORD TRESSPASS

NVDA groups from Brighton to Nottingham came together in a tresspass of the USAF base just two days after a week-long Peace Festival at the Peace Camp. Some 30-40 were involved in a Faslane-type operation in which a train is stopped using the emergency cord as near break-in point as possible. The protesters were careful to reassure other passengers on the train that that there was no cause for alarm, before trudging over a ploughed field and scrambling over the perimeter fence, using rolls of carpet to breach the barbed wire.

The operation had been kept a word of mouth affair, and was thus able to take the authorities by surprise. Despite the coincidental presence of a MOD officer at Bicester station, it was only after the protesters had covered several hundred yards of the base that any sign of discovery was apparent.

Eventually the MOD rounded every one up and held them in a gymnasium where interrogations took place, involving the Transport police who turned up later. Several have subsequently been charged with the usual range of ambiguities, which serve as penalties for those who dare to act against the genocidal arms race. Many of those held were subsequently dumped randomly in the countryside.

The event was successful, in that the aims of entering the base (and decorating it with balloons and streamers)

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ACTIONS

mers) and interrupting the normal operation were achieved. The preparations for NATO's 'Operation Lionheart' were in full swing at the time so the point was made that some people refused to accept the need for spending huge amounts of our money on preparing for the next war, a war which would almost certainly mean the extinction of all human and animal life on Earth. LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF IMAGINATION AND CREATIVITY! STAND UP AND SAY NO TO WAR.'

ANARCHIST BUS.

Dodo Theatre - a travelling street theatre group, who use a green bus to get around, set off in the middle of September for a month's tour, to perform short humorous theatres about the realities of life in this society. With every theatre we give out a leaflet saying a bit more about the things we try to raise in the theatre itself.

Well, for us the tour was wonderful fun, although 7 people living in a 30 ft bus for a month do get a bit on top of each other. The theatres were a success too - audiences of over a 100 on several occasions, thousands of leaflets distributed, lots of laughs, chats to people, some agreeing with us, some not.

We got amazingly little from the pigs. (whilst performing in Coventry they nearly arrested someone for arguing with us). But in Hereford, where the police and the Council act as a local Mafia, one of us got nicked for explaining to the audience that the police were stopping our performance. And the bus got investigated - particularly after the busts at the mushroom festival when the West Mercia police seemed particularly alert to the presence of buses.

REPORTS

Next Spring should see us on the road again, hopefully with a larger repertoire including some long

plays - extending our present tactics of guerilla theatre. Maybe you'll see us then - or better still, you could get something together with people you know. After all, 6 months ago none of us had done any street theatre at all!

Pete

CLYDESIDE ANARCHISTS.

Clydeside Anarchists tell us that Ian Richardson, anarchist and quaker, is being held in Barlinnie for refusing to plead when he was accused of 'Breach of Bail'. He was on bail after the Price Waterhouse action in Glasgow. (they are the accountants who seized the miners' food funds). His breach of bail was a peaceful protest at Marshalls chicken factory. "The Breach of Bail Act has been used extensively in the past seven months of the miners' strike and is a blatant attempt to breach our rights and our convictions." For his protest Ian is in prison. For your protest, Ian, well done.



GREEN ANARCHIST

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

No. 3. Police v. Miners. Stop the Cities. Molesworth occupied. Venice Anarchist Conf. Stirner. Squatting.



GREEN ANARCHIST

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Andy Watson, reviewing 'Green Anarchist in SCRAM says, "The first issues show that it has the potential of becoming a forum for ideas on how an anarchist and ecological would work, and how it could be achieved."

Right. So let's have your ideas on the subject.

Happy New Year to all our readers, Halloween for the celtic romantics, December 21st, the winter solstice for the rationalists and Jan 1st for the realists.

SMALL ADS

POISON GIRLS - a new 12" single.
4 tracks including Vi Subversa's
'I'm not a Real Woman' and 'Take
the Toys from the Boys'. Out now
from all good record shops, or for
£2.75 from Xntrix records, PO.
Box 299, London E11.

The Schumacher Lectures 1984.
'SACRED PRINCIPLES'
Keith Critchlow, Fellow of the Royal
College of Art and exponent of sacred
principles in architecture, by Helena
Norburg-Hodge, a champion of
ecological development in Ladakh and
by Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne, founder of the
sarvodaya Village Development
Movement in Sri Lanka.

Saturday, 10th November. 2.00 - 7.00.
Bristol University Union, Queen's Rd.
Clifton, Bristol. Tickets £6.00 (£4.00
OAPs, students and unwaged).
Advanced tickets from the Schumacher
Society, Ford House, Hartland
Bideford, Devon, or Greenleaf
Bookshop, 82 Colston St. Bristol.

TERRORISM- GOVERNMENT

Politicians often shake hands with those whom they once condemned as terrorists. Just as those who blew up the King David Hotel in what was then Palestine, and later successfully became the members of the Israeli Government, were able to cloak their terrorism in legality. The hypocritical condemnation of violence by those who have rejoiced at the recent use of it to achieve political ends, comes when that violence comes home to roost.

There were no howls of anguish at the two miners that died in a conflict in which imported Pinkerton-type tactics are employed to impose the government's will. Yet State violence, physical and economic, is the most well-equipped and potent source of violence in the world today. In Britain the legal sanctions that are used against any group that obstructs the imposition of the market economy are also backed by State violence. It is also proposed to reduce the legal protection that those in employment have, thus increasing the power of those who control society economically. Economic injustice is also terrorism; it kills people in the Third World just as surely by starvation as with a bomb, and in our own country by saying we do not need you for our free market economy.

A society, divided by economic inequality and injustice will always be a violent society, but this lesson will not be learnt by those who experienced the bombing in Brighton; they will add to the great divide, and through their control of the media and its emotional unthinking waffle, will persuade people to add their crosses to enable politicians to add more crosses in the military cemeteries that lie all over the world.

We in this magazine are striving for a world that does not rely on violence to govern human relationships, but to create a society of free and equal people, with different talents, to co-operate to end exploitation of people, and use the world resources sensibly, and end the commercial market place, wanton and wasteful.



MINERS V. POLICE

THE MINERS' STRIKE IS IMPORTANT TO US

If they lose, a dangerously reactionary government will have defeated a major obstacle between them and rampant control and exploitation: the power of the organised working classes. A little time to let the dust settle, and then we will all have to watch out.

Whatever doubts many of us have about the Trades Unions, or Marxist theories of class, Tories understand. So whatever the short term financial cost, they are now determined to break the unions, potentially the direct political expression of the working classes. They are the people whose subjugation the Tories need: they are the ones who actually produce the wealth that the capitalists play with.

Many anarchists fail to recognise how important class awareness can be. Many of us are of the middle classes, heavily polluted with bourgeois values. Many of us are from the working classes, but have arrived at anarchism through our individual personal development, forgetting or ignoring that there is an oppressed class behind us. A deep, enduring, inevitable conflict goes on between the working classes and those who exploit them, however much it is denied by the many people who think they can sidestep out of this class struggle.

People are dying because of capitalism. (Although the worst suffering is hid out of sight by national boundaries.) People endure a semi-existence (often not even realising how much life they miss out on) because of modern capitalism. There is only one side that anyone concerned about our world can reasonably choose in the frequently ignored class war. The sooner we all recognise this and do something about it, the better. It is so easy to criticise "Socialism", "the Unions", "the Left", that we can lose sight of the greater damage being done now by the Right, By capitalism, by the passivity of so many blinkered

'moderates' throughout our society.

The day government or capitalists willingly support any 'green' venture is the day to be wary: beware whenever capitalism finds a way of incorporating attractive ideas - of taking them from us, making them safe and sterile, and then selling them back to us at twice the price! Fanciful thoughts of a "Third Way" between the Left and the Right must not blind us to the history of challenges to government and authority, to Commerce and Property, and how those challenges have been overcome in this country.

One feature of capitalism is how successful it is at incorporating and corrupting any hopeful ideas, each time stealing a fresh initiative to buy for itself a new lease of life.

Complete revolution, pushed forward beyond our wildest dreams - that's where hope lies. And there is no better self-preparation for revolution than to strike - to refuse absolutely to co-operate for a while with their system of wage-slavery - and to do so collectively, not for more money, but as an attack upon the very control the "bosses" have over our lives.

There are obvious links between the nuclear power programme and the run-down of the coalmines. There are grave doubts about the desirability of coal as an energy source. There are criticisms of the insensitivity of some miners to racist and sexist oppression. But these facts pale into insignificance beside the central point: miners and their communities are collectively resisting the destructive control the NCB and the Government wish to exercise over their whole way of life. They are fighting for a bit of freedom, defending the things they value. We should stand humbly with them, offering our support.

Tarquin

NEWS MOLESWORTH OCCUPIED

It's now a growing village called Rainbow Field.



2500 people trespassed onto Molesworth airfield and occupied it on the August Bank Holiday. The MOD did nothing, nor did the local police. (Molesworth is due to receive 64 cruise missiles by the end of 1986).

70 people are now living there, setting up a Green Village. They've ploughed up 10 acres for winter wheat to send to Eritrea. They've built a communal kitchen and are organising the education of about 20 children on the site. They've nearly finished the Chapel, which was consecrated by the Bishop of Huntingdon. Now they need cash for the roof tiles. And they need cash for lots of other projects.

The number of Greens at Molesworth seems to be increasing all the time and they're hoping that many more will come to celebrate the Winter Solstice. Dec. 21.

LONDON STOP THE CITY

Demo spreads from the City to the West End.

There was one small rampage not far from the Stock Exchange where windows were smashed and cars jumped on and later a Barclays Bank off Cheapside had windows broken. There was graffiti sprayed all over the place.

However, it was a disaster for the communicators who had all leaflets confiscated and were unable to talk to people, with the police continually moving them on.

There were city workers who entered into the spirit of the occasion by wearing stickers proclaiming: 'aggravate an anarchist - support the City' (:*?)

By the afternoon many people, pissed off by police harassment, started heading out into other parts of the city - where some successful 'hit and run' raids took place. In Soho sex shops were damaged. Saatchi and Saatchi offices were 'trashed' - smoke bombs and thunderflashes let off inside and the windows smashed. Piccadilly Circus - windows in the area smashed and building materials thrown into the road. Trafalgar Square's fountains were dyed red. Also reported, attacks on Debenhams and some butchers shops. A Rolls Royce was damaged and car tyres were let down. A copper or two were reported in the media receiving 'neck injuries and a broken arm'.

Of the 470 arrested most were for 'obstruction' while sitting on a park bench. Most cases of obstruction were released without charge late evening/early morning - they make out that you should be grateful that they're not charging you when you didn't do anything in the first place! One person arrested for obstruction had nothing to do with the demo and was walking home from work at the time!

Camera film was taken out at the static (after possessions had been sealed up and taken away... Is this legal, you may well ask?! :) There were cases of people being beaten up by the police while in custody, and how many cases have been totally fabricated - like ABH on a copper?

When we were getting our possessions back and being released a copper said, "I suppose we'll see you in six months again, lads", Will he? Did the police tactics deter you or strengthen your resolve? We will see.....

What would be a SUCCESSFUL 'Stop the City'? Is it windows smashed in the thousands, Rolls Royces Damaged etc.....? Write in what we should do, tactically if there's another STC in London or elsewhere.

41 charged with criminal damage at research centre.

The cases have been adjourned until January of the 41 people of Eastern Animal Liberation League who were arrested at Colworth House and charged with criminal damage.

Colworth House, near Sharnbrook in Bedfordshire is Unilever's main research centre in Britain, where live animals such as rats, mice, fish, guinea pigs, horses, rabbits, baboons, sheep, cows, pigs and probably other species, are used in experiments for animal feed-stuffs, chemicals and consumer goods to increase Unilever's profits.

The LD50 and Draize tests are carried out routinely. The LD50 toxicity test involves force feeding animals with a variety of substances to see at which point half the control group dies. The draize test involves progressively blinding rabbits to test hazards of substances such as shampoo, hair-sprays and dyes, washing up liquid etc. Since rabbits have no tear ducts, they cannot wash away the substance. Another favourite experiment of the scientists is to cut out the side of a living animal ie. a cow, and replace it with a transparent panel so that they can watch the internal

organs working, whilst they experiment on the animal. Hundreds of files and papers were taken during the raid as well as photographs of 'life' inside the torture centre. Although the intention was to gain evidence rather than cause damage, initial estimates put the cost of repairs at £60,000. Dr Rat

BIRMINGHAM STC "Stop the City? We couldn't even stop a public loo."

On Oct. 11th there was a 'Stop the City' in Birmingham, but as apathy setting in or was it just not advertised enough, because at the most there were only 150 people there.

Arrived to find that the police and the business world certainly take the 'Stop the City' demos seriously - there had been an alert warning to all businesses in a local paper with the result that many shop windows had been greased up, to stop spray-painting, a couple of banks windows boarded up and staff and guards standing at entrances of many shops and banks.

The police presence was massive compared to the number of demonstrators that turned up - with plain clothes cops crawling all over the place as well.

We were able to form a large group and move about - occasionally the front group broke away and entered shops like Tesco's and threw joints of meat around using ketchup bottles as targets in one case. Also people entered Central TV building, a sex shop, Boots and others. There was the unexpected presence of a couple of dozen black youths who arrived with empty sports bags and wanted us to have a rampage/riot in the town centre so that they could do some expropriating.

People were able to hand out leaflets without too much bother.

Around 30 people were arrested, 10 people from London arrested in a van the previous night, during which over 30 premises - mostly banks, had their doorlocks jammed with superglue.

WINFRITH LEUKAEMIAS

'Elderly' leukaemias highest in the world.

In 1981 the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries on Portland Bill monitored the south coast of Britain and found it was contaminated with radiation. This was largely from Winfrith - the UKAEA's Research Establishment near Weymouth, situated on MOD property, and also from the French reprocessing plant at Cap de la Hague, 62 miles from the Isle of Wight.

And the result? Child leukaemias in an area of Bournemouth called Ferndown, and in villages to the east of Winfrith on a scale approaching the leukaemias near Windscale: and leukaemias amongst the elderly population of Bournemouth which are the highest in the world.

But, as Winfrith discharges much less radioactive effluent into the sea than Windscale and Cap de la Hague is a fair way away, shouldn't these figures be less? Winfrith discharges many times more cobalt 60 and than any other nuclear establishment in the whole of the UK. Cobalt 60 is easily taken into and retained by the body. It is a beta-gamma emitter. It is washed into Poole harbour, which is tidal, and which, like Mayport

near Windscale, is muddy. The cobalt 60 is absorbed into the mud which then dries and is blown by the prevailing wind towards Ferndown near Bournemouth.

Winfrith has always been under suspicion for its activities. It is known to have enough plutonium for about nine nuclear weapons - presumably the product of the "plutonium laboratory". Discharges contain affluent from the plutonium laboratory, and also the prototype Steam Generating Heavy Water Reactor. Each summer they discharge amounts of enriched uranium through a discharge pipe into Weymouth Bay three quarters of a mile out. Sometimes these discharges are above the legal limit.

A Pressurised Water Reactor was apparently planned at Winfrith, subject to the outcome of the Sizewell inquiry. At least that is what we've been told. In fact it appears that the management at Winfrith say there is no chance of a PWR there. It seems certain that, as Winfrith tests prototypes, it will accommodate a Fast Breeder Reactor instead.

Sue Puttock

CONVOY ARRESTED

Police trash buses **ainst the Convoy**" that Thatcher hit the ceiling, and demanded action.

The pop festival at Nostell Priory was a financial disaster, only 2000 punters came instead of 30,000. The catering company having lost thousands, did a runner, leaving all the employees unpaid, and the catering equipment behind. The Convoy chiefs got £800 together and bought it from the unpaid employees. Previously the Convoy had been told by the police that there would be no trouble, as long as they moved on peacefully and got out of Yorkshire.

It then seems likely, after a report that the Yorkshire police chief said that "they were powerless to act ag-

Next morning at 5am 3 coaches and 10 van loads of riot police surrounded the camp. As the Convoy retreated to the Marquee the police trashed their vehicles, smashed windows, tearing out wiring with the excuse of looking for guns. There were no guns.

They then demanded to talk to the Convoy's leader 'Boris'. They had got that wrong too. Boris is the goose. The Convoy started quacking. But they were surrounded. They dropped their sticks and weapons and were dragged off to the riot vans, which drove with screaming sirens, crashing through traffic lights to the police station. Richard Thornton, who works on Indian food and

pizza stall, says he was interviewed at great length on the Friday. He was shaking with nerves. (he's never been in trouble with the police before). They accused him of withdrawing from speech. They threatened him with a beating. He was not allowed a solicitor because of 'orders from above'.

On the next day he was again interviewed by 'a better class of CID' wearing suits and posher accents. He was accused of alleged possession of unlawful drugs and released.

Back at the site, a scene of wreckage, the Convoy who had just donated to the miners, were helped by them with food and tools to mend the vans and 45 gallons of diesel, and gave their addresses for bail.

URANIUM HEXAFLUORIDE.

It's not nuclear waste. Is there a conspiracy to conceal the dangers. A respected scientist writes for us:

SOME HAZARDS of nuclear industry are revealed by the collision between a large passenger ferry and a ship carrying uranium hexafluoride. The two ships were locked together for an appreciable time without public knowledge of the dangerous cargo. If the sailors had not contacted Greenpeace, (Guardian 28-9-84) yet another cover-up might have been achieved.

The Guardian coverage on the 28th Aug. had its misleading and contradictory aspects. On the front page the headline said 'N-waste salvage operation starts'. If the reported identification of the cargo as 'sealed' drums of uranium hexa-fluoride is correct, this is not nuclear waste but an early stage in the manufacturing process to produce lots of bombs and some energy. The article on page 13 of the same issue of the Guardian points this out in contradiction of the headline.

There is clearly a conspiracy to conceal the dangers of the nuclear industry.

In order to construct a bomb or atomic pile, fissile Uranium 235 is concentrated by removal of the other isotopes which form more than 99% of natural uranium. Separation of isotopes is extremely difficult as the chemical properties are identical. The physical methods used require very large amounts of power. Before separating uranium by the gaseous diffusion process, it is necessary to convert it into the hexafluoride. To understand the properties of this compound, some further comments are required.

A 'conventional' high explosive is a solid which forms a gas when it decomposes and also liberates chemical energy. Explosives undergo a vigorous chemical reaction with release of energy

Uranium Hexafluoride is a high explosive which is exceptionally hazardous because it reacts vigorously with water forming hydrofluoric acid. This acid is one

of the strongest known which dissolves glass rapidly and forms skin lesions remarkable for their slow healing. As it is extremely difficult to exclude water in any process, the handling and transport of Uranium hexafluoride is very hazardous. The major dangers in this case are those associated with high explosives and extremely corrosive materials. These are less than the radiation hazards in other cases and the dangers from pesticides but are not to be lightly ignored. In the Guardian article these somewhat less dramatic hazards are glossed over. It is speculated that large quantities of UF₆ are shipped in what has been a secret operation.

Moreover, after 'enrichment', the uranium hexafluoride is highly radioactive as well as potentially explosive and corrosive but is apparently being shipped near large cities.

These highly dangerous operations are conducted in secret at the behest of politicians ignorant of the risk. There are few reporters qualified to inform the people of the dangers. Operating these atom factories are engineers and nuclear physicists whose knowledge of chemistry, solid physics and biology is sketchy.

The official calculation of radiation doses uses measurements of average levels although the probability that many people will receive harmful doses is considerable. The increased hazards which come from small radioactive particles and the increased levels in biological systems were ignored. Discussions in the press are meaningless soothing platitudes.

The operations of the nuclear industry are a serious danger and are based on accepting a certain death rate as the price for making money. Prospects of the complete eradication of human life from their activities are high and each individual should be active to combat this danger.

THE WORLD "A NEW ANARCHISM"

The Venice Gathering was heartening, optimistic.... and green



Murray Bookchin at the microphone, saying:

Radical social ecology provides an important, unifying and cohering perspectives towards the crucial issues of humanity's relationship with nature and the reconstruction of a future libertarian society. . . . It calls for a basic change in this image of a biological 'other' to which humanity traditionally opposed itself and it emphasises the creative, fecund, mutualistic and holistic side of nature as a grounding for a libertarian ethics. As William Trager, a distinguished American biologist observes: 'The conflict in nature between different kinds of organisms has been popularly expressed in phrases like 'the struggle for existence' and 'the survival of the fittest'. Yet few people realise that mutual cooperation between different organisms--symbiosis--is just as important, and the 'fittest' may be the one that most helps another to survive'. This conclusion could be easily taken from Kropotkin's Mutual Aid and adds a vitally new dimension to anarchist theory at a time when ecological breakdown has become one of the greatest problems confronting us in the years ahead.

Murray Bookchin



It was a stroke of genius to call an international anarchist gathering in 1984--the year when we are supposed to be cowering under the glare of Big Brother.

There was no cowering in Venice dur-

ing the last week of September, when about 2000 anarchists from practically all over the world--from America north and south, Australia and the Far East and of course all of Europe were welcomed by our Italian hosts and hostesses (if you see what I mean) who had performed a miracle of organisation. For, although the gathering had been planned by comrades centred in Milan for over a year, it was not until three days before the gathering date; that the Communists--majority on the communal council of Venice--yielded to the Socialist mayor's decision and agreed to let the anarchists have their way.

By the time we arrived, however, a huge marquee had been erected, blown down by a freak storm and re-erected in the Campo S Polo, while in the main centre of operations, Campo Santa Margherita, two large shelters for tables and seating, a kitchen and wine bar, a book stall, an information centre and a stage for music and play acting had been built--while at another venue the Faculty of Architecture, everything had been organised for large meetings with simultaneous translations and, in three other rooms, smaller discussion meetings and an overflow from the main lecture hall.

A wide selection of subjects on 'Anarchism and. . . .' were presented, starting predictably with considerations of Orwell's 1984 and the real 1984 that we now live in--and leading, through the days, to feminism, syndicalism, urban struggle, state communism, self-management, cultural imperialism, social

ecology and other subjects.

It was impossible for one person to cover all the meetings, which went on simultaneously--but those I did cover all had one heartening characteristic; they all approached their subjects with the attitude of 'Where do we go from here?'. Older, middle-aged or younger, er, all the speakers--and the contributors from the floor--addressed themselves to the future. Those who looked back to the past did so only to learn lessons for the future as well as the present.

This did make for dullness. Only those those who demand nothing more than calls 'To the barricades' squeaked from the comfort of a Gondola, could have failed to find the real comfort in this gathering: that the anarchist movement in 1984 is addressing itself to 1984 and not to 1848.

The issues of feminism and ecology were strongly represented, showing the recognition that ruthless exploitation of each other and of the planet are as much a menace to all our future as the power of the state and are strongly interlinked. This event was called a 'gathering' and that is what it was; people gathering together and talking to each other, fromally and infromally. I'd like to think I have made some new friends from faraway places--and I would like to, thank our Italian comrades who worked so hard and organised so brilliantly--freely and voluntarily and anarchistically.

PHILIP SANSOM

BERLIN SQUATTING. Government money gentrifies the squatters.

In the Autumn of '81, there were more than 150 squatted houses in Berlin. Now, the Autumn of '84 there are none. Three years of demonstrations, of evictions in all sectors of the city, hustling the squatters into the working class Turkish ghetto of Kreuzberg next to the wall in order to render the undesirables 'kontrollierbar', and then, last summer, a last wave of evictions, tears, teargas and prison, and the Besetzerbewegung (Squatters' movement) was no more. The houses which remained (some 40) were offered a choice: eviction out on to the street, or signing a contract. This contract stipulated that these houses should be 'Instandgesetzt' (renovated according to governmental regulations) and the squatters themselves would carry out the work for a wage 13.50 DM (£3.20 an hour). Their backs against the wall, taking a look at the tent towns sprung up over the last months, full of pots and pans, sleeping bags and frustration and at the calendar, already September and winter temperatures below zero every year - the squatters reached for their pens and signed. These contracts ensure initially that their homes would not be torn down by speculators, and ensured a supply of capital for repairing or improving the houses, for more coal in winter etc..

Now no longer 'Besetze', but 'Instandsetzer', 'renovators' they had been lucky. Eventually, though not yet work-

ed out, the possibility of purchase as a co-operative, or paying large rent increases in the near future, in order to stabilise the rent when the houses are finished.

The organisation which negotiated between the squatters and the Government was Stättbau. Stättbau funds the house renovation, at present of 11 houses, while some 60 other houses, whose occupants were permitted to re-enter their houses again after eviction also have contracts, or contracts pending. Behind Stättbau is the senate money, and behind the senate is the notorious Lummer, Mayor of Berlin, and the evil genius of German Ultra-Conservatism.

In my admittedly black and white partisan picture of the relations between Besetzer and government, this Stättbau organisation provides the shades of grey. Originally set up by the wealthy 'Alternative Bank' Netzwerk to help squatters and other subversive projects, it now negotiates as middle-man between the two sides, displaying a bureaucratic delight in matters of administration that no doubt stems mainly from the fact that its ultimate arbiter and financial source is the C.D.U. government itself.

It does not seem luridly paranoid to see the flow of money into the houses as a 'come into my parlour' stratagem on the part of the state for we have double glazing and polished floors!

In this house at least, the organisation built up over the last three years continues along the lines of a commune in which property (cars, bikes, work or bedrooms) are shared, or shareable on request. Hopefully, the influence of money and regulations will not rigidify into the fixed relations of thine and mine, of locks on doors and a progressive intolerance of those unwilling or unable to participate in the race for rent of comfort or quick cash.

Paul Ransom

Berlin

SPANISH JOURNEY

San Sebastian is the right size for a city, you can walk anywhere in 30 to 45 minutes. The market produce in its varied abundance has dew on it in the morning. The fish in the market was probably hauled out of the sea the previous day. The narrow valleys are not conducive to large scale mechanical farming enterprises, the hand cut hay is stored in small stooks on the hillside.

However, as the train goes south towards Madrid the scene changes, and at the end of September one finds the charred fields one is so familiar with in the corn belt of England, with the fields bereft of animals, no doubt confined in feeding lots elsewhere.

Madrid is a large city now connected from the area we came from by the fact that the fascist destruction of Guernica as depicted by Picasso is now in the city.

Staying near the University Campus where Durruti died, one realises the changes that have taken place. The small divided CNT groups of the once great movement that did show that what we strive for is possible. But we must recognise change, for the thread is still there. The Green movement is thriving with many of the new generation anarchists in it. The ecological magazine Integral is on every bookstall. However, the bad old Spain of Estramadura still lingers on as depicted in a Spanish film that was showing in Madrid called, Los Santos Inocentes, to be shown at NFT London in November.

We saw the celebration of a new libertarian magazine called LIBERACION by a concert with many thousands in a square in Madrid we wish it luck.

Alan Albon

BACK TO SOUTH AMERICA

Liberation Theology worries Pope Paul

Pope Paul is in South America, again.

Pope Paul is in South America. Again. The church there is starting to think for itself. It has linked Marxism with its Liberation Theology. The problem for the Pope is not the Marxism but the thinking for themselves. That challenges the Dogma of Papal Infallibility. Without infallibility Rome cannot order bishops

to give legitimacy to local dictators and Juntas in return for a religious monopoly and a cut in the profits. Rome needs the dictators and the dictators need Rome. If the South American priests are allowed to think for themselves, Rome can shut up shop.

PAYOLA.

The dictators are demanding more 'aid' pay-off.

The Lome Convention, the agreement between the EEC and its puppets in its African Empire has come to no final conclusion on how much 'aid' to pay the puppets in return for sending us their crops (that's why they're starving) at the lowest possible price. We also supply the guns which keep them in power, so they can't demand too high a price. Too low a price and their people might realize how they are being taken to the cleaners.

Running out of patience

i am staring at the boy - a chubby, pinkish face, not yet hollowed by adolescence into a man's face. He and his friends know this space as their own. The central line at past twelve at night... or it could be any public space, any time, any group of men and still it would belong to them, with their laughter and jokes.

They had a good night out, this lot. Been to see King Kurt, they sit picking flour and beer out of their identical haircuts and swapping stories. "Yeah, there was this bloke, right, he got this rabbit, right, a real live rabbit, right, and he just pulled its head off and all this stuff went everywhere and it was dead good, right..."

i am staring at you little boy. A strong woman, older and stronger than you and filled with rage and contempt that compell me.... yeah there was this boy, right, a real live boy, right, and she just pulled his head off and all this stuff went everywhere and it was dead good, right....

My friends' rabbits live in a spacious run in her back garden. They are sleek black balls of whiskers and ears. We went out to see them and they ran from us at first. We found them some dandelion leaves and long grass, and poked this through the wire. We feed animals and so we tame them, willingly they come unto us.

But this is no grisly animal lib sob story. This is real. And suddenly this one act of violence says everything. Here in the madness i cry for one small creature with life torn from it, not even to fill your fat belly. For your entertainment. to confirm your power. to teach you how men men must be. For all the girls you'll screw, for the wife you'll beat, for the privilege of your bare chest at night on a tube in London, little boy, my hatred is real and it terrifies me.

The girls around him sit giggling, half in admiration, half mocking. A squabble over how old they all are starts up. A girl says to the boy, "yeah, you look about fourteen... with a mental age of about two." i smile at how easily she puts him down, and start clapping. Silence. They turn round to stare at me. Once i thought that there was no hatred that could come from me, only pity and love. But now....

One of them says, "huh, Feminists."

"So you've worked that one out. Clever of you." Words come quickly and easily.

"No," he says sheepishly, "You've got stickers on your case." Guilty.

EVERY SIX SECONDS IN A BRITISH LABORATORY AN ANIMAL DIES

WHY LIVE IN FEAR? WITH YOUR HELP WE CAN MAKE THE WORLD A SAFER PLACE. JOIN THE GREENHAM WOMENS BLOCKADE, 4 - 8 JULY

NAGASAKI - a paper Japanese crane over a CND sign
WOMEN OPPOSE THE NUCLEAR THREAT - TAKE THE TOYS FROM THE BOYS

a womens sign enclosing a fist

and i tore the stickers off. i am not going to make it easy for you.

Our slogans make us invisible, pounding our feelings down into just another issue which can be identified, dealt with and cease to be a threat.

Write us a feminist article, a man said to me. People aren't enlightened enough. Not like us, a man said to me.

Can't i write about making love in the bath instead? Or dancing in the park at midnight?

But you don't understand, he said. People just aren't aware.

Aware of what? i defy your issues and slogans. They mean nothing to me. i will tear down your banners and burn them, and then come back for you with fire. My fury my love, my anger, my laughter cannot be contained as another "issue". i can't identify the problem for you because YOU are the problem.... and so am i, my friend. This is not another label you can add to your list. This is real life. Until you can show me that you are giving up your prick power privilege, there exists a state of sexual warfare between us, however much love i can feel for you on the good days.

And i hate the men who call at me in the streets. i hate the men who cannot love other men. I hate the men who say "you fucking cunt" followed by "whoops sorry". I hate the men who try and talk about sexism but never mention sex and love. i hate the men who criticise women for wearing make-up. i hate men who refer to women as the "opposite sex". i hate the men who are able to ignore or dismiss my anger. Most of all, i hate the men who have made me know hatred.

Because a few days ago i attacked a man, physically, for the first time. It will not be the last time. i try to show you my love and all you can give me is hatred. i am running out of patience. i am not alone. We are running out of patience. You are running out of time.

heff



PERSONA AT THE PLANET WHAT IS GREEN

Are we right to think that this article comes closest to reflecting the views of green anarchists?

There are many in the Green Movement who think that that revolution must be preceded by self-change.

THE EARTH is facing a great crisis. We (by which I mean all life on earth) are falling into an abyss that can only end in ecological catastrophe. The most obvious threat is that of nuclear war, but there are many other dangers which receive far less attention. For example, if the present use of artificial fertilisers continues, then within about 30 years the world's topsoil will have become so poisoned that a 1/3 of it will be infertile. Just imagine the famine that would result from that.

So we are faced with a personal choice - either contribute to the immanent armageddon or in some way resist it. Even non-action - that's what most people prefer - means we are indirectly participating in the road to ruin. Apathy will lead to enslavement and ultimately destruction - look where it's brought us to now.

Unfortunately our society encourages apathy and resignation. The majority of people are opposed to poverty, environmental destruction and abuse of animals, but they feel powerless to change the situation. Likewise, everyone is afraid of nuclear war but most believe in 'enjoying ourselves before we all go up'. The horrible irony is that it is precisely this attitude that will lead us to disaster. Only by taking action, individually and collectively, will tomorrow be assured.

But what kind of tomorrow? Are the powers that be - the establishment - going to do nothing while the earth is slowly destroyed? Some anarchists would reply that they are either ignorant or just do not care and they would do nothing. However, bearing in mind that nobody fancies the prospect of global disaster - nuclear or ecological - particularly the rich and powerful who have much to lose by it, I would have thought there is at least a good chance that they would act to prevent it.

But their way would be very different from ours and in direct contravention to everything that we, as libertarians, believe in. Ivan Illich, one of the world's most perceptive social thinkers, reckons there are two possible future scenarios: either society is planned by ecological engineers and controlled by centralised hierarchical institutions - this he calls the technofascist path - or autonomous groups and individuals take control of their own lives to maintain the ecological balances necessary to life - the 'Convivial' Society.

Illich believes we are already half-way down the road to technofascism, but there's still time to turn back. The only answer is for us all to take responsibility for ourselves and our lives; not to leave our destinies in the hands of others - the authorities, be they the state, corporations, churches, schools, etc. The true revolutionaries are those who've said 'enough is enough' and are fighting back. The Greenham Common wimmin and the Animal Liberation Front, they are spearheads of a new radicalism, one that works outside all hitherto existing institutions and adopts values concomitant to the new situation. In their resistance they are actually building the framework of a new society, giving us an inviting glimpse of a possible alternative future.

This is where anarchism and the green movement converge. Traditionally only anarchists have accorded ordinary people enough common sense and what Orwell called 'common decency' to run their own lives without being told what to do by an elite - be it bourgeois or Marxist - of decision makers. The more power we allow these 'experts' to have, the less control we shall have over our existence, until every aspect of our daily lives will be managed for us. Faced with ecological crisis and growing technofascism the need for personal responsibility is more vital than ever before. Only the libertarian creed of anarchism can provide the philosophical framework within which such an outlook can germinate.

The rise of the peace/ecology/animal rights movement is the best hope so far of avoiding technofascism or ecological ruin. But while the triad is divided, isolated, it will remain relatively weak and insecure. We need to merge the three prongs of attack into one cohesive coalition for change while fighting individual forms of oppression. We must realise that they are only the symptoms of a deeper malaise. It is our sick society we must alter and this can only be achieved through non-violent revolution.

Paul Gravett

By saying that one is green or part of the Green Movement is only a start to the changes needed in everyone's life style.

Before we can tell others what is wrong with the world and try to change these wrongs we must first change ourselves.

Self change is what the Green Movement in this country believes is an important part.

So what is Green? Certainly not the way we tread the planet at the moment. People within the Green Movement consist of: cyclists, vegans, vegetarians, pacifists, anarchists, workers, co-operatives, land-owners and workers, community workers and children. How can one say that they are Green while eating meat and driving their car to work? These are the people who have not thought out how they are treading on

their own planet for it is they who will and are destroying our world, our little Green planet. So what is wrong with eating meat? They are exploiting animals and sacrificing them for their own greed. By using their cars they are polluting the atmosphere and poisoning children with the lead in the petrol. So these changes within ourselves will take time, but with time you will enjoy healthier active life and appreciate the simplest things.

This does not mean that we go back 200 plus years because this would not be right either, what we are trying to say is that if we carry on the way we are then we are going to be in great trouble.

Whilst changing ourselves we must consider the following: the way we make decisions, how to get on with others, we must be more sensitive towards others, men, women, children and animals, and how far one wishes to go through self change.

A start is by giving up the eating of meat. Other self-changes include: cycling, not to exploit others, to be non-sexist, to care and look after children and the old. Other slightly ambitious ideas include self-sufficiency, or the setting up of communes, collectives and co-operatives, rather than doing normal jobs for a living. So not only does self change involve the way we live but also the way we think. Once we have got geared to changing ourselves into loving, caring people, only then can we continue by being examples to others who, on seeing our way of life, may change and come and join us. They will need our guidance and help.

As far as campaigning is concerned, we should still be seen to be setting up autonomous Green Groups to help support other groups. Leaders within groups will be needed otherwise failure will result. You must not be afraid of leading; people will only follow if they are interested in your action; you can't force anyone into doing something they do not want to do. So what happens when you fail? Well, don't worry. You will just have to accept responsibility and someone else will be around to help get the group back together. If nobody makes a decision then we do not get progress; we are then beaten by the STATE.

We must promote the use of Non-violence in Direct Actions as with the effective use of it we will enforce upon the STATE and present SYSTEM the CHANGE we seek. Think positively! CHANGE will only come when YOU CHANGE

Marcus



SQUATTING



It's common knowledge that your friendly local capitalists can meet your every need, especially if you need to be ripped off, lied to, manipulated and generally denied as much control over yourself, your surroundings, and your own life as possible. People who don't like this state of affairs are often called malcontents, and told that they have lots of problems. The only problem that most malcontents have though, is getting their real needs met - and this generally means doing things for yourselves.

Whilst there are a lot of things that can be done by malcontents for other malcontents, there is one common problem. Which is where DIY premises, squatting, comes in.

Nowadays, squatting is best known as a way of housing yourself if you fall through the collander of housing legislation, or if you want to establish a malcontent household of one sort or another, but it can be as much wider than that as you like. It's a means of taking control over your own housing and other needs, and has been for a long time. The earliest known British law about squatting is the 1381 Statute of Forcible Entry, which protected squatters until it was repealed in 1977. So, since before then many people have been squatting waste and common land and farming it for themselves. In fact, until the last 50 years or so much squatting in this country was of this sort. It's only comparatively recently that people have been squatting purely for housing.

On big upsurge of squatting for housing was in 1946 when lots of people occupied disused army camps and

empty blocks of luxury flats, at a time when the authorities were doing very little for the thousands of people made by World War 2.

Another development came in the early 1970s, and since then, much squatting has come from anger and the wish to start very real change, as well as the need for housing and subsistence. A lot of people have stopped simply talking and been taking actions instead.

In a number of cities people have been squatting a wide variety of places apart from houses or flats for a wide variety of reasons. Shopfronts are being used as vegan or lacto-vegetarian cafes, as bookshops, as community centres. Warehouses and other large buildings (ambulance or fire stations, old cinemas) have been opened as Anarchy, Peace and Squatting Centres. Often these have large halls that, with comparatively little work, have been made into venues where the control of who plays, or what sort of music is played, isn't in the hands of someone rich and anonymous who just wants large amounts of money, but with people who make up the audiences.

Of course, all this is still squatting for choice, and that choice is a luxury that isn't open to everyone. Increasing numbers of people are squatting because it's their only chance of being housed. The only people that the government says must be housed are the ones that it has been embarrassed into protecting - nuclear families, single parents, pregnant women, the old, the physically handicapped. Everyone else is left to the tender mercies of private landlords, or to buy their own housing. The basic assumption seems to be that if you can't afford either of these, or if you don't fit private landlords' wishes, ie. are unemployed, young, a malcontent etc. then you don't deserve to be housed. Even then the people who are given this priority get little or no choice in or control over their own housing, and have to put up with whatever they're given. With spending cuts and council house sales, this gets more and more unpleasant and limited.

None of this is to say that squatting is without problems. The major drawback is long-term trespassing, a squat is only a squat as long as there is a squatter inside it. Once everyone goes out, it goes back to being someone else's property with your things in it. This means that, provided there's no-one in, it's quite legal for the owner (or his/her representative) to break in and lock it up again. The only way round this is to continually trespass, so squatting on your own can be difficult to keep up for any length of time. Because of this, squatting tends to be a group thing, needing co-operation and commitment to the group that you live with if it's going to be successful. In this way, the law relating to property actually encourages further undermining of the values that raised it, and that it's supposed to protect.

If you are thinking of squatting, or simply want to know more about it, please contact the Advisory Service for Squatters, 2, St. Pauls Rd, London N1. (01) 359 8814. Mon - Fri, 4 - 6 pm. They will be able to give you information on the law relating to squatting. They also publish the Squatters Handbook, which details all the law, as well as giving much practical information.

ADVISORY SERVICE FOR SQUATTERS



The split between Proudhon and Marx turned socialism centralist and authoritarian.

TO JUDGE from the rash of centenary articles and tributes last year, most people on the left still see Marx as an indispensable element in Socialism, and agree with Professor David McLellan that Marxism "the only available ideology for modernisation and development."

There is something rather disturbing about this. Not only is Marxism only one of many schools of socialist thought, and a relative latecomer at that, but in at least one fundamental sense it is diametrically opposed to socialism. Marxism is centralist.

Decentralisation was one of the few points on which all other major socialist writers agreed. The socialist society was to organise itself in small, classless, self-governing communities, co-operating or federating with each other but free from all State tutelage or direction. British exponents included such diverse personalities as Robert Owen and William Morris, but the leading lights of this school of thought were the Russians, Bakunin and Kropotkin, and above all Piere-Joseph Proudhon - the Frenchman whom Marx once regarded as his mentor and later as his deadly enemy.

It is true that Marx believed that the State would 'wither away' after the proletarian revolution, so to that extent he was with the socialists. He never explained how the withering process was to happen, however, and in the meantime he supported the extension of the existing State power - because he believed that centralisation was necessary if the proletariat was to gain control. He hoped for a Prussian victory over the French in 1870, for example, because "the centralisation of the State power will help the centralisation of the German working class".

Proudhon saw the danger of this reasoning as early as 1864, when he pointed out that Marxian communism would result in "a compact democracy having the appearance of being founded on the dictatorship of the masses, but in which the masses have no more power than is necessary to ensure a general serfdom in accordance with the following precepts and principles borrowed from the old absolutism: indivisibility of public power, all-consuming centralisation, systematic destruction of all individual, co-operative and regional thought, (regarded as subversive), inquisitorial police". He must have been clairvoyant.

It would be unfair to accuse Marx of actually wanting a Lenin-style revolution. Certainly his writings are opposed to Lenin's belief that a small elite should lead it. But there is much in Marx's assumptions, in the loose ends he left, and indeed in his personality ("an authoritarian from head to heels" was how Bakunin described him) to suggest that the Russian Revolution

and its aftermath were the logical conclusion of Marx thinking. It was the high degree of centralisation in Czarist Russia that made the Bolshevik coup possible despite their tiny numbers, they were able to occupy all the key buildings in a couple of days.

PROUDHONISM DOMINATED THE FIRST INTERNATIONALE

And Lenin's victory certainly assured Marx's fame, since previously Proudhon's brand of socialism was more popular than Marx's. Proudhonists dominated the First International, despite the bitter opposition of Marx, its organiser, and it was not until 1896 that they were expelled from the Second International. Most of the village soviets that sprang up in Russia after the revolution were Proudhonist in inspiration - until 'converted' by Lenin and Stalin. If the Socialist Revolutionary majority had succeeded in preventing the Bolshevik coup, it could well have been Marx who would have found himself languishing in the relative obscurity toady reserved for Proudhon.

For the British Labour Party the eclipse of Proudhon by Marx is of more than historical importance, and not just because of Marx's influence on Labour thinking. For in its attitudes to social and economic organisation Labour has adopted hook, line and sinker the centralist tendencies of Marxism.

The collectivist, authoritarian thinking of the Trade Unions and the Fabians at the turn of the century meant that Labour was born believing in the need for strong central control. G.K. Chesterton once said of Beatrice Webb that she "ordered the citizens of the State about as she might order her servants about the kitchen", while the concept of One Big Union to represent all workers was at its height when the P.L.P. was founded in 1906. Unions were amalgamating, uniting and centralising themselves, whilst flattering creeds such as Syndicalism and Industrial Unionism were looking to the day when the Industrial Republic would "crack the shell of the political State and step into its place", as James Connolly put it in 1905. With parents such as these, it is not surprising that Labour saw a massive increase in the role of the State - through nationalisations particularly - as the only way to achieve industrial democracy and an economically equitable society.

NATIONALISATION

Central economic planning joined the shibboleths of the British left during the 1930s, when disillusion with Labour after the collapse of MacDonald's government led many to look towards Soviet Russia for inspiration. Strachey, the Left Book Club, the Socialist League and the Webbs were amongst those who saw - or

thought they saw - in the Soviet system enough to convince them of the benefits of central planning and State control of the economy. Their convictions gradually merged with traditional Labour thinking on nationalisation to find fruition in Attlee's government.

CENTRALISATION AND DICTATORSHIP

Attlee himself felt that it was possible to reconcile Soviet-style planning with democracy: "our task is to work out a system of a new and challenging kind which combines individual freedom with a planned economy; democracy with social justice". George Orwell, pilloried by the British left during the thirties for fighting with Proudhon's followers rather than Marx's during the Spanish Civil War, was not so sanguine. "It has always been obvious that a planned and centralised society is liable to develop into an oligarchy or a dictatorship", he wrote in 1946. Three years later he had to make a public denial that the newly-published "1984" was an attack on the Labour Party, and to explain that the book was simply intended "as a show-up of the perversions to which a centralised economy is liable".

LESS LOCAL FREEDOM

The expansion of the State has not, so far at least, been at the expense of individual freedom, but of local freedom and the right of the individual to participate in the running of society. When a prominent conservative councillor - David McCallum, chairman of the Association of District Councils, can say that his own Government's plans for rate-capping "represent State intervention on a scale unprecedented in this country - they smack of Big Brother, on the threshold of 1984", there must be some truth in it! Tory governments were not slow to appreciate the benefits of centralisation; since the war there has been a silent pact between the main parties to concentrate power at Westminster - at the expense of local government,

which has seen more and more of its functions transferred to government appointed bodies. The bitter fruits of this pact are currently being reaped by the Left as central government proposes, with impunity, to abolish a number of councils with which it does not agree. Labour is stewing in its own juice.

Even today, although the local government left is calling for "a tremendous reduction in the power of central government" (Ken Livingstone), real enthusiasm for devolution is much less marked within the national party. It is true that since the election, Labour interest in decentralisation has increased; but many supporters seem to see it merely as a method of regaining national power by the backdoor. The party's real feelings towards local government are still those of their election document "New Hope for Britain" which, although advocating that the balance of power should "shift radically" from central to local government, effectively contradicted itself by refusing to give local authorities any new revenue-raising powers. They were to remain dependant on an increased rate-support grant that would "allow local authority expenditure to grow in line without plans for economic expansion". Compare this with Sir George Younger's recent statement that local government objectives "must be pursued within the framework of national objectives set by central government", and it becomes clear that there is still little difference between Conservative and Labour attitudes to local government.

Despite the vaunted reform of the party's own structure, when it comes to government the pact still holds.

Adam Stout



Stirner is not an excuse for individualism. Co-operation is in everyone's self-interest

THE ANARCHISM of Max Stirner is anarchism without reservation. It accepts no restriction on the right of individuals to do as they choose. Anarchism, by definition, is opposed to all physical coercion. Stirner's anarchism also opposes the 'spooks' of morality and duty.

Not all anarchists go so far. Without morality and duty, there is no guide for behaviour except selfishness, and we have all been taught that selfishness is a Bad Thing.

Stirner said we have all been taught nonsense. I am supposed to give up my selfish desires in the interests of morality, God, Man, truth, freedom, love, justice, the proletariat, the masses, the state, my country, spirit and other such things. But none of these things has any actual substance; they are only thoughts in my head. A thought in my head belongs to me as surely as my stomach, and the decision to serve either is a

selfish decision. However much one tries, it is logically impossible to behave unselfishly. One can choose between self-deceiving, furtive selfishness and conscious selfishness. Stirner advocates choosing the latter.

His major work, 'Der Einzige und sein Eigentum', was published in 1845. Like all the social writers of his time, Stirner wrote in a style which strikes modern readers as loosely constructed and longwinded, and a ham-fisted translation 'The Ego and His Own', 1907, adds further difficulties for English readers. Consequently the proportion of anarchists who have actually read Stirner is perhaps no more than the proportion of Marxists who have actually read Marx. His work is known mostly by reputation, and the reputation is lumbered with misapprehension.

Kropotkin, still a great influence on anarchist thinking in Britain, favoured the replacement of physical

restraint, and thought Stirner's extreme advocacy of self-development would lead to the development of "more gifted" individuals at the expense of others. This thought seems to be shared by certain advocates of unbridled capitalism, who have published selections from Stirner in a pamphlet series called "Roots of the Right". They would not, however, care for the whole of Stirner's message. His exhortation to disregard 'spooks' and look after Number One was mainly addressed to workers, whom he recommend to band together and strike against exploitation. He did not favour competition, and his "union of conscious egoists" is as harmonious and co-operative a community as any anarchy imagined by Kropotkin.

FASCISM SUPPRESSES THE INDIVIDUAL

Stirner has also had fascist admirers, notably Mussolini himself (a former anarchist) and Hitler's mentor Dietrich Eckart. Fascism is the exact antithesis of anarchism, demanding the complete suppression of selfishness and the subjugation of individual desire to the general will. Mussolini and Eckart rejected Stirner's precepts entirely, but they admired uncompromisingness and were capable of appreciating it in someone with whom they totally disagreed. Their admiration has been taken to show that Stirner offers some justification for fascism, but this is quite mistaken.

MARX DID NOT REFUTE STIRNER

Another mistaken belief, common among Marxists until recently, was that Marx and Engels had refuted Stirner. What happened, as a matter of historical record, was that Marx and Engels wrote a reply to Stirner's book in 1845, but did not get it published. The manuscript was stored in various archives, unread for more than a century, and was assumed in its obscurity to be a refutation. Eventually published for the first time in 1956 (English translation 1964), it turned out to be a mere tirade of abuse, longer than Stirner's book, but making no attempt to deal with Stirner's argument. As an example of their approach, Marx and Engels comment sentence by sentence on a long passage in Stirner about everything having its ghost or spirit (the same word in German) but omit completely the key paragraph, "Have you ever seen a spirit? No but my grandmother Same here. We believe in spirits out of confidence in our grandmothers' honesty." Thereafter they refer to Stirner as "Saint Max, believer in ghosts". For all I know they abandoned their manuscript because they thought better of it; it would have injured their posthumous reputations less, if they had burned it.

CO-OPERATION IS SELFISH

Selfishness is sometimes confused with competitiveness, but of course there is nothing unselfish about co-operation. If I want something which I cannot achieve by my own efforts, it is thoroughly selfish to achieve it by someone else's efforts.

Unforced co-operation occurs when two or more individuals want the same thing, and each exploits the efforts of the rest for his or her own selfish ends. Stirner thinks co-operation wiser, on the whole, than competition. In our society, the most common example of using other people is friendship; each of us selfishly her or his friends to provide love and security.

Stirner distinguishes carefully between "dutiful love", such as the commanded love of Christianity or the rational love of Feuerbach, and "natural love", which is a primitive appetite seeking gratification. Natural love, he says, may be generalized to include even famine victims in China. He does not say any action is good or bad, except in the sense of efficient or inefficient in getting what one wants; but his choice of examples betrays a distinct bias in favour of love. He makes it clear in passing that he is not motivated by love in his endeavour to release the oppressed from 'spookery'. "No, I write because I want my thoughts to have existence in the world."

UNSELFISHNESS IS SELF-DECEPTION

Of course no-one can have everything they want. Life for the selfish is full of choices like having one's cake and eating it, evening class or pub, writing for Green Anarchist or trying to earn money. Stirner gives the example of a mother forced to choose between her own life and that of her child. I give up desires continually in order to satisfy other desires; but if I think I give anything unselfishly, then I deceive myself.

Ethical systems may be classified into three groups: ritual-centred, ideal-centred, and self-centred. The mystic Grigor Mitrinovic, called them the three Universal Truths; the Revelation of the Father found in the Old Testament, the Revelation of the Son found in the New Testament, and the Revelation of the Holy Spirit found in Stirner's *Einzige*. Different ethical approaches appeal to different types of personality, and those who find Stirner's selfishness most sympathetic seem to be the conscience ridden "unco guid".

Most people are sensibly relaxed about morals; they have a code, but offend it without worrying. The "unco guid", on the other hand, are anxious lest they should fall short of their moral standards, and miserable when they do. If such people take selfishness as a principle, they are not less kind or moderate than they would be otherwise, but relieved of the unnecessary pain of guilt.

A few decades ago there were hierarchically structured 'anarchist' organizations. Nowadays anarchists refuse to be regimented. George Woodcock attributes this to the growing influence of Stirner's ideas in the anarchist movement, even among those who have never heard of Stirner. This seems appropriate.

The proposition that government is a Good Thing and the proposition that selfishness is a Bad Thing are not exactly identical, but closely related. It is feasible to reject one and embrace the other, but not comfortable.

Donald Roum





FAMILY OF LOVE

Anarchism traces an unbroken line back to the 16th century.



THIS thing about 'freedom', when and how did it begin? The whole story, of course, has to go back to the beginning of civilisation, to the days some 10,000 years ago when the early pastoralists conquered the first agricultural settlements and made the first towns. Their military priest-kings doubtless sparked the first revolts in the name of a lost freedom—but they are not recorded. And there are plenty of cases of discontinuous revolts in classical and medieval times. But when were the origins of our unbroken tradition? That is the question.

The answer has to be a package and the story here deals with only one part of it. The reformation of the 16th Century flew on six wings. Three of them were magisterial i.e. accepting the final authority of kings, princes and magistrates in Luther's Germany, King Henry VIII's England and Calvin's Geneva. The other three were radical and libertarian and they were Anabaptist, Unitarian and Spiritual, they separated themselves from the State.

A RELIGION WITHOUT PRIESTS

The Spirituals (never to be confused with the Spiritualists!) like the Anabaptists, were born of the terrible shock of civil war in Germany in 1525, just as the Quakers in England were later born of civil war here. Not only did they reject the Pope, the sacraments, Bishops, dogmas and doctrines, they also (in the last analysis) even rejected the Bible in the vernacular. They took their stand on 'the inner light' and argued that just as the divine light descended on Jesus so it could descend on any man—so that the humblest among us might be wiser than the greatest scholar and speak with greater authority than the greatest king. The political implications were devastating, for if vast numbers were to organise religiously on the new basis of equality in small groups without priestly restraint, what might happen if they turned their attention to civil government? Anarchy!

In fact this was never in prospect, for the Spirituals as we know from their subsequent record, wanted nothing to do with politics; but the Governments of the day were not to know that. Their spiritual cousins, the Anabaptists, were highly political and led a series of violent revolutions that were bloodily crushed. The Spirituals of today i.e. the Hutterites of North America and the Memmonites, have an extraordinary record in the rejection of war and violence and the total or partial rejection of private property. 'Having all things in common' was part of the Spiritual creed; some like the hutterites, have practised it totally, others partially, by internal tithing and sharing.

H. N., (Hendrik Nielaes) founded the Family of Love as a spiritual church in 1540 he had been brought up as a Catholic and was the son of a rich cloth merchant. As a

child prodigy he had, at the age of 8, argued with his father's Franciscan confessor about original sin and divine grace. His father was advised to flog him! He didn't. In 1540, at the age of 38, HN had a vision, a revelation, in which he was instructed to move to Emden, produce a new literature, provide the basis for a new church and then spread out, founding groups all over Europe to build the new Jerusalem.

NO ORIGINAL SIN

He was a pre-Adamite. Just as Adam before the fall was without sin, so members of the Family were without sin, provided that they followed the teachings of their founder. He moved to Emden and started work. He lived a double life. Publicly by day, he was a rich respected burgher—a pillar of the local establishment. Privately he was setting up presses in other towns, sending out missionaries writing books and tracts and creating an international network of communications.

Family of Love groups would meet in numbers up to thirty in the evenings to eat and drink, read and discuss the Bible, discuss their faith and problems. Full membership was only possible at the age of 30. Mutual tithing meant that there was a lot of money in the groups and they helped each other in their business enterprises. The members were skilled artisans—weavers, basketmakers, shoemakers, musicians, mercers and yeomen farmers, bottlemakers, glovers, barbers and an occasional parson. Some were affluent and highly educated although this was not the case in England when the Familists spread to this country in 1553, the first year of Mary's reign.

Between Charing Cross and the river was the Steelyard the long established trading base in London for merchants of the Hanseatic League. The merchants brought ideas as well as cargoes. They had their own Strangers Church in what had previously been a priory. It was via this route that Christopher Vittels established the Family of Love in England. He imported books specially printed in English and groups set themselves up in parts of London and throughout East Anglia.

DOUBLE STANDARDS IN PRINCIPLE

Vittels taught that Christ was not the son of God but "only a good man and a prophet"; that the godly did not sin, being pre-Adamite, and so did not need to pray for forgiveness. But he like, HN, was a Nicodemite i.e. someone who would conform in public in order to dissent in private. This turned out to be the Achilles heel of the Familists. As ex-Catholics they still wanted to operate within the system. They would swear to anything before a magistrate or a priest since they believed in double standards in principle. There were two laws, those internal to the Family which were of the greatest consequence; and those external to the family that were of

no consequence at all. At the same time they argued that life was to be lived as an imitation of Christ's and Thomas à Kempis's book *The Imitation of Christ* (1425) was one of their texts. Yet they refused the cross. Many Spirituals ended their days at the stake or on the end of a rope, but hardly any of the Familists.

Their meetings in private houses, with venue changed each time, were secure enough at the beginning. Their spirit and practice of freedom had an intoxicating quality. For nearly thirty years they prospered under only occasional persecution and their number rose to nearly four figures i.e. some 30/40 groups. The attack on them had begun in Geneva where as early as 1545, eight years before the Family crossed the water in England, Calvin uttered a powerful blast against them, denouncing them as 'libertines'. The word originally came from the Latin and meant freedom i.e. ex-slaves, but Calvin used it to mean 'licentious'; and some of the mud stuck.

PIONEERS OF THE PERMISSIVE

It was true that the Family were pioneers of the permissive. They defended nudism and had rather contradictory teachings about sex. On the one hand they said that there was no marriage in heaven and that if the angels were allowed to do what they liked was that not right for mortals too? On the other hand HN firmly condemned adultery. But since they were the chosen and could not sin... They helped to break up the old order and were unsure of the specifics of the new. Doubtless they had trouble with their far-out members, like so many radical groups in the centuries to come.

The orthodox clergy of the Church of England, the only Church allowed by law at the time, began to get worried. The word freedom was getting about. A certain Rev. John Knewstub inveighed against them in print and brought news of growing Familist strength to the notice of the Queen and William Cecil. But it so happened that the Family had members within the Queen's Guard and instructions from the Privy Council about action against certain groups were promptly relayed from Whitehall Palace to those concerned!

Matters came to a head over *The Book of Life*. This was a practice instituted by HN whereby all members of the Family would inscribe their names in the Book and send it to him. A witness giving evidence against them said: "there would come a time shortly when there would be no magistrate, prince or palace upon the earth,

but all should be governed by the spirit of love." This libertarian doctrine (which certainly had no political doctrine as such), its association with *The Book of Life* and the atmosphere of plots and threatened invasion that

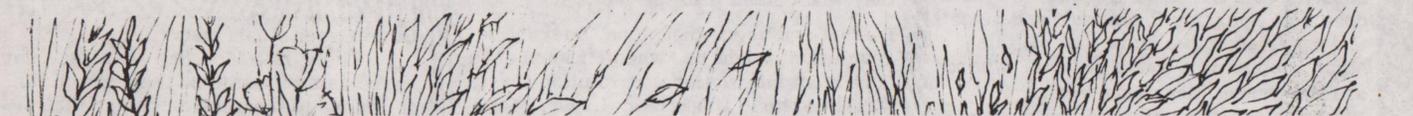
were very real in 1580 proved to be the breaking point. This was of course, the decade of Mary Queen of Scots execution and of the Spanish Armada. The Queen, who crushed both Puritans and Catholics indifferently as threats to the integrity of her government, resolved to put an end to the Family. For two years they were hounded down, including those within her own guard, and thereafter until 1607 they have a tenuous underground existence. At that point the formal record stops, but the fifty year canvas of the 'inner light' proved indestructible.

When the great religious and political debate that accompanied the Civil Wars of 1642/48 took place, the Familists and their literature surfaced again. The history of the Seekers, the Levellers, the Diggers, the Ranters and the Quakers over the next twenty years are redolent with Familist ideas; and when George Fox started to organise the Society of Friends in 1652 the remaining Family joined him. The last reference is John Evelyns—he wrote of the Family in Ely as "a sort of refined Quakers". That was in 1687.

The Family of Love in England never produced any distinctive literature of its own and thus almost vanished from the record. Back on the continent HN met the usual fate—delusions of grandeur; and inevitable split followed. But in creative times splits are indicators as much of health and vitality as internal division. It was his two-faced Nicodemism that led to his undoing. When his cover was broken in 1560 in Emden he ran for it and left his wife and children to face the music. She died under the strain while he was safe in Cologne. This was too much to be borne within three years prominent leaders had broken with him and denied his exclusive claim to be "godded". It is an all-too-familiar story.

Not until this decade was there an adequate and easily available account of the Family of Love in English. The history of the family was as widely dispersed as the Family itself and recorded in several languages. It called for the attention of a very special historian, Alistair Hamilton, whose book 'THE FAMILY OF LOVE' appeared in 1981. It takes anarcho-greens back to the roots of both their successes and their failures.

Peter Cadogan



BEWARE THE 'HUNGER PROJECT'.

At the Molesworth occupation there appeared a posh two-decker bus filled with eager beavers who rushed about getting everyone to sign if they were against hunger. Nothing more. Just sign, sign, sign. How were they going to stop hunger? They wouldn't say. In the small print of their glossy literature it says: "Only the United Nations, through FAO, WHO, WFC, etc. etc. possess an institutional capacity... to reach into and work with virtually every nation on Earth to deliver on the promise on the end of world hunger.

The United Nations is made up of the friends, relations, political henchment and business associates of the

tyrants. The UN development projects are almost all geared to increasing cash crops in the Third World, which is starving because we are using their land to grow crops for us. We eat aduki beans therefore they starve. We wear cotton therefore they starve. More UN development means more starvation.

The Hunger Project in a 3 hour briefing on hunger suppresses the cash crop problem. It conflicts with its undeclared policies. Beware 'The Hunger Project'. It is pushing American capitalism.

Richard Hunt

LETTERS PAGE

Anarch-syndicalist objections.

Dear Green A,
I am writing in response to your WHERE WE STAND article in issue 2. Richard Hunt's piece, How We Get from Here to There, owes more to 19th cent. anarchism of P. Kropotkin than it does to an analysis of the modern capitalist state. It is a flawed piece of anarchist writing because it ignores the people who keep the State ticking over - the workers. His comments about people starving to death after a revolution are ludicrous. In the social revolution that I, and other Anarcho-syndicalists, envisage, there will be food for the people because:
1. the workers will have siezed control of the transport system and especially the docks. Hence we can still bring food into the country. 2. The international relations that exist amongst anarcho-syndicalists will ensure support from the workers of other countries. Obviously, there is a long, long way to go before we even approach the stage where the workers accept anarchism - but that's why we are working so hard to get our message across to the people and not sit on our arses waffling on about the hippies and punks coming together to grow their own brown rice!

The second point follows on from the first. Green Anarchism is doomed to failure because it is an irrelevance. There is nothing in your paper (which is almost as funny as Class War) about the miners strike for example, or how the police are launching their biggest operation ever. You make the mistake of assuming that just because there are people like myself who regard the earth as important and who attempt to put anarchism into practice through sharing, poetry and music that somehow this constitutes a Green awareness. Maybe it does but, speaking for myself and myself and my friends, we know that all this hippy rubbish is a waste of time. Where are the Green Anarchists when it comes to squatting or to giving support to workers on strike? Where are these Green Anarchists when it comes to the exploitation of women? Where do the Green Anarchists stand on Ireland? NOWHERE!

Thirdly as regards Richard Hunt's bit on parliamentary action - well, we say that it's up to the Green Anarchists if they want to take part in Parliamentary Democracy but as far as we are concerned you are wasting your time. The Government will never abolish itself. It needs to be dismantled (I agree R. H.) The people with the potential to dismantle it are the unemployed, the workers, and those who suffer most - the homeless and our sisters and brothers of other ethnic/cultural backgrounds in the U.K. How many hippies does it take to smash the State?

Fourthly, your piece on the THE WARRIORS PATH OF ENERGY worries me quite a lot!! It seems that Green Anarchism involves the maximum of hocus-pocus and the minimum of reality. Zen and the art of revolution anyone? I mean, where are the Chinese now - up to their necks in shit and dressed in blue overalls. So don't give me all this mystical bit - all religion, all mumbo-jumbo is anti-anarchist. Really, just like the Green Anarchists.

Finally, would you consider changing your name to the Green Hippies as those of us who are anarchists find our job more difficult if people assume from the outset that we resemble you lot.

Yours in sympathy, Keith Campbell.
c/o 327, Little Horton Lane, Bradford, Yorks.

Come the revolution...

Dear Folks,
Thanks for GA 2, great cover! Would Richard Hunt know a revolution if it got up and spat in his eye? To state: 'if we tried a revolution in Britain, the Americans would move in to protect their puppet politicians' implies a gross misunderstanding of green revolution. To make such a revolution possible we must have the full cooperation/participation of a majority of the people, in the act of disengaging from the state. Anything else is forcing them to be free. A revolution that seeks to do away with power does not take place in a week or even a month, and to do so implies a siezing of power. The revolution is happening now and will continue indefinitely. I don't think power is what we want. The people will make revolution and if it is a good revolution, they will defend it to the last.

Distant and vague though an 'international revolution' might be, when Richard says 'But in an international revolution there would be world financial collapse. Money would become valueless' - I say the sooner the better!

He says that 'we would not be able to buy any food from abroad' and 'half the population would have starved to death' and again he misunderstands revolution. For a green revolution to occur, one that denies power and leaders, the people must for some length of time have had the sort of radical attitude that allowed them to think ahead, to grow their own food, to be willing to cooperate with each other and to have drastically reduced their consumption (thus weakening the state) while increasing their imagination/compassion/life/etc.

When he talks about 'the reduction of the power of government by the reduction of taxes', does he honestly think that governments are going to voluntarily

reduce taxes without taking it back in some way? If you asked some one to strangle themselves (with or without pointing a gun at them) would they do it?

On economics he talks like a state socialist, and an incompetent socialist at that.

While not denying violence as a final and drastic act, the sad lesson of 'pressure on the streets' and 'violence being the only thing which the Establishment understands' is that such violent action DOES NOT force our 'corrupt politicians to repeal their laws'. They ARE corrupt, and will not, as they see it, give in to violence, but clamp down with more repression.

I agree with Richard's first piece and also Alan Alabon's, but disagree totally with Richard's "How we get from here to there".

I agree with Graeme Hall about the lack of women in anarchism, but I have no solution, except to point out that we are macho, seemingly without realizing it. Why should women contribute or read anarchist mags such as 'Black Flag' or 'Anarchy' when they are so male orientated? 'Freedom', Green Anarchist and 'Greenline' are more accessible, and 'Peace News' is the best, but we have a long way to go to make a synthesis of Anarchism and Feminism.

'Anarchic Self-Sufficiency' said nothing new and said it in a garbled, misunderstood and erroneous way. We need inspiration like 'Oxford Actions' and 'Southend Anarchist Group', (the best bits in the zine), not bad historical rehash!

All the best, Dave, at Stratford-upon-Avon.

Talking to themselves.

Dear Green Anarchist,
.... There is a tendency amongst some anarchists to publicise their revolutionary ideas to themselves rather than attempting to reach out and share their ideas with as many people as possible. GA should, hopefully, have a very broad appeal, judging by the variety of subject matter covered in the first two issues. Keep up the good work.

Love and Peace, Geoff.
5. Ellerburne Street, Thornaby, Middlesbrough, Cleveland.

Dear GA,
Remember that ancient communities had chiefs and shamans.
dice george

Gardens

Compost heaps

Dear Green A,
Concerning the article in the second issue of 'Green Anarchist' on Punk. I can do nothing but agree with Graeme Hall. So many Punks nowadays seem to be dressed up in really expensive gear which they buy already bleached or whatever to make themselves look outrageous. I notice that quite a few are what I call Poser Punks. I could see them clearly standing, posing and comparing bits of clothing and hair styles as I went to a gig by the Sex Fiends (it was great, thanks, Nik). Punks shouldn't bother about how they are dressed and what they look like, they shouldn't follow fashion. I can easily make my own bondage trousers and other items of clothing. Anyone can do this. Punks like me usually go and get clothes from jumble sales and places like Oxfam. As well as helping yourself save money (which is hard to do with the Tories as a government) you can also help the Third World.

So come on, you PUNK of Britain and the rest of the world, get back to what punk really is. Be yourselves.

Cheers, Krusty Kris.
Houghton and Dunstable Youth Peace Group, 1. Manor Park, Houghton Regis, Beds.

White, male head-trip.

Dear GA,
I consider myself a Green Anarchist, but from the tone of the mag so far, to you it's just another white, male head-trip, and a pretty conservative one at that. Is this the best we can do?

Yours in struggle, Jean Freer.

Dear people,
.... I feel very much that groups such as Greenpeace as well as other eco-anarchists must assume a position on the very front line in defence of this globe of ours and really there is no reason not to believe that "clear sightedness" can win out over "distortion", that "common-sense" will prevail for the lasting benefit of the planet and all its peoples within our lifetimes. Basically optimism is the key concept that can guarantee success, along with a healthy dose of faith in the life force itself to keep performing its magic both for us and through us.

Many thanks and good luck, Mark Bradley. 631 Antrim Road, Belfast.

By the end of November there won't be much more to put on the heaps. Trim them up, edge them with bricks or stones to make them look tidy and loved, and put them to bed for the winter.

There is never enough compost, so don't dig the whole lot into the ground. Put some under the legumes, but use most of it as a mulch to keep the weeds down. The rain will leach the humus into the soil and Nature will continue the process of decomposition.

Recipe

Sunflower Cafe Sultana cake.

Melt the following ingredients in a saucepan and simmer for 20 minutes.

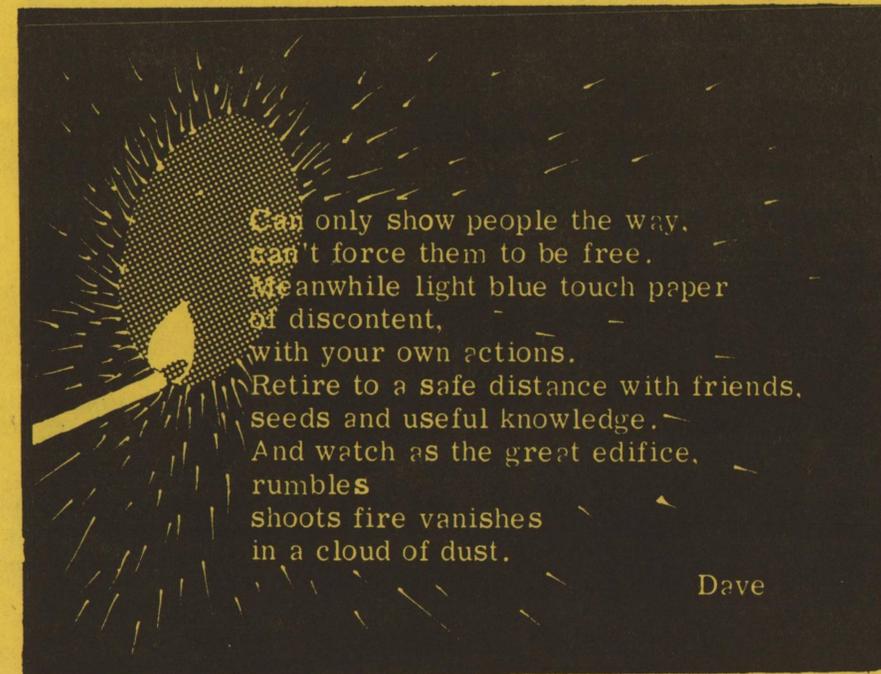
- 1/2 pint of water,
- 8 ozs. margarine,
- 8 ozs. muscovado sugar,
- 1 lb. sultanas (or a mixture of dried apricots and sultanas)

When cool add:

- 1 lb. 100% wholemeal flour,
- 2 free-range eggs,
- 3 teaspoons baking powder,
- mixed spice and cinnamon to taste,
- a pinch of salt.

Mix well and divide into two loaf tins, well greased or lined. Garnish with chopped walnuts and sesame seeds. Bake in a very moderate oven (300 degrees F.) for about an hour.

Anne Waterhouse



Can only show people the way,
can't force them to be free.
Meanwhile light blue touch paper
of discontent,
with your own actions.
Retire to a safe distance with friends,
seeds and useful knowledge.
And watch as the great edifice,
rumbles
shoots fire vanishes
in a cloud of dust.

Dave