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FIFTY PENCE

*"A good politician
under democracy is
quite as unthinkable as
an honest burglar"*

H.L. Mencken

The budget is an obvious Tory bribe for BUYING VOTES!

Obviously no government or politician after power can resist the temptation, when elections are involved, to promise (if you are not in power) or to give (if you are) 'sweeteners' in the hope that the votes will come your way. Nowadays the budget is a very complex business – no wonder the politicians then chew over it for days. Gone are the good old days just after World War Two when, for instance, the Neapolitan shipping magnate Achille Lauro, who was seeking election as Mayor of Naples, arranged for right shoes to be distributed to the poor people of the

city with the promise that if he were elected he would distribute the same number of left shoes!

The Major government started before the budget with its pre-election giveaways and they weren't Lauro's right hand shoes. *The Guardian* (28th February) estimated that they topped "£2,000 million in three weeks". *The Independent* (5th March) only a week later put it more forcibly: "'election bribes' reach almost £3,000 million and could double." They included pay rises for public sector workers of about £500

million more than an inflation-linked deal would have been. And for the ailing 'defence' industry a £500 million order for ships for the Royal Navy, another £500 million for aircraft and helicopter contracts and a further £570 million for air-to-air missile contracts.

And lots of smaller 'bribes' not to mention a U-turn so far as the dentists are concerned. The proposed 13.8% in dentists' pay has now been suspended. The reason for the cut was that they were being overpaid – as everybody knows that they are. But when the dentists threatened to take direct action and leave the NHS the government's wisdom teeth soon made them 'see reason'! When will the underpaid workers and unemployed take direct action and make our rulers see reason?

YET ANOTHER LOTTERY

For most people life is a lottery. You don't choose your parents or the country you live in. Your early education – or non-education – is determined for you and in due course your livelihood depends on an employer who has the power to hire and fire as it suits his convenience. (Curiously enough, this was much more difficult in totalitarian countries such as the Soviet Union and Franco's Spain!)

The media are always reminding us of those who win in the lottery of life, just as Littlewoods display their £ million football winners clutching their poster-size cheques, but very little of the millions who never get a break in life.

No Tory government has time for the underprivileged in our society, and the Labour Party, while paying lip service to the redistribution of wealth, has never succeeded in doing so nor has ever learned that just as you cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear you cannot make the capitalist system, which by definition encourages competition and inequality, create a society of co-operation and social equality.

Gambling is the last resort for the poor. Nowadays all the tabloids run glorified bingo and other stupid competitions throughout the year. And of course the football pools are continuous since when there is no football here they use Australian football matches to keep the punters hoping.

Now the Home Secretary, Kenneth Baker, grinning like a Cheshire Cat and with a handful of £10 notes, has announced that the Tories will launch a national lottery with a "jackpot of about £1½ million". A third of income would go to 'charities' and 15% to run the show.

Needless to say the football pools are crying blue murder. They feel threatened and, as are all employers, they are worried about the jobs of their workers. You bet!

The Labour Party are in favour of a national lottery.

We think it would be a smack in the face of government if the public boycotted the lottery massively and demanded that more of their taxes should be devoted to the arts and other worthwhile initiatives which raise human standards above those of purely materialistic wants.

The budget attempted to give more 'sweeteners' for as large a section of the voting population – but only token 'sweeteners'. The tax rebate, which in Lamont's words would affect all taxpayers, obviously passed over the heads of the millions of non-taxpayers – that is, the poor, a large section of pensioners trying to live on the state pension, and the millions of unemployed and their dependents. The millionaires also benefit from the 20% tax on the first £2,000 taxable income. In the £100,000 a year executive – £922 a month – it's not worth bothering about. And is the £3,500 p.a. worker
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— 9th April 1992 —
**'To those about to be
double-crossed'**

Read the anarchist arguments
when another Tory government
in office for thirteen years tried
to double-cross the public for a
fourth term

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BUYING VOTES!

(continued from page 1)

going to vote Tory because he/she will gain 26 pence a week from the Lamont bonanza? If that worker happens to smoke or indulge in a pint of beer, even that 26 pence will soon be returned to the Exchequer as a result of the excise duty increases. When will the poor, the underprivileged rebel? They have very little to lose and a lot to gain by direct action.

The most damning criticism of the government's management of the economy is their admission that the PSBR (Public Sector Borrowing Requirement) for 1992-93 will be £28,000 million – double that of the previous fiscal year.

And to think that only a few weeks ago in the party electoral free-for-all slanging match, the Tories sought to put the fear of God into the electorate by saying that the Labour Party's programme would cost £30,000 million! Here they are intending to borrow £28,000 million in the coming year (if they are returned to office) just to keep ticking over. You can't let three million unemployed starve – they might revolt. According to official figures the unemployed cost the nation in benefits, lost National Insurance and taxes £8,500 a year per person, so three million times that is £25,500 million! And though Lamont goes on saying that prosperity is around the corner (what else can these puppets say?) he admitted that unemployment would continue to rise. This means more millions to keep more unemployed idle and unhappy.

For the Labour lot, John Smith declared that they will keep PSBR at the Tories' level "but would reverse any cuts in income tax and direct the extra funds towards public investments." As it happens the Tory tax bonanza is a mere £2,000 million. This is peanuts compared with the problems facing the capitalist

"By definition a government has no conscience, sometimes it has a policy, but nothing more" – Albert Camus

system. The government tries to explain away the recession by saying that it is a world recession. But senior Bank of England officials:

"... reject ministerial assertions that the UK's problems have been principally provoked by a global slow-down, saying that the unravelling of Britain's debt burden has been the prime cause of the longest recession since the Second World War" (*The Guardian*, 13th February)

These 'senior officials' went on to say that: ... the unexpectedly sharp slowdown abroad now threatened to prolong the recession, and that a failure of the Uruguay round of GATT talks could trigger a 1930s-style protectionism and the prospect of a world recession."

We don't doubt that this is how things may develop, and far be it for anarchists to suggest how capitalists can save their bacon. We only hope that capitalism will by its greed destroy itself. But for this to happen a positive alternative must be advanced and accepted by the majority of the people. The Labour Party does not offer that alternative. All it does is to suggest that it can operate the capitalist system more fairly, more equitably. We are not so cynical as to suggest that the Labour lot are full of good intentions about the re-distribution of wealth – which is at the heart of the capitalist crisis – but as we have said time and time again, they will only convince us of their *bona fides* if they declare to the world at large that the rich will be stripped of their wealth and their power in favour of the people. This they will never do, so why vote?

OCTOBER 1964 – APRIL 1992* TO THOSE ABOUT TO BE

DOUBLE-CROSSED ...

A few days and the battle of words will be over, the tons of printed matter will be finding their way on to the rubbish dumps and into the pulp mills; the faces of the leaders on a thousand hoardings will be obliterated by 'Beer is Best' or 'Thinking men smoke cigars' or 'You've never had it so white' posters; the votes will have been counted, the winning candidate declared; the new government formed. For a few weeks the political analysts, wise after the event, will be trying to show how right their forecasts were, however wide of the mark they may have been, and then the country will sink back into political apathy for

"High hopes were once formed of democracy; but democracy means simply the bludgeoning of the people, by the people, for the people. It has been found out" – Oscar Wilde

another five years. For whichever party wins, life for the people of this country will go on much the same as it has done these past five years, and they will have as little real voice in the nation's affairs whichever party takes office. Indeed, for the past month cabinet ministers have been proclaiming their worth from public platforms up and down the country ... and yet the machine of state works on as smoothly or as inefficiently (according to your party allegiance) as ever!

Whatever differences of objectives divide the two main parties, what is clear in the programmes of both parties is that the people will still have no voice in their affairs; that the existing political and economic machine will go on determining our 'values' and our 'objectives' which thoughtful, radical people this past century have invariably condemned as inhuman, unjust, as well as wasteful of human energy and resources.

According to all three parties the panacea of a 'New Britain' is contained in the magic 'four per cent' growth in production each year. Yet it is, as a writer put it in last week's *Observer*, not only "an ideological escape-hatch for politicians of all parties" but that "growthmanship is the cult of making everybody better off without affecting the structure of society". These words of wisdom

The Advertising Racket

British Telecom's Beattie, one of the few television adverts which is both human and humorous, has according to the pundits 'hit a boredom factor' and so has been taken off. The news, however, has provided the occasion for some figures of the privatised (and no less a monopoly) British Telecom expenditure on advertising.

Margareta Pagano in *The Sunday Times* (16th February) writes that:

Since BT was privatised in 1984, it has spent £398 million in today's prices on advertising and promotions and yet another £157 billion on privatisation advertising ... That's an average of £50 million per year. Another £40 million is planned for this year.

Apparently much of BT's advertising work is in-house, that is within its Consumer Communications Unit, where 120 people are engaged in advertising, marketing and buying air-time.

Who do you think has to pay for this organisation if not the consumer? And what for? To persuade us to make two calls when we only need to make one. This is so typical of the capitalist approach to wonderful public service. They want you to have an excuse to make an extra call so that they can make an extra penny.

were surprisingly enough penned by Sir Jock Campbell, head of the huge trading concern the Booker Group, who, if we understand him correctly, has penetrated the smokescreen of wealth and status to discover that the values of today are all wrong, artificial and do not fulfil the individual.

Now while it is probably true that there are few tycoons thinking along the lines of Sir Jock Campbell, and fewer still who will give up their wealth and power to seek to put into practise their social beliefs, we believe that in the years that lie ahead we shall see the beginnings of a social conscience among the growing number of people who have achieved affluence and status in society only to discover that in so doing they have lost, or are denied, values which money cannot buy, which governments cannot legislate for, however well intentioned, and without which affluence, prosperity, material success are empty achievements.

The fundamental difference between the parties, say Labour leaders, is that the Conservatives believe everything must be worked for a profit, and Labour believe in service to the community. If the distinctions were true, then it is difficult to understand why Labour should not win the present contest hands down, or why the Conservatives handsomely won the last three elections, after the post-war landslide to Labour. It is more

"How can great minds be produced in a country where the test of a great mind is agreement with the opinions of small minds" – J.S. Mill

true to say, as *The Guardian* did (24th September), that "only a minority of Labour Party members – and a tiny minority of supporters – want a fully socialist society. And only a small minority of Conservatives want to let the market rip". Or, as a Tory minister pointed out in *The Sun* (5th October): "All the parties and all their candidates long to see peace and prosperity, and any politician who pretends otherwise is a charlatan". Apart from the fact that no politician could ever hope to be elected if he preached war and poverty for the masses, capitalism in this age of technology and automation has adjusted to the idea of widespread prosperity without thereby abandoning the class structure of society which confers power as well as greater prosperity on a privileged minority. The possibilities are, and certainly this must be what the ruling classes hope for, that we shall

in due course find ourselves living as well-fed contented cows without a care in the world or a rebellious thought in our heads. We believe instead that the more affluent we become, the more education our children receive, the more leisure we will enjoy with automation, the more dissatisfied will we become with the values of the acquisitive society, and the more stifled by the regimentation, the dreariness of our daily lives. We, in the affluent West, will also have to take into account the growing frustration of the peoples of the non-affluent world which will manifest itself in different

"Even voting for the right thing is doing nothing for it. It is only expressing to men feebly you desire that it should prevail" – H.D. Thoreau

ways, moral as well as military, until an equitable solution of the socio-economic problems on an international scale is arrived at.

We have touched on these questions in order to react against the faint-hearted on the revolutionary left who see every step in the direction of economic prosperity, at least in the West, as nails in the coffin of revolution and anarchism.

When a tycoon explains that he is voting Labour because:

"I don't like the present structure of society, however much production grows. In particular I don't like the values and standards it imparts to what used to be called the ruling classes, and through them to the rest of the community. The criteria for these are based largely on aristocratic traditions, and on conventions of behaviour, attitudes and manners ... They are arrogant values and standards in the literal sense that their upholders arrogate to themselves the assurance that their own standards and values are those of eternity. Whereas in practice they are mostly ... irrelevant to the real modern world. In this code, moral goodness, aesthetic quality, vision, imagination, cleverness, skill, professionalism, hard work and ambition score few points. Money, on the other hand, scores a good many.

Thus the present structure of our society brings to
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* In October 1964 a Tory government that had been in office for thirteen years, just as the present government, called an election and lost. The situation is similar in April 1992 and we have reproduced our editorial of October 1964 because we feel the anarchist arguments against voting is still as valid as ever.

The Mould Breakers – RIP

Do you remember the Gang of Four, all staunch Labour Party ministers at one time, like Hugh Gaitskell, another 'mould breaker' who is now only remembered for his piece of rhetoric about "fighting and fighting again for the party we love". Gaitskell died before he could. The Four – Rogers, Owen, Jenkins and Shirley Williams – formed the Social Democratic Party (SDP) which then became part of the Alliance with the Liberals and when it was a question of becoming the Social Liberal Democrats (SLD) the real trouble started. A question of power. Rogers has more or less retired, Jenkins is with the Liberals and pontificating in the House of Lords, Shirley Williams is probably with the Liberals but in fact has a good job lecturing at

Harvard, and Owen has retired (if that is an accurate description) from the party he created to 'break the mould' and is on the market for the most remunerative job. Last month "some of the best and brightest SDP members" were on display over eight columns of *The Guardian* (18th February), all young middle class, all smiling and with a well-satisfied grinning John Major in the middle welcoming them into the Tory Party! They include two past national secretaries, a former policy director and Dr Owen's personal adviser for four years.

Dr Owen is keeping quiet as to his own intentions. We are betting that if the Tories win, Major will 'persuade' him to join his government, perhaps in the House of Lords?

To those about to be double-crossed ...

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the top an unworthy amalgam of aristocratic idealism and plutocratic mediocrity. It seems to me that the High Tories are today's most impractical idealists trying to live in a bygone aristocratic utopia."

Sir Jock Campbell is no anarchist revolutionary, and we do not expect him, or Lord Sainsbury or any other pro-Labour Party successful capitalists, to pave the way to a non-capitalist, free society. But that among the tycoons of capitalism are some who are prepared publicly to express moral uneasiness, and a social conscience indicates, so far as we are concerned, that there are moral and social pressures from below, day in and day out gnawing away at the existing structure of society in spite of a surface skin of apathy, resignation and successful brainwashing.

Anarchists cannot be uninterested in this month's election results whatever their views about the demerits of the contending parties. The fact that the anarchist movement has campaigned to persuade people not to use their vote is proof of our commitment and interest. If there is, say, a 60% poll we will not assume that the other 40% are anarchists, but we would surely be justified in drawing the conclusion that among that 40% there was a sizeable minority who had lost faith in political parties and were looking for other instruments, other values. If the Tories are returned to office we cannot ignore the fact that a majority of electors have cast their votes for the traditional party of privilege, just as a similar result in favour of Labour is a vote for the traditional party of the underprivileged, even though we believe that there is nothing, or very little, to choose between a Tory, Labour or Liberal government.

If the anarchists could persuade half the electorate to abstain from voting this would, from an electoral point of view, contribute to the victory of the Right. But it would be a hollow victory, for what government could rule when half the electorate by not voting had expressed its lack of confidence in all governments? In other words, whichever government was in office would be subjected to real pressures from people who believed in

their own power. Anarchists call on people not to use their vote and instead to be conscious of their power as individuals which, linked to that of others of like mind, can command the respect of governments, can curb the power of governments as millions of crosses on ballot papers never will.

In Britain we have universal suffrage, yet a minority rules the country and controls the nation's wealth. Women have won the vote but they still live in a man's world. The right of workers to organise is now recognised by government and most employers, yet they have failed to win their freedom from wage slavery.

How many of you will think on these grim truths when you are exhorted by the politicians next Thursday to be 'responsible citizens' and use your vote?

10th October 1964

Mad 'New' World

According to a recent issue of *The Independent*:

"Visitors to Formule 1 on the Boongate industrial estate in Peterborough are greeted by a cashpoint machine which checks how many nights they want to stay, debits their credit cards and gives out a six-figure code allowing them to pass through the locked lobby doors and into a room.

Once by their beds, red and green lights tell them when it is safe to enter the bathroom without the risk of being sluiced with detergents in the self-cleaning lavatories and showers.

The prefabricated blocks that make up the eighty-bedroom hotel were built in a factory and fitted together with cranes in eleven weeks. Traditional frills from a more demanding age have been done away with in the process. There are no porters, bell boys, chefs, bars or restaurants. The only full-time employees who can disturb visitors are the managers, Don and Carol Andrews. Vincent Joyner, the regional manager of the French-owned Formule groups, did not think guests would mind not being able to order food at night. "There are a lot of pubs nearby, a McDonald's and a Pizza Hut", he pointed out.

The Formule chain sees the push-button building as the spearhead of a campaign of expansion in Britain. It hopes to build 200 by the end of the decade and attract some of the 85% of the population who never stay at hotels because the price of rooms is too high."

The Guardian gives us an insight into how Cadbury's chocolates of the future will be made in their automated factories. (Remember the label on the mango chutney jar which used to read "untouched by native hands", which of course was important in those colonial days.)

"Out there a few men and a few computers mind the activities of numerous machines which bake,

How many anarchists are there, and how old are they?

The size of anarchist movements has varied from place to place and from time to time. At some times and places the numbers are overestimated, as people are counted as anarchists who join anarchist armies, trade unions and so on, but are not themselves of an anarchist persuasion. In this country now, I believe the numbers are generally underestimated.

The paid-up membership of the several national anarchist organisations is a few hundred at most. The total circulation of anarchist periodicals is less than thirty thousand, including those sold and given to non-anarchists. Judging by these indicators, the anarchists are a minuscule minority.

Other indicators, however, suggest rather larger numbers.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, large numbers of people marched from Aldermaston to London over the Easter weekends, in protest against atomic weapons. At first everyone marched as an individual, but later the participating groups were invited

by the organisers to carry banners. More than one in forty of the marchers then declared themselves to be anarchists.

It seems fair to extrapolate from this that anarchists numbered more than one in forty of all those in favour of nuclear disarmament, perhaps one per cent of the total population.

For the past ten years ICM, an organisation which asks people how they intend to vote in elections, have recorded the numbers of those who say they will not vote separately from the don't-knows and those who refuse to say. The proportion of refusers-to-vote has never fallen below seven per cent.

There are many reasons for refusing to vote, but it seems a conservative estimate that one in seven of the refusers, or more than one per cent of the population, refuse to vote for the anarchist reason that 'it only encourages them'.

If the anarchists are between one and two per cent of the population there are about half a million of us, a small minority, but not a minuscule minority. The experience of most anarchists is that they had lived for some time before they came across anarchism as a serious idea, so it seems likely that there are many potential anarchists yet to be contacted.

Members of anarchists groups are mostly young (under 35), some old (over 50), and only a few of middle age. Young anarchists often conclude that there must have been a decline in the anarchist movement a couple of decades past, or even that anarchism is a very recent idea, but this is a wrong conclusion. The age profile of the anarchist movement has been the same for fifty years at least.

What happens is that anarchists in their middle years stop attending group meetings, as their time is taken up with raising families and pursuing careers. They do not all stop being anarchists or arguing the anarchist case, but they become less conspicuous.

It may seem at first sight that the opposite is true of political parties, where the middle-aged are more conspicuous than the young. But these middle-aged activists are in fact paid organisers and career politicians. The age profile of *unpaid volunteers* in political parties is about the same as that of the conspicuous anarchist movement. We may conclude that the apparent shortage of middle-aged anarchists is caused by the absence of jobs and careers in the anarchist movement.

Because most conspicuously active anarchists are always young, the movement is always enthusiastic, energetic and full of fresh ideas. For the same reason it lacks patience and has little sense of its own history.

Few anarchist groups last for long. The members of a new group may be completely unaware that there was a flourishing group in the same locality a few years earlier, while ex-members of the earlier group look on approvingly, without introducing themselves.

DR

Copies of the anti-election leaflet included with this issue of *Freedom* will be supplied post free on payment of £1 for 50 copies or £2 for 100 copies.



The Factory and Beyond

There is not a lot to choose between backing horses and backing an idea. The bourgeois 'Jew boy' Marx placed his bet on the 'class war', which became the most remarkable political long-shot of the twentieth century. For three-quarters of a century it ran an exciting race with its chief rival capitalism.

The reactionary writer Wyndham Lewis applauded Marx for showing "how easy it is to substitute, in a disorganised, non-rationally founded society, any 'class' for the classical 'racial' unit of the state."

Now in his book, *The End of History and the Last Man*, the Japanese-American Mr Francis Fukuyama has declared: "History" in the sense of Hegel and Marx: a coherent evolution

International Women's Day at Faslane

On Sunday 8th March around 100 women gathered at Faslane Peace Camp for a variety of workshops, lots of fun and generally getting to know each other.

A wide range of workshops had been organised and included activities such as juggling, massage and singing, as well as ones on Trident, the base and NVDA.

Women came from all over Britain and some from further afield to join together in this friendly atmosphere to learn new skills, become more aware of the defence situation and make new friends. The day was relaxed, sunny and warm and for many it provided a fine preparation for the action planned to mark International Women's Day.

Around fifty women were involved in the blockade of Clyde submarine base on Monday 9th March, which took place at 7am, rush-hour for the morning shift. The women organised themselves into three separate groups and despite the very heavy rain they sat down on the road and stopped the traffic entering both the South Gate and the North Gate.

Unfortunately the cops managed to organise themselves at the Trident Gate, so as to prevent the women from blockading it, but undaunted the women burst through the police line and managed to disrupt the traffic at this gate too.

Of the fifty women involved in this action, fifteen were arrested. The arrests took place about 8am. All the women were charged with breach of the peace. They were held in the police cells at Clydebank and released at various times throughout the day, the last two being freed at 9pm.

Despite the fact that all the women got soaked and were detained for a long time, for those involved it was a fine conclusion to a great weekend. After all, for every wet woman there must have been about three or four wet cops!

Faslane Peace Camp will become even more important as a focus for protest after the recent launching of Trident. August or September should see the arrival of Trident on the Clyde and hopefully years of anti-Trident campaigning will culminate in mass demonstrations at this time. So look out for news on this in the future.

Eileen Flett

How dare she!

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to refuse sex to their men until they gave up fighting, but in those far-off days her chances of success were extremely low. It is time for a modern Lysistrata to show herself. Perhaps she has, in the shape of Andrea Dworkin. We shall see.

Rape and killing cannot be expected to disappear separately, because they are expressions of the same idea, the desire to dominate. As long as humans believe that there is real, lasting gain to be had from domination, condign rape will continue to flourish along with the compensatory and conditioned varieties.

Ernie Crosswell

in the structure of human societies from primitive tribal, agricultural ones, through theocracies, monarchies and aristocracies, and finally to the political forms we know today such as liberal democracy and technologically driven capitalism" is at an end. But Mr Fukuyama does allow that 'nationalism' which has been "democracy's handmaiden, from the time of the French Revolution" may have a role to play in the new world order. Thus, the conflict of nationalisms will replace the conflict of classes; the wars of nation states will supplant the cold war.

Anarchists never really believed in the battle of the systems of ideas between the old superpowers as being anything more than ideological cosmetics to disguise their lust for power. To us the socialist world was never socialist, and the free world was never free. To exchange the 'ideological empires' of the East and the West for the fracas of the squabbling xenophobic nationalisms hardly seems an improvement in human well-being.

In the end it was a one horse race with a nag called 'Power Worship' the winner.

Democracy!

As liberal democracy is Mr Fukuyama's favourite system, with the on-rush of the US primaries and the current British election campaign, one could be forgiven for believing that 'history' was a bit of a cul de sac. It's all about electoral mudslinging, taxation* and perhaps, if Labour has its way, the National Health Service (that parochial British passion which the poet Stephen Spender says threatens to turn the country into one huge hospital).

The greatest danger to democracy lies in its own conservatism. The columnist Peter Jenkins called Fukuyama's book essentially "an essay in conservative nostalgia". There is a big difference between the democrats of today and their ancestors; the ones who fought on the barricades for civil liberties and political and social justice for all citizens. Now out democrats don't deal in ideals, or even ideas, but in compromises and expedients.

Democratic systems of this kind can only be successfully led by men like Miyazawa, Major, Bush, Kinno, Kohl and Gonzalez. They represent the dog-end of a world democratic movement, a political class past its sell-by date. Nowhere is there someone of the moral stature of a Sun Yat Sen, or a Gandhi, or even a Mr Gladstone. As Mr Paddy Ashdown said recently, in another context, it is the progress from Adam Smith to William Hill. Of late capitalism has evolved to give us pension fund looters like Bob Maxwell, dodgy financiers at Barlow-Clowes, share fixers at

The New Colonialism

At the same time as the US motor giant General Motors was announcing losses last year of \$4,500 million and is making 75,000 workers redundant over the next three years, its directors were in Poland signing a memorandum of understanding with the Polish government on a £43 million deal to produce 30,000 cars a year in Poland from the middle of 1993. This would only be a beginning, for General Motors is committed to invest a further \$400 million by 1996 in a second company with PSO (Poland's largest car manufacturer) on a completely new Polish car.

Cheap labour, more competitiveness in world markets, more profits and to hell with the 75,000 American workers.

History's End?

Blue Arrow and Guinness, in the New World junk bond racketeer Michael Milken, and in the third world the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI).

None of it is much of an advert for capitalism's triumph, as trumpeted by Mr Fukuyama. It bears the symptoms of a civilisation closer to its dusk than its dawn - Mr Fukuyama's vision of a world cast in an eternal evening twilight of capitalist conservatism is an unappetising thought.

Making lies respectable

Another problem with predicative world visions like Mr Fukuyama's is the tendency of the pundits and followers to try to make the facts fit the theory. That has been turned into a profession by the Marxist hacks in this last century.

Orwell, who I believe originally intended to call his nightmare book 1984 'The Last Man in Europe', told Arthur Koestler: "History stopped in 1936". Orwell's claim didn't mean 'history' in Fukuyama's sense, as a system of evolution of humanity, but history as a rough guide to what happened. It was the adoption of the idea that history can only be a series of

lying propaganda tracts, that worried Orwell.

He admitted that he had in mind totalitarianism in general, but especially the Spanish Civil War. In his essay *Looking Back on the Spanish Civil War* this was how he described it: "... in Spain, for the first time, I saw newspaper reports which did not bear any relation to the facts, not even the relationship which is implied in an ordinary lie. I saw great battles reported where there had been no fighting, and complete silence where hundreds of men had been killed. I saw troops who had fought bravely denounced as cowards and traitors, and others who had never seen a shot fired hailed as heroes of imaginary victories, and I saw newspapers in London retailing these lies and eager intellectuals building emotional superstructures over events that had never happened. I saw, in fact, history being written not in terms of what happened but of what ought to have happened according to the various 'party lines'."

The snag with Fukuyama's approach, as with Marx and Hegel's, is that it tends to make lying about events of this kind respectable in order to prop up the pre-established grand scheme of the theory.

Mac the Knife

* Headline in *The Independent*: "Tax battle for No. 10" (12th March 1992), and editorial (11th March 1992) tax cuts "... one of the few remaining issues which genuinely divide the parties".

News from Northern Ireland

We await the outcome of the meeting called by John Major at Downing Street between himself and the leaders of the so-called constitutional parties. In the Prime Minister's own words something serious is planned and Paisley and Molyneux will be pressing for internment and even more troops on the streets to add to the 12,000 we now have. And can we have any confidence that whatever the outcome massacres like those in Belfast a few weeks ago will not occur again? When deranged policemen and determined members of the UFF can wipe out Catholics/nationalists in Sinn Fein offices and bookie shops and still the Chief Constable can say that things are in control, is it any wonder that a taxi driver should say to me that the IRA must hit back? And that imperative leaves areas of Belfast, in particular, riven with fear. And where, say the same nationalist/Catholic people, were the books of condolences offered by the southern government after the Teebane murders? Or the pickets and wreath laying by New Consensus and similar groups in protest at the Teebane murders? And so we're confirmed in our tit for tat world, where the fatal flaw for all of us is the assumption that the state, as personified by John Major, is somehow a neutral broker in all of this. Two matters highlight the crass resolve of the state to work out its own murderous agenda against the background of the work of the sectarian killers, and often in collusion with them. I note the Brian Nelson affair when military intelligence officers ran an agent, Nelson, in the loyalists' paramilitary scene for a number of years and made decisions as to which attacks could take place and on whom. Now Nelson is to receive his reward: a strikingly short sentence and a probable shift to a prison in England as a prelude to a new life abroad. The other matter is the leak of the news that a Brigadier now in a senior command position in Belfast was an adjutant to the

commander of the Paras in Derry. It is to be through his offices that security policies to address the spiralling violence are to be enacted. Neither matter offers much hope to members of the working classes of the divided communities that justice will flow from the state's activities, with a meaningful response to the sectarian killings coming from those communities.

Recent murder and mayhem gave John Hume such a dose of the head staggers that he berated the local church leaders for not doing enough to jump on the armed members of their respective communities. One particular church leader responded angrily to the MP's remarks, saying that far from living in ivory towers as alleged by the politician, church-men (sic!) were sparing no effort to offer leadership to their communities. Plain from this minor side show to the main business of the bomb, the bullet and the dodging of responsibility, was the ludicrous assumption that church-men (sic!) have some divine right to offer leadership and have some responsibility and power over the actions of members of groups who come from imagined religious groupings, as do prayer circles, charismatic meetings, Sunday school outings and attendance at religious rituals like Mass and Evensong.

The Family Expenditure Survey for the north of Ireland shows that the UK average gross household income was 38% higher than that in the countries of Northern Ireland. Poverty is thus wider and deeper than elsewhere in the UK. But not so much of a problem in the household of the new Taoiseach, Albert Reynolds, whose personal wealth runs to a modest £2 million. Chicken feed compared to the wealth of the man he replaced, but awesome in comparison to the incomes of working class protestant and Catholic people in the six counties over whom, indirectly, he will be exercising indolent power.

Dave Duggan

Mister Big

The End of History and the Last Man

by Francis Fukuyama
H. Hamilton, 418 pages, £20.00

Damon Runyon: A Life

by Jimmy Breslin
Hodder & Stoughton, £17.99

Bugsy

scripted by James Toback, directed by Barry Levinson

There are those among us, to paraphrase the late Christ Jesus, who will demand to know if I have read Fukuyama's book *The End of History* line by line and in deep depth, and the answer to the man at the back in the hand-woven pottery clay spattered pullover is a bleak and nail-biting no for to try and, unofficially, flip through someone else's review copy without getting the evil eye demands too much of an innocent seeking the elusive truth, missing in a mine-field of shallow thought and closely cluttered academic prose. In the world between the two world wars, the political activists and the academic mystics laid out our New World before us and it was not only for the birds but for the great mass of international working class peasant or factory fodder. Francis

appears to offer us the dream come true of Ma Thatcher's brain drain tank that it will be a world of laissez faire capitalism, a free street market economy chez 1992 Russia, 'brilliant' economic and technical experts hot-foot from filling their bankruptcy claims to landscape the living for we, the great unwashed, and in that fulfilment of the American Dream history will end with the last man of the old order, for the new man will stand there educated, washed and muscle-bound from the skull downwards.

Francis is a product of Reagan's America that led to the frauds of the banks and major insurance companies wherein a minority of the high class criminals ended up with the loot and prison sentences, but as always they have friends in high places and they broke nary a rock or picked a tiny piece of oakum for sick parade and the key to the jailhouse door has long replaced the golden spoon. I can understand Fukuyama's point, that has been equated with that of Marx, in that with the end of all our great tribal wars, and mass

communication and technology enmeshing the entire global human race then it must follow, but won't, that the lowest common denominator will be the unity of mankind. This was the ideal of all the utopia fiction writers in desert cave or book-bound study and the Webbs and the Wells plotted it, but we have lived to see the wet dreams become sterile realities. In 1926 the future was Fritz Lang's 'Metropolis' film wherein the workers in the year 2000 lived out their sullen lives in their German Expressionist city, talked out of revolt by the gentle Maria, and man, that was the future, all flashing lights and high-rise flats. But it was H.G. Wells who had the Fabian middle class cheering in the aisles with the filming of his book *The Shape of Things to Come* in 1936, and the uniformed and paraded VIPs take off to begin a new life on the moon away from war, plague, rebellion and, one assumes, a wage rise in line with inflation, for there is no place in those spacecraft, as Wells well knew, for we the Great Unwashed, for in a small spacecraft we do tend to smell. 'They' poured out the future for us, but we have seen their future and been forced to live through it. We read the manifestoes of Marinetti, 1909, *Futurist*, and became aware of the Roman clown's glorification of war and machinery. We sat in the reading rooms of the libraries to read and

understand, for the future of man lies not on some small moon but out in deep space and it is not for us, the mass, but as ever for the self-choosing elite. If you think I jest, comrades, then accept this: that with the threat of nuclear war this country, as with others, built nuclear-free shelters for an elite minority, and on the CND march marchers were arrested for shouting out RSG. Ask the ancients what it stood for, comrade. When it is held in a century or so that this earth must be abandoned, then those fleets of interlocking spacecraft will sail out into that eternity of deep space where, with no seasons and no times, all history, religion and philosophy will have become meaningless.

But here on this scabrous planet we will survive as we have succeeded in doing through every war, plague, revolution and honest administration. From the ruins of their future crawl out the rats and the lumpen-proletariat, for they, comrades, are the saviours of your lost causes for 'whom God abandoned they defended ...' This is the hour for the giggling deification of the successful parasite, and the film 'Bugsy' gives us Warren Beatty in the old Cagney role of the lovable psychopathic homicidal maniac who one had to have on one's Christmas card and dinner listing once he controlled Reno, but never mention the warehouses and their women inmates that he destroyed or the money-making drugs with which he poisoned a generation. As an entertainment it is of some small amusement, but what has to be examined is the tale of James Toback who scripted the film for he has 'a reputation' - and you mention Dostoevsky and James in the same awed breath - for Toback is a deep thinker, and yet he has, to me, produced nothing of worth. In 1975 Karel Reisz directed Toback's scripted film 'The Gambler' of a man who had to lose, and in the six years that Toback was scripting 'Bugsy' he directed 'The Big Bang' in which he held that the universe could have been "the orgasmic explosion of God" or, to be crude, the Great Wank.

But so many boring interviews, so many 'entertaining' minor films, so many references to Dostoevsky simply means 'try the other channel'. And for Damon Runyon, who wrote of the pox-free golden-hearted whores and the sentimental killers 'mit the funny talk', Damon Runyon 'This is Your Life' wisecracking, fast-talking ace New York reporter, keep away from Bugsy for, like my poor Uncle John, he really is mad. Meanwhile, out in deep space, decorated by Liberty and with an open line to that marvellous little delicatessen in Soho ...

Arthur Moyses

Food for Thought ... and Action

Recent additions to Freedom Bookshop stock.

Strip the Experts* by Brian Martin, Freedom Press (Anarchist Discussion Series). The latest in this series (reviewed in *Freedom* on 14th December) is an excellent complement to those already published, adding to the ever-broadening range of subjects which bear directly on the everyday lives of ordinary people, but tackled from an anarchist point of view. Perhaps the best way to sum up this slim volume is to quote from the introduction: "Every powerful group - government, corporation, profession or church - has its own group of experts at hand to provide justifications for its power, privilege and wealth. What has happened is that most experts today are servants of power ... In modern society, scientific experts are the new priests. They pronounce on all manner of things with the ultimate authority: scientific knowledge. To challenge the experts is heresy. Yet it can be done. The experts are vulnerable in a variety of ways. You can dispute their facts. You can challenge the assumptions underlying their facts. You can undermine their credibility. And you can discredit the value of expertise generally. Their weaknesses can be probed and relentlessly exploited." This book shows how to strip them bare. Highly recommended. 69 pages, £1.95.

The Miners' Next Step: being a suggested scheme for the re-organisation of the Federation, Unofficial Reform Committee, with new introduction by David Douglass, Phoenix Press. Originally published in 1912, this classic syndicalist document has been reprinted "at a time when the miners' union is again wracked by the aftermath of punishing class war, media and ruling class hostility, decimation of the mining industry and internal conflict over methods of restructuring the union ... In this context much of the proposed programme put forward in this pamphlet is still relevant." Douglass is also the author of *Hatfield Main: a colliery community in the great coal strike of 1984-85** published by Hooligan Press, 90 pages, illustrated, £3.50, and is the NUM branch delegate for that colliery. The current pamphlet is 32 pages, A5, £1.50.

Refracted Perspective: the left, working class trade unionism and the miners by David Douglass, 121 Books. This is the text of a speech by the aforementioned Yorkshire miner to the Class War Federation International Conference in September 1991. It has been published now because, say the publishers, "we

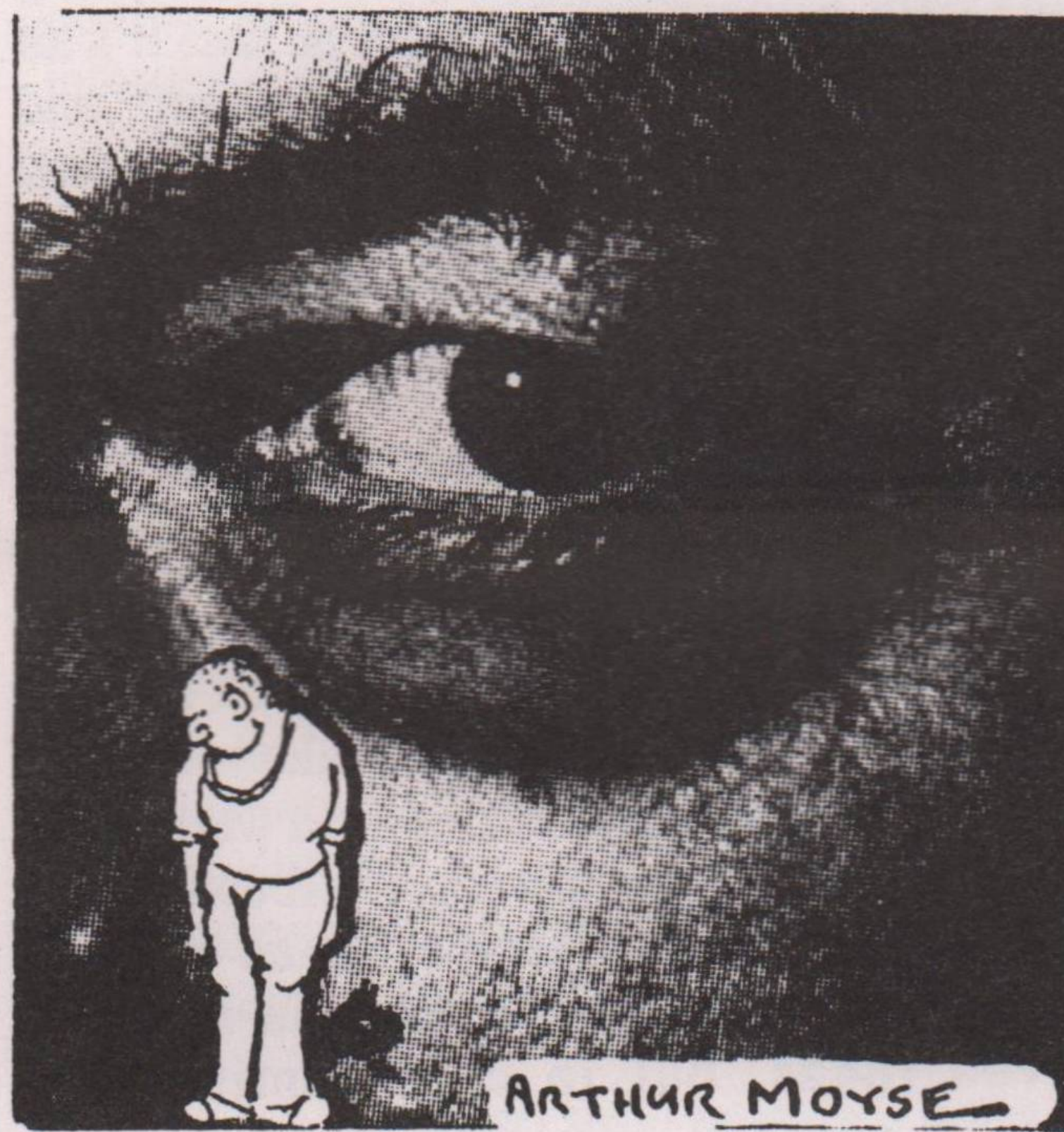
think it does a good job of exposing attitudes of left-wing groups to working class self-organisation". 12 pages, 60p.

Bad Attitude: the Processed World anthology edited by Chris Carlsson with Mark Leger, Verso. Described as "the underside of the information age - in words and scathing graphic humour, as told by those who live it", and dedicated "to all subversive spirits languishing in lonely, useless jobs everywhere. Keep going!" A collection of writings and graphics from the extraordinary *Processed World* magazine (latest issue mentioned the the last *Freedom*), this book contains blistering first-hand accounts of life at the bottom of the ladder in big banks, defence contractors, computer manufacturers and food processing factories. In these pages the service economy and the high-tech jobs often touted in glowing terms by the mainstream media are exposed for their quotidian banality, their essential uselessness and the catch-22 absurdity that permeates all corporate life under late capitalism. It described the hazards of the office computer and how to sabotage it, it provides a unique basis for new theoretical developments in the struggle for human liberation and, above all, it assures the thousands of isolated rebels in dead-end and deadening jobs that they are not alone. The spark of revolt can and must be nurtured until the next wave comes along. Vast and stimulating. Large format, 285 pages, £11.95.

Spectacular Times Pocketbook Series reprinted titles: *The Bad Days Will End** by Larry Law, 32 pages, 90p; *Women and the Spectacle** by Carol Ehrlich, 16 pages, 60p; *Revolutionary Self-Theory: a beginners manual**, 32 pages, 90p. Around the time of his death, Larry Law's creation Spectacular Times and the titles under that imprint were entrusted to the A Distribution group on the understanding that all the titles would be kept in print in his memory. This they are doing, to the same high standard and, equally importantly, with credits to Larry Law and his efforts - unlike some cheaply produced pirate editions. Accept no substitutes!

KM

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see the activities of the German Bauhaus (1919) wherein ugliness became a thing in its own right, and in those bleak and awful years of the 1930s one had to be impressed. In the 1930s Corbusier, the toast of the architectural avant-garde, doodled and built his huge barracks based on the measurements of the human figure and, in those huge building blocks, the electoral mass would be spawned, work, live, breed and die as with a bee, while in the American Dream of the thirties Frank Lloyd Wright fashioned his soulless boxes of steel and glass and the mangle of vast roadways leading nowhere. The Futurists disappeared into historical footnotes with two world wars and the Ford conveyor belt. The Bauhaus spawned the New Brutalism architecture of London's Festival Hall and Archway Art Gallery that of its ghastliness is now to be demolished. Corbusier's working class massive ant-hills have been broken up and taken over by the parasitical middle class while its misbegotten copies in Britain have been, or are being, torn down as unfit for human habitation. We saw the rise of the fascist movement in every country with their version of our future black-shirted and regimented and, to the credit of the working class, we saw it halted and we saw the Soviet Great Experiment born and betrayed. In all these perverse ideals of our future the flaw is surely that they see, as Fukuyama claims to see, that time and man are static and they map out their world accordingly, yet every generation must know that with the fantastic speed of technology and communications the living world changes in their life. Thus I know that Wells was right in a fashion he did not

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There is now a strong body of scientific opinion which, in varying degrees of pessimism, expresses concern about the effect of consumerism upon the ecology of our planet. Pollution threatens our planet and animal life on land and in the seas, whilst global warming is likely to bring about climatic changes which may well cause the deserts to expand and sea levels to rise. Having first tended to warily dismiss them, governments now take these threats to be real, and are beginning to think about and apply measures designed to combat them.

Many libertarian thinkers, ranging from Tolstoy in the nineteenth century through to Murray Bookchin today, have linked their anarchism, which sought harmonious relationships between people, with an associated need for harmonious relationships between people and the earth which sustains them. There is a great deal of sense here. If the authoritarians dominate, exploit and degrade people, it should come as no surprise that the same largely subconscious tendency to dominate, exploit and degrade will be turned towards the natural world, even to the point where the latter is destroyed, and humans with it. Refusing to accept this gloomy possibility, and believing in a final victory for libertarian social arrangements, we might assume that 'the future is anarchist'.

The above sounds at least hopeful, if not altogether convincing, but we can expect the growing ecological crisis to lend further weight to traditional anarchist demands. However, the time scale involved here is unknown, and people have so far been at best slow to accept anarchist solutions, or at worst to reject them outright. If it assumed that an anarchist revolution is unlikely, then we must also consider the possibility of the continuation of authoritarian cultures, which

Green Fascism?

if they are to continue must necessarily adopt a green perspective or die ...

This line of argument opens up some intriguing and also horrifying prospects. It means that authoritarians must now adopt attitudes which run counter to their psychological tendencies. They must learn to *care* for the earth, when deep down they see it as dirty and threatening. Furthermore, states will be forced to act with increasing toughness towards profit-hungry and polluting business interests, if the latter do not mend their ways voluntarily. There is real conflict here for authoritarian minds: they must care for the planet, and also restrict the activities of the capitalists who they have, up until now, supported.

All sorts of statutory controls aimed at limiting pollution can now be expected, together with various other policies to suit different states' political orientations. Faced with shortages not of manufacturing capacity but of clean soil, air and water, and other natural resources, 'socialist' states might resort to rationing with a view to lowering consumption and attaining a degree of fairness. 'Free' market states, on the other hand, could rely much more heavily on rising prices to reduce demand for progressively scarcer supplies. Whichever 'solution' is adopted, you can bet that those with the least economic clout will finish up far more worse off, especially as the necessarily lower levels of economic activity will inevitably stimulate still higher unemployment, and less purchasing power throughout the economy.

While the poor are forced to accept yet more deprivation, the rich will still be able to afford to pay for dwindling stocks of organically grown food, filtered water and air-conditioning in their homes and cars. This is not a piece of science fantasy, it's already happening!

Against this oppressive backdrop, explosive social conflicts are sure to develop. The rich will seek to protect their privileged enclaves with barbed wire and private security services, and the state will be waiting in the background ready to step in with police and even army actions if things seem to be really getting out of hand. The only missing ingredient from this burgeoning authoritarianism, if we are to call it fascism, is racism. Yet it seems to me that this last element, always lurking below the surface, is now becoming apparent with respect to the ecological crisis. Right-wing politicians, seeking to deflect criticism from the affluent, affluent, white states, are pointing accusingly at poor, black, third world countries who they say are at least in part responsible for the crisis in that they:

- have very high birth rates and excessive population growth
- are burning the rain forests, and
- use poor farming methods.

The first of these is particularly ominous since the same tactic was deployed against the Jews by the Nazis, and in later years by other politicians against people from Africa and Asia, in all cases with considerable success. This form of propaganda has a multi-faceted appeal to the xenophobia, sexual prudery and

fear of unemployment which run deep in many sections of apparently liberal societies. There are other arguments that we may make against the other two assertions which I am not going to explore here – my purpose is to establish a racist linkage with so-called 'green capitalism', just as it has always been with the capitalisms of other hues, and to suggest that racism might be expected to grow as the crisis deepens. Not unconnected with racism, of course, is the possibility of wars between states for dwindling natural resources such as oil, metal ores, etc., and/or relatively unpolluted agricultural land. The recent Gulf War, which was really about maintaining reliable oil supplies to the west, may be seen in this context.

All of the above, in my view, adds up to developing fascist 'solutions' to our ecological problems. For we anarchists there can be no alternative but to plod along regardless with our critique of authoritarianism in all its forms, and to do whatever we can to resist consumerism with practical direct actions such as recycling, vegetarianism, etc. We have good reason to hope that global ecological problems may prove to be terminal for both our political masters and the capitalists, and it is up to us to make our presence felt in what promises to be the most fundamental crisis which capitalism has ever had to face. Our movement is very small, but few would criticise it for its lack of resilience, imagination and sheer guts in the face of massive opposition and apathy. However, we may have to revise our propaganda a little. Rather than 'the future is anarchist' perhaps we should substitute the probably more honest, but admittedly less resounding, 'the *worthwhile* future is anarchist'.

John Griffin

Church, State and Freedom

(continued from last issue)

School

The next institution of the State that affects the child is school. Until some two hundred years ago most children received no formal education. Children learned from their parents and by taking part in adult work, as they still do in those parts of the world not yet overcome by industrialised production. Even if we would wish them to take part in today's work they could not because it is so organised that machines have taken over and people play a minimal part.

At the age of five the infant is switched from a home where he is the centre of attention, whether good or bad, to school where he becomes one in a group of up to fifty children, so that even with the most competent and devoted teacher he can receive no more, on average, than six minutes of individual attention and tuition in one day – thirty six minutes a week or twenty-four hours in a year. Most pupils will pick up quite a lot simply from being in the group, but the child with special needs, like those who have received no basic teaching in behaviour and self-sufficiency, such as being able to dress himself, or those whose mother-tongue is not English, or those who have been rendered emotionally disturbed by unhappy parents ... will not get the personal attention essential to confidence and further progress.

Schools in middle class areas take care to work as fully as possible with parents; a few even encourage parents to share the work of the school by helping in the classroom, but since a large proportion of even middle-class parents work during the day, such co-operation affects only a handful of children. Where parents are themselves well educated they can reinforce the work of the school by teaching their children to read, to calculate and to develop their powers of handling ideas. They do further help them to see the relationship between success at school and the kinds of middle class occupation to which they will be encouraged to aspire. They also train them to 'defer gratification', an attitude of mind that is vital to persevering for many years at academic work without hope of immediate reward.

Religion is introduced from the very beginning. The morning assembly is made the focal point of the school – everyone, children and all staff must be present. Prayers, hymns and homilies take up as much as three-quarters of an

hour, with great stress laid on the 'proper' attitudes to be adopted during prayer – eyes closed, hands together, head bowed and a general air of 'reverence'. Those who will not or find it difficult to conform are classified as 'naughty', 'bad' or even 'wicked' and may be punished by public rebuke, by slaps (now confined to church schools) or by being made to stand against the wall so that all may feel sorrow, contempt or anger. The induction of guilt starts early.

In the junior school more emphasis on academic learning reduces time spent on play and direct experience. This emphasis was meant to ensure that children could score well in the 'eleven plus' tests for the grammar school. Comprehensive education should have abolished the 'eleven plus' since all children would attend the same school, but political pressures kept some grammar schools and changed the character of education in the comprehensives by encouraging 'streaming' and an academic bias in the 'A' forms. So the old function of academic education continues to foster social-class divisions, since entry to universities and the professions is by academic examinations. Even the best junior school teachers are therefore compelled to 'cover the curriculum' and use tests of comprehension and attainment as a new form of 'eleven plus'.

Shortage of staff and money makes it impossible to take all children to see and work on a farm, to visit areas of geographical interest or to engage in simple forms of social service. Schools that keep animals and teach children to understand their needs and their place in the living world are now rarer than ever. Practical subjects may be skimmed or even omitted, modern languages left out, the teaching of the mother-tongue reduced to exercises from a text book, but religion is a *must* – the only subject that, by law, has to be included on the curriculum. The 'act of corporate worship' has to be held every day and at least two periods a week devoted to 'religious education'. The same rituals of prayers, hymns and homilies, with the usual implied or actual threats for non-conformity, characterise morning assembly. What happens in religious education lessons depends on the teacher.

It is when the child enters secondary school at the age of eleven (or the public school at the age of thirteen) that the process of conditioning for social roles really heats up. Private schools (including the so-called public schools) form about

ten percent of the secondary spectrum of schools and cater for the children of wealthy parents or for a few academically bright children who gain scholarships or grants from public funds. These children can look forward to careers at the top levels of professional and managerial occupations. They are trained to adopt, if they do not already belong to that class, the speech, dress, manners, beliefs and attitudes of the élite.

The next eight or ten percent are selected for education in grammar schools whose main aim is to get their pupils into the universities and thence into the professions, so their aim is academic excellence in terms of gaining large numbers of A levels. Although they often profess to provide a broad or 'liberal' education, the real priorities are seen by the size of the 'special allowances' awarded to those who teach mathematics, science and English, in addition to their basic salaries. Their pupils will belong to that class in society which controls, regulates and administers a complex society, so they must gain high levels of skill in the understanding and manipulation of those systems of communication which are necessary to those tasks. In both the Grammar and the private schools the teaching of religion and the corporate act of worship continue, but now with a much greater emphasis on the linguistic aspects.

This greater stress on linguistic competence does its own work. As Edward Sapir wrote in his book on the function of language: "Language is a great force of socialisation, probably the greatest that exists". So concentration on the linguistic aspects of religious studies serves to reinforce the message already carried by ritualistic observances.

In general these schools encourage 'good form', 'esprit de corps', 'duty', 'responsibility', and, above all, 'loyalty' as desirable qualities. The ruling classes and their technical assistants – bankers, lawyers, financiers and the officer groups within the armed forces and the police – have to act in unison and with common objectives if they are to remain in power. Within the public schools the possession of wealth and power is taken for granted. The problem is how to deal with those on whose expertise the wealthy and the powerful rely to maintain what they have got – the products of the grammar schools and the universities. Here again religious education plays its part. Service to others; the dedication of one's talents to a higher authority; loyalty to the Crown as

(continued on page 7)

Some feminists have made feminism a dirty word by claiming that all men are potential rapists. Some of us, at least, sincerely believe that we are above rape, but since attitudes and behaviour are affected by environment, can we be certain that, given a different environment and upbringing, we would have the same feelings that we now exhibit? Looked at in this light, the charge that all male children are potential rapists may be worthy of consideration.

I would suggest that it is far better to try to understand the Andrea Dworkins of this male-dominated world than dismiss their shocking statements as the ravings of gang-raped or rejected paranoids. For all I know about her, Andrea could be after making a few fast bucks by sensationalist statements; when it comes to motives, who can prove anything one way or the other? Far better to judge her by the evidence. Lately, the evidence is piling up. The most recent surveys tell us that, in the US of A, one in eight of university student women have been raped and one in five have suffered attempted rape. This may not be the tip of the iceberg but it could well be the smaller part of it. Surveys of non-university women give similar results.

Questions have been asked about the validity of these figures on the basis of the 'she asked for it' theory, but the question that always seems to get away is 'when?' because even if a woman has that end in mind for some indeterminate later occasion, it is rape if she does not specifically request it at the time.

I viewed the famous Jodie Foster film gang-rape scene ('The Accused') and although I saw her suggestive cavortings, I did not hear her ask for it from anyone, let alone several of the men present. Surely she could have been excused from thinking there was safety in numbers?

In *The Anatomy of Power* J.K. Galbraith proposes three distinct types of power applied by males over some other males and all females:

- Condign power, which is the use, or threat of, brute force
- Compensatory power, which involves rewards for the victims,
- Conditioned power, which relies upon the victims' willing co-operation under the spell of traditions which they have come to regard as natural.

Galbraith devotes a small section of his book

How dare she!

to the ways in which men exert the three types of power over women. Of the condign variety, he writes: "husbands originally will the submission or obedience of wives by the threat or frequent fact of codign assault; the protection of battered wives has become a cause". No grey area there, but the greyness begins to creep in when, as he explains, "and no-one can doubt the frequent efficiency of compensating power, of reward in the form of clothing, jewellery, equipage, housing, entertainment and social observances". And the fog begins to descend with "however it will be evident that male power and female submission have relied much more completely on the belief since ancient times that submission is the natural order of things".

Of course, so long as the male wields near-absolute power in societies worldwide,

we shall never certainly know where rape begins and ends, but the behaviour of our closest genetic relatives, the apes, bears our the claim that the human male is something of a rapist, just as the human female tends to accept rape as "the natural order of things". Apes do not attempt condign rape, cannot be involved in conditioned rape, and have no cause to indulge in compensatory procedures. Since the continuation of the species is the primary purpose of the 'lower' animals, it is reasonable to suggest that this applies also to humans. So men are programmed to beget, and women are programmed to be got, the reward for them, if not for the men, being babies. But the fact that many women will go through hell to have babies is no excuse for men to rape.

In contrast to the apes, some men cannot be

trusted with pre-adolescent girls, or boys, such is their desire to dominate and demonstrate their power. Yet in the ape world none, apart from adult receptive females, are penetrated. It is not for us to decry the Dworkins in the light of such human excesses. Where such behaviour is anything but rare, the charge of paranoia is premature.

It is no exaggeration to say that the influence of religions is so overwhelming in conditioning submissive attitudes that some women accept even condign rape as something they must put up with, just as they passively accept the mobilisation of their sons for death on the battlefields – rape and death, what's the difference? Look what God had Jesus do. Look what God asked Abraham to do. Women fall for this conditioning in even greater numbers than men, unaware that in worshipping God they are in effect worshipping the authors of the Bible – men! Lysistrata, so the story goes, attempted to 'kick against the pricks' by organising women

(continued on page 4)

News from Angel Alley

You kept us busy in February, which in the first week we thought was not going to get anywhere near last February's total. Instead we got within £200. And what was specially satisfying was that renewals of subscriptions were higher: *Freedom* £963 (£886 in 1991) and *The Raven* £490 (£304 in 1991). There is no question but that the recession is hitting a lot of our readers. Quite a number now are renewing for only six months, and some are not renewing their *Raven* subs for purely financial reasons.

Comrades who are really hard up and want to go on receiving *Freedom* must write and tell us and we will make sure that they get the paper.

We also sent out a letter to all readers on our free list asking them to let us know whether they still wish to go on receiving *Freedom*. We think that everybody can afford

a postage stamp to let us know that they are receiving the paper and want to go on. In our circular letter we gave a time limit for hearing from them – the end of March. So this issue will be the last we shall be sending to those who haven't replied. Incidentally, we appreciated the fact that among the first to reply with appreciation were prisoners.

We hope comrades will take advantage of this brief interval in British political apathy, when all politicians show their keen interest in the public – for their votes on 7th

April. Can we not take advantage of the situation to introduce people to anarchism?

The anti-voting leaflet enclosed with this issue of *Freedom* is surely a good introduction for those good socialists who feel obliged to vote Labour not because they think the Labour Party will introduce a socialist programme, but with a negative approach: that of getting rid of the Tory bunch. Supplies of the leaflet are available from Freedom Press at £1 per 50 or £2 per 100, post free.

Once again our thanks to those friends and comrades who have contributed to our funds.

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Church, State and Freedom

(continued from page 6)

representative of the authority of both church and state; the purging of selfish inclinations; the stress on 'purity' of thought, both in the sexual sphere and in the sphere of self-evaluation. In cruder terms it would be a disaster to public order if bankers, financiers and members of the Stock Exchange were to use their skills to enrich themselves rather than their employers. What a to-do is made when the occasional unscrupulous broker uses inside information to make a quick few million bucks! Hence the bitter resistance to the Labour plan to turn all secondary schools into comprehensive schools. Were they to become genuinely comprehensive, which they most certainly are not, the task of maintaining clear divisions between classes or occupational groups would become so much more difficult.

The remaining eighty percent of secondary age children go to comprehensive schools. Of these the vast majority maintain the old system called 'streaming' where children are grouped by 'ability' based on tests of literacy, numeracy and intelligence, with the best performers being put into the A stream and the others into B, C, D, E and so on, as they are classed as more and more stupid. In fact, as Brian Jackson and others so clearly demonstrated, the supposed level of ability corresponds closely with the social background from which the child comes, the middle-class child being placed in the A form and the unskilled manual worker's child, together with the coloured immigrant child, being placed in the lowest forms.

The social differences are exacerbated by the organisation of the school which allocates the most highly qualified teachers to the A forms and the least well qualified the temporary and the part-time teachers to those who, in fact, should have the very best teachers to counteract their handicaps. Further, until very recently corporal punishment

was regarded as a normal method of enforcing discipline. In practice this meant that the lower classes, in both senses of that word, were more often caned than the higher classes because there is a greater discrepancy between the culture of manual workers and that of the middle class. Where there is an identity of culture, as between the A forms and the socially aspiring teachers, it is easier to draw on common experience and establish a deeper rapport.

The school, modelled originally on the nineteenth century factory, still uses the techniques of mass production – the sub-division of labour / specialisation, processing by stages / curriculum organised by year groups and streaming, quality control / testing and examinations. Children are referred to as 'products of the system'; school buildings and equipment are referred to as 'plant'. In training colleges for teachers, courses are based on management courses in industry and reference is made to 'flow diagrams', 'through put' and other gems from the jargon of commerce. At the end of their schooldays children are examined and given dockets – CSE, O level, A level – to indicate quality and suitability for types of work characteristic of the different occupational/class groups of society. The near fifty percent who take no examinations at all are, by that fact, docketed for work at the lowest unskilled levels or for unemployment, which is now widely accepted as being a permanent feature of capitalist economies.

In comprehensive schools the teaching of religion again takes forms that parallel the differences between class functions. After studying many hundreds of exercise books used in religious lessons, I found that those worked by children in the higher forms paid more attention to the words and their meanings whereas those worked by the lower forms were more often filled with simple maps of Palestine and illustrations of tents, camels, Palestinian dress and the impediment of life at the time of Christ. The reasons given

for such differences, when I questioned the teachers, were that 'dim' children could not cope with words and ideas so easily as 'bright' children!

At all stages in education – or rather schooling, since so little of real education is seen for the mass of our children – the lesson is reinforced, not only by content and methods but by what Ivan Illich called 'the hidden curriculum', that external authority is the irresistible arbiter of our present activities and our future careers. The marking system rather than the experience of joy and fulfilment in learning is the criterion of success. Education is bound hand and foot to the economic and political system. That is why critics of our system of education and of our educational objectives rarely achieve more than superficial analyses. The system is doing what it has evolved to do in a capitalist economy, viz. to prepare children for life in a social system based on the exploitation of the majority in the interests of the wealthy and powerful minority; to prepare a population both technically and psychologically to play (and even more important, to wish to play) the roles appropriate to the class into which they have been born.

Why then, if religious education is so powerful, do the unskilled manual workers so rarely attend church or claim membership of particular churches? As Basil Bernstein and others have shown, there is a conflict between the ideology of universal love and the actual conditions of work and life forced on them. The failure to foster their linguistic skills neglects the socialising power of language and, therefore, the internalisation of religious values, so when external control over his religious behaviour is relaxed the individual feels no internal compulsion to behave as expected. The use of fear by the churches to control the lower social classes is self-defeating – that is the dilemma that some churchmen are now facing. But tradition dies hard, so church schools continue to use the cane when others have abandoned it.

(to be concluded)

Michael Duane

Animal Rights ...

Dear Freedom,
Like Pat Murtagh (letters, 22nd February) I too read your article 'Which Animal Rights' (14th December), though I found little to agree with in that or in his letter. Animal rights activists may be seen as people who care for animals to the detriment of humans or the environment, but in my experience this is not so. To see a single issue, be it animal rights or the environment, in isolation is to miss the interconnection of the issues.

As a vegan for the last nine years, and a vegetarian for some time before that, I see three main reasons for abstaining from all animal produce: the moral question of exploitation, third world issues and environmentalism. I agree with Pat that it would be beneficial to see a reduction in the growing of cereal crops. As he said: "crop farming of such marginal lands is deleterious to the soil and is a major contributor to over-simplification of the ecosystems involved". What Pat did not mention is that in the UK 80-90% of the 46 million acres of agricultural land is used to support animals, apart from the millions of tons of feed-stuffs imported from third world countries. So by reducing our cereal crops we would of necessity have to reduce the number of farm animals or they would starve during the winter, unless we imported even more from abroad. Or perhaps he advocates that each animal should have access to enough land to feed itself throughout the year? Not an idea that farmers would support, I think.

A more 'natural system' would be to let much of the land revert to tree cover. Within this type of environment permaculture or forest gardening can provide us with a plentiful variety of food without resorting to the exploitation of animals or the planet. Both these systems are self-sustaining and can be practised on a large or small scale. They do not require the input of animal manure, plants being able to provide all the nutrients the soil requires.

The unnecessary breeding of animals for milk and meat caused their numbers to double between 1960 and 1980. They compete with us for food, land, water,

human labour and other resources. They prevent the natural regeneration of trees - so vital to the health of the soil and use to us as a source of food, fuel, fibres, timber, chemicals, etc.

This second population explosion also competes with us for water, a diminishing resource in many parts of the world. Paul Erlich in *Population Resources and the Environment* (1971) stated that it takes 200 to 250 gallons of water to produce a pound of rice but 2,500 to 6,000 gallons to produce a pound of meat. This takes into account the water animals drink, the amount used to grow their feed and in slaughtering and processing.

In November 1990, Maneke Gandhi (no relation) wrote an article for the

Illustrated Weekly of India entitled 'Save the Trees, Don't Eat Meat'. It said in part: "A single sheep or goat destroys twenty hectares of government land before it is killed to feed only the upper middle class". The forced breeding of these animals is preventing the regeneration of tree cover, vital to help check global warming.

Many people become vegetarian or active in animal rights through compassion. Many then learn that it is not a single issue but a strand connected to so many others. It is not, Pat, an ideology gathered from the media, trendy superstitions and from the closed urban circles of peer groups, ignoring much more important ecological issues. It is part of a caring and compassionate move towards a sane, peaceful and sustainable society.

Trevor Stoddart

On Voting

Dear Editors,
Melville Thomson says he will be voting Labour, and that this is a justifiable position for an anarchist. I am not a purist, I have voted for individual Labour candidates who I thought were honest, and will probably throw a protest vote to a local CND activist who is standing as a Green; but Thomson does not argue his case in terms of the local candidate.

So the election comes, with what are we faced? The Tories, because they are either thick greedy bastards or dishonest, ditto, ditto, are unconcerned with the fact that their policies have brought us to a slump, merely want more of the same, stupidly pretending that they think that a

cut in tax will cure the slump.

Labour, historically pre-eminently the party of efficient capitalism, who in 1945 when capitalism had brought itself to its well-earned collapse, rebuilt it efficiently from the bottom up, must know that if the slump is to be ended, if capitalism is to be saved once again, there is a need for drastic redistributive taxation, starting by at least doubling income tax; but is too cowardly to say it.

The Liberals faced with a party of greed and a party of cowardice, busily announces that it is the party of the centre, i.e. not greedy cowardice or cowardly greed.

Laurens Otter

... and Vegetarians' Rights

Dear Editors,
Pat Murtagh's letter in *Freedom* (22nd February) is so contemptuous of vegetarians that it suggests that he is himself involved at some stage of meat production. His proposal that land used to grow unwanted cereals should be turned back into grazing land would seem to be ostensibly sound, but for the fact that in this country, as in most countries of the world, it is quite unnecessary to eat animals in order to maintain a healthy diet. (The big decline in the consumption of red meat in recent times indicates that this message is getting through, especially to the young.)

There's a good deal in what he says against certain urban animal rights activists, some of whom act out of ignorance, but he dismisses as "vegetarian rhetoric" claims that animals are an inefficient way of producing protein. Well, it is a grossly inefficient and wasteful method, and calling it rhetoric doesn't alter that fact, nor that it takes ten times as much land to feed a meat-eater as it does to sustain a vegetarian.

The question of ecology and human needs is a vast and complex one, and I wish Pat Murtagh was less parochial in his outlook. For example, if he is

genuinely concerned with (as he puts it) "more important ecological and social issues", he might like to consider that:

a) high protein soya is imported into this country for cattle feed from impoverished and undernourished third world countries, whilst their governments use the revenue to buy armaments from the west
b) the rain forests are being cleared at a truly alarming rate - especially in Central America - to provide grazing land for beef cattle, which are later shipped to Burger King in the United States to foster obesity in North Americans.

This deforestation not only threatens the world climate, but is destroying the delicate ecosystems vital to sustain a healthy planet. These are surely the "more important ecological and social issues" that your correspondent should be addressing. There is nothing ecologically sound about encouraging people to eat meat - quite the reverse in fact, for in some parts of the world it means ecological disaster.

Pat closes his letter by saying that the land is more important than any individual animal. True. It is also true that the land is more important than the predilections of carnivorous humans.

Peter Dawson

Dear Editors,
Pat Murtagh (Letters, 22nd February) seems to think that if only all those ignorant vegetarians would have some proper contact with real animals they would quickly abandon their blinkered ideas about giving them rights.

The male ruling class of the 1790s undoubtedly expressed very similar sentiments about Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* and Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man*. Both books argued that the oppressed masses - women and workers - should be given the same type of rights that the ruling class reserved for themselves. Those in a position of power thought such ideas not only dangerous but crazy - any degree of contact was enough to convince them that women and the working class were completely unfit to have rights. Such ideas were so ridiculous that they deserved to have the piss taken out of them. So Thomas Taylor wrote *A Vindication of the Rights of Brutes* - if rights were going to be given to women and the working class, then ... what a joke! ... non-human animals would have to have them as well.

A favourite tactic used by those in power in order to preserve their position is to point to traditional systems of

exploitation as justification for the hierarchical structure of society. But such traditional hierarchies are no justification for the denial of rights. For differential treatment to be justified there must be *morally relevant* differences between groups. Wollstonecraft and Paine were right because there are, of course, no such differences between men and women, or between the rulers and the ruled, or, so far as I know, between humans and non-human animals. This is the simple basis of animal rights. It is a major, not a minor, point. And it means, contrary to what Pat Murtagh suggests, that animal rights have got nothing to do with 'ecology' or care for 'natural systems' or 'trendy superstitions'.

It is also no good to try and ease the conscience by such thoughts that "the land is more important than any individual animal" (except for us humans). I have no doubt that our glorious rulers justify their own acts of immoral exploitation by the thought that 'the state is more important than any individual human' (except for us rulers).

Traditions of domination and exploitation create strong prejudices. I hope that Pat Murtagh agrees that *all* such prejudices need to be overcome.

JA

People Without Government

Dear Editors,
In reply to Harold Barclay's letter in *Freedom*, 7th March. Yes, the second sentence of my letter does misrepresent his argument (it also goes against the correct presentation later in the same piece). I withdraw it, with apologies.

In *People Without Government* Barclay studies non-governmental societies and finds among them communities imposing various kinds of organised coercion. Since they have no government he calls them anarchies and, consistently with this, refrains from using 'anarchy' as a name for the society of freedom towards which the anarchist movement (or a large part of it) believes itself to be working.

Other writers use the term differently, George Woodcock for example speaking of "the ultimate vision of anarchy" in which "free men stand godlike and kingly" (*Anarchism*, Pelican, 1977, page 31).

Barclay uses 'anarchy' for the communities without government which now exist. Woodcock uses it as a title for the society he would expect if the overwhelming majority were to accept the values and ways of thinking advocated by anarchists. I suggest this as the crucial question facing the movement: can such a change in ways of thinking reasonably be expected?

I am glad to find myself in agreement with both Barclay and Woodcock in seeing anarchism as a complex modern social theory rather than an original, natural or inherent inclination.

George Walford

Poll Tax News from the North West

Dear Editors,
Stockport, Kirklees and Leeds have decided to use wheel-clamps to try to collect poll tax. They claim it reduces the threat of violence, and increases the likelihood of payment. Several clamps have been sawn off, but one man failed to move his van afterwards and so had it towed away. Clearly councils must be obtaining vehicle details from the DVLC, and so this will provide a greater incentive for *yet more* cars to become ownerless. We always said we should generalise non-payment to *all* taxes, but failing vehicle de-registration, the hacksaw is the obvious solution to such 'Mickey Mouse' measures. Meanwhile, Tory Trafford are said to be trying to prosecute non-payers for failing to return financial circumstances forms, but this is deepening the boycott of the courts and opening them to further ridicule. More repression means the situation slips further from their grasp.

The big news, of course, is that even the Audit Commission admit a 10% drop in collection. What none of the figures show is that yet more have dropped out of sight and off the registers. Will the situation go further into melt-down after the election? Let's hope so.

Maureen Reynolds, a leading Manchester Militant, has written a book, *Uncollectable*, about the anti poll tax struggle in Manchester and the North West. The book is upbeat and emotional - "we've already won" is the message,

but it is weak on details such as dates. Facts and interpretations are blurred together. It's a gnostic version of history, the picture is painted with broad brush strokes in harsh black and white - a struggle between darkness and light. The Tories and Kinnock-Labour and those enforcing the tax are evil and stupid - "slugs, skulls and worms". The non-Militant parts of the anti poll tax movement are weak, tactically wrong, while Militant is effective and always right.

Take Burnley, for example: "Instead of building on anger shown in the courts, the local APTU leaders mistakenly maintained a low key level of protest which was ineffective and eventually petered out" (page 156) - there is no acknowledgement of public apathy here, everything is wrong in Burnley until along comes the Fifth Cavalry, bright and shining Militant, who win the day and stop the jailings with their 10,000 leaflets, lawyers, protests outside councillor's houses and rally with Terry Fields. Those who were there might well know a slightly different story.

Fact number 1: It was not just Militant but activists from all political strands from all over the North West who concentrated on Burnley.

Fact number 2: Probably the single most important event in the halting of the jailings was that a *local* APTU activist (an SWP member - credit where it's due) burned out his phone and finances

pleading with the lawyer to help them. It's an unjustified slur on the committed activists who live there, folks, to suggest that they didn't do *everything that they could* to halt the jailings.

The book is dominated by its interpretative framework, but this sometimes jolts in a bizarre juxtaposition of priorities as, for example, her account of Trafalgar Square where Maureen (as treasurer of the ABAPTF) spoke "but not everyone heard me - they were caught up in a riot" (page 47). A sense of proportion about the correct significance of Militant and the federation can be gleaned from this one sentence.

This book holds up Manchester as the paradigm case of non-payment (it's fifth from the top in the Audit Commission league at 45.1% collected). All this is down to the success of the Militant campaign. Three factors are largely glossed over here:

1. It has a high transient population (40%)
2. It has a high level of unemployment, poverty and urban decay as a former centre of manufacturing
- 3 It has a history of radicalism (Peterloo, etc.) and old-style trade unionism/Labourism.

It would be surprising if such a city did *not* have a high level of non-payment. The federation has probably had something to do with the council's problems, but it's not the *whole* story. Through her red-tinted welding-goggles

we find that any success is down to Militant, while failures are glossed over, ignored or blamed on the SWP, weak APTUs or 'ultra leftists'.

The heroes of this book are the vanguard. "Tyrants and their wicked laws will fall, under the pressure of the mass of working people, if the workers are organised and have a *bold* courageous leadership ..." (page 165). Militant is a power-base, and fighting the poll tax is not an end in itself but a means to an end - the advancement of Militant. It's a consistent pattern. At Warrington, one of the first towns to summons people, right through to Burnley last September, a crisis point is met by large numbers of Militant activists moving in and the local people are squeezed out. "We did it all for you" is the sub-text, which is not empowering to people on the ground. Maureen tells us the '90s will be the *red* decade, but we say that's old hat - the future is *anarchist*!

This being said, we need to take note of the Militant commitment, energy and willingness to sacrifice themselves, even to go to prison for their beliefs. This account is not balanced history of the poll tax struggle, but it is still to be welcomed because even a partial account like this is better than no account at all. If you have a better story, write it!

Kevin Klubman

Uncollectable: the story of the poll tax revolt by Maureen Reynolds, ISBN 09519215-0-9, 167 pages, cover price £3.99 plus 50p postage and packing, illustrated, available from 57 Northmoor Road, Longsight, Manchester, or telephone 061 860 7370.

MEETINGS

Greenpeace (London) Public Meetings

On the last Thursday of every month London Greenpeace has a public meeting where a speaker starts off the discussion and then everyone who wants to can have their say. These public meetings are at the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1 (near Euston tube). They start at 8pm and go on until just before 10pm. The first six meetings for 1992 are already planned and they are:

- **Thursday 26th March** – Defend (and extend) our green spaces (i.e. no new roads, factories, and so on), with John Beesley from Otdogs.
- **Thursday 30th April** – Women and Anarchism.
- **Thursday 28th May** – Saving the planet, a response from the Earth Summit.
- **Thursday 25th June** – The world is dominated (and it and its people are being ruined) by the rich governments represented by the IMF and G7. How do we resist them?

For further information contact London Greenpeace at 5 Caledonian Road London N1, tel: 071-837 7557.

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Anarchist Forum

Fridays at about 8.00pm at the Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square (via Cosmo Street off Southampton Row), London WC1.

1992 SEASON OF MEETINGS

- 20th March** - Discussion on the future of the Anarchist Forum
- 27th March** - 'Conversation: An Anarchist Metaphor' (speaker Tim Francis)
- 3rd April** - General discussion
- 1st May** - 'Anarchism: Ancestor Worship or Blueprint' (speaker Peter Neville) [transferred from January]
- 4th May** - May Day Picnic, 2pm in grounds of Alexandra Palace, everybody welcome (Wood Green tube)
- 8th May** - General discussion

We are still booking speakers or topics for 1992. The dates free are from 15th May to 10th July. If anyone would like to give a talk or lead a discussion, please make contact giving their names, proposed subjects and a few alternative dates.

The existing general discussion dates are fairly flexible, but some people prefer general discussions to the speaker-led meetings as the forum's participants often want to introduce a personal interest or current concern for examination. So whilst we do convert some of these evenings into speaker-led meetings there is a strong demand for the open meetings too. Friday is the only night available for the meetings as the centre is booked up by classes on other nights. Anyone interested should contact Dave Dane or Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW (Tel: 081-847 0203).

Do not telephone or write to The Mary Ward Centre as this is an adult education centre which lets us have a meeting place, not an accommodation address, and messages or letters to the centre have been known to stray. The London Anarchist Forum is not a membership group with a formal structure nor membership fees and a collection is made to give a donation to the centre for having us. We are not affiliated to other groups nor have the means to subscribe to these. We are a discussion group, not an action group. Many of us are active elsewhere. The Forum is our common ground. We cover a wide spectrum of views.

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