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Regional Correspondents Cardiff: Eddie May, c/o History Department UWCC, PO Box 909, Cardiff CF1 3XU Hove: Johnny Yen, 52 Westbourne Gardens Hove, East Sussex BN3 5PO Retford: Fred Oughton, 2 Holly Road, Northern Ireland: Dave Duggan, 27

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EDITORIALS

Why Bother to Vote?

(continued from page 1)

is said that the electors can, as it were, let their hair down and do daring things that Screaming Lord Sutch and other 'loony', surrealist candidates only get a few hundred votes. The liberals represent the 'protest' vote. And what a pathetic protest vote it is, however many votes are cast for them!

It is not enough not to vote. In our view many people who vote for what they think is the Left are more politically started having his say the House emptied conscious and sincere than the millions who neither vote nor do anything to seek to further the alternative society, without leaders, without privilege, without government.

Anarchists because they do not seek power can only communicate their ideas in the hope that enough people will accept them as a way of life which is worthwhile. After all more and more people in the West are looking upon this life as all there is and are wanting to make the best of it.

On the whole the so-called affluent-capitalist-West is making a mess of it. Yes, the so-called Communist East has also made a mess of it! Both are authoritarian societies. The communists had elections with one-party candidates, the West with many candidates. The 'democracies' pride themselves with having a pluralist society, which they say explains why the Communist East, which didn't, collapsed. To quote Enoch Powell the British have lost their Empire, but not their arrogance!

Our Parliamentary system is now on View on television for all to see. London's best club further displays its arrogance by continuing to be on its worst behaviour in front of the television cameras with a pathetic bewigged Speaker appealing to both sides for "ORDER", and the camera focusing on ministers and 'shadow' ministers nodding their approval as their leaders make their 'telling points' and occasionally briefly

available finance (even after the Chancellor's

recent budget) in spite of the fact that there is

requiring surgical intervention and

More or less on the same day the topping-out

of what is described as the tallest building in

Europe took place in Canary Wharf in the

presence of Ministers and other outstanding

hospitalisation.

wealth consumers.

human talent).

representative of the people or as they did during the debate following the Queen's Speech (prepared for her by the government) of Lawson and Howe on the back benches, slumped in their padded seats, expressionless, almost asleep.

Tallhat parliamentary television also V v reveals for the public is that apart from the main speeches by Kinnock and Thatcher when the House was full, the moment Paddy Ashdown for the liberals — there were perhaps fifty MPs left out of

Imagine what these paragons of efficiency would say about workers who left their jobs to go and have a pee or a drink! Of course workers doing this would be sacked. They would also be sacked if they tried to do another job at the same time, yet a majority of MPs do have one or

In Freedom we are fond of quoting the Lold Marquis of Salisbury who said that "Politics was a dirty business", but that his son was doing very well at it. We have since learned that there was more than one son doing very well out of it! And more and more is membership of the House of Commons being used for careers in business and professions.

So far no real scandals have surfaced involving Members of Parliament (Cecil Parkinson was just a 'cad', Stonehouse a small-time crook) perhaps because there is in fact a Westminster freemasonry which protects the club from scandals of corruption. Caught driving while boozed, or sex scandals don't really count in the long term. But in every country one can think of there are today scandals involving financial corruption at top level from Japan to the US, where it is endemic — and therefore a normal part of daily life. When one thinks of it, there the President's son is involved in a financial banking scandal which will cost the American taxpayers billions of dollars.

A narchists far from living in the past or in utopia are opposed to the capitalist system because it is corrupt, monopolistic and favours a minority. We which are authoritarian; all of which make the laws to consolidate their power; ideas!

all of which surround themselves with the police, the military and the judiciary. We anarchists will be prepared to re-consider our approach to governments when they are prepared to dispense with the massive forces of so-called 'law and order'.

The definition of democracy is government of the people, for the people by the people: clearly there is no democracy in the world today. The French equivalent is 'liberté point egalité point fraternité point' (the 'point' meaning both full stop and none, thus saying the same thing). Anarchists are not talking about a glorious past. We are talking about a rotten, corrupt, greedy, unhealthy, privileged, violent present, which is the health of government. Government has a vested interest in conflict; the law has a vested interest in crime and violence; capitalism has a vested interest in greed; the political parties have a vested interest in office and power.

Only anarchists preconise a society based on co-operation, mutual aid, equality and natural justice. That's why we don't vote, but not through apathy. We are deeply involved in the society we live are also opposed to all governments, all of in. Freedom is one expression of that commitment. Join us in furthering these

In the Shark's Womb

occasion to thrust his hand into the womb of a mackerel shark. It was when something within took a chunk out of his finger that he made a remarkable discovery: the foetus which bit him was the surviving foetus having, as it turned out, attacked and eaten all the brother and sister foetuses within its mother's

I have no way of knowing whether the surviving shark was male or female, macho or hembra, but whichever, the mackerel shark foetus was, I believe, behaving in accord with its own nature.

I remembered this species of shark when I heard of the Tory leadership crisis earlier this directing its lens on a snoozing month. Mrs Thatcher, far from being a

48 Storeys of Wasted

Accommodation

inclinations of the shark.

prevailed over that of the human being.

women in positions of power like Margaret Thatcher. In this sense I am a dedicated supporter of what I believe G.K. Chesterton called "the short-legged race". Yet, my motive is to dethrone the myth that women who wield power are somehow more decent, somehow nore honourable, than their male

for patients in order to cope with cuts in so-called government funds to feed this British politics, most strikingly in the Labour

Mr Rees-Mogg says she ranks with "Lloyd possible to trust a company with audited Churchill" as one of the most significant prime

One survivor in the shark pool of business is spew out. We hope not! The developers say Thatcher's friend Rupert Murdoch. Debt-ridden and with a collapsing share price, his company News International has had the a loser. banks breathing down its neck.

Mr Rees-Mogg has also had something to say about this species of financial shark: "There is" he says, "obviously a fairly high correlation between risky finance — at which Rupert has always engaged in — and dishonest finance, but the combination, as we see from many examples, is lethal".

Rees-Mogg, who knew Rupert Murdoch at Oxford, claims Rupert's assets and management is good and that he'd just overdrawn a bit.

But the bankers are concerned with some reason! Mr Yoh Kurosawa, president of the Industrial Bank of Japan, has warned that while "I don't think there will be a credit crunch" he says Japanese bankers will have to drastically cut asset growth. Meaning that when Japanese banks slow expansion rates "costs for borrowers will rise" internationally. Mr Kurosawa adds that banks will have to think twice about committing funds to large projects, even 'feasible' ones such as

Debtors beware! Mr Kurosawa urges "banks should bite the bullet, write off uncollectables

Mr Murdoch is an inmate of debtors' retreat, \$450,000 a month. Their assets are good we

But how good? The snag is that it is no longer companies with seemingly strong balance sheets, like Polly Peck, Coloroll and Parkfield,

have taken a nosedive to nowhere. Geoffrey Holmes and Alan Sugden, who wrote Interpreting Company Reports and Accounts, argue in The Financial Times that goodwill, and fancy ways of presenting policies — such as when Cityvision video hire altered the assumed useful life of its tapes from 15 to 30 months meant it boosted its profits by 58% at the stroke of an accountant's pen.

Mr Holmes et al, say company audits can't be taken at face value because financial advisers operate like the 'Magic Circle'. Every day there is another trick to deceive and defeat people who try to make sense of company accounts. They say "that auditors ... are effectively in the pay of directors. So when directors want to take maximum advantage of accounting rules and loopholes to enhance reported profits, auditors may be tempted to let them do so", and they add "it does appear that an increasing number [of companies] deliberately mislead".

As with insider dealing, so with false accounting, if there is a gainer, there must be

MEETINGS **Anarchist Forum**

Fridays at about 8pm at the Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square (via Cosmo Street off Southampton Row), London

1990-91 SEASON OF MEETINGS

23rd November - 'Anarchism: the mo concern of the Left' (speaker Dave Dane) 30th November - 'Anarchism in an Ageing Society' (general discussion)

7th December - 'Anarchism and Psychology' (speaker Peter Wilkinson) 14th December - 'Anarchism and Yout (general discussion)

Further meetings are now being arranged for the coming year from 11th January to 22nd March 1991 and 19th April to 31st May 1991, all at 8pm to 10pm. And in 1991 we hope to continue from 7th June to 14th July either at the same time or the earlier time of 6pm to 8pm. The reason for the possible change of time is that if the Mary Ward Centre continues to be used by other groups from 8pm to 10pm during this period we may continue at the original time, but if we are the only group operating the Centre may wish to close earlier. Anyone interested in leading a discussion either presenting a formal paper or simp having a general discussion to contact Dave Dane or Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW.

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History Workshop 24

17th-18th November 1990 This year's History Workshop is to be held at Glasgow College (the city's polytechnic). There is once again an

• Heiner Becker: Max Nettlau and Anarchist Historiography

• Sharif Gemie: Anarchist Analyses of • John Quail: New Class, Old Order

Hunger Marchers and Christian • Karen Goaman: Glasgow, City of

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recession in all fields of production does not lack finance. This 800 foot monster is costing more than £1,000 million and it will house thousands of wage slaves (perhaps well paid since they consume more computers and paper and produce more printed paper for which other firms then produce more machines to shred the output so that posterity will not pass judgement on how the twentieth century

> The government which insisted that the rail link from this country to the Continent should be financed by private enterprise (is this another example of British isolationism?) nevertheless has not hesitated in committing our money to the tune of £42 million for the

wasted its natural resources and not least, its

Canary Wharf office complex.

In our main editorial we talk about a waiting list of more than a million people corruption in other countries. But this is George, and her particular hero, Sir Winston accounts. Too many apparently reliable corruption with a vengeance. A government says it has not the funds to keep some ministers this century. But if she were German thousands of hospital beds available for the we would have to rate her alongside Hitler and hundreds and thousands of people needing | Bismark. Perhaps if she were French we urgent treatment; which takes no account of | would measure her against Napoleon and de the thousands of youngsters who are, for one | Gaulle. reason or another, sleeping in cardboard boxes Mrs Thatcher is, in political terms, the company accounts in the UK are distorted by The 800 foot tower, part of the 71 acre in our inner cities; when we are told that some representative figure of the 1980s. Time will methods of writing off the purchase of development in the former docklands, is the 100,000 building workers are being put out of tell whether she will come to be seen as a centrepiece of a 10 million square foot office work because there is no 'demand' for their derisory figure, just as Ramsay MacDonald development. We repeat in case you missed skills; yet down in Canary Wharf they are and Neville Chamberlain became the clowns the important word office, which in spite of the topping out a £1 billion tower, part of a of the 1930s. Meanwhile, we must suffer the multi-billion pound development involving 'daughters of Thatcher' in the seats of power 10 million square feet of office space. It is in the factories and offices, as well as in more than one can visualise without politics. something to compare it with. This writer lives in a two-up two-down which comfortably On cannibalism houses two adults. It occupies 900 square feet. | Cannibalism, like capitalism, must know its Ten million square feet of space could instead | limitations — the foetus of the mackerel shark house more than 20,000 homeless people. does not savage the walls of its mother's Incidentally just this office tower monster has womb. When the sanctity of property is swallowed up no less than 27,000 tons of steel violated by the privileged, not just in

That is assuming that they have anything to that two million square feet have been let.

Who knows?

German naturalist, some years ago, had man-in-drag, as some leftist feminists would like to portray her, has all the instincts of the politician — just as the mackerel shark had the

Power makes gender irrelevant!

This century whenever women have risen to political power in Britain, Pakistan, India or Israel, the nature of the politicians has

As much as any feminist I want to see more

counterparts. The Prime Minister is a good politician, because she has more of the qualities of the surviving foetus of the mackerel shark than most. Something of this was perceived by Sir and reject pleas for more money". William Rees-Mogg when he wrote in The Independent: "Margaret Thatcher prefers as is Donald Trump, who suddenly ceased In hospitals throughout the country construction of a road to join the A13, and a action to reflection", and continued "... she being a billionaire and now gets by on Lithousands of beds are being taken out of use new rail link costing a cool £1 billion out of has — almost single-handedly — realigned

... and all it will do it to produce thousands of | collective cases of class struggle, but in tons of paper spewed out by thousands of desk individual cases of theft and extortion it betrays a kind of cannibalism.

(continued on page 7)

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Poll Tax News

ardiff City Council has been taking about so-called 'leadership' of Militant which is acting as 10,000 of its estimated 70,000 non-payers to a brake on the development of this movement. court for the past two weeks. Each day has seen demonstrations outside the magistrates courts and non-payers have turned up to contest cases.

Inside the courts the success of protesters has to a certain extent depended on the strength of the local anti poll tax groups, some providing Mackenzie's Friends, other not.

On Monday 22nd October the second batch of orders or to demonstrate in solidarity. The people were arrested by the police. magistrates decided to hear the cases of those who had decided to appear before rubber-stamping liability orders on those who didn't turn up in court.

frustrate people asking questions and receiving advice from their MacKenzie's. However, it was apparent the magistrates were not processing the cases as quickly as they had hoped, even though they were ignoring their own procedural guidelines. For instance, those who had applied for rebates but who had yet to hear the decision were still issued with liability orders for the full amount — despite magistrates should be certain that the amount they issue a liability order for is in fact due. If not, they people of Somerset to do some axeing of their own! should grant an adjournment. One man was issued present poll tax in Cardiff is £257!

After lunch the court was cleared and searched by the police while proceedings were set up in a neighbouring court room. Obviously this was the another attempt by the police to baton political result of a bomb scare, but the police irresponsibly protest off the streets. refused to clear the actual building while they searched for the alleged bomb. The police refused Independent on Sunday produced a piece of to comment on the reason for their evacuating and reporting that can lead to only one of two searching the court room. Meanwhile, the conclusions - either the reporter was not actually magistrates had decided to clear the court of there, or has deliberately lied about what actually supporters, who were locked out in the corridor - happened. The Independent on Sunday (21st thereby ignoring the Magistrates Court Act (1980) October) reported that the 300-strong prison picket that allows for public access to court sittings. In followed a march through London organised by the response, protesters, led by the Red Choir, struck up renderings of anti poll tax songs, etc. So loud was the singing that it became impossible for the court proceedings to continue and the magistrates decided to adjourn all the remaining cases until December — despite having two hours left in which shrunk to 5,000!). to hear the remaining cases! In all, the court heard only about 60 of the 100 or so cases they had expected to rush through the court before turning of, or splinter from, the original demonstration as their attention to rubber-stamping the other 1,000 some papers reported — it was a formally organised or so liability orders.

we can summon the numbers to turn up at court. We windows. march occurred at Trafalgar Square last March, at escape routes. Brixton this October and will happen again at Trafalgar Square this coming March — all of which

the Militant 'leadership' has distanced itself from. So it's vitally important that we do as much as possible to strengthen our local organisation, to

Dristol council took the first of its estimated 100,000 (one-third) non-payers to court on Friday 26th October. Over 2,000 had been summoned and 500 turned up to contest the cases and demonstrate in solidarity. Despite refusing people their right to ask relevant questions, by lunchtime magistrates had only dealt with 60 cases. Canton non-payers were summoned. Over 200 Noise from outside the court at times prevented people turned up at the courts to contest the liability magistrates from proceeding. Unfortunately three

The council has booked the court indefinitely for Fridays in the forlorn hope of dealing with the

In court the magistrates did everything possible to ory-controlled Somerset County Council has announced £4.6 million cuts in their education budget in order to keep next years poll tax bills down. School meals, pre-fives entry and specialist teaching are being axed.

In response, angry parents decided on 26th October to tackle their local Tory MP, Heathcoat-Amery, on the cuts, at his surgery. So responsive is the said parasite, that he sneaked into magistrates guideline number 15, that states his surgery by the back entrance and refused to allow his electors to put their case. Time for the

with a liability order for £300 — even though the _____rom reading the press reports of the TSDC's Trafalgar Square Defendants Campaign) picket of Brixton Prison on 20th October, one would never guess what actually happened was yet

Even a supposed 'quality' paper like the All British Federation.

The actual march was organised by the London Federation and was over 30,000-strong, according to police estimates reported on the radio while the march was taking place (this has now mysteriously

The prison picket itself was well over 5,000-strong, and was not a spontaneous off-shoot march with previous consultation with the police, This adjourning of the cases can be counted as a who ensured it was very heavily policed, bringing small victory, since it demonstrates that the process reinforcements to the scene in coaches and hired can be slowed down - perhaps even stopped - if mini buses with anti poll tax placards in the

can only do this if the local organisation is strong
The picket itself was peaceful and it had been and vibrant. Unfortunately this is exactly the arranged it would last 90 minutes outside the prison. opposite to what the Militant Tendency leadership After 30 minutes the police unilaterally decided it of the All British and local federations are not was over, brought out the riot cops and began doing. Militant are more concerned in controlling splitting up the picket. Any violence was police and leading paper organisations, that are only instigated, and demonstrators had no alternative but capable of organising tokenistic protests like the to protect themselves, as escape from the scene was so-called 'People's March'. The real people's impossible because the police had blocked off all

This was a pre-planned attempt to beat political demonstrations off the streets and to discredit the anti poll tax movement. The police had pre-booked Horseferry Road Magistrates' Court for the following Monday! They obviously knew trouble involve as many people as possible. Further, that was expected, because they had planned that there we mandate our delegates to the forthcoming All would be trouble! The issue has now become not the anti poll tax movement will be there! British Federation AGM to move beyond the only about the poll tax but also the right to

Rambling Notes

Citting on the summit of Catbells in the uplands and walkers are often blamed for Lake District, 1,500 feet above sea this, but in 1981 the Peak Park Board level, sharing my cheese sandwich with a published a study of the problem under the persistent sheep, I pondered on the conflict title Moorland Erosion Study Phase I of interests between sheep farmers and fell walkers. Back in London with the reference books I looked for evidence that fell walking was a nuisance to the upland sheep farmers of northern England, but found none. True that at a conference on moorlands management and access held in areas which kill mosses and lichens. The 1979 a land agent did claim that unrestricted access to the North Yorkshire Moors would force sheep farmers to leave, but as he was from Blenheim Palace near Oxford it was hardly the voice of experience talking.

Sheep farming has flourished alongside tourism in the Lakes and North Wales for many years and although some farmers claim that ramblers disturb hill-grazing sheep, the evidence is against them. A study carried out by the University of Newcastle upon Tyne in 1976 on "the impact of recreation on upland access land" could find little evidence of damage to sheep rearing caused by walkers. Typically, Kinder Scout moor, crossed by the Pennine Way which is walked by thousands each year, now carries three times as many sheep as in pre-access days and this is due almost entirely to an increase in grazing density.

Dogs are another matter and sheep-worrying is a menace, especially during the lambing season, but anyone who has walked with a club will have been made aware of the concern there is that dogs are kept under proper control, indeed many clubs will not agree to members bringing dogs on to sheep-rearing hills.

Erosion is increasing on these grassed

demonstrate on the streets. The police are already

We must ensure complete support for all those

talking about banning future poll tax

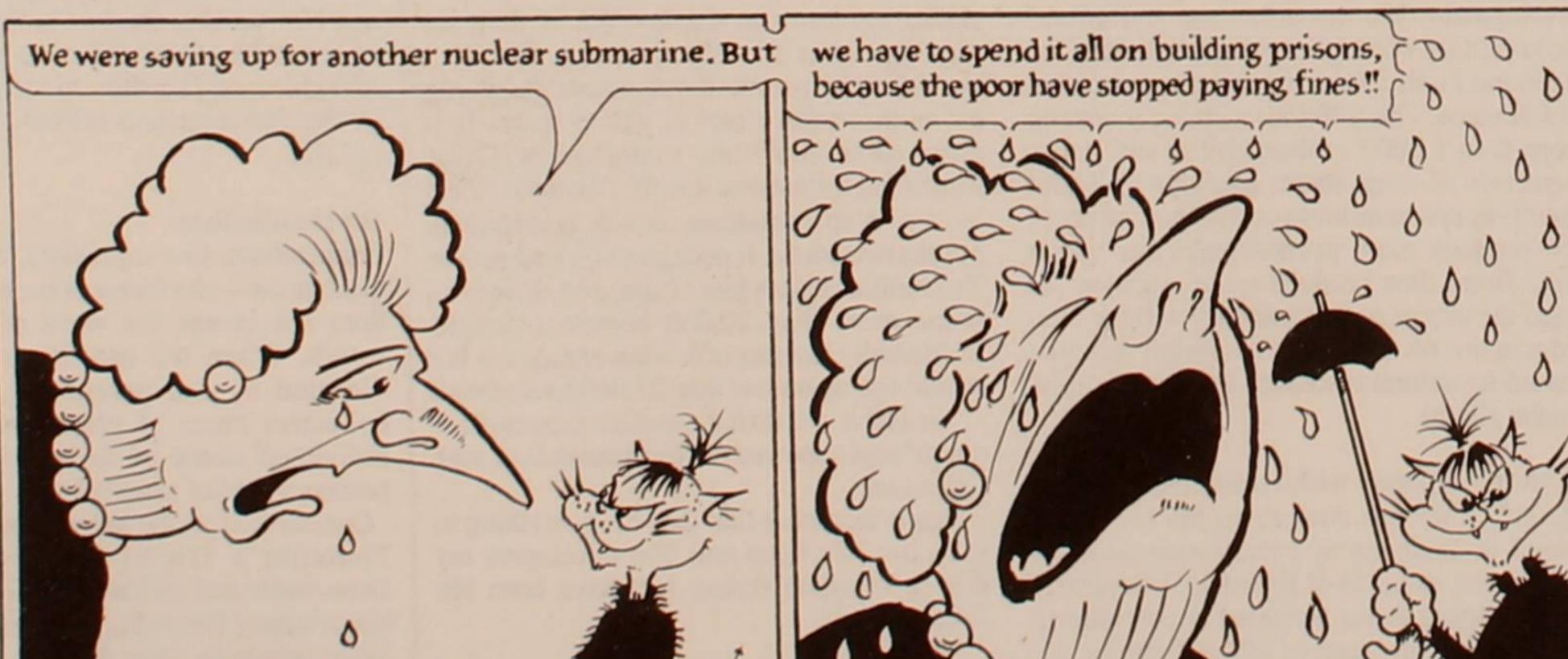
Let us as walkers give the hill farmers our support and join with them to save the hills whilst condemning the factory farming plutocrats of middle and eastern England.

arrested on 31st March, 20th October and all other poll tax demonstrations. We must resist all attempts by the likes of Militant to isolate and disassociate the All Britain Federation from those arrested. By disowning and attempting to marginalise such demonstrations (as the London Fed did with the picket) Militant is sending police the signal that certain sections of the movement are indeed open to physical attack. This has to be opposed. Unity is strength! Therefore support the TSDC in your local and national federations, arguing that your anti poll tax groups and federations affiliate directly to the TSDC and fight for the right to demonstrate. Also support the TSDC resolution at the forthcoming All British Federation AGM.

For those with easy access to London, there is an indoor rally for the right to demonstrate at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square at 7.30pm on 28th November. Also organise for the national demonstration planned for 30th March 1991 in central London / Trafalgar Square. Banned or not,

The continuation of the riddle of the deaths of Welsh seamen in the Irish Sea

n 12th October 1990 BBC News reported that a High Court Judge had ordered the British navy to release logs of all its submarines following a sequence of mysterious sinkings of Welsh fishing boats in the Irish Sea. So far eight vessels have been sunk, with the latest incident resulting in the death by drowning of three crew members. The reason why the Judge has ordered the release of the logs is because in each case seamen have reported wave movements that could have only been caused by a surfacing submarine. The British Navy have claimed they have not operated within a hundred miles of the incidents at the time of the incidents.



Report. This concluded that as a cause of erosion walkers came way down the list, after partial loss of vegetation due to more periods of drier weather and especially, pollution with heavy metals and sulphur dioxide from the surrounding industrial collapse of northern manufacturing industry will now, ironically, benefit the

The 64,000 hill farmers of Britain are it is true in serious trouble, but it is not from walkers. As farmers of marginal land suitable for little except sheep rearing they depend on subsidies to survive. Indeed, their needs have been used by the National Farmers' Union to extract ever-larger grants which then go as much to the well off lowland farmers as to those who really need them. Faced now with drastic cuts in subsidies and increased competition from some lowland farmers who met falling cereal prices by partially switching to sheep rearing, the hill farmers are in trouble again and reduced to lobbying an indifferent government. The French farmers are none too pleased either. Take the sheep off the hills and they would be covered with impenetrable scrub within a few years and a unique environment would be destroyed; a loss of pleasure for the hill walker but a loss of livelihood for the hill

Arabia. When these last seized the Muslim and aftermath of the war, Britain was forced - in to Kuwait. order to redeem the promises made by

note

some small trading links?)

Be that as it many, the Sabahs certainly paid

Kuwait was then, for three or four years,

independent certainly, but Britain had larger

(governorship) of Basra — in which Kuwait

Peace demonstration at

Biscarosse in France

n 7th October I spoke at a peace

demonstration at Biscarosse in France.

More than 5,000 people were there despite the

remote location in the department of the

Landes, south of Bordeaux. This region of the

coast with its extensive sand dunes was

unexpectedly attractive and the hospitality

very special. Although a meeting was held at

the gates of the missile testing range only a few

policemen were there, in contrast with peace

The event was planned as a protest against

the development of a new missile at a time

when we expect arms reductions. The day also

became a declaration against war in the Gulf.

Organised by the Mouvement de la Paix, the

different groups. These included a school

whose children had made a model of a missile

also many trade union groups who want

technology to be used for peace and see no

surrounding departments there was a speaker

co-operation between peace groups was

stressed and well supported by the audience. I

hope that we will increase our efforts for this.

optimism for the movement.

demonstrations in England.

formed a fairly insignificant part.

Lawrence of Arabia — to carve out new kingdoms for Hashemites; one based on the It is not true, as various Western sources Caliphal City of Baghdad, another on both have suggested, that Kuwait has been banks of the Jordan. (Jerusalem is not only 'independent for two hundred years' ever holy to Jews and Christians but is for Muslims since the Sabah family fleeing a famine in the the third Holy City.)

desert came to this coastal township to make Ibn Saud had already seized the Gulf coast it their home. (Even that account begs an awful south of Kuwait, as well as the lands of lot of questions. How did a Bedouin family, Lawrence's Hashemite allies; so it was faced by changing climate, drying wells, or impractical when creating the Kingdom of such other reasons that would produce a Iraq to include its southern areas. Moreover famine in a Bedouin area, suddenly manage to given the deadly emnity between the traditional and the new usurping royal houses, acquire the lordship of a fishing village with it was not thought wise to make a straigh boundary division.

Kuwait once again served a useful purpose taxes and other dues to the Ottoman governors by enlarging it considerably and giving the of Basra. The Empire spread far south of Kuwait along the Gulf shore into the Hasa. Sabah family a significance they had never given This situation was recognised by Western previously had, it was possible to create a commentators and The Times Atlas of 1896 buffer kingdom between Hashemites and clearly shows what it calls Kowaityah as being Saudis. Moreover a stretch of interior desert part of the Ottoman Empire. Incidentally the was designated a 'neutral zone', and Britain more modern Times Historical Atlas lists with a sigh of relief sat back, having — as far Kuwait amongst Gulf enclaves whose as she was able — placated her two wartime independence from the Ottomans (and close allies without precipitating a war (in which she relations with Britain) was promoted after would have had to take sides) between them.

That didn't of course satisfy everyone. Long before the monarchy of Iraq was overthrown there were demonstrations in Kuwait against ambitions in what was then called the Sabah and for unity. When Iraq became a Budapest. Mesopotamia (now Iraq) as also along the republic these old sores still rankled. It is futile Gulf coast, and long before the First World to try to estimate the extent to which Iraq's War there was a general British protectorate subsequent troubles are the fault of any one which included all of the former wazirate imperial power, promoting and financing conflicting brutal factions. All that one can say

During the war Britain made conflicting 1) that Hussein is a product of Cold War great promises, not merely to Arabs and Jews, but power politics and it is hard on him that the to Hashemites and Saudi claimants to rule rival big powers are now united against him;

Holy Places from the Hashemites in the 2) that in fact Iraq has a valid historical claim

Kuwait — an historical Massacre in Parliament Square

massacre of Parliament Square, October. Budapest, on 25th October 1956.

Over 700 people have been killed or wounded when security police and tanks fired on demonstrators.

Although news of this was reported in the West it was always underplayed and Bill Lomax thought the figure of the dead was That this news was kept secret for 34 years, officer were left dead or wounded". However historians in Budapest the figure of 700 was

The Hungarian revolution was in many respects overshadowed by the events of the Suez war and the reliance of Western correspondents on Budapest radio.

Eyewitness accounts now assert that the large crowd of jubilant demonstrators in police. The mood of the crowd must have the rooftops — a provocation. frightened members of the hated AVO (the secret police) who held absolute control in

Eyewitnesses agree that the crowd shouted 'Pigs, Assassins' whenever they noticed an AVO member.

Suddenly machine guns opened fire from the ground floor window* of the Hungarian Parliament and armoured vehicles shot into the defenceless crowd which fled from the Square leaving dead and wounded behind.

Sixteen trucks full of bodies were observed the following morning leaving the Square. Underneath each vehicle was a pool of blood. I have consulted glossy books on the L. Otter | Hungarian revolution but nothing of this

Tews has only now reached us of the dreadful significance is mentioned under 25th

A cassette recording was published in Hungary in 1982 mentioning these atrocities. A well-known Hungarian activist, G. Krassó, applied to the Hungarian courts to have this mass murder investigated. This was denied under the 20-year lapse rule.

nearer 25, and Andy Anderson quoted Peter in this country at least, shows that reporting Fryer, "some thirty people including a Soviet was hampered by government and events took place with such rapidity that other news from at the recent conference of Hungarian Hungary was now given more prominence, such as the well-known photos of 26th October of AVO police killed by the mob in the following days.

> However, it is now believed that the massacre of 25th October was the turning point which turned the rebellion into a

'Hungarian Anarchist' Parliament Square were encircled by *Hungary 1956 by Andy Anderson quoting government and Soviet troops and secret communist sources that the firing was from

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requested to limit their consumption "to one A fter the agricultural calamities, is France now going to be hit by the whims of the us particularly well suited. weather in a sector of the economy until now spared by the drought? Are we going to have et's give some figures to back up the to reckon in future with religious calamities?

The Drought: Restrictions

on Holy Water!

which bring the Holy Spirit right to the fonts. Agence France Presse itself informs us that the holy liquid containing the divine grace diluted in suspension is starting to run dangerously low in the South of France, in demonstration was supported by many particular in the area of Lourdes, a well-known spa town for the paralytic to whom it provides with messages urging that the money should treatment with, to tell the truth, a fairly low be used for schools and hospitals. There were | success rate during the famous gatherings of connoisseurs from all countries.

Holy water is indeed no longer allowing more

than a thin trickle to ooze to the sacred taps

A veritable cry of alarm has been sounded by future in more arms and the resultant threat of the hydro-ecclesiastical authorities of this thermo-religious resort — the sacred cave's The issues raised were similar to those of spring is running out! Could Bernardette who peace movements in all countries and included has been comfortably installed in paradise for the pipes of the great organs! The protests at the continued French nuclear tests | more than a century have inadvertently phenomenon may appear strange to one in the Pacific. On behalf of CND, I went with forgotten to open a celestial sluice-gate? "The unfamiliar with the holy mysteries of religion, a group from Paris. On the Sunday we water has not run out", an official gathered at the beach and marched through the | communiqué assures us — the mercy of God town to the missile testing centre where the being by nature infinite — "but there is not meeting was held. In addition to speakers from enough to satisfy the demand".

In consequence it has been decided "to from the Portuguese peace movement. The reserve the miraculous waters for filling importance and value of international swimming pools to allow the sick to immerse themselves in it as a matter of priority" (sic). The effectiveness of the product is, in fact,

even faster sprinkled on the surface of the skin pipes looks for all the world like that from The atmosphere was one of enthusiasm and than taken orally for, the official voice goes the ordinary mains, but sceptics can have the on, "the water washes the body and purifies divine substance analysed by their local Norman | the soul". Pilgrims in good health are apostolic water expert. Taking too large a

small flask' per person". The word seems to

Jobjective nature of the miracle cures: three sacred reservoirs containing 2,325 cubic metres generally receive the divine waters which the melting of Catholic snows providentially conveys to the foot of the Pyrenees, the Holy Spirit being dissolved in variable proportions according to the year. In this connection the religious authorities remind us that the efficiency of the holy water bears no relation to the density of blessings it has received. Thus one should not worry about moment. the proportions; water blessed merely once with the back of the holy water sprinkler at, let's say, 2% of its volume performs just as well as water blessed at 40% which has received copious blasts of the Te Deum from but the authorities are adamant: "the water is valued not for its quantity but for its quality".

Two or three drops a day in your morning coffee, and there you are, all set for a hard day's work!

The rectorate of the shrine of Lourdes has Notes nevertheless just had installed fifteen new holy water taps, adding to the twenty already existing. The liquid which seeps from the

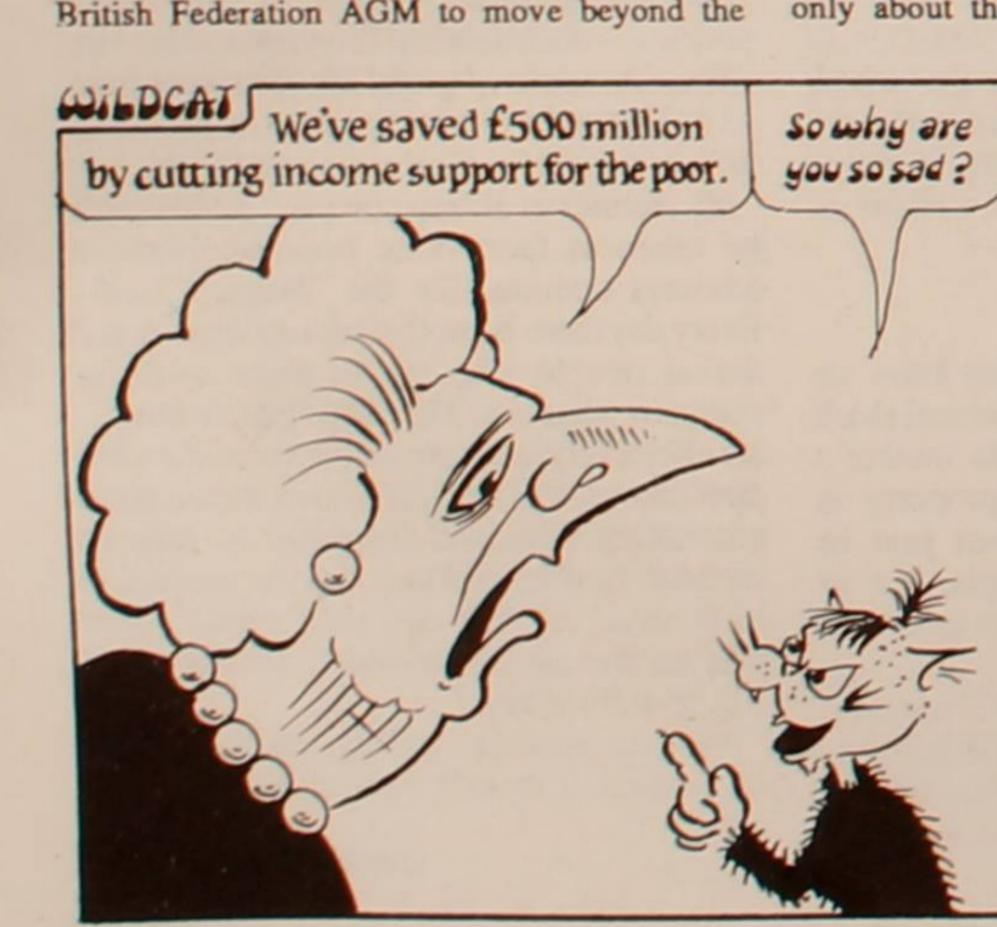
quantity of the precious liquid must be avoided however, the water table from where the Holy Spirit flows being very low at the

On the other hand it is pointed out to us that the table at which human stupidity has fed for two thousand years has not moved an inch and this despite the numerous periods of drought which our planet has seen throughout history. It would appear that the source which sustains it is practically inexhaustible.

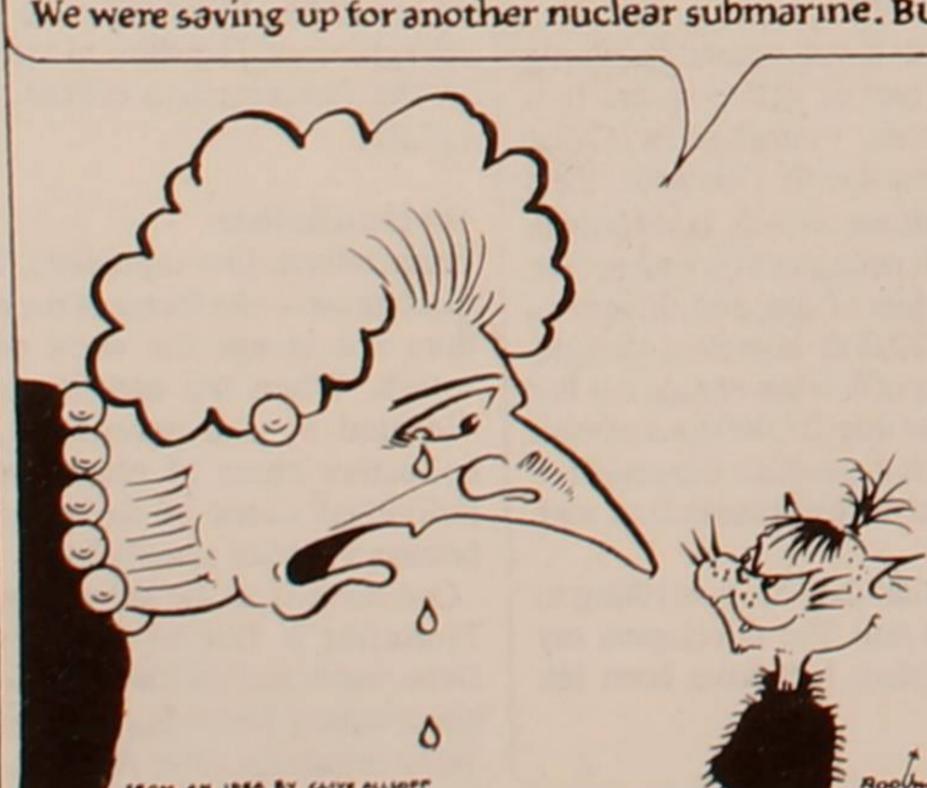
Guimou de la Tronche Translated from Le Monde Libertaire (no. 797) journal of the French Anarchist Federation, by Kevin McFaul.

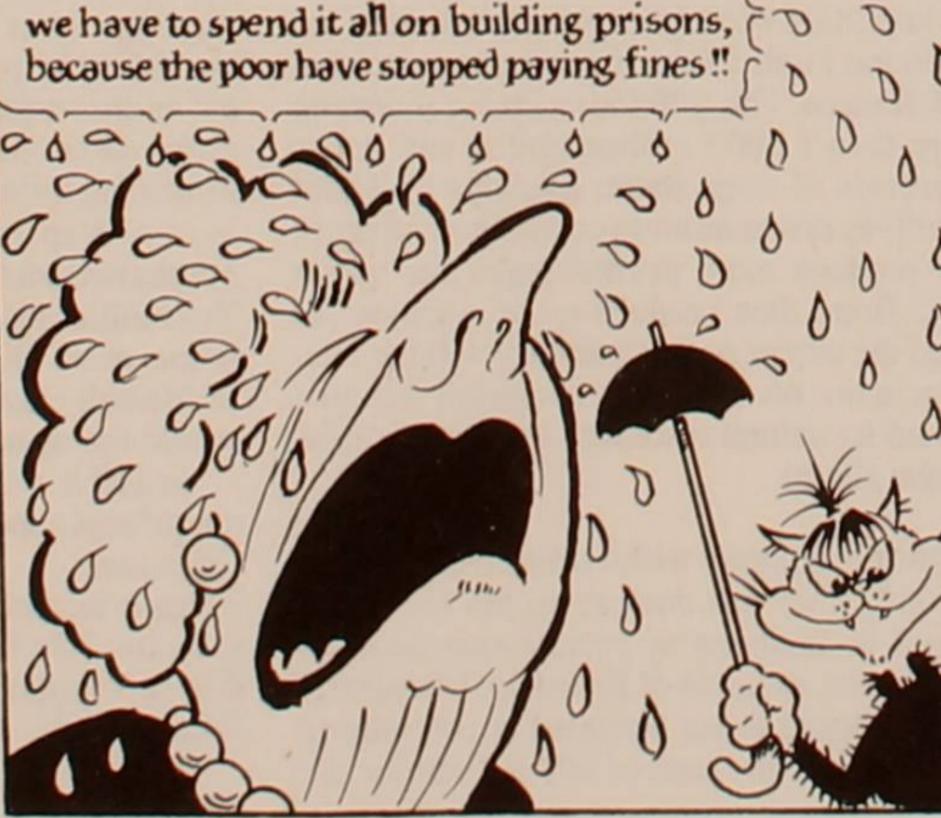
1. The French press agency. 2. Inhabitant of Lourdes (1844-79) who claimed to

have seen a vision of the Virgin (sic) Mary in the Massabielle cave. She became a nun at 20 and was later made a saint. Napoleon III ordered the opening of the cave and the spring within to the public. 3. 'Gourde', the French word for flask, also has the slang meaning of clot or dumbo!









On the Margin

not the beginning, I had already been told who I was, my sex, my parents' name, nationality and religion, all the names of uncles and aunts. When my name was called, I dutifully responded and still do.

I was standing at the counter of my local was rummaging through her bag searching for a proof of identity that would satisfy the library

Here is my book, she said, would my address book do? I have written my name in it, and

Something 'official' was required and so the rummaging in the bag continued while the queue lengthened behind her. She could find nothing to prove who she was, until her also approval. No doubt this happens in all elderly friend who stood beside her was then moved to intercede: "I vouch for this lady, I have known her for many years, may I testify by-lines? that she is what she says she is". This second person then produced a library card to prove who she was.

The assistant said this was not acceptable, but an electricity bill which the old person David Gray, who died in 1861 of a lung found at last at the bottom of her bag was deemed sufficient for the purpose.

The assistant still had the last word. She told the old woman (could have been her own grandmother) that if somebody impersonated her and took out books and records in her name, the responsibility of returning these goods would still be hers. By this time the copy of the 1874 edition was located in the patient line of people reached the door of the

But even in an anarchist society, this business of identity will have to be mulched over. To give two examples. When I was an editor of Freedom the printing was done by letterpress, Dick Pugh set the headlines by hand, but the body of the text was set on a linotype machine by a firm in Stepney Green. put into page form (a pleasure to watch), chase up and print. The first copy was looked at in impossible to establish proof of identity. It is remember Thatcher for raising a new force in

Cuch thoughts never occurred to me when I complete silence, there never was a blot that was young and careless. I accepted fully wasn't corrected or ever escaped his eye. what others told me about myself, such as my There was another man called Ben who used name, my nationality, my religion. School was to help, he was always cheerful and told stories about London's river on which he was once a ferryman. But to continue. I arrived at Stepney Green for the first time and introduced myself. "Here is the Freedom copy", I said.

"Who are you then?" said the man. I told him again. I said Jack Robinson couldn't come and library, when a kind looking elderly woman once Jack's name was mentioned he was

> "We had trouble before", he said, "not with you, mind you, but with Another Journal". An article was pushed through their door late at night marked to be set urgently. The printer of that Another Journal put the piece in the paper. It was written by a contributor who no doubt knew the workings of that paper and so was able to place an article in it without editorial newspapers all the time. Otherwise how could the most awful rubbish appear under hallowed

Another case of identity proving is the one recently to check on the proofs of a disease at the age of 23. Only a specimen page was seen by the poet who died the following day and consequently the book (published in 1862) appeared uncorrected by him, although a corrected edition did appear in 1874. S. could only lay a hand on the 1862 edition, which contained a number of errors. Finally a that day. British Library. When the British Library was Kennington Park, I arrived there with many contacted they were prepared to give S. a others, two hours after the scheduled start. It reading room ticket with pleasure for they is a mystery how the media claim to estimate regarded her as a serious researcher. However, the number of supporters, they obviously think asked to produce a proof of identity, which | three, depending on the direction of their bias. was defined as either a passport or a bank card. We followed the route and joined the back of As it happens S. has neither, but what she does the march before Camberwell Green. It have is an NUS card with photograph and continued to grow behind us. As this was my We took the copy to them on Friday and by signature, which she hopes will satisfy the first poll tax march I was impressed by the Monday the typeset metal was with Dick to British Library. I wish her luck for I am large number of youthful people and the

ages since I saw my own birth certificate, my word has to be relied on on the smallest matter concerning myself. I do have some papers with my signature but I stare at the photograph with disbelief, taken some twenty years ago it shows a man with black hair and quizzical eyes — I never looked like that.

Also at the same library, and on the same occasion, I sat down at the communal table and there read an entertaining piece in The New Statesman by Colin Ward, no doubt the same Colin Ward of Anarchy fame, but then it

could be another Colin Ward altogether who recounts the story of liberal education, how he and another Ward (no relation) sent a day-release class of plumbers (?) to sleep by

I showed this article to our librarian and asked if Freedom could also be on the table. "Look", I said, "Colin Ward also writes for Freedom and so do I". She twigged at once and said: "How do I know it's the same Colin Ward?" How indeed.

John Rety

A Day in London

n Saturday the 20th October I went to British society. There was much support from London for a poll tax demonstration and the Anarchist Bookfair. I had been to the latter the previous year but had missed the start of the poll tax as I was in Aotearoa (New France, Belgium or Russia, but they were well Zealand). The people there saw it as a sign that Maggie was mad.

On my arrival, I walked from Charing Cross to Lambeth Bridge, passing the Downing Street fortress on my way. There were few profusion. people about together with a large number of concerning my friend S. who was asked police vans (both marked and unmarked) dispersed so as not to scare the tourists. I was forthcoming book by a little known Scots poet, surprised to see policemen in these vans at 11.30am holding crash helmets and fixing protective pads to their legs. Was there a plan for the day or were they just nervous?

Perhaps they were there for the demonstration to urge better facilities for the disabled which was reported to have attracted several thousand people to Trafalgar Square

After learning that the demo was to meet in beginning to believe that it is almost individuality of their banners. Perhaps we will

residents along the line of the march.

There were about 100 times as many police as I would expect to see on a similar march in behaved. I only saw one officious Inspector (probably posted from Sheffield, Hillsborough). The police had needlessly erected barriers and scattered traffic cones in

Coming near to Brockwell Park, I saw my daughter and her family watching the march. The twins, just over a year old, were keen to march with me, showing that the scene was entirely peaceful.

As I went to the Conway Hall for the successful and enjoyable bookfair, I missed the later events in Brixton. Since there were so many anarchists at the bookfair, will the media blame them also for the violence? Looking at media coverage, having cameras there for the violence was well managed but suspicious. Some agents provocateurs perhaps. Certainly under this government, relations between the police and much of the public have steadily worsened. The banning of demonstrations will only lead to other means of protest.

the regulations had to be satisfied and S. was of a number and either divide or multiply by Before the poll tax we had a system of local and central government with much corruption. This tax is part of the process of making sure that all the corruption is centralised. In doing this our rulers are abandoning their long-established policy of divide and rule,

Norman

Anarchist Theory

1. Introduction

0 8

Much has been written on anarchism, and whilst there are some good notions all anarchist writers agree on, such as the absence of government, there is a great amount of freedom for different anarchist theorists to develop different theories. The differences between communist and individual anarchism, for example, should soon be revealed.

The word 'anarchy' comes from the Greek and its literal meaning is 'without government'. Malatesta states that since it has always been thought that government was necessary and that without it there could only be disorder and confusion, it was natural and logical that anarchy should therefore sound like absence of order. However, if opinion was changed and the public convinced that government is not only unnecessary but harmful, then anarchy will come to mean for everybody natural order, unity of human needs and the interests of all, complete freedom within complete solidarity.

In an attempt to ease comparison and contrast, I will largely look at anarchism and the other theories under three mair

a) social values

b) societal organisation, society and the state

c) the role of government.

2. Social Values of Anarchism

I would argue that the main social values of anarchism are self-responsibility, self-government, mutual aid and voluntary co-operation. The first two notions are more commonly part of individualist anarchist theory, the latter two notions largely part of more socialist anarchist theory. Thus it follows that individualist notions should be more connected with the right of the spectrum, and socialist notions with the left. However, what will be argued is that anarchism does not therefore fuse with either the left or the right — but that, unlike conventional left-right views it is largely successful in

combining individual and social theories — to form a coherent, balanced, harmonious ideology.

It is argued that the capacity to be totally self-responsible and part of a voluntary co-operating community is within us all — and is suppressed by government and other powerful vested interests. Despite the fact that these power-based relationships (on a person level also) are so suppressed, Kropotkin points out that ordinary people practice mutual aid as a matter of course — for example, lifeboat men. Thus they conclude that a society based on mutual aid is natural to 'man' and that the society in which it is not practised is the unnatural one. Repressive institutions are imposed upon us.

Colin Ward states that anarchists are people who make a social and political philosophy out of the natural and spontaneous tendency of humans to associate together for their mutual benefit.

The major connection between left-wing and anarchist theories and this severance from right-wing theories is that people are ultimately good but that this is suppressed in current society. This applies to the individualist end of the anarchist spectrum also. In the same way the 'man's' natural goodness can facilitate his harmonious participation in the community, similarly this natural goodness enables the individual to live both a free and responsible existence — an ideal clearly not capable of being fulfilled under current

Following from this, Taylor cites the case of a man who makes a set of rules for himself and then by his own choice abides by them. No man can coerce himself, and his code is but the expression of his own will.

The most individualist anarchist is Max Stirner — he argued that the individual's own world is the most important — and his views have been criticised as being too egotistical. However, Stirner's 'egoism' does not exclude relationships with other people but posits a spontaneous union between

individuals — the antithesis of the formally imposed ties of

Thus, whilst there is a notable left-right spectrum in anarchist theory, even the most individualist theorist (Stirner) could see his philosophy's inherent connection with more social theories — in opposition to the conventional left-right spectrum — who will never agree!

Non-anarchist Miller cannot understand how people can both live freely and fulfil their communal obligations. He contends that individual anarchism is an extreme form of classical liberalism and that communist anarchism is just a version of communitarian socialism. The anarchist response is that personal sovereignty and social solidarity could be combined in a society whereby people have the freedom to do as they wish, but no-one wants to harm another — social ties are far stronger.

Berkman succinctly combined individualist and socialist notions — his belief in individualist freedom did not lead him to repudiate all social obligations, thus "I become free only through the freedom of others: man can fulfil his free individuality only by complementing it through all the individuals around him, and only through work and the collective force of society".

Finally, it can be argued that Proudhon too offers an attractive balance between individualism and uniformity. More than the individualist anarchist he sees history in terms of social formations and his desire to protect individual freedom rests on a commitment to association. Thus individualism is best preserved in a relationship with a social group. Individual freedom is deemed inseparable from the natural processes out of which society itself evolves.

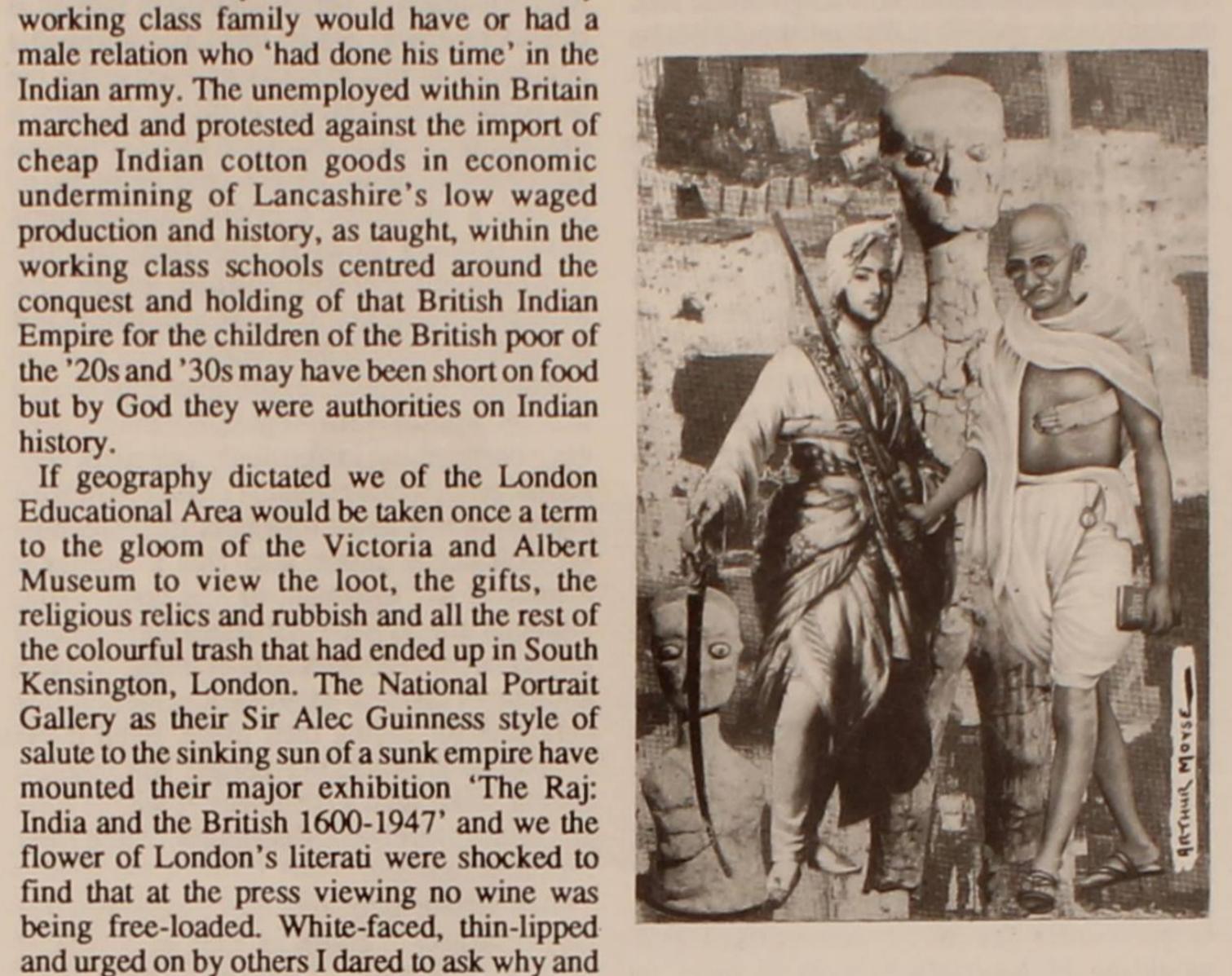
Thus it is a fundamental belief in all anarchist thought that diversity and individual freedom is the basis not of competition but of co-operation.

Alex Pradier

(to be concluded in the next issue)

Wineless Through History

debating inhabitants of these British off-shore islands, yet I am of that generation who as the cannot see it offering anything of interest to engaged in killing each other to take much song chirrups 'Ah yes, I remember it well' for the casual tourists who are expected to slap it was an integral part of British working class down the £3.50 entrance fee for the military and the political of Mother India are now too life. Of the early nineteen hundreds every



'We Three' Collage by Arthur Moyse

interest in ancient heroes and villains and for me the exhibition though well intended can offer less than the South Kensington Victoria the Neolithic site of 'Ain' Ghazal in Jordan. I & Albert. Within the V&A there is a life-size find them fantastically exciting for they are movable wooden tiger savaging a British almost nine thousand years old and they are soldier guard dog style. Manufactured for an the earliest known three-dimensional Indian armchair hero it was refused loan to the representations of human form known to man. NPG's 'Raj' exhibition for one understands Forget the flannel from the university paid that it will be one of the centre pieces for the mystics when they talk of gods or priest cults coming V&A exhibition and if you wish to know what a plurality of centres are then contact Einstein or the A-level squad within the White Hart pub. The need was there and who are we to deny it and we agreed, we few, that the only answer for the wine was the press view at the British Museum and we trailed our way along the Charing Cross Road in the steps of the Town and his dry-mouthed wine-angst wife as they both mimed the motions of throwing handfuls of gold coins to the Tottenham Court Road Untouchables while

Harry and I trailed on chanting mantras. Even then the sacrifice and dedication to the arts failed us for a sorrowful woman on the broad stone steps of the BM broke the news to us Greek style that "They're not serving wine". We were silent but we entered. Wineless maybe but it is indeed a magnificent exhibition. My one regret is that there will be

a £2 charge for admission. Archaeology and the Bible owe much to the financial help of Mr and Mrs Leon Levy and for that they must be thanked. Britain's Conservative government has much, nay too much, that they can be condemned for for they have been responsible for many evils but if they state that Friday follows Thursday I will accept that as a universal truth. And when they make the point, for political reasons, that the education of Britain's working class children is deteriorating year by year I accept that statement. And when they demand a return to the instilling of the tools of learning the three-Rs and that history must first have an overall framework before the educational fools and third raters use the children of the poor to play around with their changing Exploration Fund produced much towards this exhibition from the 19th century on but here on display are objects from the lands of the

Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks and

You cannot examine a work of art or of historical importance unless you can first put it within its historical framework and this is never made more evident than in the two figures on display within the exhibition. They were part of a cache of lime plaster figures, about eighteen inches high, found in a pit at and accept that sometime in 6500BC, nine thousand or so years ago, a man or a woman or a young child passed away an hour or so modelling these lime plastered figures around a framework of twigs. Unless we can place them within the framework of our years everything becomes meaningless and these figures become worth no more than a casual glance but when you marry them to that date of 6500BC then you must accept that upon these small plaster shoulders rests every civilised culture that we spawn yea even to the Whitechapel Art Gallery. Here within the BM exhibition one finally has the rare chance to view a strip of the Dead Sea Scrolls and for that rare pleasure I will indeed forswear the wine. A magnificent exhibition but sadly it will not pull in the relatives of the Town and his frau for the Raj calls. But Malcolm Yorke recalls that 1977 was a time for weeping for in that year Keith Vaughan committed suicide.

One felt that over the years his work as an artist was the fillers of galleries mixed shows. Always mysterious his green youths in green shades leapt from hedge to hedge. Casually sketched they always hinted of secret sexual rites and of sad ancients telling old tales. I can do no more than quote Andrew Motion who wrote of the dead artist that "Keith Vaughan's name as a painter has faded and his reputation as a masturbator has risen steadily". It is given by those who claim to know that Vaughan was an artist much given to pulling his pudding even to using technical gadgets from

In the world of 'I don't care if I do die' it/he claimed that he tried everything of the school of sado-masochism and bondage for he wished to become the 'Great Onanist'. He developed cancer and could no longer perform so no more green paintings. Sad, sad Keith.

Arthur Moyse

The Rolling Snowball Hypothesis The media has largely succeeded in planting the Does that mean bills will not go up next year? You

criticism from government, and scapegoats the Tories it is effective, polarising opinion, and providing psychological pressure on middle class Daily Mail readers to conform, and maintain

was told that the work on display was too

valuable to risk damaging, and having

witnessed a drunk being ejected from the

Whitechapel Art Gallery I can fail to see their

point. Of the exhibition itself, in all honesty I

Keith Vaughan: His Life and Work

ne doubts if Britain's Indian Empire is

Veven remembered by the poll tax

published by Constable, £25.00

by Malcolm Yorke

From the experience of Scotland's second year of the tax it would seem to be a fact that as the bills rise, fewer people pay. Part of the reason for this is clearly economic, but obviously the fact that some have evaded payment for a year is an incentive to join the non-payers. Thus the authorities would seem to be caught in a spiral of increasing bills and decreasing payment levels.

Other factors could slow this spiral. Councils could cut spending. The Government could give more money. The council could put more resources into prosecuting non-payers, and other enforcement procedures.

'It's you lot not paying that will send up our bills next year ...'

In one Scottish area £40 of the increase was second year as a protest against the rest getting away police.

The problem for the authorities in using the raised because large numbers of people refused to pay run-up to a general election. them. Here in Lancaster 10,007 people were Movement a large compliment.

Thatcherite fools' paradise where everybody pays. may enable those in power to re-establish control,

idea that next year's poll tax increases should bet they will! The second case is that a large | theories I accept that. The Palestine be blamed on the non-payers. This deflects proportion of the people refuse to pay. What percentage does it have to be before local non-payers. As a short-term strategy on the part of government collapses? A third, a half, or what? In this second case, eventually somebody in government will have to acknowledge the fact that a majority of people are voting against the tax, not in the ballot box, but with their money. The question is, which comes first, the collapse of services or surrender by the government?

> The fact of Scotland's increased bills causing an increase in the number of refuseniks would seem to indicate the future pattern of ever-increasing bills, and decreasing levels of services. As more and more people get away with it, more jump on the bandwagon. This is the rolling snowball of

From the point of view of government, can the situation be retrieved? Increasing the level of threat will have little effect on payment because the Escalating things will be counter-productive in that communities draw together under threat to exclude outsiders. Already many estates are virtually no-go areas for council workers. Collection officers have attributed to the high level of non-payment. Middle been assaulted. The use of police to back-up bailiffs class Scots withheld £40 of their payments in the will damage the fragile minimal credibility of the

question too. When has Margaret Thatcher ever bill argument is that it admits that non-payment is backed down? Tinkering on the margins may bring a significant factor in the poll tax crisis. They cannot short-term gains in the opinion polls, and shore up consistently claim that levels of non-payment are remaining support, but fails to address the the same as under the old rates, while at the same fundamental injustice of the tax, and so solves time offloading the blame for next year's increase nothing. Giving more money to councils will mean onto non-payers. The rates never had to be raised increasing income tax, an unlikely move in the

Abolition of the tax will not retrieve the situation summonsed for non-payment, compared with about either, because now the habit of obedience has been 100 the previous year. So in using the raised bill broken. 'We got rid of the poll tax', people will say, argument, authorities pay the Anti Poll Tax 'we can get rid of the roof tax ...' (or whatever else will replace it). A fairer alternative may have wider Consider two cases. The first is the perfect support through society, and a period of stability

but who would put money on the Conservatives discovering the meaning of the word 'justice' or the crisis of global capitalism settling down? The problem for the State is that the longer the delay, the greater the fudge in the eventual solution, the harder it will be for the habit of obedience to be

In reality, it is much later than you think. How much longer can the local authorities hold out? In reality non-payment figures are much higher than those officially released. What a nice round figure - 10,007. Official statistics conceal those who have 'disappeared' off the register, and many refuseniks claiming benefits have also been excluded as part of the usual government policy of 'economy with the truth'. This is also a problem for the non-payment side, as nobody knows the true figures. But part of the Councils' crisis is also caused by Business Rates and the recession. Companies with cashflow problems are late with Reform of the system would seem to be out of the their payments. Then there is the Gulf crisis and

A clear indication of the depth of the crisis will be in the Local Authorities' readiness to use bailiffs or send people to prison. This will escalate the struggle, and widen the rift between councils and the people. But if it is true that large numbers are refusing to pay, then councils will be forced by economic necessity to take stronger action.

The possibility of the collapse of local government may seem an apocalyptic scenario to the complacent and comfortable middle classes with a vested interest in the maintenance of the status quo. It is not a welcome thought that their municipal towers of authority and control could soon topple, or that they might lose their security

As the paralysis spreads, the selection of which areas to cut will favour the rich at the expense of the poor. It is not the road repairs in the 'I'm-all-right-Jack' estates, nor the police helicopters which are going to be cut. But this policy divide will strengthen non-payment given that refusal to pay is essentially an income dependent effect. Less services for poorer areas will harden the resolve of non-payers and drive more people over the edge into non-payment. The possibility of the collapse is more psychologically threatening to the middle class than to the poor, who

only receive minimal services at present in any case. The collapse, if it happens (and it is a big if . . .) will be a gift to anarchists. People will find that they can manage quite well without the Town Halls, thank you very much. When necessity prods ordinary people into action, they will find their capacity to act on their own behalf once more. After all, who is it who work the rubbish collections? Not the £24,000 p.a. office workers, but ordinary

In Scotland there is an argument that services should be denied to people who refuse to pay. Conservatives should be wary in using this argument, for it might wean people away from the passive reliance on Town Halls. Once the link of dependency is broken, will it be long before the right of Westminster to govern is questioned? 'Fiscal disobedience' could be read across into other areas. Television licences, car tax discs, and even (Heaven help the State!) income tax. It is believed that something like this happened with the

(continued on page 7)

How to be a McKenzie's Friend

La characterised as comprising three phases:

1. You don't register. 2. You don't pay.

3. You don't let the bailiffs in.

Although bailiffs have been used in some places already, here in the Brighton and Hove area, we are still at phase 2, which entails court been able to prove that they are not liable to her. This O'Toole's Advocate would pay poll tax at all (e.g. because the incompetent council sent bills to people under age). For the anti poll tax movement, the main challenge of the court cases is to waste as much time as possible, so the whole machinery is slowed down. This means:

1. APTUs organising to encourage those

The fight against the poll tax could be issued with liability orders to turn up in court,

2. Providing legal advice in the court itself to those summonsed.

There are two ways of achieving the latter. The first involves playing the role of an 'O'Toole's Advocate'. From what I've heard, hopefully be prepared with a long list of time-wasting questions to ask. A further option would be for the O'Toole's Advocate and the person being represented to stage an

the Advocate's performance. It is hoped that the speech impediment would facilitate a good

The Rolling Snowball Hypothesis

(continued from page 6)

0 8

If people start to question the right of Westminster their own lives without outsiders 'controlling' them, then the days of the State will be numbered. But the key to the collapse, the rolling snowball non-payment camp in 1992. effect, is public perception. Hence the 100% The higher bills argument assumes that you

in maintaining the 'business as usual' facade. But this little rhyme from Kipling: take, for example, council office worker's morale. Staff have been laid off or demoted. There may be strikes, or other expressions of discontent absenteeism, sickness. The sick building syndrome is really a displacement strategy to conceal the sick Perhaps this is too cruel — in doing this you expose system syndrome. Their stuffy offices are no longer their weakness. In the streets, opinions are as attractive as they once were. They now know polarised; payers/non-payers, and the higher bills they lack the consent of the people to govern — argument is being used as a smokescreen for the fact visitors to the Town Hall must wear security tags. that they did not have the balls to join the Staff cower behind armour-plated screens in the non-payment movement. If the rolling snowball empty poll tax collecting office.

now open to question. The link between lack of switch. Lack of money will override the fear factor. reduction in next year's support grant, the

non-payers through the increased bills argument. The responsibility of refuseniks for next year's increases only works as an argument:

1. If it is assumed that this year's amount is fair (but only a die-hard Tory bigot could believe this). 2. That there is light at the end of the tunnel — that life in local government continues much as before,

and that the amount will not rise any further.

Under the rolling snowball hypothesis, someone pillocks to dictate, and learn that they can manage struggling to pay it this year will find it even harder next. There is no light at the end of the tunnel, and so they will be forced by lack of money to join the

suppression of poll tax news items on television. should pay this year because the amount is just and However, in almost every local paper, the number fair, and argues from the injustice of of poll tax related reports grows. Here in Lancaster, 'Honest-John-citizen' suffering next year's even the extreme right wing Visitor now has a increase back to the question of payment this year. special logo indicating a poll tax item. The larger But few actually using this argument believe the picture goes unreported, but everybody knows amount to be fair. They believe that we should pay about the broken streetlamps, and the holes in the a fair amount but, if the amount of the present bill is unjust, what are they doing about paying it? There Public perception is the key. Obviously, is a word for what they are doing. It is called considerable propaganda effort is being expended 'appeasement'. To rub salt in the insult recite them orders and that all we can do at this stage is

"We never pay anyone Danegeld, No matter how trifling the cost

For the end of that game is oppression and shame And the nation that plays it is lost!"

hypothesis is correct, many using the higher With the poll tax, expenditure taken for granted is payments argument will be forced by economics to

funds and worsening levels of services is there to Popular perception of the situation is the key. Is it be made. In an attempt to deflect criticism for the worth paying money into a dying system? The illusions of optimism currently held by the middle manipulators are now trying to scapegoat class - this false sense of light at the end of the tunnel needs to be broken. I believe that is is later than we think. I suspect that the switch of attitudes will be sudden, once the realisation comes that the system cannot cope. At that moment, false confidence vanishes, and the rolling snowball becomes an avalanche.

Stephen Booth

In the Shark's Womb

(continued from page 2)

It suggests to me that John Ruskin was right when he said of the business of exchange that: "Whenever material gain follows exchange, for every plus there is a precisely equal minus". The magic of the so-called science of exchange is that the losers, the minuses, as Ruskin says often "retire to the back streets, and other places in the shade"., they are virtually invisible in the whizz-kid world of high finance.

Ruskin says something else about this 'Science of Exchange': "If I make a bargain as completely advantageous to myself as possible, by giving (in exchange for a diamond) to the savage a needle with no eye in it, the advantage to me in the entire transaction depends wholly upon the ignorance, powerlessness or heedlessness of the person dealt with".

Today, I am not sure that Albert Einstein could keep up with the artfulness of the bosses

and their pet auditors. Creative accounting seems to be ingrained into the system. Mr Holmes says "doing as other do results in standards of auditing drifting down to the lowest common denominator".

The anarchist may ask what does it matter if these bosses of industry cheat and chew each

It matters because business and capitalism itself is based on confidence in the system. A serious loss of confidence could threaten that system. The walls of the shark's womb can only stand so much.

It also matters because, with the collapse of communism, capitalism in theory is experiencing a revival of morale. In this context it seems to me, the enemy within, say Polly Peck or Donald Trump, presents more of a threat than the enemy outside; in the form of the Socialist Workers Party or the Direct Action Movement.

Brian Bamford

deal of time-wasting at this point.

POLL TAX NEWS

However, I have yet to hear of an O'Toole's Advocate being used. I don't actually know much about it (has anyone else reading this got any useful information on the matter?). I would expect also that few people would have the nerve to fake a speech impediment.

Most of those summonsed who have had the option have made use of anti poll tax campaigners acting as McKenzie's Friends. I want to increase the number of such Friends by saying a little about how to go about this. It requires no special skills and should not be ridiculous gown) and let this Clerk know that intimidating to anyone who has already sat in people are willing to act as advisers under the this entails getting the person summonsed to on poll tax hearings. Most of the following is McKenzie Agreement. It might be worth hearings for non-payers. As those who take an plead that he/she has a speech impediment lifted from some guidelines for McKenzie's requesting an interview room too. The person interest will know, only a few individuals have such that someone else must speak for him or Friends issued by a local anti poll tax summonsed has to ask for (and agree to, of

A first point is that there is no single correct way of conducting a case. From my own experience, I know that the success or otherwise of a McKenzie's Friend in wasting argument over the competence or otherwise of time and getting adjournments depends heavily on whether the magistrate is 'liberal' or 'strict'. It is therefore difficult to be prepared for every eventuality.

> It must be borne in mind that courts are intimidating places (they are meant to be, after all). It follows that a McKenzie's Friend ought to make sure that the questions he/she gives the person summonsed to ask must be those summonsed with lists of things one can understood by that person, so that he/she is and cannot say, I've yet to see anyone done for happy with it and not even more confused by contempt for saying their piece. Even if the

For this reason, it is advisable to prepare in people to turn up in court and assure them that the public gallery. there will be McKenzie's Friends there. But it leaflets, that the courts will only issue liability 9QN.

retard this process; the function of this must be

In some early cases, McKenzie's Friends were allowed to speak directly to the court. But it is more likely that this will not be allowed and that the Friend will simply whisper or pass pieces of paper to the person

As far as organising this on the day goes, would-be McKenzie's Friends should meet the Clerk of the Court beforehand (he/she is hard to mistake, being some old fool in a course) a McKenzie's Friend. Some courts have refused this; if this happens the summonsed person should quote the McKenzie Judgement (see below) and demand the right to an adviser.

In the many cases I've seen since they started here in Hove on 15th August, the magistrates have been getting increasingly impatient with people who, when given the chance to make a statement, talk about how poor they are, how the poll tax is unfair, etc. This is normally dismissed as "irrelevant to this court". But, although the Hove magistrates have issued magistrate objects, the person summonsed should make such a statement; it wastes time advance. In Hove and other areas, I always tell and usually receives cheers and applause from

I have a long list of very useful questions that is preferable for those summonsed and can be asked in court, as well as copies of would-be McKenzie's Friends to meet in relevant legislation. If anyone wants a copy, advance so that tactics can be discussed and send me 60p to cover costs: Johnny Yen, agreed upon. Many people think the courts are COGS U/G Pigeonholes, University of going to fine people. It is important to explain, Sussex, School of Cognitive and Computing whether via public meetings, street stalls or Sciences, Falmer, Brighton, East Sussex, BN1

Johnny Yen

Waiting for the Bus

Tall That do you make of Tony Benn, What's that, Bert? ... When they win a seat V V Daisy? ... Seems a nice enough sort in Parliament, they leave it vacant. Just of chap. But Mrs Potts says he's a Commie. think, we could get rid of Parliament Why, Bert? ... I can't make him out. He without using gunpowder that way ... Why gives up his Peerage so that he can stay in doesn't Maggie call in the United Nations the Commons and be on the side of the man to sort it all out? ... Why does Israel refuse in the street who reads The Sun which takes to let the UN into the West Bank ... What's the piss out of him, gets into the Cabinet, the use of the UN then, Bert? ... It's very no bother, becomes a Privy Counsellor and useful to the Big Five who control it. swears not to tell us what our masters are They're the ones who supply the rest with doing in our names, keeps on insisting he's enough arms to destroy each other but not a Socialist and then tells us he's in favour enough to threaten themselves. Divide and of strong government to control the abuse rule on a global scale. Of course the Big of power ... Does seem a bit mixed up, Five don't supply them with nuclear doesn't he. Our little Martin loves that Mr weapons ... I wonder why they don't, Bert, Benn in childrens' television who changes because they are always telling us that into a spaceman or a pirate or something nuclear weapons have prevented war for exciting and has a whale of a time, then forty five years. If they supplied all changes back and goes home to his wife countries with nuclear weapons, there and his boring office job ... Sounds like the wouldn't be any wars at all. There wouldn't real Mr Benn in reverse, Daisy. So we can have been a Falklands war if they had given expect Tony to revert to his privileged Argentina nuclear weapons ... Nor the Iran origins when he's kicked out of the war with Iraq ... I feel sorry for our soldiers Commons. See you in the Lords, after all out there in the Gulf, Bert. It isn't as if Wedgie! ... Perhaps he has 'mental there's enough of them to make any reservations' like the Roman Catholics do. difference, with all those Yanks out there. Mrs Walker reckons she's allowed to tell They will only be getting under their feet whoppers if she's in a real fix, except when and cadging their rations. What are they she's in confession, and the priest wouldn't doing out there? ... It's to silence the let it go any further anyway. They don't anti-war brigade, Daisy. It'll be a brave even give murderers away, do they ... They clergyman that gets up and slams the had to let Noriega go ... He hasn't been government now that our boys are out found dead in his cell yet ... Maybe the CIA there ... Can't understand human beings, are still finding him useful. Give it time, Bert. Mrs Potts' cat sleeps on top of her Daisy ... D'you think they shelter the IRA? Alsatian and they're different species. Yet How much longer is it going to go on, all if Pakistanis move in next door to her, God these killings? They've been saying for help them ... Haven't you noticed that years that the IRA can't win ... They can't governments encourage the idea that lose either, because they are so popular. foreigners are a different species? ... No, Hanging them wouldn't do any good either but I often get the feeling that they give because they are willing to starve women the treatment ... Here's the bus, and say they've got one sensible policy ...

themselves to death for their cause. Must it's a bloody Mercedes with a Sikh driver!

AN ANARCHIST CONFERENCE

Department of

Steamed-Open Letters

forces us into national stress situations to take our Economic and political problems are a sure-fire

Anarchist Conferences

In recent editions of Freedom, in the Anarchist Forum slot, I suggested the possibility of organising a weekend conference in London on 'Theories and Methods of Anarchism' and this has brought varying responses.

Suggestions were made that holding an anarchist conference was a good idea but should be a general conference and not merely on theories and methods or an international conference or somewhere else outside London and of course the conference organisers should provide accommodation for

I feel if people wish to hold general conferences that is up to them. I am not against this but if it were a conference dominated by the anti poll tax jihad I for one would not be attending. I have more sensible things to do with my life. I had a brush with that lot at the Anarchist Bookfair. All they could do was loudly denounce, scream at me or sing at me whenever I got in range. There was no attempt at a dialogue. The movement attracts strangely authoritarian types nowadays.

I am not sure what the difference is between a conference and an international conference except to say the latter sounds frightfully

ACCOMMODATION

On accommodation it is worth mentioning London has probably more accommodation than anywhere else in Britain and here are a few

a) The Youth Hostels Association has eight hostels in the London area but you have to be a YHA member or a member of an affiliated international body. London details from YHA (E&W), Trevelyan House, 8 St Stephens Hill, St Albans, Herts, AL1 2DY, England. Phone 0727 55215. Prices vary but YHA rates vary from £2.10 for the cheapest junior rate to £9.00 for the dearer senior rate, plus some London supplements. There is a Freedom has discovered a friend who works in point. He was right behind Margaret. If we all rode membership fee.

b) For camping, the Camping and Caravan Club lists nine sites for inner and outer London with | steaming-open any suspect mail. He has many others within the home counties. Details from 11 Grosvenor Place, London SW1W 0EY. Phone 071-828 1012. (Note: the London phone dialling Dear Jack, system has recently altered. The prefix 01 has been Thanks for yours. You're so right in assuming that cancelled. Inner London uses the prefix 071. Outer London uses the prefix 081.) I cannot give you the stress in the citizen. In fact, when you get down to current prices as they fluctuate widely. There is also it, this is their basic crime if we accept the myth that a membership fee.

c) During vacations many British universities and | been raked over by philosophers from the year dot, other colleges (but not all) rent out their halls of and out of it once grew the equally ridiculous 'noble residence (student hostels, for the uninitiated) either | savage' myth encouraged by Poppa Thoreau. He on a bed and breakfast, self-catering or full board | spent a relatively short period in the woods and basis. Details can be had from Carole Forman, came to the conclusion that the self- supporting, General Secretary, BUAC, Box H88, University independent life was the okay thing. He should have park, Nottingham NG7 2RD. Phone: 0602 504571. | stayed in the woods throughout the winter with his There are five London colleges in this scheme. | nuts frozen solid. Had he done that, the Thoreau Prices vary from £4 per night self catering in philosophy would never have seen the light of day. Newcastle University to £14.50 bed and breakfast in Norwich. London will probably be more expensive. There is no membership fee. However I it and we don't yet know how to combat it. Some have spent many a happy summer holiday in many | countries are better at it. They know how to adopt parts of Britain using this system, international certain mass attitudes. Italy makes extravagant comrades please note.

d) The Consumers Association which publish the Denmark buckles under and pays exorbitant monthly magazine Which? has published a number income tax. There are so many people in the USA of books on where to stay. Elsie Dillard and Susan that it is hard to discover how they keep stress at people now know real stress as a result, springing Causin have written The Good Bed and Breakfast | bay. In a thoroughly multi-racial society with so from the knowledge that they just could not meet Guide (Hodder & Stoughton, 1988, ISBN 0 340 | many problems and the highest national debt in the the 15% interest rate. The government-inspired repeat our original appeal. Find us another 500 42680 2, price £8.95 paperback). This lists 31 | world, their stresses have boiled dry. But no country fallacy is that high interest rates defeat inflation. London hotels with B&B prices ranging from £12 | seems to have anything like the British mental They don't. The failures were highest in the trades | about finances three times a year! to £28 per night. Another book is Hilary Rubenstein depression. The Good Hotel Guide 1989 (Hodder & Stoughton, 1988 curiously, ISBN 0340 43066 4, price £10.95 You can actually design it. I'm convinced that this is having on us, but they keep yelling that paperback). This has many London listings with Downing Street casts an eye on current trends, then efficiency and productivity are what matter. prices from £31 upwards, up to Everest.

e) The Salvation Army has a number of hostels for minds off other things. The staging of the Gulf crisis recipe for stress. Gorbachev has just discovered the than the price of a bed and who walk into Freedom | Margaret could not hope to do a repeat performance about to have your humble home repossessed, then | FIIND Bookshop and say generously "I'm an anarchist, of her Falklands warrior act, because George Bush the world is certainly going to look insensitive and Abingdon MB £20. where am I going to stay?" The addresses are in the got in there first. phone book. They are not all that bad. The After a suitable period, and by prior agreement, companies which are gradually taking over most of breakfasts are a bit rough. What I object to is the she made her entrance in the role of 'old and trusted fried bread getting cold whilst they hold their ally'. When George revealed that the Gulf pre-breakfast service.

If anyone is seriously interested in the possibility | Margaret publicly emphasised that lesser nations of participating in a weekend conference on | should dig into their piggy-banks and divvy up. of feeling under the weather. Maybe it is better to 'Theories and Methods of Anarchism' in London Nobody had the nerve to point out that the Gulf be totally unemployed and unemployable. That in 1990 or 1991, who perhaps wants a subject | States asked for help. They should pay for it. They way, stress can't touch you. discussed or might give a paper, let me know.

Peter Neville | the price at the pumps. Even Kinnock missed the

complicated and possibly expensive for someone (not for me, comrades). I am not against these but hope somebody else organises them. If people from other climes (I nearly said states) wanted to come then welcome, but I take no special responsibility

If people want to organise conferences outside London then well and good. I am all for it. I do however live and work in London and this is where most of my current contacts are. I suggest they get on with it and, no it is not sour grapes, just the ageing process and the week. If I can get up the energy I might come. of anarchist fundamentalism. But I am not sure whether I want to participate in an organisational role in a conference outside London. Do your own thing, say I.

mean in the palmy days of the '60s, the peace authority of Colin Ward, add that you yourself movement, etc., many of us used to have find "most of Barrett's answer" convincing, quarterly since it concerns itself with what is, drop-in arrangements with comrades. But it | and conclude: "But then we don't have to be was reciprocal and of course rough. I | convinced about anarchism!" remember offering space to a Birmingham | Such an attitude makes sense if you simply 'Solidarity' conference and was quite amazed | want to preach to the converted, repeating that they expected beds. We normally used | traditional anarchist arguments over and over floor space. And of course I too have had some again, often in the same words as before, as bad experiences. People always assume my though they were holy scripture. But it misses bookshelves are there as non-returnable | the point that most people do have to be library stock. I only put up friends now. Some | convinced about anarchism, and won't be people suggest "But are there not squats?" | convinced by reprinting rather simplistic and forgetting that these are places where people | dated answers to a few of the standard live, not free-for-alls, continental scenarios | objections, but need something more serious notwithstanding. Also people who turn up and more up to date.

the Government Secret Service Department

which is responsible for intercepting and

undertaken to pass on anything of interest to us.

governments are capable of deliberately creating

man is born free. It is a laughable fallacy and it has

Government-created stress creeps into all our

lives. It's like dry rot in timber. There is no avoiding

noises and has frequent changes of government.

National stress is something you can engineer.

are, after all, our oil suppliers, and they get rich on

requesting accommodation always appear to be flat broke. Like the bloke who asked me to help him get settled in Birmingham and turned up with half a crown in his pocket, yet who never bothered to ask what my financial position was. So many visitors have enough for drinks and ciggies but cannot afford the tube fare and in the morning you cannot get appeared to confuse the conference with a chip in financially. weekend in town, like they seem to miss all See column I for Accommodation

the sessions, some guests get rather irritating. So, I am still interested in organising a weekend conference in London on 'Theories and Methods of Anarchism' rather like the Communist University of London or those organised by Trotskyist groups, but this means organising the hall, telling people where it is, arranging the speakers, and so on, but rid of them. Also so many might have everything else is up to you. Plus participants

Objections to Anarchism

The Editors' note added to my review of the Pirate Press reprint of George Barrett's general tiredness by the end of the day and | pamphlets (3rd November) is a nice example

You dissociate yourself from my statement that Barrett's Objections to Anarchism | Dsubscribers to The Raven should have "finally fails to convince". However, rather As to accommodation, well I am not sure. I than offer any evidence you appeal to the Communicating'. We think it will be considered

pushbikes it would be a different story.

to be affected by it.

wrong with great regularity.

So, Jack, you must stop waking up in a sweat in

the middle of the night to find yourself chewing the

edge of the duvet. Granted, achieving immunity

from stress is one of the hardest things to

accomplish, but you can do it. To stand aside and

seem to be unworried and uncaring is not

everybody's cup of tea, but what you have to

remember is that a lot of politicians manage it -

and get paid for doing it. Their role is to design

stress and pass it on. The least you can do is refuse

The real question is, must government create

Viewing the Thatcher Years, maybe the answer is

yes — and a very big yes it is when you consider

the rapid destruction of a world we once knew and

the alleged construction of a new shanty-world of

Business failures between May and June of this

year were 83% higher than in 1989 according to

Trade Indemnity, a credit insurance group. About

4,000 businesses went down the tube in the second

quarter of this year. In the West Midlands business

failures are now up 167%. In the North the figure is

of those glitzy shopping centres. A hell of a lot of

most needed at this time — engineering and metals.

unresponsive. I've noticed that the Japanese

our industries are keen on keeping the workers fit

See you shortly. Love to Celia and the kids.

with daily knee-bends and physical jerks. For the

The Whitehall comedians must know what effect

150%. Watch out for the tinkling collapse of many

Enterprise Culture in which things seem to go | blame us if you haven't received number 12!

stress? Does stress actually feed governmen

News from Angel Alley

y the time this issue of Freedom appears received their copies of issue number 12 'On an interesting and important issue of our after all, the most important aspect of anarchist activity: how we direct our propaganda? We shall be producing a second issue of The Raven on the same subject next year as a follow-up to number 12 and to the questionnaire we are hoping to circulate very

The Pluto Press titles taken over by Freedom Press (advertised elsewhere in this issue) are selling well and our special November offer has already met with many orders. All six volumes are available at £3.95 per volume. That's half the published price. But there is still time - to the end of November to take advantage of our special offer to Freedom subscribers of the six volumes for only £12 (plus £3 postage inland, £6 abroad). Trade orders will be supplied at £3.95 less

A le haven't been sending out subscription V V renewal notices recently as there are not many due for renewal until the end of the year. However you can ascertain the state of your sub(s) to Freedom / The Raven by reference to the label on your envelope. The bottom row of figures can be easily interpreted. If there are three figures: the first is only of importance to us. The middle figure refers to when your Freedom sub expires (90 is 22nd September, 91 is 6th October, 92 is 20th October and so on to 15th December 96). The third set of figures tells you the actual issue when your Ravensub expires. Because The Ravencosts a lot to actually print and post we shall not be

sending number 12 to subscribers who are not

paid up to date. So if your label says 11 don't

A s we get to the end of the year we have a better idea of how Freedom is faring financially. Not surprisingly our journal is not paying for itself. To the end of October we were more than £1,500 adrift in spite of Aldgate Press being generous with their charges. The much denied recession by the government car. be seen quite clearly in the proportion of claimants' subscriptions to Freedom. We subscribers to Freedom and we will only talk

DONATIONS 26th October - 8th November

down and outs who come to London with little more is a fair example. It was obvious from the start that truth of this. If, on top of everything else, you are FREEDOM FORTNIGHTLY FIGHTING

Total = £20.00

1990 total to date = £1,006.85

adventure was costing a hell of a lot of money, Jap-seduced worker who is feeling stressed it FREEDOM PRESS OVERHEADS becomes difficult to take a day off on the kidology FUND Brixham FY £7, London DR £7.10, Abingdon

> Total = £19.10 1990 total to date = £762.95