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your zoo-keepers are determined to give you a hard time, no amount of good intentions by Governors and pol- liticians mouthing slogans like "Fresh Start", can ease an almost impossible situation by petty reforms. Between 1962 and 1985 at Strange- ways, I certainly detected little real im- provement in conditions and in the treatment of the inmates. Of course, one gets used to the smell, one grows a (continued on page 2)	FREEDOM FREEDOM PRESS PR	See page 7 Nould you be willing to restart regular meetings at Speakers' regular meetings of Anarchy. Does anybody (er-LAG) know where the platform is?				
this country one will understand this is an intoxication derived from the taste of freedom and the escape from boredom and misery. The prison is a totalitarian system on a grand scale. And further - it is a torment on almost all the senses. It engages our nostrils with the stench of urine and human shit. It overpowers us with its architec- tural Victoriana, its oppressive struc- tures and relationships invading pri- vacy and all decent human behaviour. For my part I have spent three brief and Strangeways since 1962: for	non-payment of a fine arising from a committee of 100 demo, for refusal to pay a fine after being convicted of police pay a fine after being convicted of police paying costs after an offence arising from failing to pay an electricity bill. I was one of those trivial offenders who pack the prisons and who the magis- trates send to prison every week with- out much thought about it. Many of these people who take deci- sions and deliver sentences are out of touch and, like Napoleon at the Battle of Borodino who could not see the scene of the battle at the front yet who still imagined he was commanding the	course of events, all the top people in the prison service make these kind of blind decisions. It is said that at Strangeways the Gov- ernor is a decent man, but Paul Taylor, a prisoner speaking from the roof of A Wing, told us that the problem was rooted in the relationship between his staff (the screws) and the inmates. The Governor may make decisions and issue orders, but it is the "screws" who interpret his instructions and carry them out - sometimes brutally. I don't say this frivolously. In my own system I experienced physical brutality				
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thick skin so that abuse falls like water off a duck's back, and one learns to eat a dreadful diet in unclean conditions but this just shows the human ability to adjust to almost any conditions, given time.

Despite the Home Office spokesman, David Mellor, claiming that the "situation is getting better", Strangeways is still said to be the most overcrowded prison in Europe. When I asked the wives of the prisoners what their husbands were demanding, they listed overcrowding, the conditions inside and the treatment by prison officers as the issues which sparked the riot. Family visits had also been cut from once a week to once a month.

During this dispute it is claimed that the relatives are not being kept informed about developments. Some supporters and families of the prisoners whom I spoke to had come from as far afield as Scotland and Wales to wave to their loved ones. Mr Taylor, the prisoners' spokesman, claimed that the media was being fed misinformation by the authorities.

Resisting mass society

How can we explain the recent riots in London and at Strangeways?

A comment made on television by Eric Moonman of the Centre for Contemporary Studies was interesting. He said the prison riot, like the football violence, the Trafalgar Square riot and the other poll tax demos, are all a feature of people behaving badly in mass groups, doing things they would not do as individuals.

Strangeways

I take the opposite view! I would argue that the riots and violence are examples of people trying to express their individuality in a mass society.

In the twentieth century we have been plunged into a mass society. Factories and trade unions discipline workers, huge bureaucracies intervene and order our lives, hierarchies put us in our place at every turn.

Ignazio Silone, the novelist, is worth quoting at length on this: "If you look at the newspaper accounts of the anarchist or syndicalist violence which was a frequent occurrence in various countries around the final decades of the last century and the beginning of this one, you will see that it was the work of artisans, intellectuals - generally students - or of peasants. If by chance you also find a worker, he is probably an ex-peasant. . . . The factory worker is the mass-man par excellance. It is no accident that in Italy, fascism met armed resistance and lost more victims in the regions and cities where large industry didn't exist and where workers were employed in small enterprises."

When one listens to the prisoner Mr Taylor, he tells us that they had hoped to mount a peaceful protest - a sitdown - at Strangeways, but the men, as usual, were met with platitudes and attitudes by the authorities which only produced rage and frustration. The system - the prison machine - was, it seems, never prepared to listen.

Sliding down the industrial mountain

D ture. But very few people pause to question the the craftsman is going. chine, a metal and plastic thing with a will of its ish factory which directly mirrored the company long way to go. own.

between the robotism which started in 1980 and the pressed, they get on with the work. Yet the worker formation was undisclosed. It was, in effect, like Europe. It is the union that provides the voice. himself still firmly believes that he - or she - must looking at a Shinto shrine in which the mass of de- The reason why the union is so weak is because property. One of them, Andy Murphy, is consethe family, not giving it away to factory or office. more noticeable. When this fact dawned on the wor-The family is worth more than the machine.

tem, which is introduced regardless of human con- Rousseau's "I love liberty; I detest trouble, conditions and circumstances. All those who are ga- straint, restriction". Like the French philosopher, thered beneath the office or factory roof must con- they nevertheless recognised that money was the inform to the system. Without conformity, they say, strument of freedom, and so they joined the dole nothing will work. The system itself is inflexible, queue for their subsistence. puter, to which the worker has to turn for instruc- battle for a shorter working week of 35 hours. This tions. These manuals and computers quickly ac- would be less than other countries - a fact which the quire a personality.

Japan, where the ratio of industrial robots now to- their eyes the workers want more for less. Yet more- In terms of historical chronology we are still only

along the path of countries where the racial mi- could spend 20 hours or less a week on the factory must occur within ten years. norities tend the robots, and where forelock tugging floor without any loss of production. Automation

kers, many left, others complained of stress. The re-Inside industry there is a great passion for the sys- sentment which they experienced was in line with

employers' organisations have used over and over In the most heavily robotised society in the world, again in justification of their refusal to listen. In

HOME NEWS

Anarchist come back

As we watched from the street we studied an odd placard beneath Mr Taylor. It read "PLEBEIUS - OF THE COMMON PEOPLE". The journalists were bewildered, and someone said they must have raided the library. Fortunately a representative of the Spanish anarchosyndicalist CNT (Renovado CGT) was present and translated the Latin for us to mean "Lowest of the Low".

It is no accident that the anarchists have again begun to gain influence as the Poll Tax struggle shifts to the streets. While the conflict remained confined in the corridors of power and the realm of political management, the party hacks, bureaucrats and their mass machines dominated the course of events. But now the struggle is in the streets, and against the law, those elements like the anarchists and other members of the "losers' enclosure" like the prisoners are acting individually on their own initiative.

This is a repeat performance of what happened in the 1960s when the members of the peace movement took to the streets and advocated breaking the law. Then, as now, the anarchists came to the fore and were rediscovered.

Consider what Silone says again: "Compare the respective attitudes towards fascism of the Spanish workers

Doss and worker at loggerheads - a familiar pic- is easy to introduce. The essential individuality of has reached a point where components can be produced ad infinitum to precise limits. At Nissen the in Freedom - that the riot had not been organised by economic system which uses the domination of the Nissan is among the leading companies to create robots now fit batteries, windows, seats, rear lamps, anybody - and by the time Freedom was printed this individual by wage packet. Wherever you turn, you a conformist workforce in Britain. After sending adjust headlights and fill the radiator without was commonplace. will find forms of work in which "the boss" causes UK supervisors to the home factory in Japan, where human intervention. According to Nissan, the pro-

ophers, everywhere he is in chains. He has no op- j tax. right to work. There are now about 100,000 robots The Nissan plan was skilfully designed to avoid tion but to unite. It is the collective will that speaks, throughout the world. Once the right buttons are individual objections and misgivings. A lot of in- just as it has already spoken in China and Eastern

work for somebody, seldom himself. Mad thinking tail defied description, and you were forced to ac- the individual member is alienated. His particular quently in danger of losing his £14,000 a year job is found elsewhere. The theme of the organised in- cept that this was simply a magnificent edifice. It needs are not precisely those of the rest. The feel- as a council finance officer. (We have been told that dustrial society still insists that the employee must had the effect of abrading any self-interest which ing is multiplied throughout the membership. This Murphy's home was raided and his address book divide his time more or less equally between fam- the employee might have. The Nissan philosophy leads to a danger of failing to recognise that the seized, and his friends are being pursued.) Other anily and home and factory and office. The family is showed an indifference to human nature. This was struggle is not within the workers but in the condian emotional cauldron while the factory is fighting borne out when the assembly lines were switched tions which have changed radically within ten anarchist persuasion, regretted the violence but defor its existence. The injustice of this division of the on and the rate of production measured. Within years. There may be some consolation in the fact clined to condemn the rioters for exploding in jusworker's time rests upon the fact that the individual weeks, the assembly line was almost imperceptibly that Europe's trading position is growing weaker tified anger. should, by rights, be spending much more time with speeded up. In a second phase the acceleration was while America and Japan fight for international supremacy. In Japan the cities are strangling themselves, and there is a rapidly accelerating divorce rate, alcoholism, mental illness and suicide. The police), it seems one tenth had no connection with Tokyo transport authority has publicly asked travel lers not to throw themselves on the lines during the rush hour, as this causes disruption. If we are to welcome vast changes, reflect on what the US trade journal High Technology recently said: "If the day, was hit by a riot policeman who said "You'll contained in a manual of directives, or inside a com- In the engineering industry there is a continuing United States continues on its present course, it will probably lose its status as the world's leading economic power before the end of the century."

tals more than 65,000 - one to every 500 Japanese - for-less happens to be one of the basic tenets of the a mere step away from the start of the Industrial these gadgets are even given pet names and ac- tools known as "value analysis" or "value engineer- Revolution. The workers protest and strike, the emdegree of automation operates. We are now trotting shorter working week. It is a fact that many of them Social Radical Party, believed that major changes

and the Germans. The difference in national character can explain only in part the different way of reacting to the enemy's attack. The growth of big industry has been a powerful help in reinforcing the tendency of Germans workers included - toward zusammenmarschieren (marching in step). Their inter-party struggles are essentially the struggles between different machines. Individual initiative has been reduced to zero".

What we are now seeing is the inmates of the "losers' enclosure" hitting back. The sociologists call them the "underclass" - the unemployed and unemployable, those on low pay and all those who have escaped from integration in the mass machine-like organisations of our society. These people can't relate to Thatcher's "yuppie-land" or Labour's local authority place-seekers in their plum jobs. Also, the two great philosophies of the "mass-man": fascism and Marxism, which have in the past recruited the underclass, seem to be past their historical peak.

Last week there were scrap merchants eyeing up Strangeways prison, considering its potential as a piece of architectural salvage. Anarchists must

look at British society in the same light what is worth saving? What should go on the scrap heap? Now, it seems to me, would be a good time for the various elements of the British anarchist movement to form a loose alliance and assemble a programme which will articulate the needs of a growing group of people who do not feel as if they belong to a system of mass parties and bureaucratic organisations.

Brian Bamford

Anarchists benefit from Trafalgar Square riot

(continued from page 1)

The television show Channel 4 News taped us for later transmission. They did not use the clip, presumably because all we told them was what we said

Thames Reports, a television show for the Lonthe conflict. But the boss is now turning into a ma- the system could be explained, they created a Brit- duction cycle has reached about 7%. There is still a don area, announced on 10th April that it was going to reveal "the forces behind the poll tax riot in Lonplan. In 1985 Nissan produced 12.3 million ve- Behind the engineering dispute are two facts. The don". Said forces turned out to be cuts in benefits Industry has developed to a point where it is a race hicles, but Americans managed only 11.7 million. first is that man is born free and, to echo the philos- to the young, crack-downs on squatters, and the poll

> Several Class War members were interviewed during the week. All of them said they welcomed the opportunity to attack police and destroy archists interviewed, and demonstrators not of the

Of 331 people arrested on the demonstration, about one third were squatting or of no fixed abode. Of 126 persons hospitalised (in addition to the 58 the demonstration. One man, whose nose was broken with a truncheon, was having a peaceful drink in a pub which the police decided to clear. Keith Patton, a photographer with the Mail on Sun-

On the evening of the riot, a shaken policewoman said to a television interviewer, "I think we lost it". Deputy Assistant Commissioner Meynell said she was mistaken, there was never any danger of the rioters winning. But perhaps she was talking about the police losing their cool.

The organisers of the march, the Militant Tendcorded a lavish amount of attention which goes far ing", both of which are used in the industry. When ployers apply the lockout and stop paying wages. ency (a Trotskyist group within the Labour Party) beyond simple maintenance. Some of them play the boot is on the other foot, the employers bridle. We are far distant from the new climate demanded calling themselves The Anti-Poll Tax Federation, repetitive snatches of Beethoven as they trundle Automation in the engineering industry is wide- by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber in The World have announced an internal investigation into the spread. There also happens to be a huge amount of Challenge (Collins, 1981). He wrote: "Modernising riot. The police have not announced an internal in-In the West this sort of sentiment has not yet ar- boredom among the once-skilled operators who industry entails replacing man's physical strength vestigation, but they are probably having one, and rived. Britain has only about 3,500 of them. Robots now tend numerically controlled machines. All they with machines - changing the modes of production whoever was in charge of the operation will probhere are nothing more than machine tools. yet there have to do is stand and watch, making the occa- and work". It has not happened, although Servan- ably be moved, discreetly, to a job where he can do is a growing subservience in industries where a high sional correction. These are the people who want a Schreiber, a former secretary general of the French less damage. There is a consensus among the observers that if the police had tried to contain the demonstration, instead of trying to break it up, the James Lawton trouble would have been minor.

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In Nietszche's view, of all humanity, the peasant is the best and should be the master. Last year I met a peasant family in the Auvergne who promised to invite me to the annual ritual killing of pigs. It is a time-honoured tradition which goes back to the Gauls, providing the Auvergnats with charcuterie for the year.

This family lives in a tiny hamlet perched on one of the highest and most remote mountains of the Sancy chain, and has also been making the delicious and little-known cheese of St Nectaire for five generations. Through instinct and way ahead of fashion, they happened to have rejected the wonders of chemical food and are the only organic cheese makers of the region.

This invitation arrived late. I left Polstead with ferry and trains to Clermont-Ferrand where, at 6pm, I found myself stuck without bus or any public transport to take me up to their village. The travelling network only caters for the tourists and the season of the nomad gawpers starts in April. Yet for the obstinate gourmet there is a way. After noisy enquiries I finally hired a push-bike from the station, a ten-speed red mount that advertised itself as the arrow of Auvergne. And there, full of energy, I embarked on the tiny winding uphill road in a snow storm - 45km, dear reader, you have to be motivated. I reached Monne, above St Nectaire, at ten that evening and during the trip as I hummed and pushed my bike up the frozen landscape my whole being was gradually soaring above the miseries of the everyday life I had left behind. This is it, I thought, freedom - alone, on the move, no restricand yet the pride of struggling to keep the body warm and one's mind on the alert. I felt I could do anything . . . provided it did not last too long. Besides, the vision of the two pigs slaughtered that very day gave me wings. The welcome that awaited me late that night was riotous and never mind the way, I had made it. As I gulped a hot soup laced with wine I heard all about the cutting of the pigs into quarters and thirds. "Men enjoy the feeling of absolute righteousness even when they commit atrocities" wrote Bruce Chetwin in The Songlines. I heartily agree.

FEATURES ON THE LAND A Tale from the Auvergne

The next five days were spent with the Besson - and the lure of the grotesque games on the box. She it means twins in Auvergne dialect - doing just that: would shrug the latter off and act dumb when the delicious atrocities in the shape of huge salt and suave sneaks appeared on the doorstep, sitting up peppered hams, rings of black puddings, salamis, stiffly, her hands folded across her tired apron, she patés, terrines de foie and lard. Three generations would have them filling up all their papers, out of of Besson took turn, in pair - Noblesse oblige - to lassitude. "I can't win", she commented with dig- USSR - Empty shelves lead to crackdown work in the dairy. Thirty cows with superlative nity, "so I pretend he is cleverer than I, you must names like Highness, Snow Queen and Lady in have your wits about you". The family never of-Waiting in silky brown robes to be milked twice a fered them anything, but no sooner had they left than great speed and sailed away through night and day, day, their rich beautiful milk being turned, thanks the coffee, red wine and laughter returned in the kitto the intelligent care of the fromagéres, into beau- chen. tiful cheeses neatly stacked in the cellar of the I must not convey the impression that life up there and traders, who are being increasingly

house. In the evening we climbed into the attic and was always fun. They often had disturbing family blamed for cornering the market in scarce dealt with the pigs. The dry atmosphere of the alti- confrontations around the dinner table and crises goods and selling at exorbitant prices. The tude, explained Monsieur Besson, is the most im- like everyone else. While I was there, a neighbour Communist Party in Moscow and Azerbaijan portant ingredient in the fabrication of the hams. died after a long illness and the bachelor son, un- are drafting measures to ban State enterprises I learned many things during those five days. In able to cope with the loneliness of an empty house, from dealing with or using the services of inthe warmth of the dairy, through the endless chat- drove his 2CV into the lake at the foot of the vil- dependent co-ops. ter of the women (grandmother, mother and twin lage. Everybody was in mourning. The next day granddaughters, naturally) laughter, comments and they all gathered for a meal after the funeral and Beer - S&N sell off pubs to avoid ceaseless consultations about the readiness of the comforted one another in hushed voices. "Voila", monopolies ruling cheese paste flew about with great speed. Also fam- they concluded, "they are free from all this now, but ily problems, tension, jokes, simple points about we carry on, en famille". Their togetherness was daily behaviour were discussed, analysed and very moving. The toughness of their life and their smoothed out over the huge vats as the miracle of demanding tasks were the very things that sustained the cheesmaking unfolded its mystery under my their spirit, illustrating the point that true work is eyes. Once I commented on the spirited atmosphere the dignity of man, and sadly contrasting with the tion, minimum possessions, a bit of a rough time of the place and Madame Besson looked up and spurious nature of the activities that we, the edusaid, "It is the milk, you see, it makes you feel cated ones, call employment. good". This simple truth from people who toiled The last evening, as I was helping to turn the heads endlessly and contentedly high above the Limagne of the pigs into patés (we had worked from the tail reminded me that the constant expression of joy is end) I was mixing all the ingredients with glasses

the most authentic sign of wisdom. of eau-de-vie (what an irony!) when suddenly Ma-I also learnt a golden rule: you never work alone dame whispered, "Put everything in except the eyes and you rarely have fun alone. Sharing was their seand ears". I looked up, puzzled. "No good for the cret - the grandmother's greatest fear was that the digestion", she went on, "it gives us wind, besides, children and grandchildren would one day "quit" we don't want the pigs to have the last laugh". the hamlet to taste the flat comfortable life of the And then, the moment of departure arrived. As I city. Her two most potent enemies were the men mounted the red arrow to cycle back to Clermond from the Ministry of Agriculture or Insurance Rep in the warm March sunshine, with all the recipes

Land Question in Scotland - and Beyond

o the Queen is still the richest woman in the world, accord-Ding to Forbes Magazine's annual review of the rich and super-rich. Her Majesty's wealth runs to about £5 billion, some £2 billion of which is in the form of land - a fair bit of which is doubtless in Scotland. But she isn't alone - large landholding is still very much the norm in Scotland, the majority of land is still held by such landowners. Interestingly, in these days of obsessive local government head counting, there is no register of land ownership, land quality or land use, so figures are a little hard to come by. The most recent figures are for 1970' and they give an interesting picture of feudalism today. Some 60% of Scotland is owned by 1,430 landowners (out of a total population of just over five million), 50% of Scotland is held by 579 landowners, 40% by 269 landowners, 20% by 49 and 10% by 13! The latter figure means that those 13 own 1.9 million acres between them. You may have thought that your nineteenth-century-derived image of the be-tweeded laird, surrounded by gillies and the countless corpses of deer and grouse, the lord of all he surveyed, was a thing of the past. Not at all! The large estate is still the norm, with 75% of all private land being in estates of 1,000 acres, 50% of 5,000 acres and 33% of 20,000 acres. I live in Perthshire where, I suspect, land holding patterns are not quite of the same magnitude, but the further north you go, and certainly once you cross the Cairngorms, the more you find yourself on the vast estates and, of course, the more the land question is a live issue. In the Highlands and Islands land is still seen by many as a central concern, not surprisingly perhaps given that it is only in that country that you can still find any real remnants of the peasantry of Britain. Still, even without the benefit of a recent history of mass land agitation behind us, anarchists should recognise the central importance of the land issue.

One of the most difficult things to imagine is how, given the incredible degree of speculation that we are now used to, we will ever be able to shake off industrial consumerism. If we were all plunged into our utopia tomorrow (which one?) 90% of the population would die of withdrawal symptoms - the "cold turkey" of coming off Saturday morning shopping at quickly abandoned their landless cottar allies, for whom the Safeway or Tesco would just be too much for most of us. At the moment we are dependent on fewer and fewer of these ly, the Crofter MPs, returned as genuinely popular reprecapitalists for our food. City analysts predict that within a few years three supermarket chains (guess which!) will control decide what we eat. They, and the chemical companies, will

act as monopolists in the purchase and production of food, i.e. they will be in a position to dictate the methods and amount of food, and they will also effectively be the monopoly suppliers of the processed product to you and me. Here is the central importance of land, and its ownership - it can provide people with freedom in this fundamental area. For many this is simply a matter of their very health, for some (more than perhaps we are allowed to think) a matter of life and death. My own son suffers from severe allergic reactions to food that has been grown using chemicals, he has to eat food that is organically grown, and that hasn't been processed to meet the requirements of "shelf life" obsessed supermarket executives He is not an isolated case but, rather, one of a growing number of children who are showing signs of the chemical assaul on our land. Funnily enough, one of the drugs used to dampen down such reactions - Nalcrom - is produced by Fisons! Plenty of profit there - we poison you, then we sell you the (partial) antidote. United States figures also suggest that about 50% of all cancers are diet related." So, land ownership and a direct involvement in the production of food is central to the health of the people. Interestingly, Scotland's population i one of the unhealthiest in western Europe, whilst we have the biggest concentration of landholding.

The land question also has an important cultural/historical aspect in the Highlands and Islands. It is only just over a century since land-starved crofters and cottars mounted land raids throughout the area, seizing land that they saw as belonging to all of them - not to the deer and sheep of the great estates. Outside the Highlands and Islands the direct action of the Land League is little known, but the struggles of the 1880s were serious enough for Westminster to send gunboats, marines and police reinforcements from Glasgow. Crofter MPs were elected to parliament and the mass action of the people eventually forced the government to pass the 1886 Crofters' Act, which was the foundation of the legislation that still holds today. Historical lessons abound here, for initial (if partial) success came only with an alliance of cultural forces in Glasgow, Edinburgh and London, along with the people in the Highlands and Islands. Agitation at the centre of government, along with direct land seizures in the area. However, once the crofters had achieved their main aim - tenure - they struggle had been about the very possession of land. Similarsentatives of the people, lost themselves in the mire of parliamentarianism, whilst the people's movement was sucked 75% of food retailing in the UK. To put it simply: they will into the Liberal party. Action through parliament in the end proved to be no real answer, and landless men (returning from

and recommendations in my bag and everyone wishing me Bon Voyage, I shouted, "Will you come to our beautiful Suffolk?" "Maybe", said Monsieur Besson, and pushing back his cap, a broad smile on his face, he pointed towards the cows, the dairy and la famille. "Que voulez-vous, on n'est pas libre". We are not free. I left with this last, most precious bit of truth, that happy collective slavery is infinitely better than the lonely freedom of the push-bike voyager, n'est-ce pas?

Paule Pym

on co-operative enterprises

Rumours are flying about that there is to be a crackdown in the USSR on co-operative shops

Scottish & Newcastle, the smallest of the "Big Six" breweries, are reportedly selling off 250 of their tied houses, so reducing the number of S&N pubs to 2,000. The pubs will not be sold to the existing tenants (brewery-employed landlords) though - S&N have said this wasn't practical. The most likely purchasers will be big leisure groups and other breweries. This big sell-off is being carried out in order to remove the brewery from the Guest Beer clause in the new orders of the Mergers and Monopolies Commission, which come into effect on 1st May 1990, but affecting only those breweries with more than 2,000 owned or tied outlets. Incidentally, why is there only one Monopolies Commission?

the Second World War) were, in the late 1940s, being imprisoned for land seizures; whilst land ownership patterns are little changed from the 1880s.

For the Highlands and Islands the question of land is also a cultural one. Although the Gaelic language and culture is enjoying something of a revival at the moment (with some 90,000 Gaelic speakers in Scotland), the North, like the whole of Scotland, is still suffering from the problem of depopulation. In the next few years some 300,000 Scots will leave the country, most for London. For the Gael, land is the key element in their culture, and perhaps no authentic revival will be possible without the return of the land to the people.

Is there a desire for land in Scotland and Britain? I've talked about the Saturday shop at Sainsbury's, and when I look around at our video/carryout-dulled people I wonder. Even in this rural area of Scotland we have suburban tastes. A friend of mine was berated by his neighbours for digging up his front lawn for potatoes - not very pretty at all! But I think that there are contrary indications. The British obsession with gardens and allotments must be evidence of some desire for land. Perhaps the allotments of my northern English childhood or the vegetable gardens of my father's council scheme in the Lothians are evidence of a land feeling that stretches back through industrialism to an earlier desire for freedom based on land. A land feeling of tomorrow's handloom weavers?

Land is a central issue for anarchists, and others, but it is not an easy question. Just how widespread is the desire for land or, rather, how likely is it that such a desire could be rekindled? What about the quality of land in Scotland, where about half of the land is of very poor quality - one reason why the large estates have lasted. What of the attitude of Scots? Recently I saw two houses in the small Ross-shire village of Lochcarron being advertised for sale in Edinburgh (bigger money there!). My wife's family sold their paternal home on Skye to English holidaymakers. If Highlanders and Islanders, with their history of land struggle, frequently act like this, what hope of the rest? A Scottish National Party spokesman gave his budget day comments recently: his review of SNP economic policy covered everything - industrial expansion, infrastructure, investment in jobs and training, new markets except the land question. Perhaps those be-suited cynics have got it right - let's hope not.

Stephen Cullen

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Footnotes

All land ownership figures taken from "The Law of the Land" by R. Callander in Land, edited by J. Hulbert, 1986. 2. J. Porritt, Seeing Green, page 83.

CHOOKS COME HOME TO ROOST But Don't Eat the Eggs

Tt is when the global effects of capitalism's (and CFCs, which have been quietly eating up the ozone keeping battery hens. Unlike many other places, a real feeling that time is running out. The situationstate capitalism's) exploitation and poison of our planet become personal day-to-day realities that we our hole. start to really worry. In this sense, I suspect that the past year will come to be regarded as a turning

Sunburn, for example, on the baby of some friends. During a trip to the country he had been left outside for half an hour or so in a relatively shady spot. The blisters were quite nasty. Now that never aware of an extra "kick" in the sunshine. Not temperature - the year has been quite cool by Australian standards - but that extra zing which lets you know that maybe you don't need a suntan all that much really.

The reason for all this seems to be the famous ozone depletion and the springtime "hole" in the ozone layer over the Antarctic. Billions of years ago, when life was confined to a layer some distance below the ocean's surface, some bright spark invented photosynthesis and began to use the sun's energy directly. Given a few eons, the polluting byproduct of this process - oxygen - had accumulated in sufficient quantity to poison most of its descendants, who were wiped out or relegated to live in anaerobic bogs and the like. Some, of course, changed their ways to both tolerate and use the new hazard, and for these there was a bonus, for high up in the atmosphere a small amount of molecular oxygen is converted to molecular ozone, which absorbs most of the dangerous ultra-violet radiation. No longer was life confined beneath the water's surface, it could move up in the water column, and even turn its light-sensing devices towards the land. So it has been ever since, until humanity came along with

the million and one other problems humanity is The problem really comes with nutrient recycling. creased some 14% over the last decade.

skin cell's nuclei. Sight loss due to cataract forma- the food chain. tion is also likely to rise fairly dramatically.

place is this planet going to be when we have to worry about standing in the sunshine".

West Australians are disgusted in much the same

Rambling Notes

TAThen a famous judge, former Master of VV the Rolls, Lord Denning, states that the commoners of Greenham have a right to cut the wire that prevents them having access to one of the finest open spaces in southern England, the world (or that part of it called Greenham Common) may seem to have turned upside down. Have not the women of Greenham peace camp been cutting the wire since 1981 and, as a result, have been regularly arrested, prosecuted and fined or imprisoned?

This public open space was taken in 1941 for an RAF base and in 1951 was handed over to the USAF under wartime defence regulations. These expired in 1958 so that all subsequent military building, fences, aircraft hangers, silos and the recreational facilities, clubs and kindling. churches the Americans cannot manage without, have been illegal. But when has that bothered the government?

In 1985 the Secretary of State for Defence, Michael Heseltine no less, invoked the Military Land Act of 1892 to pass the Greenham Common By-laws (1986) which removed the

pass made by Newbury magistrates, this deci- were publicly named, and vilified in the local ing it direct to Gadaffi. Maybe some of it will find vice one, but it keeps on going just like the country sion was overturned in October 1988 by the press. High Court and the case returned to the Crown The ultimatum expired and the MoD has Court with instructions to convict. Judge stated that it intends to carry out its threat, as Schiemass's ruling in this case deserves wide the action to remove commoners' rights was publicity as it shows the tortuous reasoning es- necessary, according to a written answer in the tablishment figures can achieve when wrong- House of Commons, "to remove a legal obfooted by the people. To summarise, I hope stacle to construction on MoD property". It accurately, his ruling: Well, yes, commoners appears that over the years the MoD has been cannot have their rights removed under this quietly buying up the land, mainly from local Act, so the by-laws are indeed invalid. But councils, sometimes under the threat of comthey would have been okay if only Michael pulsory purchase. Change of ownership does had remembered to exempt commoners. Now not extinguish the rights of commoners and let's assume the by-laws had exempted com- therefore others to have access and these moners from these restrictions then they rights stand in the way of future military use, would be valid. You two women are not com- or selling the land for private development in moners, so hard luck, case dismissed and you another privatisation bonanza.

may not appeal to the House of Lords.

There are ways round this, however, and the case is due to come before the House of Lords on 8th May, with interesting consequences should the two women win.

The government, faced with the possibility of being unable to stop the Greenham women from walking all over the base, which they have been reported as doing during this interim period, and the possibility of claims for compensation for all those wrongful arrests, had to think of something quickly. The important thing was to get rid of these rights of should not be too difficult, after all they can-

FEATURES ON THE LAND

proportions as other places with commercial egg mour has it that they are now made over to vegetproduction. It can fair put you off your breakfast able production for the local market. So it goes.

warning to us to mend our ecological ways, but many people have enough room to run a few chicwould probably impinge on our minds no more than kens, feed them food scraps and collect the eggs.

allowing its social system to impose on the earth. One hundred and fifty years ago the area where As the hole closes up each year, however, a couple Perth now stands was woodland, used by a stateless used to happen. Indeed, just to walk outside is to be of different things can happen. Every now and then, and, in many senses of the word, property-less as eventuated a few years ago, it can break up quite people. Time would pass, and trees completing their violently with smaller holes drifting northward stately life cycles would die and fall to the ground. (that's where we live), robbing areas beneath of The process of decay by which their nutrients were much of their protection from harmful ultra-violet passed on to the next generation was mainly facilirays. Nobody seems to know how often this might tated by the termite or humble white ant. Now, it happen. The other scenario is that ozone from sur- was not long before the Aboriginal people - under rounding areas just flows into the hole, becoming the pressure of soldiers, cops, prisons, floggings, diluted in the process. The Local Bureau of Meteor- executions, guns, disease and prejudice - were ology suggests that the ozone above us in Perth is forced to abandon their lifestyle. The termite, howdecreasing by 0.7% a year, which doesn't sound ever, is a natural conservative. The woodlands may much but, as a rule of thumb, ultra-violet radiation no longer dance in the breeze, but the white ants still increases by 2% for every 1% reduction in ozone keep their ways. Until the last war, that is, with the cover - or roughly, ultra-violet radiation has in- introduction of a fantastic range of new products like DDT, heptachlor, chlordane, etc. These are bad To put this into human terms, epidemiologists es- news to termites - however, the chemicals don't timate that a 1% increase in ozone could lead to break down very quickly and they tend to be fat so-5,000 new cases of skin cancer every year as the luble, which means that they can be concentrated as high energy rays play skittles with the DNA in the they are passed from the lower to the higher end of

Some people, being ecologically conscious or So people are starting to wonder, "What sort of concerned over their health or something, had neglected to have their houses sprayed for a decade before getting around to having their eggs analysed. Another example is the chooks. I suppose that Results showed what experts cheerfully described as a pesticide cocktail, with concentrations of insecticides forty to fifty times recommended "safe" vels. Another place they have been found is human

breast milk. It gets quite depressing. Many of these chemicals are manufactured in the USA, which has laws against their use at home but none against their production for export. This poses some problems for the Americans because they have to be careful they don't re-import these chemicals in the form of unwanted food additives. A year or two ago, there was a scandal as Australian beef was rejected by America for above the limit concentrations of pesticides - pesticides, by the way,

which may have been applied to the land or fence poles or whatever thirty years ago. Land from which the beef came is no longer used for production to protect the reputation of the Australian product. Ru-

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when you think of the captive misery of so many I don't know what this has to do with anarchy or small lives and the wealth extracted from it by those anything very much except that these days you get ever since their inception, and have now given us though, the urban sprawl that many locals think of ists said, very correctly in my opinion, that there is as a city lets those without the moral stamina to no point in self-management of the world as it is, If it stayed over Antarctica it would alarm those become vegans, take an easy way out. The house but only in its transformation. Problem is, even the concerned with penguin preservation and be a with the quarter acre block may have gone, but world as it is may look like a dream compared to the rubbish tip of a planet we might be living in if the present conditions - and those that benefit from them - are allowed to persist for too much longer. Mike Payne

Freemantle, Western Australia

'Democracy, just as a political concept, is meaningless for any society larger than a small city or rural commune. Our so-called democracies in the Western world are oligarchies subject more or less to periodical revision (which never changes their oligarchical structure), and in this way they do not differ essentially from the oligarchies that rule the communist world. The people, in any human corporate sense, do not determine any policies outside their backyards. The world is governed by the representatives of industry, finance, technology, and by bureaucracies in the paid service of these powerful groups - governed, not in the interests of the people as a whole, not even of all the people in any one country, and not even nowadays for personal profit, but primarily for the self-satisfying exercise of power." HERBERT READ

Waiting for the Bus

There's nobody here. I reckon we've missed it. its way over to Lithuania and give Gorby an excuse common and, as an MoD spokesman said, that What was that you were saying about the poll to use his tanks ... They don't seem to like perestax? ... I said we can have sixteen thousand in the troika and glasnost there, do they ... Course not. not graze their sheep because the wire stops | bank now ... But we don't have anywhere near They haven't got used to it making bugger all difthem and with central heating they do not need eight thousand ... The government can't do any-ference to them like we have. It's like complaining thing about that. Their computers don't go down to the bus company ... I wish the bus would come There are 64 commoners and twenty years that low. It's charity's job, like day centres and ... What's the betting Havel does a bunk to Ameriago, after a seven-year struggle with the Air Oxfam and free bus passes. Where is that bus, any- ca? ... What on earth for, he's the President, isn't Ministry, they succeeded in getting their way? Runcie's packing it in ... Who? ... The Arch- he? He's got rid of the secret police and ... Got rid rights under the 1960 Commons Registration bigot of Cant ... Who the devil's that? ... You know, of them my foot. he doesn' even know who they are. Act to have access to the common to graze he sent that Terry Waite on a trip abroad ... Oh, 1 Do you know any MI5 people? Even Maggie their animals and dig for gravel provided these know. Why didn't you say? Bet he's got sixteen Thatcher doesn't know half of them, let alone what rights were held in abeyance. To get rid of thousand in the bank ... He's got enough to pay they are doing ... Who does know, then? Somebody rights of commoners and others to have ac- them the government has adopted the stick Uri Geller to push ten camels through the eye of a must know ... A lot of high-up people are in-thecess. Parliament, the supposed guardian of our and carrot approach. First the carrot: if they all needle all in one go ... What's he packing it in for know, but it's no good asking them, and a lot more rights and freedoms, failed to notice that the agreed to forfeit their commoners' rights to | then? ... You got fed up with Crossroads, didn't don't want to know because it's a serious risk to 1892 Act specifically excluded the right to that part of the common which is built-up you? They'll swap Runcie for an Irishman and your health ... You're a funny one, you are. I take away or prejudicially affect any right of USAF base and agreed not to exercise their Maggie for a Welshman, and everybody will switch thought Maggie Thatcher was in charge. The rights over the extensive grasslands of the on again for another ten years. You'll miss Neigh- papers say she's always bossing all of them around The women of Greenham have for several base, they would each receive £750. Now for bours if that bus doesn't turn up soon ... Time the ... They get paid well for saying that. They'd cop years been arguing in court that these by-laws the stick: if they did not all agree by 6th Archbishop went. Always looks as if he needs a a D-notice of they said anything else. Look at old are invalid and therefore their prosecutions for January 1990, the Defence Act of 1854 would good dose of Semtex, poor old man. That's if you Ronnie Reagan. He has to pretend he can't even retrespass on the base illegal. When two of the be used to abolish these rights. Some of the can still get the stuff now they've had the revolution member what job he has just in case he slips up and women succeeded in persuading Reading commoners just wanted more money, but in Czechoslavakia ... Pull the other one. They'll mentions somebody's name. Here comes the bus at Crown Court to quash a conviction for tres- three of the 64 refused to accept the deal and just put a different label on it, bless it, and stop sell- last ... It's going straight past ... It's a NOT IN SER-

> Lord Denning, Richard Adams (author c Watership Down) and other notable locals in a group called "Commons Again", want to give the land back to the people when the last Cruise missiles leave in 1991. They believe that the MoD lawyers have got it wrong and that 19th century statutes cannot override Common Law and extinguish commoners rights. Perhaps they will succeed in finishing off the job started by the women of Greenham who will no doubt be able to keep them wel supplied with wire cutters.

does when parliament is in recess. Only difference is we know who's driving the bus... Come on then, clever dick, who is running the country? ... Work it out for yourself. They can't be people who are elected because people who are elected can be sacked, and they must have millions of ackers and

millions of acres because that gives them power . . There goes the Vicar in his new car ... Ever seen a Vicar on a bus? ... Don't ever see one on a bike these days ... There'll be hundreds of them getting on their bikes soon when womens' ordination gets the green light, pedalling like stink to Rome with their saddlebags stuffed with compensation money . Got the passes ready? It's the bus at last.

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The Honourable Craft

TTTT are of a society bowel bound by econ-VV omic and academic mores in that, as Ma Thatcher constantly reiterates, every thing must have a market price and every artefact of our culture an academic certificate of primeval authenticity. Date, signature, heavy breathe direction of the brush-strokes or whether the pot was flung to the left or the right, and then the boys and girls in the back rooms to give the ol' final analysis of the pigment, the metal or the clay. Once the object has been given the historic Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval then it's off to the international sale rooms and the million zoiks bidding as part of Restoration comedy, our South Sea bubble of bad money chasing crap.

use it and improve on it. If it is a one-off for wrong direction. They are all there, a magni-

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have always fallen short on the PR job of of a Samuel Palmer painting, and while I loved

coaxing the Town and his culture-happy Frau The ultimate pleasure for me was to witness papers, de Hory was back to the Parisian wine, into the museum, through the King's Gallery David Hockney's faux pas by turning a trivial but in the end "as all things must / as chimney and up to that top floor exhibition room. It was forgery of his work into a "genuine" Hockney. sweepers turn to dust", Spanish law put the the Royal Academy who persuaded the The "forgery" is no more than a handful of colmiddle class rank and file to queue a mile long, oured crayon scrawled lines to be attributed to is a god, for all they could charge the Baron two-aside, along Piccadilly to view Turner, the master, but Hockney has scrawled words with was vagrancy for which he drew a two the Gold of the Incas and the rest of the Sun- to the effect that "this is a forgery" and Hockthing by the Establishment critics regarding day supplement arts page rave reviews, when ney has signed it with his free flowing signafor a trip along Oxford Street it was all with- ture, thereby turning a small and unimportant in the British Museum, no queue, no charge. forgery into a major Hockney -a la Andy War-Within the museum at this time is a once in a hol - work of art. lifetime major exhibition of forgeries and of But this month within Bonhams of Knighsdeceptions. I waited weeks for the pleasure of bridge were on sale the works of the finest forto step among the Poll Tax broken glass that viewing it and one is rewarded. Here are crude ger of our generation who knocked off works has been left over from the authenticated riot, forgeries, brilliant forgeries and Susie Ray of "genius" that if genuine would have been and into the National Gallery to hang the head seated within the exhibition room painting a worth £50,000,000. Elevating himself to the in humble submission before the pre-Disney "Paul Gauguin" painting "before your very aristocracy as Baron de Hory, the happytime heavy breathing paintings of long gone Casan international currency. Do I complain? Do eyes". The Japanese 19th century "merman" Hungarian produced works by the Impressio- par David Friedrich. It is free to view so why I bleed? Of course not, for it is all part of our and the Royal Scottish Museum con job of a nists, Post-Impressionists, French Fauves, Pi- knock it, but all in all it is pretty ghastly that "furry trout", all good sideshow stuff, but gig- casso, and a couple of fake Dufys that he sold Caspar belonged to the Teutonic Byronic gles apart there is a brilliant phoney Botticel- to Zsa Zsa Gabor the cop basher. He produced School of heavy breathers who like nothing For let there be no mistake about this, almost li floating around, the Piltdown "skull" and the his forgeries almost by return of post in that more than midnight, a full moon, a jutting all the art hawked off in the international sale fairy photograph of "real" fairies dancing he sold paintings of French masters long gone piece of mountain rock to pose on, Christmas rooms is trivia that reaches its price because around the head of a young girl. It was this pushing up the garlic with the oil paint still wet trees in full bloom, heavy snow, and the works beneath the surface. In two years he painted of Nietzsche to thumb through when caught of the name that it carries. The craftsman or photograph that Sir Arthur Conan Doyle inthe artist produces an original work of art that sisted was authentic. There are forgeries and 70 "masterpieces" with the ultimate accolade short. Caspar had the inevitable physical and is a beautiful thing in itself or is responsible there are deceptions such as the Carrara of selling a "genuine" Matisse to the Fogg Art mental breakdown that is the penalty for readfor changing the direction of a way of creating marble statue of a young man with a different Museum at Harvard University. One has to ing Nietzsche in the original, and left this moror a way of interpreting and others adopt it, head fixed to the body but looking in the admire the Baron, for while Picasso was in full tal coil in 1840 swinging on the chandelier no (continued on page 6) the artist or craftsman - and woman - then they ficent exhibition, and Brian Sewell stamped reproduce their own single original work for his tiny foot in anger as he raged within the their place in the social or economic rat-race, pages of the Evening Standard that anyone but they are in competition with academics who understood art, but anyone, should realise who possess finer skills as acting as magpies that Van Meegeren's "Vermeer" of "Christ for the market. I have an unhealthy admiration and the Adulteress" that was flogged to Herfor the ancient tomb robbers, for these people mann Goering was painterly rubbish. Ol' who tunnelled into the pyramids or the Greek Brian is right, for it is a crude pastiche, but I or Roman catacombs feared neither the gods know it, ol' Brian knows it, but when "authnor the devils, and those who break in at night enticated" by the experts, who's arguing. to loot the holy altars of Catholic Italy or Spain What "art experts" will not accept is that in this year of our Lord 1990 blow the rasp- anyone, and even I, are capable of having a berry at the official believer and unbeliever. bad day from Michelangelo to Gerald Scarfe. The British Museum has over the years My pleasure with the British Museum was fimounted many good exhibitions, but they nally to see an original Tom Keating forgery

In recent weeks the press has devoted many column inches to the crisis faced by British science: correspondence in specialist journals and the science columns of daily newspapers have highlighted criticisms of the Thatcher government from those lobbying for a change in research funding policy. Pressure groups like Save British Science (SBS) and British Scientists Abroad (BSA) claim that the quality of scientific research in Britain will be irreparably damaged unless there is a massive increase in state investment. Many groups on the left have leapt to the support of the science lobby on the grounds that any expression of dissent from the present government's policies represents a worthy radical cause; but this represents a simplistic analysis of the issue: the interests of scientists as a professional group do not necessar-

ily coincide with the interests of the rest of the community. British Scientists Abroad represents nearly 2,000 scientists who have left Britain to work in better salaried positions in better equipped laboratories abroad (77% of them are based in North America). On 7th February they delivered a petition to Mrs Thatcher complaining about the lack of state-of-theart equipment, a lack of jobs and poor career prospects for young academics. These factors are seen as "major obstacles in [their] considering returning to the UK". A number of solutions were proposed, including bringing Britain's investment in science as a fraction of national wealth in line with other European nations, giving tax incentives for industrialists who support fundamental (non-applied) research in academic institutions and a recognition by the government of its responsibility to maintain a "broad academic base of independent scientific research".

A major element of BSA's campaign seems to be based upon convincing the public that we need a highly paid elite of experts to improve public welfare, and convincing the government that they are essential to Britain's economic survival. Many scientists have criticised the government for failing to adopt a long-term outlook in relation to research funding, but they are happy to perpetuate a system which evaluates research in terms of the economic benefits it brings to the state: both the BSA and the SBS campaigns stress the danger posed by the superior science funding of Britain's economic

fessors The funding and nature of scientific research reflects the authoritarian structure of the society in which it is conducted: we have a science which meets the needs of its state and capitalist paymasters rather than the interests of society as a whole. The majority of humanity can hardly be said to reap the full benefits of existing scientific knowledge. Technologies exist which could liberate many people from unnecessary toil but - all over the world - economic considerations keep them engaged in gruelling work for long hours and in unhealthy conditions. Consider the recent BBC TV News report (23rd March 1990) on the failure of the NHS to provide adequate treatment of patients as a result of equipment shortages in hospitals: the notion that massive investment in research will result in improved public welfare appears ludicrous when many people are failing to benefit from the work they have funded through their taxes. If science is to continue in its role as a tool to support the capitalist system, technological innovation will be essential to enable governments and industrialists to compete in the international market place. The priority of many scientists is also to develop new products and techniques, since their professional status depends upon making this sort of impact in their chosen fields. The community, on the other hand, would be served better by wider distribution of resources relating to established developments.

Try an impromptu experiment: ask a handful of non-scientists which issues most urgently require the attention of scientific researchers. If your findings replicate my own the predominant concerns will be stabilisation and protection of the environment, improved public health (particularly cleaning up the food chain) and better medical treatment for all (AIDS research is seen as particularly vital). This type of work would not be particularly effective in developing the exportable pro-

ARTS AND SCIENCE

wash. The punters bought them so what the

the old crook one must be honest and type that flower as the life and soul of French café sothis Palmer forgery was an easy con job, being ciety, the Baron sold five "Picasso" fake drawno more than a sketch with an overall sepia ings to Picasso's authorised New York dealer within their up-market gallery. After eleven years in Hamburger Heaven without US collar on him and believe me, comrades, there month jail term. In that sad end, comrades, as I state there is only one original and to repeat it means that the artist, sculptor, writer and the forger are simply supplying the punter market - and why not? But for the Town and his late Flower Power wife, they can do no better than

Fourteenth century forgeries of twentieth century art work

Research Funding: the Scientists' Crisis

competitors. An article by BSA petition signatory Kevin Davies (New Scientist, 10th February 1990) reveals a particular emphasis on the need to improve salaries in academic research: "A professor earns probably twice as much in the US, leaving most British scientists in a state of personal poverty". Having been employed as a research assistant in a British university I can assure readers of Freedom that there is no need for them to send food parcels to these impoverished pro-

ducts and services which might strengthen Britain's position as an economic power: in each of these domains international co-operation is vital for the discovery of prompt and effective solutions. In appealing for support on the grounds that we need their services to safeguard the state's economic interests, the scientists' pressure groups have failed to take into account the public's perception of their own needs and their opinions on the ways in which science can be employed to meet them.

While the scientists have criticised government and industry for their funding of only those research projects which have an obvious speedy pay-off, the demands of groups like SBS and BSA demonstrate an unwillingness to seek more than mild reforms to the present system. A genuine challenge to the present structure of research administration might present a challenge to the scientists' status as a professional elite, since a radical rethink of the way we fund, organise and use science may have the effect of empowering an informed, concerned and self-educated public. Anarchists will be heartened by the first signs of the community's ability to challenge the power of government mandarins, industrialists and professional experts. Dr Jerry Ravetz (The Independent, 19th February 1990) points out that widespread public criticism has inaugurated a "greening" of scientific research: the government has transferred funds from traditional areas to environmental and public health projects. Ravetz argues that the research community must recognise the public's growing concern and influence and come to terms with "a new political reality in which science must justify itself". In other words, the public will be no more willing than the state to write the scientists a blank cheque. In an anarchist society science would be employed to meet the needs of the community, since the community would decide what sort of research work should be supplied with the necessary resources. By seeking to preserve their own professional power, and continuing to reject the informed but non-expert criticism of the public, scientists are helping to perpetuate a system which values only that work which contributes to the wealth of a capitalist elite. In a period when there are a number of serious threats to our health and our environment, this resistance to change could be disastrous.

Andrew Hedgecock

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AN ANARCHIST APPROACH

D adio 4 reports - and it goes without saying That the report may not be true - that people in some areas are turning up to antipoll tax demos carrying banners saying "ordinary person against the poll tax" in order to distinguish themselves from "Trotskyists and anarchists" who allegedly "turn up from outside on such demos as groups of twenty, carrying bags with bottles" (Molotov cocktails?). Obviously the myth of the outside demonstrator is one that has plagued us for years, and it shouldn't be too easily given credence. But under the circumstances we do need an anarchist statement on the issue.

By definition anarchists believe in ordinary people running their own lives free from the

(continued from page 5)

hands, but of his work, background is of the French romantic painters of moonlight on the water with a full moon and a faintly observed church while the foreground is a crudely painted snow scene with snow-dappled fir trees and/or heavy rock formations complete with snow and one or two cloak-clad silhouetted man or men. Caspar specialised in the double-take that in our time Brangwyn used to such good effect when commissioned to do the murals for the House of Lords in that there is a foreground, a background, but no middle distance, which for a brief time gives the illusion of depth. It is what you see in film cartoons, but the British Museum is now serving wine instead of sherry and the black flags were accused or acclaimed of Trafalgar Square's Poll Tax protest, so the to Town and his gentle wife mind the broken glass.

Arthur Moyse

Acting for Ourselves

aucrats or other imposed authority, and an- pendently in a specifically anarchist way dearchists believe that this desirable state of affairs can only be achieved by people co-operarchist case cannot alter this.

That does not say that anarchists never have it is the considered and traditionally stated ancriticisms of mass movements of protest (or archist view that mutual aid), some such that started healthily a) mass self activity is the route to social ossify and become bureaucratic, yet others are change, and launched by politicos whose major aim is to b) that within mass movements anarchists will was bad there it is worse here, where most recruit support for their parties (whether reforact as ginger groups - as militant minorities mist or vanguardist) and would subordinate but that this is a very different approach to the such mass movements to other interests. In elitism of vanguardist groups. such cases anarchists certainly have a right It is generally accepted amongst anarchists and a duty to try and convince their fellow prothat Trots seldom actually get directly intesters (co-operators) that the movement volved. While they will talk at length, for inneeds new life pushed into it, and since an stance, about going on the picket line, they are archist propaganda is essentially linked seldom to be found actually on the line, more "propaganda by deed", the anarchist may well often on the other side of the street selling their archism. seek to find some way of acting that will dempapers and trying to convince casual passersonstrate the superiority of direct action, or perby that their views are the views of all the stri- [This article was written and received at Freehaps that police, press and state are not neukers. So while one can be certain that at most dom before the recent mass anti-poll tax demtral; but the anarchist either acts within the poll tax demos there will be groups of Trots a onstration. The conclusions, we suggest, are body of the mass movement, accepting all dehundred yards or so away from the action therefore of added interest - Editors] cisions of that movement made on the basis of

Geoffrey Ostergaard: The Official Life

reoffrey Nielsen Ostergaard was born on 25th July 1926 Inear Huntingdon. His father was a Danish immigrant and his mother died when he was five. He had a hard childhood, but won scholarships to Huntingdon Grammar School and then to Peterhouse, Cambridge. His education was interrupted by the war, and after training as a pilot he spent two years in the Royal Air Force. After the war he went to Merton College, Oxford, where he got a first-class degree in Philosophy, Politics and Economics in 1950. In 1948 he married Eva Dryden, and they had a son, Magnus.

Geoffrey spent the whole of his career as a full-time academic. He began as a research student at Nuffield College, Oxford, working under the great socialist scholar G. D. H. Cole, and he got his doctorate with a thesis on "Public Ownership in Great Britain: A Study in the Development of Social-



ist Ideas" (1953). He then spent 37 years in the Department of Political Science at Birmingham University - becoming an assistant lecturer in 1953, a lecturer in 1955, and a senior lecturer in 1965. He was acting head of the department in 1965-66, and at various time he was a Rockefeller Foundation fellow at the University of California, Berkeley, and a visiting professor at Osmania University, Hyderabad, and an examiner for various faculties and boards.

Geoffrey contributed frequently to academic periodicals and symposia and occasionally to ordinary periodicals. He produced several essays and papers, and also some more substantial publications - Co-operative Democracy (1955) with J. A. Banks, Constitutional Relations Between the Co-operative and Labour Parties (1960) with B. Smith, Latter-day Anarchism (1964), Power in Co-operatives (1965) with A. H.



based on good theory. I do not say that it is easy to act an-Crince the days of Marx and largely owing to the influence archistically: the temptation to act in an authoritarian manner O of Marx, socialism has been conceived in terms of owner-- to impose solutions rather than to resolve difficulties - is alship. Until recently at least, a socialist has been defined as one ways very great; and it may be that in the short run at least, who believes in common, usually State, ownership as opauthoritarian organisations are more efficient in their results. posed to private ownership. However, with the experience of But efficiency, exalted by capitalist and modern socialist Russia and even this country to guide us, it is becoming inalike, is only one value and too high a price can be paid for creasingly evident, as it has been evident to anarchists all it. More important than efficiency is the dignity of the responalong, that a mere change of ownership effects no radical sible individual and solutions to what used to be called "the change in social relations. When common ownership takes social problem" are not worth applying unless they are conthe form of State ownership, all that happens is that the State sonant with individual dignity and responsibility. The task of the anarchist is not, however, to dream about the becomes the universal employer and the possibilities of tyfuture society; rather it is to act as anarchistically as he can ranny are multiplied by the union of economic and political within the present society; to avoid as far as possible situpower. The values underlying capitalism are not changed; the ations in which he is commanded or is impelled to command; worker remains essentially a thing, a commodity, a unit of laand to endeavour to foster relations of mutual and voluntary bour: he has only changed one set of masters, the capitalists co- operation between his fellow men. In the modern world, for another set of masters, the political and managerial bure the State is the most important manifestation of the principle aucrats. of coercion. To achieve anarchy, therefore, the State must be A change of ownership in the means of production may be dispensed with; and it will be dispensed with to the extent that men become capable of living without it. As the German anarchist Gustav Landauer puts it: "The State is a condition, a certain relationship between human beings, a mode of behaviour; we destroy it by contracting other relationships, by behaving differently'

a necessary condition for the transformation of a capitalis into a co-operative social order but it is not, as most socialist have assumed, a sufficient condition. What matters to the worker is not who owns the enterprise he works in but "the actual and realistic conditions of his work, the relation of the worker to his work, to his fellow-workers and to those direc-In the last analysis, an anarchist is not a person who subting the enterprise". It is for this reason that anarchists remain scribes to a certain body or doctrine or set of beliefs: he is a today the advocates of workers' control of industry - a condiperson who behaves, or strives to behave, differently - in a tion in which all would participate on equal terms in deterway consistent with respect for the individuality inherent in mining the organisation of their working lives; where work all men. would become meaningful and attractive; and where capital would not employ labour but labour, capital.

Anarchism, it may be objected, is all very well in theory but fails or would fail, in practice. Anarchists, however, would not accept the implied opposition between theory and practice: good theory leads to good practice and good practice is

interference of governments, capitalists, bure- vital and direct democracy, or acts indesigned to convert friends and subvert the state.

It is totally alien to the whole philosophy of ating directly and acting for themselves anarchism for a small grouping to try and imagainst such imposed authorities, and insist pose its will on a mass one. To use the actions that to do this such actions must also be free of the mass movement as a cloak to hide actiof the interference of parliamentary bureau- vities of which that mass movement would crats and vanguardist elites. Therefore, wher- disapprove. This said, we have no examinever the mass of people act co-operatively, or ation system for putative anarchists, so that we in defiance of injustice, they are - to that ex- cannot say that people whom we have content - unconsciously acting in an anarchist verted to a belief that the state is evil, but not manner (even though they might vehemently to the companion view that self-elected vanepudiate the label). The fact that such a mass guard elites are evil (as mini-states), may not has not come to accept the whole of the an- show more impatience than thought and act in ways we would not approve. But by and large

claiming that all the demonstrators are theirs, it is unlikely that they will be taking any risk. Of course, in this case some of the anti-poll tax unions will have been launched by Militant or the SWP, in which case they will be performing the bureaucratic roles which we more normally associate with the Communist Party or Labour Leftists, trying to ensure that self- activity does not take over. But one can rest assured that where Militant or the SWP are fulfilling the bureaucratic roles other Trots will be fulfilling the normal sideline func-

With the virtual death of Maoism it is no longer normal to find Leninist factions deliberately acting to wreck mass demos. This said, if there are people acting in the way alleged, and making the large assumption that they are not agents provocateurs nor are more moved by psychological troubles than politi-cal beliefs (and the only reason I have for considering for a moment that there might be truth in the story is that unfortunately within the peace movement groups of self-styled anarchists have behaved in comparable ways), it demonstrators have no previous experience and lack a CND level of political sophistication. We need to state clearly that as far as we are concerned the mass of the demonstrators however vehemently they might wish to repudiate the label - are acting as anarchists and that any soi disant anarchists trying to impose other forms of action on them are far from an-

Halsey, Gandhian Nonviolence (1978), and Resisting the Nation State (1982). Above all he produced two authoritative books - The Gentle Anarchists (1971) with Melville Currell, and Nonviolent Revolution in India (1985) - on the libertarian aspects of the Gandhian movement in India, which he had studied at length and at first hand.

Geoffrey was also a frequent contributor to the anarchist and pacifist press, sometimes writing over the anagram Gaston Gerard, and he was a valued trustee of the Commonweal Collection, Peace News, and the Friends of Freedom Press. He was a consistent defender of academic freedom, and also a guide, philosopher and friend to generations of anarchists and pacifists. Everyone who knew him liked him, and all his many friends will miss him. He died in Birmingham on 22nd March 1990. Obituaries appeared in The Times, The Independent (by A. H. Halsey) and The Guardian (by Colin Ward).

Contracting other Relationships Geoffrey Ostergaard

This article is reprinted from A Decade of Anarchy: selections from the monthly journal Anarchy 1961-1970, published by Freedom Press at £5.00

Anarchists in poll tax demo shock

The siege of Norwich Town Hall is fast be-L coming a propaganda exercise on a par with the well-publicised use of Belgian monks as bell-clappers during the Great War, as perpetrated by Kaiser Bill's troops.

First, a crowd of about 600 (which it was) had by the weekend become "nearly 2,000" in some papers' riot round-ups. The arrests had risen from four (including two users of megaphones) - which it still was at the week's end in the local papers - to seven. And a computer which was damaged when a window was broken had ceased to be used to process benefit claims for disabled people, as a Coun cil spokesman has told the local Eastern Daily Press, but had become the very computer use to process Poll Tax demand slips, accordin to the UK Press Gazette.

To try and sort out the confusion, Norwich CID have asked BBC East, based in the city, to release untransmitted film shot of the several hundred chanting yobbos and pensioners' groups who laid siege to the rear car park. The Beeb claim that would endanger their crews at future such events (whatever could they be expecting in sleepy little Nardge? - I mean, this isn't Belfast, you know!), and have so far refused to do so.

And who was behind all this trouble? Could it merely have been a few high-spirited Canaries supporters (there was certainly more green-and-gold than red-and-black being sported that evening), or was it the loony left

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PAIGNTON - 50,000 people joined a local protest march organised by twelve local women. A petition hell-bent on establishing Paradise on earth of 5,000 signatures will be sent to the Prime Minisunder Tony Benn's benign dictatorship? No, ter. out here in the boondocks we do different.

Whilst most of the country's press con- CARDIFF - anti-poll tax protesters lobbied Tory yet again! cerned itself with rumours about Militant MP Ian Grist at his local surgery in the town. Grist Apparently this "concession" does not apply to Tendency and SWP staging take-overs of Poll later told a reporter, off the record of course, that he those who have already paid their poll tax in Scot-Tax demonstrations and inciting people to vi- had been pleased with the demonstration because it land. So the moral of this story must be don't pay olence and looting, the Independent on Sun- had got him in the newspapers! Cardiff people are the poll tax! day (11th March 1990) reported of the dem- planning to give the new Secretary of State for onstration in Norwich the previous Tuesday Wales, John Hunt (Mr Poll Tax, local newspapers Cardiff ambulance workers returned to work claimevening that one protester had blamed the called him!), a warm welcome when he makes his ing they had been "sold out" by their union leaders small amount of trouble on "local anarchists first official visit. and threatening to strike again. who had had too much to drink". Personally I Roger Wimbush, NUPE branch secretary, said: was not drunk, though I cannot answer for all If anyone is still unsure why people are protesting "We have been sold out by the union and we will the Norwich anarchists at the demo (there against the poll tax then this story from Cardiff be writing to tell them how fed up we are. There were no more than a handful!), but it's nice to should help to explain all to them. A Cardiff woman will be another strike next April - unless the govknow that trouble was for once blamed on lo- aged 63 currently looks after her parents at home, ernment try to buy us off before the general eleccals, albeit anarchists, rather than Militant and aged 88 and 92, both of whom are ill. She also looks tion". other Trotskyite "outside elements". They'll after her autistic son. The family currently pays EM be blaming the trouble on Wat Tyler next! £132 rates for the two-bedroomed house, which has

Around Britain

Protests against the poll tax continued throughout the country in March.

COLCHESTER - about 400 people were involved in a protest march that ended with protesters breaking up paving stones to throw through the windows

Is the pen mightier ...?

archists and anarchism from one year's end to wraps for another 30 years, assuming it has not althe next suddenly discover that the whole fabric of ready been shredded). society is being undermined by thousands of des- Meanwhile, FREEDOM PRESS goes on with the less before the magistrates and pleaded guilty to expro- than a few slogans or gestures against authority. priating something in Regent Street must surely have been an "anarchist" at heart if not in his head. And all those black flags which the media counted in their hundreds (though one more intelligent police chief suggested that many were probably "flags of convenience"). And if every encircled "A" were to represent the existence of a conscious anarchist protester, then indeed the anarchist revol-

ution could well be just around the corner! Alas, there is more to the anarchist revolution than daubing walls, mass producing black flags, and enjoying a punch-up with the law-and-order boys, let alone smashing shop windows and setting fire to cars. (Incidentally, the revolutionaries of the past made the tax offices and the police stations where the records were kept their principal target.)

It is significant that the media didn't discover the evil hand of Anarchy behind the violence during the miners' strike, nor during the Wapping demonstrations. If anything there was a consensus that most of the violence had been provoked by the huge police presence in full riot gear. Will the final verdict on the Battle of Trafalgar (Square) 1990 reveal once again the provocateurs among the police (perhaps acting on instructions from somewhere in

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The media which studiously ignores the an- Whitehall - but that information will be kept under

perate nihilistic anarchists thirsting for an oppor- glamorous task of propagating anarchist ideas and tunity to strike at the heart of capitalism - shops in in this issue we give our full list of publications Charing Cross Road, Regents Street and St Martin's which cover all aspects of anarchist ideas and Lane! The telling pictures of an "anarchist" helping ideals, and we hope that groups and individual comhimself to a giant saxophone from a shop window, rades will take advantage of the special offer printed or another with a few cans of drink from a battered below. For anarchism ever to succeed it must win a café, or the report of a Spanish tourist who appeared lot of hearts and heads. Anarchism is much more

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POLL TAX NEWS





Street was sealed off by police.

of the local poll tax office and Conservative club. no bathroom or inside toilet. They now face a poll Tories within the club are said to have incited the tax bill of £1,012! If she shoves her parents off into crowd by hanging out of the windows of the club an old people's home she could save herself £506 and taunting people. At one stage Colchester High all this from a government committed to family values!

> And what has John Major given to families like these in his budget? Extra poll tax relief for those with savings of between £8,000 to £16,000. So yet again the government has loaded the dice in favour of those who already have money against those who don't. So in effect the poor are subsidising the rich



Anarchists as seen by Cummings in the Sunday express (18th April)

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Cardiff Campaign

(from our Cardiff correspondent)

If anyone read The Guardian's environment page (30th March 1990) they will be aware of the plans to turn Cardiff Bay into a huge "fresh water" boating As environmental criticism and costs lake. This is being done as part of the escalated (now at well over £500 million) site and the plans envision a water-side scheme, the Cardiff Bay Development housing and office development. This Corporation (CBDC) - who have comlake will be created by building a barrage pulsory purchase and demolition powers and Ely.

These plans have created an enormous amount of interest, especially amongst the financial and construction sectors, and criticism both locally and nationally.

The first problem is that the barrage scheme will destroy, for the first time, a government designated Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI). The estuary mudflats are sanctuary for 8,000 migrating waders and wildfowl and will disappear under the 400-acre lake.

The second problem is that the barrage will be unique in that it will not be used to provide electricity by tidal power but is there only to dam the waters for the neighbouring Penarth docks has pro- ated grains by humans has been known effects were indistinguishable from vitamenity reasons. Its huge cost hardly duced holiday homes for wealthy out- for many years to cause body cells to de- amin deficit. (There is no dispute that irseems to be justified.

Ely rivers are heavily polluted and there nied an effective voice in determining the Scientist article states is that fifteen years dence that beer made with irradiated baris the probability that this "fresh water" future of their docklands. The CBDC is ago, five severely malnourished children ley is harmful. Nobody who had evidence lake will very quickly become putrid. A an appointed, unaccountable body, being in India were fed on chapatis made with would argue by means of false statements related problem is that the barrage will the spokesperson for the various finan- irradiated grains, and were later found to and phoney citations.

raising groundwater levels (affecting 14,000 properties) and increasing the risk of flooding. During the recent storms the Taff broke its banks and both rivers dumped raw sewage from the valleys into the bay.

site the CBDC now plans to develop CRAB continues. 1,800 acres. This includes clearing a landfill site of three million tons of waste and transporting the waste (some up to 20 years old) to a new site in Bedfordshire at a cost of £40 million. No one knows what condition the dump is in.

No one in Cardiff doubts the need for Dear Editors new life to be breathed into Cardiff's | Bjarni ("Liquid Food Notes from East docklands. However, the majority of Car- Anglia", 7th April) invites us to "see New diff residents are not too keen on the idea | Scientist, 17th February 1990, page 29", of another yuppie London docklands de- but there is nothing there to support Bjarvelopment springing up either. An al- ni's contentions. ready completed marina development in siders, far too costly for locals.

The third problem is that the Taff and Yet the people of Cardiff are being de- bers of chromosomes". What the New We may presume that Bjarni has no eviraise the water levels of these two rivers, cial and construction interests. The pol- have cells with extra chromosomes. It

itical parties have colluded in this disen- Dear Editors franchisement, giving all party support to Freedom was the last place I expected to Green the CBDC and its proposals.

discipline local councillors who have But see it I did - in DR's article "Down acted against party orders on the barrage. with Tribalism" (24th March 1990). Dear Editors Only the Cardiff West MP, Rhodri Mor- Don't we all know what has passed for I agree with almost all Gerald Hatton has gan, has spoken out against the barrage "communism" in Eastern Europe has ab- to say about the Green Parties (Freedom, and the methods of the CBDC. He recent- solutely nothing Marxist about it? ly handed a 16,000-signature petition collected by Cardiff Residents Against the Barrage (CRAB) to the Prime Minister, who replied that she favoured the massive redevelopment of the old docks those responsible for the whole barrage CBDC barrage proposals. In this she is backed by Neil Kinnock. The prospects for defeating the CBDC

and the present barrage scheme look across the entrance to the bay, thus - have had to widen the scope of their de- bleak, especially given the all party supdamming the out-flow of the rivers Taff velopment plans to offset rising costs. So port recent Bills have received in both from the original 100-acre development Houses. However, the local campaign by



no more,

Stepp'd in so far that, should I wade



The model and justification of nature could be said to "govern" to traditional, patriarchal authoritarianism (Donald Rooum: "The best justification for a tyrant on earth is a tyrant in heaven"). Whether this is true or not, and it may be, God need not be statist. In the Bible in the Book of Samuel, the problem of government to be able to destroy ourselves (and tradition is. The other way of talking is gone into in depth. having had only therefore other people as well) be- about it, in terms of crime and pun-"judges" to settle their disputes, the cause without free will our love ishment, is not in conflict with is: it tary anarchist flag fluttering in the breeze. Yes, Green activists should keep on people asked for a king, to be like would be worthless. Goldfish love is God, indirectly, who tells us the A band led the procession through the grassroots campaigning - and this is just other countries. God is not pleased: God, but it isn't quite the same. Not best way to live, we might say, and town centre before assembling within the what the Green Party advocates! "Obey the voice of the people", he many people would really prefer to he who made us in such a way that town's polytechnic to listen to a number tells Samuel, "... it is not you they be goldfish. have rejected, but me, not wishing me to reign over them any more" could be argued that God would still ishment, so to speak. But if God mitted to non-payment of the tax), ad- Green Party advocated mass declaration (Chapter 8, verses 7-8). Samuel warns the Israelites about govern- and morality. Christian morality is an I write this only to show that reli- tant, local resident's opposed to the poll ments: a king will have conscription and tax for a huge state sector and fi-and tax for a huge state sector and finally "you yourselves will become psychological damage: to live, in some governments because it disap- something to be encouraged. his slaves. When that day comes, you short, as we are "meant" by our ac- proves of most (not all) "revolwill cry aloud because of the king tual make-up, in harmony with our- utions", useless and bloody as they groups in Sunderland with the possibility ably to be developed into luxury hotels you have chosen for yourselves, but selves and nature. If we fail totally, are, or to reinforce nationalism. But of more appearing in the near future. The for the rich. on that day Yahweh [God] will not we would obviously make ourselves so what? So have lost of things. key to such development undoubtedly Thought needs to be given by all alterhear you".

According to this tradition, human government is a substitute for divine says: government, which is worked out by "... I am in blood the interactions of free decisions and

od is often used, it is asserted, as chance, in a similar way to that which o'er." bring about evolution.

"All power comes from God": gov- realise that they are destroying themernments exist, as everyone knows, selves. In dying in this state, somebecause most people think they want one would lose the ability to hide them. We have free will, and God, from the truth, and as John Locke the source of all power, lets us do said, "Hell is truth seen too late". Or what we want. It makes sense for us that is what the mainstream Christian

to misrepresent Christian theology cease to exist.

Returning were as tedious as go Similarly, alcoholics sometimes

harmless to political freedom.

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READERS' PAGE

see reproduced the false media platitude The Cardiff Labour Party have acted to that "Marxist Communism has failed". Parties

> wrong, he did insist that communism meant the abolition of the wages system (and therefore of buying and selling too) and the end of the State. This is much closer to what many of us (not enough unfortunately) mean by anarchism and a Sustainable Society, and contains the acmillion miles away from the system in tual policy motions passed at its suc-Eastern Europe, nothing of which has cessive conferences.) ever even faintly resembled Marxist However, he misses the points I was



10th March 1990) regarding the 1987 Whatever Marx may have got right or election manifesto, in fact, the vast majority at the next Party Conference felt as he did. I don't think that will be repeated! (But this is not the Party Manifesto, which is known as the Manifesto for a

> trying to convey: few if any of the an-Howard Moss archists and libertarians working within Swansea the Green Party have any illusions that electoral success for it would usher in the anarchist society; all are aware of the danger of its being taken over by the authoritarians within it, or who may join it; but as long as it sticks to its present "philosophical basis" and develops its economic politics further along the lines it is at present pursuing, at the least it will pose (is already posing) a serious challenge to the established parties to develop that requires far greater equity in resource-distribution than we now have .

and if eventually successful in forming a government and introducing its policies (yes, this would prove to be the exception to all past experience, but the present threats to the future of mankind and all life on this planet are unprecedented, and Barmi the growing awareness of this makes such an exception not impossible!) - if successful, then it would create conditions in which anarchist ideas could Poll tax resistance has recently taken a flourish and gain wide acceptance and

Northern Region Anti-Poll Tax Feder- financial/economic system which is ation helped to organise a demo and rally wreaking so much harm to society and lose the will to reform, even if they in the town on Saturday 24th March. As the ecosystem, so we have no realistic althe weather was favourable the turn-out ternative than to attempt collective acwas quite respectable - about 2,000 tion, and as anarchists we have no realismarching, what the local organisers had tic hope of persuading enough others to follow our line to make the changes hoped for. In the main these people were needed in time to save the planet. Despite "ordinary folk", but as one might expect the serious reservations we share, I see the SWP and Militant were out in force. the Green Party as offering a real hope of

Brian Leslie Tunbridge Wells

are now set to sell off County Hall, prob-

want to protest against the present system Dave Morland by taking control of their own lives.

Gaaarshh! you keep people in that Oh no. Nobody stays in a local prison It's what I would actually describe for longer than a week or two.* as an explosion of evil actually.

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21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

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was not a controlled experiment (no children were fed on chapatis made with non-irradiated grain for comparison), and it is not rare for extra chromosomes to be found in some human cells.

Bjarni states that increased rates of defects have been found experimentally in small mammals fed on irradiated grain. Bjarni states that "ingestion of irradi- The New Scientist article adds that these a sustainable economy - and the logic of velop containing abnormally high num- radiation destroys some vitamins.)

Poll Tax News

significant step forward in Sunderland, application. long regarded as a "moderate town". The We cannot as individuals change the hence it was pleasing to recognise a soli- a better future.

the above happens (not that there of speakers, including Sunderland South But even if this were accepted, it could be any other way) - it's his pun- MP Bob Clay (one of the MP's com- P.S. On the Poll Tax, from the start the be a tyrant himself. That, however, is ceased to love anything, it would dress the meeting. Although largely of intent to refuse payment. dominated by the Labour left and Mili-

There are currently eleven anti-poll tax unhappy. When the process is com- There is more to religion than rules lies in the twin pillars of commitment and native groups to organising an occupaplete, it is irreversible. As Macbeth and the Crusades. You may not like solidarity. It remains to be seen, of tion of County Hall. Such action would it as an idea, you may not like the mo- course, how serious present dissension be an excellent rallying point for all who rals it preaches, but in itself it is will prove to be in the future.

Sunderland