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FIFTY PENCE

"I tell you it is not wealth which our civilisation has created but riches, with its necessary companion poverty; for riches cannot exist without poverty, or in other words, slavery."
William Morris

Towards a Toothless **PUBLIC SECTOR**

The threatened walk-out by the NHS dentists following the government's announcement that their rocketing incomes were to be cut by 7% is, in our opinion, symptomatic of the greediness of the professional, the business, the top executive and entertainment classes, and is more blatant than ever in a country where for a large minority a future of austerity stares them in the face. Each month the number of unemployed increases (the latest figure of 7,000 is no exception), the number of house repossessions by the money lenders increases and the army of the homeless is no longer a phenomenon just of the inner cities.

Elsewhere we suggest how the public can react to the dentists' challenge. What is more far-reaching, however, is the government's intention to cut all public services (which obviously the greedy rich can do without, only being hard pressed to know *on what* to spend their fortunes!) Even assuming that it was not Mr (classless) Major's intention to

do so, the hard realities of capitalism are that when there is a recession the first victims are the public services. After all, they are not profitable, they are not exportable and they even encourage the 'underclass' to expect something for nothing.

Once more, on the very day Parliament went on holiday for three months (but before doing so voted itself an increase of 34% on expenses, defeating the government - that's solidarity for 'you!') Mr Major, quoting the gurus of the London Business School, was assuring the country that everything will look rosy *in the second half of 1992* (note the prediction so as to slap them and him in the face with it in December).

Yet it is so obvious that all the proposed cuts are determined by a dramatic decrease in revenue from all

sources of taxation. When one talks about the Balance of Payments: not only does Britain now import more manufactures than it exports, but the balancing item - 'Invisible Exports' (that is money coming in from investments and services, mainly insurance) - which used to produce up to £1,000 million a month has also disappeared. All the large enterprises (apart from the food superstores) are announcing reduced profits or even losses which will be reflected in reduced tax revenue in the coming year. To cover the deficit on the Balance of Payments, and 'benefits' to the ever-increasing number of unemployed people and their families, the government will be borrowing more than £20,000 million this year.

Invariably the Treasury will impose cuts on all the public services irrespective, apart from 'defence' which anyway we at *Freedom* do not consider to be a 'public service' and we feel we have no difficulty in explaining elsewhere.

While we could have sympathy with the government's attempt to draw the teeth of the overpaid dentists, they reveal their lack of
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How 'Efficient' is the Capitalist System? **1 in 6 Men Unemployed**

The official unemployment figures for June were issued by the government at the same time as the Texan billionaire Ross Perot announced that he would not be standing as an independent candidate for President of the United States after all. Both *The Guardian* and *The Independent* splashed their front pages with the news ... no, not of unemployment going up for the 26th consecutive month, but all about that political maverick Ross Perot! The unemployed were relegated to the financial and City pages and both papers published rather similar headlines: 'Rise in jobless smallest in two years' (*The Independent*), 'Jobless figures show improvement' (*The Guardian*).

If there were even officially only 7,000 more people on the dole in June

how can this be considered an 'improvement'. Because in the previous month 20,000 joined the dole queue?

What neither of these serious business papers made clear is that the figures published are of the people who were actually *in receipt of the dole* in June. It doesn't tell you how many in June were no longer 'entitled' to the dole but were still unemployed and possibly in receipt of some other benefits. It doesn't include young school leavers who are not entitled to the dole even though they cannot find a job.

These serious papers don't point out, as did the BBC World Service, that since the Tories came into office
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The 'health' of the capitalist system depends on there being buyers and sellers. It doesn't really matter what is being sold as long as somebody is making a profit and that there is a constant 'demand'.

The problem in Britain today is that there are a relatively few people who have more money than they can think how to spend; a largish number of people who earn quite a lot of money (especially among the professional couples both earning, even if they have to pay for a nanny to look after their offspring) who live it up with probably a part-sharing villa in Spain as well as their mortgaged luxury home and they haven't a lot of cash to spare; and last but not least are the majority of the population, including those with mortgages at one extreme and the unemployed at the other, whose finances are committed to the hilt – and unemployment for the mortgagees could mean repossession and homelessness.

Nobody, it would seem, blames the Thatcherite philosophy of a 'property-owning democracy' for much of the recession. The

The Thatcherite Property Owing Democracy Exposed

stinking rich are spending just as much as they ever did. The modest majority are spending all their money to keep alive. Surely what has largely contributed to the recession is that the middle section of the house-buyers in the late '80s, Thatcher's children, who bought properties at inflated prices, and borrowed accordingly, are now finding themselves with properties which won't even realise the value of the mortgages, quite apart from the fact that they cannot find buyers even at the reduced values of their properties.

So the spending power has been reduced not only for the state pensioners, whose 4% increase hardly covers the increase in food and fuel costs, and the unemployed who are threatened with reduced 'benefits', but also yesterday's yuppies and the suckers who

listened to the Thatcher 'property-owning democracy' propaganda and are now hoping that at least they can meet the mortgage payments. No Costa del Sol holidays this year and this is confirmed by the crisis in the continental holiday bookings with fears that there will be a number of bankruptcies in the tourist and air charter businesses.

Mr 'Classless' Major, who spent more time as a banker than as a politician, must surely know more about the crisis and the recession than this writer so far as economics are concerned, yet we will go on maintaining that the 'property owning democracy' Thatcherite propaganda is at the root of the present capitalist crisis and it is difficult to see how this will be resolved, more so since the latest pronouncement of Mr Major is that he intends to reduce inflation to zero. By so doing the value of properties will go down further and catastrophically compared with the prices paid in the late '80s. Simple as that, and we

would add that it confirms *Freedom's* editorial (11th July) on the 'Capitalist Racket', which is all it is.

Far from blessing Thatcher, millions of house-buyers who fell for her slogan in the '80s are now cursing her.

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MORE ANARCHIST COMMENTS on page 3

1 in 6 Men Unemployed

(continued from page 1)

they have made 31 changes to the way the unemployed are counted, and you can be sure that it has always been in the direction of presenting a rosy picture and not one giving the true facts. On that same wavelength one hears Mrs Shephard, the Minister, deny that the figures were phoney. Her view was that the unemployed were just those in receipt of the dole. One must add that even the Minister had to admit that "she was wary about placing too much emphasis on one month's unemployment data" (*The Guardian*, 17th July), which is not surprising because if the July figures leap up she can use the same arguments to explain it away, or just consider the figures 'disappointing'.

The government is simply bluffing every time the Prime Minister and his crew open their mouths.

The independent Unemployment Unit counting unemployment on the official basis used until November 1982 maintains that the jobless total is not the government's 2,722,700 but actually 3,865,600 – a million more than they are now admitting to. Nor are we told how many jobs are now part-time. And how do the statisticians include, for instance, the night shift at Ford's plant on Merseyside who are being laid off for a month after the summer holiday because of a slump in sales in spite of the incredible media promotion these past months? Will they get the dole and join the statistics for August? So far as percentages are concerned, there again they are also intended to mislead. The admitted unemployment for the country as a whole is 9.6%. But:

"Unemployment among men is running at 12.9% compared with 5.2% for women. The disparity reflects both the fact that many

women are not included in the count because they are ineligible for benefit and the tendency of some employers to replace full-time staff with part-timers." (*The Guardian*, 17th July)

Nearly one in seven men in this country are on the dole. Even more if one uses the Unemployment Unit's figures. Yet at the same time, according to *The Independent*, there was:

"a rise in overtime working to an 18-month high in May and a three year peak in the number of hours worked per week."

And this is considered to be "more evidence of labour market revival". Who, we ask, is going mad: with nearly four million people looking for jobs? It is obvious that employers are being able to drive their workers with the threat of the sack if they don't comply, and the argument is that as a result our prices are more competitive. Who pays for all the advertising, for all the unemployed, if not the consumer, the taxpayer, so that in the end what one saves on those wonderful reductions – the '12 months interest free' on the cookers, videos, *et alia* – has to be subsidised in keeping alive the millions of unemployed. Labour's John Smith in *The Independent* (16th June) maintained that "every person not at work cost the state £8,000". Again, the independent Unemployment Unit has shown that the cost of each unemployed person to the taxpayer in "benefits, administration and lost income tax, national insurance and VAT" is £9,200 a year. Whichever figure one accepts, the cost is an astronomical £22,000 million a year at the official estimate.

And the propaganda with which we are bombarded daily is that capitalist 'free enterprise' is efficient! Obviously it depends on the items on the debit side of the economic and social balance sheet that are conveniently left out.

French lorry drivers needed no trade union

A couple of weeks ago the French lorry drivers succeeded in blocking several major roads in protest against a law they thought unfair. They are not in a trade union and, if they were, it is unlikely that trade union officials would have objected to the new law.

The annual tally of road deaths is falling throughout Europe, except in France where it is rising, probably because French drivers are given to excessive speed. So the government has introduced a law, very mild by European standards, that anyone who collects six convictions for speeding will automatically have their driving licence suspended. Lorry drivers do not object in principle, but think it inequitable that lorries and private cars should be treated the same. Their vehicles have lower speed limits than those of private cars drivers, and they are on the roads for longer periods than private car drivers, so they are likely to get caught speeding more often. Therefore, the lorry drivers maintain, they should be allowed more convictions before incurring the ban – say twelve, if private car drivers are allowed six.

A trade union would no doubt have taken the view 'our members recognise the danger of excessive speed and do not break the law'. French public opinion, however, seems to be largely on the side of the drivers.

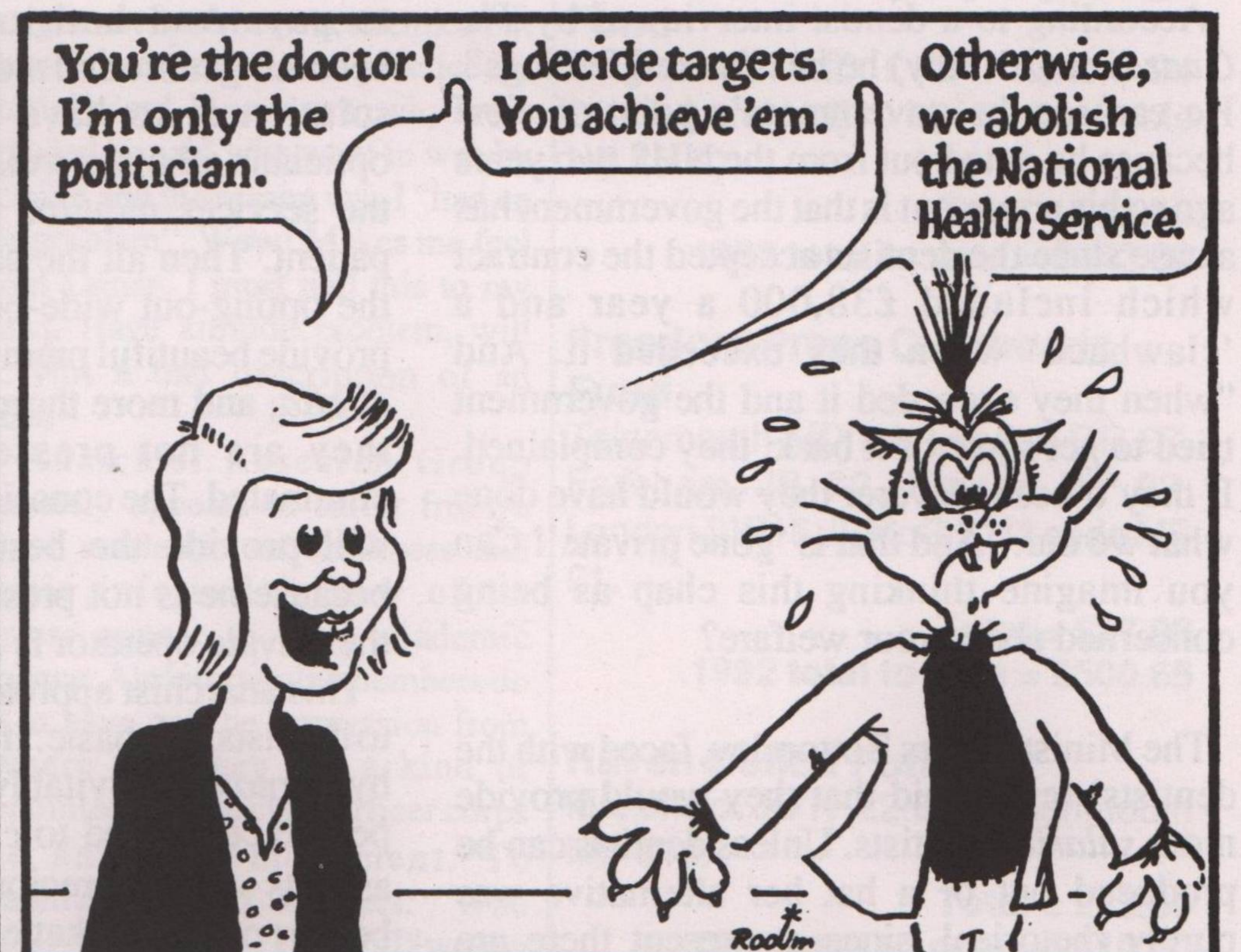
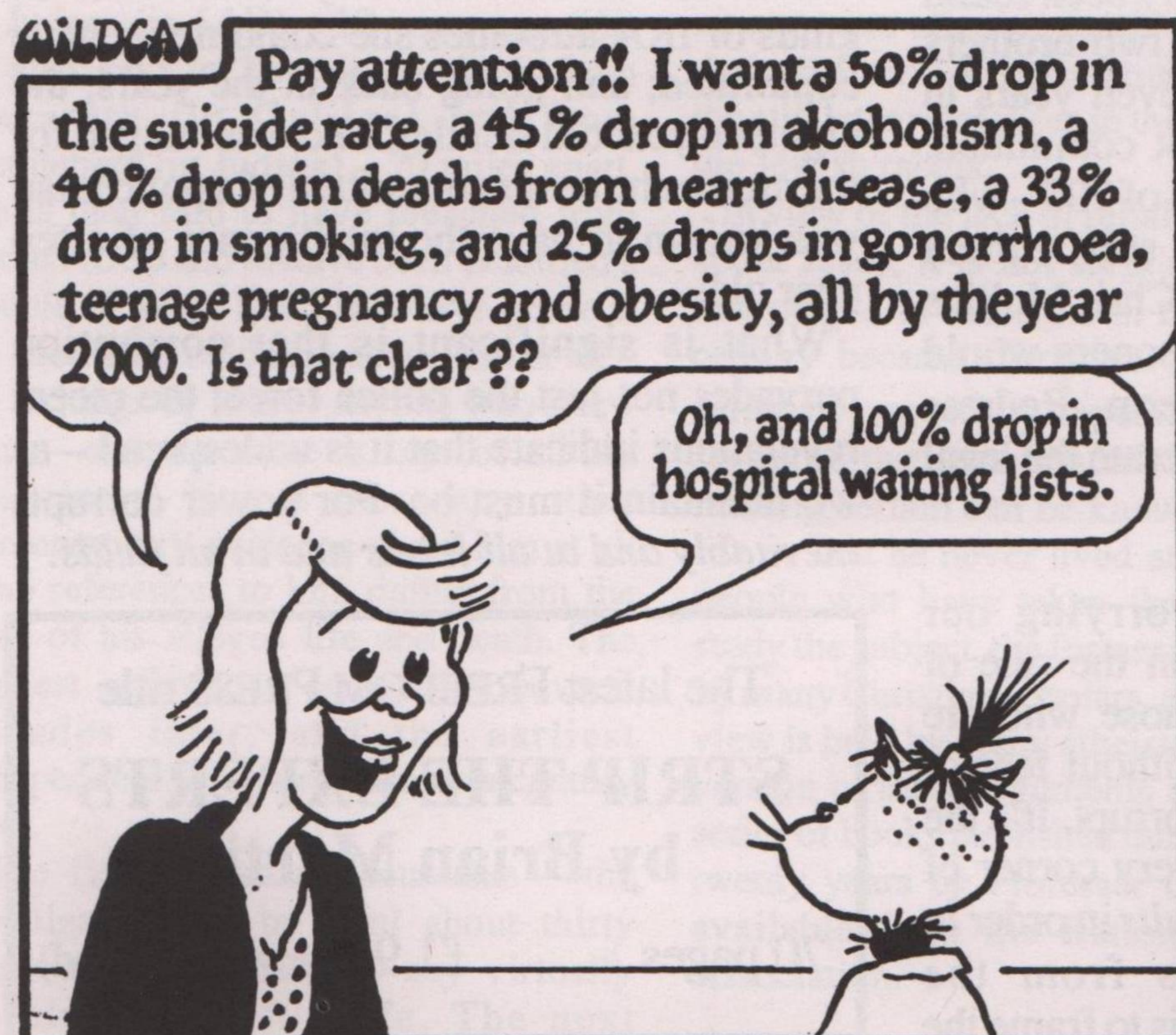
Not being unionised, the drivers were each taking the decision to strike at the individual level, and had no representatives with whom the government could negotiate. The government called out the riot police, and

threatened to call out the army to clear the roads, then made a rather vague promise to reconsider the law. The lorry drivers then resumed normal working, presumably thinking they had secured all they could reasonably expect.

In the absence of a trade union, French lorry drivers use their CB radios to co-ordinate their actions. One of the strike leaders – a leader not in the sense of one elected to make decisions for others, but in the sense of an individual who initiates activities which others decide to join – had the radio call sign 'Tarzan 75'. After the strike was called off, the Prime Minister was interviewed and invited 'Tarzan 75' to his official residence for a chat.

It is not difficult to trace the user of a call sign. The press found 'Tarzan 75' to be Daniel Leiffert, a lorry driver from Menilmontant near Paris. He told reporters that he is disappointed the strike collapsed without discernible concessions, that he is going on holiday to Cyprus with his girlfriend, and that it is "improbable" he will accept the Prime Minister's invitation.

There is an argument that, law or no law, lorry drivers and every other driver should be content to drive safely. But whether the drivers were right or wrong in their stand is not the important point. The important point is that their action showed that organisation need not be hierarchical or formal to be effective, and that people of the same mind can co-operate to some purpose, without anyone being the boss.



TOWARDS A TOOTHLESS PUBLIC SECTOR

(continued from page 1)

sympathy for the *underprivileged* so far as public services are concerned: less money for schools, fewer teachers. The Labour spokesman on Education reckons that 4,000 teaching jobs will go this year at a time of rising numbers (*The Independent*, 8th July). According to *The Evening Standard*, no friend of the 'left', "up to 200 jobs could go in Southwark and almost 400 in Hackney as education chiefs struggle to save millions of pounds" as a result "of a spending squeeze compelled by Whitehall".

In the same breath as the government bemoans the fact that young school-leavers are not equipped with the skills required in industry they are "warning senior business people that they had to deliver state training schemes for the unemployed on a lower budget". And the unemployed who are drawing benefit will be expected to tighten their belts another notch: "the 12th cut in unemployment benefit since the Conservatives came to power in 1979" (*The Guardian*, 6th July).

The government chose the week before Parliament broke up for its three-months hols (all paid for, expenses and all) to produce a couple of White Papers, one on Health and the other on Railways. It is ironic that as the Health Service is being privatised by stealth, and more and more of our citizens are being made redundant in the labour market where they and their families depend for the wherewithal to provide their basic material needs, they are being lectured as to how they could live healthier lives by eating the right foods and not in excess. *The Independent* editorial hit the nail on the head when it suggests that:

"The most interesting issue raised by the White Paper is summarily treated within it: the link between poverty and poor health. The paper conceded that 'in general, people in manual occupational groups ... have higher rates of illness and death than those in non-manual groups ... the reasons for these variations are by no means fully understood. They are likely to be the result of a complex interplay of genetic, biological, social, environmental, cultural and behavioural factors.' Given the undoubted importance of this 'complex interplay' and of individual elements within it, the White Paper is surely wrong to write them off in a few paragraphs."

But lest one should imagine that the

intelligent right-wing *Independent* is going 'bolshie' we quote the following paragraph to reassure readers that it sees both sides of the question and in the end none at all!

"At the opposite pole stand those such as Robin Cook, Labour's health spokesman, who see the reduction of poverty as the key to better health. Carried to its logical conclusion, their argument would require massive social engineering and a wholesale levelling up of incomes to achieve a healthy nation. Its lack of economic realism aside, their case is also fundamentally patronising towards the poor. It implies that the poor are so trapped in poverty and their culture that they cannot understand what is good or bad for them and their children."

The Independent is sure that even the poor understand "what is good or bad for them and their children", and accuse the likes of Robin Cook of being "patronising towards the poor". To write thus is also patronising. For most of the public, what they eat is determined for them by the multinationals and the media. And in spite of knowing that over-eating, over-drinking is bad for you, Mrs Bottomley should first direct herself to her over-indulgent, overweight colleagues! But in any case most of us, unless we grow our own vegetables and rear our animals, are inevitably obliged to eat what the factory farms and the processors produce. But what *The Independent* overlooks is that if you are poor you buy what is cheapest to slake your hunger.

Way back in 1946 Freedom Press published an 80-page book on *Ill Health, Poverty and the State* by Dr John Hewetson, a GP and a member of the Freedom Press group who also went to prison on three occasions during the war years. On page 80 he asked:

"What then is our conclusion? The achievement of full health demands a radical change in our economic system. It requires nothing short of the abolition of poverty, the placing of production on a basis of needs. Let us so organise our economy that when people need a

commodity, that commodity is produced. It is necessary to destroy altogether the form of economic organisation which only produces when there is a prospect of selling, and which, therefore, inevitably deprives the working class, who cannot afford to buy, and who form the bulk of the community, of the basic necessities of life. This organisation lies at the root of contemporary ill health. Full health is a mirage until profit economy is swept away. But it will be easily realised when the means of life are freely available to all.

We have italicised the two last sentences because the first explains the anarchist criticism of the 'profit economy' and the second the political advantages of the anarchist, egalitarian society.

For most people, even in the 'prosperous' G7 nations, surely a health service is a basic necessity to live a reasonably happy existence. Yet here we are being told that the service must be rationed.

"Doctors have to accept that the idea of free National Health Service treatment for all is a myth, according to their leaders. The British Medical Association's annual conference heard yesterday that the association recognises the need for state health care rationing.

Ministers, patients' representatives and philosophers are being invited to help build a consensus on redrawing the boundaries of NHS treatment through the 1990s and beyond.

Jeremy Lee-Potter, the BMA chairman, told the association's annual conference in Nottingham yesterday that rationing was already an 'unavoidable fact of life', but that it should be applied openly and fairly. 'This issue has to be faced as a matter of urgency,' he said. 'Clear guidelines must be agreed to bring consistency to decisions on medical and surgical priorities throughout the health service. We will never have enough resources to meet demand.' (*The Independent*, 7th July)

How is it that those who can afford (and those so desperate even though they cannot afford) to go private get immediate attention? If indeed 'rationing' is inevitable in the short term, perhaps less resources should be made available for hopeless but much publicised cases (see *Freedom*, 'Human Guinea Pigs 1 and 2', 30th May and 13th June). But the resources are there, only they are being wasted in a so-called 'defence programme' which is pure waste, and costing every woman, man and child in this country about £10 a week in order to defend us from an imaginary enemy. Now we haven't even the Russian Bear as a justification, yet Mr Rifkind, the Transport Minister promoted in April to Defence, is now talking with as much *aplomb* about the potential enemy as he was only four months ago about the future of the

railways as he boarded the sleeping-car of the night train to Aberdeen!

Dentists are on the march because the government's proposals to reduce their incomes to what had been agreed between them: £38,000 a year – a modest £730 a week which they now consider inadequate. The doctors complain that the dentists earn more than they do. We are sure that other professionals will want to get their teeth into this differential bone.

We can only express our contempt for those people who come from a privileged class and are prepared to blackmail society for an even bigger share of the economic cake.

But we conclude with a positive challenge from two professionals: Professor Harry Keen, Chair of the NHS Support Federation, and Jane Lee, Co-ordinator at Hospital Alert, London SE1, in a letter to *The Guardian*:

"As people throughout the country are reeling from the recent decision taken by dentists to withdraw support from NHS services, it would be interesting to pause for a moment to ask why these drastic reforms to our health services appear to be going through quickly, silently and seemingly unchallenged.

Why do we not see the same forceful opposition to the health service reforms as we witnessed with the introduction of the poll tax? The introduction of market forces into our NHS is possibly even more drastic and will prove to be even more costly.

The poll tax demand reached everybody's letterbox at the same time. People will not become aware of the drastic cuts in health services until they require treatment – when it may be too late. The vulnerable are ill placed to express opposition.

Private beds and private services allowed in the NHS used to be limited to just 10%. There is now no limit to the private beds allowed in a trust hospital. This means that your local hospital could opt, without limit, for more lucrative private contracts.

The other relates to Community and Mental Health. We have already witnessed the almost complete privatisation of the long term care of the elderly. Will people continue to sit back quietly and watch the growing privatisation of other community health services – chiropody, physiotherapy, special needs and mental health for example?

The hardest hit will be the most vulnerable. These are the people most at risk from the imposition of the market ideology which deforms and distorts the NHS which set out to be a free, comprehensive, good quality service, publicly funded and available according to need rather than ready cash."

There is a challenge to the poll tax activists! What say you?

WE AND THE DENTISTS

This writer recalls that in the early '50s his London dentist, who was a radical politically, admitted that dentists were grossly over-remunerated.

Up to a couple of years ago my new dentist simply charged me a postage stamp for the next six-monthly check up (and a scrape and a polish would not be counted). Now a check-up and a five minute scrape costs £5 and one still signs on the dotted line indicating that more money comes to the dentist from the NHS.

According to a dentist interviewed by *The Guardian* (7th July) he has "mixed feelings". He can see the government's point of view because he opted out from the NHS two years ago so his argument is that the government has a case since the dentists accepted the contract which included £38,000 a year and a 'clawback' when they exceeded it. And "when they exceeded it and the government tried to get some of it back, they complained. If they'd been cleverer they would have done what we did." And that is 'gone private'! Can you imagine thinking this chap as being concerned about your welfare?

The Minister, Mrs Bottomley, faced with the dentists' revolt said that they would provide more *salaried* dentists. Unless dentists can be produced out of a hat her alternative was purely rhetorical, since at present there are

only 53 salaried dentists in the whole of the UK.

We are reluctant to give advice to the government, but if dentistry is part of the NHS why make distinctions between the services provided, which after all is the excuse for dentists to vary their charges.

In *Freedom* we have often asked why it is that you can go to the doctor for advice free of charge and if necessary be sent to hospital for surgery, yet if you need an eye test and a pair of spectacles or a routine examination of your teeth and possibly further attention, you have to pay. And both of these services are becoming more and more expensive. The only solution is to have *salaried* dentists and opticians who are well paid and carry out all the services required for the benefit of the patient. Then all the arguments advanced by the opting-out wide-boys who say that they provide beautiful premises, uniformed nurses, *et alia*, and more thorough attention because they are not pressed for time, can be eliminated. The conscientious salaried dentist will provide the best advice and services because he is not pressed for time which for the private operator is money.

This anarchist approach does not only apply to dentists. It's basic. If you apply the payment by *turnover* inevitably you are inviting the people concerned to *cheat*. Health – in all its aspects – is too precious for all of us for it to be part of the market economy.

POWER CORRUPTS

We have lost track of the number of people serving long sentences for violent crimes who have belatedly been found to be innocent. Only last week two brothers were released after spending seven years in prison for a crime they had not committed. Many more – some estimates are of 700 – who have been wrongly jailed and still without redress. Without supporters like Chris Mullins MP, the Irish Six and Four prisoners would have had to serve their full term. Redress never comes from those who operate the legal system.

What surely must be worrying our democrats who believe in the rule of law is that you cannot trust those who are supposed to dispense justice without fear or favour. The whole business is corrupt. It's the market economy infiltrating every corner of society. The police must get *results* in order to get wage/salary increases from the government. So the easiest way is to frame the

simple types. The Wayne brothers just released were both in this category; Judith Ward was another who freely confessed to all kinds of IRA atrocities she could never have committed; and going back in the years, the eighteen year old Bentley who was hanged for the murder he never committed of a policeman was known to have the intelligence of a ten year old.

What is significant is that corruption pervades not just the police force; the recent revelations indicate that it is widespread – as we maintain it must be. For power corrupts *inevitably and at all levels and in all fields.*

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MIGRANT WORKERS: ARE THEY HUMAN?

Between a Rock and a Hard Place – migrant workers in Gibraltar
report by the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI)
£2.50, 12 pages, available from JCWI, 115 Old Street, London EC1V 9JR

The issue of migrant workers and their relationship with, and their security in, their host country is one of the most critical problems facing the European Community. What are their rights, their entitlements, their obligations? Are they second-class citizens compared to other EC nationals? Can we, in clear conscience, kick them out when the going gets tough and the recession comes?

The Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI) is the only national independent body concerned solely with immigration and nationality law and their effects at the sharp-end. It gets no funding from central government, so as to retain its independence and credibility among the people it seeks to serve. In Gibraltar, at the request of the Gibraltar Moroccan Workers' Association and the Transport and General Workers Union there, it has conducted an in-depth study of the problem of migrant workers.

Historically Gibraltar has been blessed by having a working class district separated by an international frontier. John D. Stewart wrote in 1967: "Overcrowding, unemployment, poverty, consequent disease, vice and crime, all these have – ultimately – been banished from The Rock and tossed over the frontier into the sister city (La Linea, Spain)". By being able to hire and fire Spanish frontier workers, who were willing to work for less money than British and Gibraltarian labour, Gibraltar under British colonial rule practised a form of what Mr Stewart calls "geographical apartheid".

At that time, before General Franco closed the frontier and withdrew the Spanish labour

which had been entering Gibraltar to work each day, there were three different rates of pay, based on nationality, officially fixed and upheld by the British and Gibraltarian or Spanish – a caste system in pay such as only a British bureaucrat could dream up. As a British civil servant working in Gib, Mr Stewart claims he "had ten times as much money as the working Spaniard, plus a subsidised house rent and an allowance for running a car". In his book published in 1967 he wrote: "Looking back on it ... the wage system of Gibraltar was grossly inhuman and unfair."

Ethnic discrimination

In the 1970s the Gibraltarian trade unions won pay parity following a general strike. In an introduction to the JCWI report, José Netto, District Officer of the Gibraltar Transport and General Workers Union, claims that though one form of discrimination had ended another was about to develop. Mr Netto argues that the newly-arriving Moroccan migrant workers replaced the Spaniards at the arse-end of Gibraltarian society:

"Although one discrimination ended, another was to develop. Around 1969 paid full income tax and national insurance contributions. Nevertheless, they were deprived of enjoying the same benefits as other nationalities. Throughout this time, they have carried out the less rewarding jobs in our community: in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs with conditions of work being generally more dangerous and unhealthy than others."

There are at present about 3,000 Moroccan migrant workers in Gibraltar who, together with the 300 Indian migrants who have lived in Gibraltar since earlier this century, make up

around 20% of the Gibraltarian workforce. The problem is the social niches in Gibraltarian society, which places the Moroccan migrant at the bottom, are being disrupted by changes in the economy since the closure of the naval dockyard and the cut in the RAF presence, and the development of financial services to create a kind of European Hong Kong. The Gibraltar government anticipates accommodating more people to meet the needs of an economy committed to financial services, but no longer wants so many working class Moroccans. One government representative said: "We have no objection to 2,000 Arab millionaires".

One ought perhaps to point out here that it was the Moroccans who rescued the Gibraltarian economy from a chronic labour shortage when Franco tried to strangle Gibraltar by withdrawing Spanish labour and closing the frontier with Spain. Many of the Moroccans have now been in Gibraltar for over twenty years. During that time they have endured a kind of second-class citizenship status, separated from their wives and families; housed in hostels, sleeping in dormitories with forty to a room; unable to claim free medical treatment for their wives and children, though paying for it the same as other workers through their contributions.

The JCWI spells their position out starkly:

"Moroccans and other migrant workers in Gibraltar have ... been treated as second-class citizens for all their working lives there. The combination of immigration and benefits law and restricted employment and housing opportunities have created a situation of apartheid as far as rights, benefits and accommodation are concerned. The Moroccans have so far accepted this as the price they have had to pay for a job and a secure income. But now even that is at risk."

Reserve army of labour redundant

The reserve army of Moroccan labour is now surplus to requirements in Gibraltar. Now under European Community laws Gibraltar has access to the free movement of labour from Spain and Portugal. There is some moral embarrassment for the authorities, but at present the British colonial authorities and the local Gibraltar government are playing ping-pong with the futures of the Moroccan migrants, each claiming the other is responsible for them and their situation.

At street and work level the JCWI report says: "Moroccans and Indians both spoke of the absence of racial animosity and prejudice ..." It also claims: "Local pressure groups, from the trades unions to housing lobbies, have made it clear that they support the rights of the long-settled Moroccan community just as much as those of Gibraltarians". It seems now though that Joe Bossano, who made his climb to power as Chief Minister of Gibraltar through the Transport and General Workers Union, is bitterly at odds with his old union.

Curiously Mr Bossano did make a comment on the rights of citizens to security when he first became Chief Minister in 1988 in the *Gibraltar Airways* magazine. Speaking of Gibraltar he said: "This is a community which Britain is responsible for having created – and the fact that it was created to the service of the British Empire doesn't mean that you can discard it because you no longer need it."

Perhaps the Moroccan migrant workers do not qualify as members of Mr Bossano's colonial community in Gibraltar. Very possibly he does not even see them as a part of the same species as himself!

The JCWI report, while expensive for its size, makes up in quality what it lacks in quantity. It raises questions important to Europe today: Do migrant workers belong? Are they part of the societies which they serve? Do they even matter?

Mack the Knife

100 YEARS AGO

Class struggle in North America in the 1890s was a bitter affair, land-owners and capitalists would often resort to violence and murder to cut wages and to break strikes. Workers and union members would reply in kind, as at the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines in Idaho on the 10th July 1892 when workers, out on strike against wage cuts, forced the company to withdraw strike breakers by taking steps to blow up the mine with dynamite. Benjamin Tucker's *Liberty* commented on strike breaking activity and workers response to events at a strike at the Carnegie Steel Trust's Homestead plant in July 1892.

On the Incident at Homestead

"When the Homestead laborers offered to welcome the state militia with brass bands after welcoming the Pinkerton detectives with leaden balls, they were unmercifully snubbed by the commanding general. It served them right. Until the laborer learns that his worst enemy is the state, there will be no hope for him. Of course it would have been folly to have offered resistance to the military. But instead of hobnobbing with the soldiers and humiliating themselves before the officers, the workers might at least have lined the streets and greeted their enemies with a repetition of the hoots and jeers they had given the Pinkerton men but a few days before. They thought, however, that papa state had come to protect them, and, now that papa has taken them over his knee and given them a trouncing, their filial affection is doubtless stronger than ever. Labor in its struggle with capital is paralyzed by the political superstition."

Liberty number 230, 23rd July 1892

Reflections on Open Government

The government is talking about 'openness' – and promises are being made that the days of government secrecy in Britain are coming to an end. However, the Australian example demonstrates that, as always, our rulers do indeed favour 'openness' – provided it's in Russia or East Germany – but when it's 'their' country under consideration it's a rather different story.

An essential 'means of control' exercised by every ruling class has always been the manifestation and control of information. The more precarious the structure of the state becomes, the more ruthlessly the managers and bureaucrats introduce censorship in an attempt to muzzle the press and suppress public discussion; the more carefully (and secretly) they monitor the activities of those they suspect of opposition. The almost total monopoly of information in Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia were extreme examples of the common experiences in all 'fragile' states.

It is interesting, therefore, to note the present concern in Whitehall vis à vis renewed demands for a statutory public right to information held by government. Our rulers know from experience the value of secrecy – an uninformed public, ignorant of many of the bunglings that have been made, not knowing the full details of the arbitrary misuse of power is in a much weaker position to challenge the power of the state. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that even in these early stages of the debate, Waldegrave is attempting to modify John Major's pledge to review "statutory restrictions which exist in the disclosure of information" by arguing that only material deemed by ministers to be 'useful', 'usable' and 'well prepared' should be made available!

Ironically, much of the pressure for more 'openness' has been strengthened by the

collapse of the Stalinist regimes and the disclosures of the KGB, Stasi, etc., etc., activities. To date, the KGB materials are not too threatening: the new government in Russia, while kneeling before the capitalist West and pleading for economic assistance, will do its best not to embarrass the Western leaders by providing information that might undermine them. The extent to which the KGB had infiltrated Western intelligence, who exactly tipped off Kim Philby – these are questions of little relevance today and indeed were of little relevance to ordinary people, that's you and me, at the time they were taking place. What is of relevance is the use of the intelligence services as a means of controlling (and manipulating) the native population and this kind of revelation is sparse indeed from the opened KGB files.

But the revelations from the now defunct German Democratic Republic are a different matter. The collapse of East Germany and its reabsorption to the united fatherland presents a totally different situation from the restructuring of the old USSR. Whereas the new rulers of Russia arose from the ranks of the old Soviet bureaucrats and hence share the fear of the grassroots population in the same way as did the old Politburo – the disappearance of the East German bureaucrats is a more genuine disappearance; the West German politicians who have inherited the Eastern realm are much more alienated from their predecessors. 'Openness' in East Germany, therefore, takes on a much more 'popular' form – the Stasi secrets now revealed are not just the double-dealings of the state bureaucrats far removed from the workers on the factory floor; instead nearly one-third of the population of the old state find that they have been 'immortalised' by having their telephone conversations, unflattering

habits and erotic encounters laconically detailed.

The collapse of 'communism' and its alleged replacement by a more 'open' society has put the Western leaders on the spot. Provided 'openness' can be restricted to telling the people a little more about the apprehension of Rudolf Hess or the judicial murder of Derek Bentley and matters of this kind, it is not too great a problem. But the Stasi disclosures, although they make good anti-Stalinist propaganda, must also engender a sobering thought. It might be argued that Western intelligence services operated in much the same way. My own experience would certainly suggest this to be the case ...

On 1st December 1982 the Freedom of Information Act became law in Australia. With great pomp and ceremony, Australian citizens were informed that the Act gave them the right to obtain details held by almost all government agencies – about the organisation of the agencies themselves, how they were managed, how they reached their decisions. Citizens now had a legal right to see documents relating to them and their own personal affairs and to have incorrect material altered if it was out of date or misleading. All citizens were entitled to photocopies of the documents in their personal files – the only exceptions were documents that were still vital to the security of the Commonwealth of Australia or which, if made public, would breach a confidence (to the informed!).

I was born and lived in Australia until 1951. At the age of 16 years, I enrolled in the Australian Military College (based on the American equivalent, West Point – we anarchists do have the oddest origins!) but two years into the course and with the Korean War ablaze, I made it clear that I opposed

(continued on page 7)



The Rebel's New Clothes

The Rebel's New Clothes

by Claudia

A C.W. Publication, 1992, £2.25 (post free from Freedom Bookshop)

I have to say I feel a sense of affinity in regard to this author's work. I really enjoyed her two previous pamphlets, so I was expecting another attempt to get feminists to abandon their lofty perch and begin unified political and social campaigning with the rest of us instead of their exclusive posturing. In this I find I was disappointed.

Let me hasten to say that this is still a 'recommended' work, if not quite the 'best buy' as they say in the Hi Fi world. Her thinking is still very perceptive. Her writing is pithy, and she does say a number of things we should take to heart. Her main failing, from my point of view, is that she has become both regressive and rather shrill.

In this pamphlet she has moved the goalposts. It is not an attack on feminism or

the silliness of some women. The work changes its interface. It is about Claudia, her origins, her friends, their lifestyle and their, and her, penetration of the left wing (and anarchist) political world. This imposes a barrier. It is for me as if I was reading some kind of anthropological study of a different culture, which I am – the middle class world. And by that I mean the real middle class world and not the world of Goldthorpe's service class or salariat nor Jock Young's non-commercial middle class of working class graduates who have become teachers, social workers and the like who are merely an educated semi-professionalised part of the working class and not a real part of the middle class. Claudia is talking about her rejection of her bourgeois middle class origins.

This is the pamphlet's real value because she reminds us of how many supposedly working class organisations have been penetrated by the public school and Oxbridge educated middle class who use us to salve their

consciences as they slip between their houses and weekend retreats. She knows this world because she is or was part of it.

Mind you, I wish I had been born with all her privileges. She is talking about a class of which I am not a part. There is nothing wrong with her admitting this, but we should see her writings for what they are: the outpourings of a disenchanted member of the bourgeoisie who has not yet found herself nor a cause to identify with. But what can we get from her third opus? Why is she telling us this – after all, we are not her therapist?

I do think we can learn much from her comments on her association with radicals. She reiterates a fact most of us already know: most British Marxists are middle class (in fact some are upper class), but interestingly in her move into radical anarchism – Class War to be precise – she indicates she found them middle class too. Now I admit I have not had much contact with Class War. Their espousing of the common touch is not radical but simply crude and juvenile and I hope they will realise this soon and develop new strategies. But I say this as a technical

Michael Duane

Pastoral Care and the Curriculum

In the educational supplement of *The Guardian* of 7th July, Michael Marland, headteacher of North Westminster Community School, writes about pastoral care in education and notes that the National Association for Pastoral Care in Education will celebrate its tenth birthday soon. This Association has thirteen regional committees and a journal, *Pastoral Care*, which "has flourished as an important forum for the exchange of ideas, experience and research".

Michael de Montaigne is quoted, in 45 words, as having expressed the aims of pastoral care, aims that were more concisely expressed by Solon in two words – know thyself – some two thousand years before. The writer goes on, in reference to Montaigne's admonitions, *this was some ambition – but it is the core of the pastoral care and tutorial programmes of many schools*". How many? is a question not answered in this article.

The remaining half of the article traces some of the vicissitudes of pastoral care, with an unusually old fashioned equating of 'discipline' with 'punishing'. Even in the '50s STOPP (the Society of Teachers Opposed to Physical Punishment) was working for the change, but it was a quarter of a century later before STOPP could disband itself when corporal punishment was finally ostracised from all but church schools.* But, as any thoughtful teacher may ask at the end of the article, what has happened to the concept, embodied in English law, that the teacher stands to the pupil 'in loco parentis'? Is this not a more powerful expression of concern for the child's full development in mind, body and spirit than the concern for 'pastoral care', the concern of a pastor for things of the spirit? And if anyone reminds me that 'pastor' means 'shepherd' then let me reply that children are rather more complex than sheep. The difference between pastoral care and the idea lying behind 'in loco parentis' is the difference between something regarded as an adjunct to the curriculum and a concern that permeates everything done in school; the difference between taking a child to church on Sunday to improve his morals and having examples of moral conduct demonstrated in the daily life of the family.

From this article it appears that Michael Marland does not question the assumption that schooling, in mainly traditional forms, is necessary. I am sure that he has read about Summerhill, even if he has not visited that school, and has also read the work of Tolstoy about his school at Yasnya Polyana. I came to know Neill well during the twenty years before he died and I knew many ex-Summerhillians as adults. I was already familiar with many of his books even before I started teaching and knew quite clearly that the difference between Summerhill and even the smallest state school is a difference in attitude to children. Perhaps the only state school that approaches Summerhill in attitude is the infant school.

Some weeks after the opening of Risinghill in 1959, because none of the staff had had experience in a comprehensive school, we had a full meeting to clarify the educational aims of the school. It took place over a number of sessions and at the end accepted, without demur, the proposal from the senior mistress "that we should teach in such a way as to secure the best for each pupil's bodily, mental

and spiritual welfare. In other words that we should act as a good parent would to their own child or children". Interestingly, the legal phrase I have quoted above was not mentioned during the whole discussion. The proposer of the motion, along with the majority of the staff at that time, had taught for years in the schools which had been amalgamated to form Risinghill. And lest it may have been forgotten in the passage of time, it was the staff's rejection of corporal punishment, at a staff meeting where I was not present, that prompted me to abolish it formally and to come clean about it with the pupils. Both Leila Berg and Robin Pedley have told the story well enough for me not to have to repeat it in full here.

Let me just show how we dealt with some of the behaviour that in other schools might have brought down the cane. If a boy stole or damaged something belonging to another pupil we made sure that he paid back what he had stolen or made good the damage. If he was a bully we discussed his bullying with him, some of his friends (if he had any), his teachers and his victims. Sadly it turned out that the bully was often the victim of some pretty rough treatment at home. One case where we referred to the parents taught us a lesson. The boy was simply given another beating at home.

With older boys whose misbehaviour was complained of by several staff I invited the boy to my room with his most intimate friends, along with those staff who taught him. I then asked the staff, in turn, to say how they found him. Some found him no trouble. Some found him actually helpful. Others found him a pest and idle or troublesome during lessons. After all the teachers had given their comments I would ask the boy whether what had been said was a fair summary of his behaviour. If he was reluctant to speak his friends would make such remarks as 'you know it is' or 'you know that's true'. Sometimes, with pupils in their last year, they would say 'I'd much rather leave school and get a job than stay on'. Staff would then add to the discussion at that point and either agree with the boy or give him reasons why he should persist for at least the rest of the term. Sometimes it was agreed that he should move to another class with a teacher who found him co-operative.

The results, within a term, were remarkable. Most serious misbehaviour died away. What was most surprising was that when new pupils who wanted to make their mark early as 'toughies' started to play the fool the older pupils would tell them to cut it out. 'They don't belt you here' they would say. Truancy rates dropped fast. We got to the state that if a girl was needed at home to look after the baby while her mother took another child to the hospital she would come to me or to her Head of House. She would be told to 'get her mark' and come back to us. We would then write a note explaining that she was excused school for the day, sign the note and stamp it with the school stamp. That in itself cut down a great deal of 'casual' truancy to the point that if a dozen pupils were absent without a reason, out of a school of over twelve hundred, it became a matter of surprise and enquiry, whereas some of our neighbour schools could often have up to ten or fifteen percent truanting, especially in the summer when the weather was fine. In winter a warm school was preferable to cold and wet streets, unless parents were at work and the child had his own key.

What has happened to teacher-training that the pupil as a

young human being seems to have been lost amid the technical gimmickry that floods the pages of so many 'educational' journals? As machine-production and computer control has steadily replaced manpower in industry in the interests of profits for owners and shareholders, so it begins to appear that something akin to this has entered education – the need to replace expensive manpower by other forms of teaching, or by more administration in an attempt to get the maximum return from fewer teachers. More and more posts of special responsibility are being created: in addition to Heads of Science, English, Maths and so on, we now have Year Heads, Heads of Pastoral Care, Heads of Technical Studies ... each with the object of increasing the 'production' of well-equipped students. And since each of these new posts is awarded more pay than that of the ordinary class teacher, there is a drift away from the direct teaching of pupils to posts with administrative responsibility. Hence the low average salary of the ordinary class teacher and the consequent high rate of drift from school to school or to other jobs in search of more reasonable salaries. The public schools which can afford to pay good salaries to their class teachers, get more than their fair share of outstanding teachers. But then the parents of their pupils are mostly in a position to make their views felt pretty forcibly if this were not the case.

Why, then, do we put up with poor teaching and low standards in state schools? Because we want to keep rates and taxes as low as possible, and the education of the ordinary hoi polloi is not very important; or because a well-educated public would not put up with the levels of poverty, crime and inefficiency that are the hallmarks of British society today? Take your pick.

What has all this got to do with the curriculum? Until the nineteenth century the vast majority of English children received no education other than what was given to them by their parents and neighbours and what they picked up in the process of doing work with adults and older children to the extent of their strength and understanding. Yet we were the first nation to make the massive technical and social changes that we call the Industrial Revolution – a feat that tested the intelligence and the staying-power of our workforce as it had never been tested before. For many it brought misery, untold hardship and death, because the so-called 'educated classes' cared for nothing but amassing wealth for themselves, whatever the cost to their expendable employees, whom many employers regarded as sub-human.

Within little more than a quarter of a century that same workforce transformed England from a rural to an industrial economy, with all that that implied in the modification of old skills and the acquisition of new. Through the unions, which grew despite transportation, imprisonment and military action, the workforce educated itself and educated its children to read, write and reckon, because books had now become a new force: not things to be read to others for pleasure but to be read for the acquisition of new knowledge and skills. Education was then a voluntary seeking after knowledge and liberation. Today, ever since the Education Acts of the nineteenth century, education or schooling has become the means by which a massive workforce is made, like a schooled dog, subservient to its master's voice.

Michael Duane

(to be continued)

* Now resurrected to deal with corporal punishment in independent schools.

observation to parallel working class political activists.

As to the emigrées from the middle (and upper) class who have found their way into the movement, I remember an old trade unionist I knew in Birmingham in the '60s who summed it up well: "They always come to meetings dressed up as workers and spout out about how militant they are. But no real worker would come to a meeting in his work clothes. That would not show respect to your mates. And," he said, "they none of them ever saw this. They were too blinded by their own ideological rhetoric to see it. As if they never noticed the reality of working class life at all." A world in which they did not have to live.

In Claudia's case she puts herself into this milieu she now attacks, and postures before dingy slum property, but her response is not constructive but negative and as ritualistic as those she attacks. If you are interested in anarchism and you do not like one group you can move to another and see what's what. She could have tried the ACF or London Greenpeace. Or she could have developed her own group or just quietly done her own thing. I do not remember her ever coming to the London Anarchist Forum - too busy wandering the world looking for something (or escaping?). But maybe anarchism was not what she was after. The problem is she does not seem to know what it is and she needs to shout this fact loudly. I wonder why? I wonder why she uses an accommodation address and conceals her family name.

However, many of her perceptions are, from a journalistic point of view, very clear and sharp; but this particular rendering is not one of her best works. I feel it will simply confuse newcomers about radical action and put them

off making the effort. It will also intensely irritate the working class activists. But for the more politically sophisticated it may be a good evening's read. At £2.25 it is cheap enough and a damn sight more interesting than what's on the box these days - tennis bloody tennis - so I commend it to you. And you never know, if she one day does get around to publishing something really good then opus three might become a collector's item to leave to your descendants. For Claudia's sake as well as our own, I hope this is an interim work from which she will pass on to more serious and committed publications.

Peter Neville

And a comment from the Rebel

Peter Neville kindly sent me a copy of his review of *The Rebel's New Clothes* in case I wanted to make an early response. Perhaps you would print my brief comments.

Thank you for taking an interest in my writing. As long as I confine my attacks to 'silly feminists' you seem to find it jolly good stuff. However, when my polemic turns on the left and anarchism, which is predominantly male, you start to gripe. I thought that your reaction was amusing, if predictable (and yes, I'm afraid I have attempted political discussions with members of the ACF and London Greenpeace ...)

I have indeed chosen to 'do my own thing' - only not as quietly as you might perhaps wish.

Claudia

Going for 'Good News'

Hoorah for John Myhill's appeal (11th July) for more 'good' news in *Freedom* to replace some of the 'bad' news knocking the system. His idea is that we should write more about our experiences in the possibilities and problems of living in accord with anarchist principles.

As one of the offending parties, I know he's asking for a small revolution. To do what he invites, we have to turn away from the obsession with *individuality* which absorbs the mind of middle class industrial man. In our culture the personal and private are zealously guarded as domains of freedom - the bits surviving the myriad of public rites that dominate our lives from birth to death. Public may be prison, but private is 'free' ... or is it?

The contents of our paper, even the title, reject this obsession. We prefer to write about public events in objective/professional language. We are more concerned with protecting our illusory freedoms than living them in reaching out to each other for mutual aid. John Griffin wrote on this theme in personal terms recently.

If I put my name on personal views and experiences and how I strive to make sense of the world with and through significant others, I lay myself (self, self, self) open to ridicule and criticism. Yes, I am a privileged fat-cat, not a wild-cat, living in the country, sponging off the poor, etc. My anarchism is a mere indulgence. Such words can kill, though having acknowledged my failings as an anarchist I ought also to be able to remind critical others, there's no prize for second. Lacking courage, I hide behind public

language, public roles and unacknowledged securities and become, as John Myhill points out, their prisoner. The personal bit of me I claim to be free withers to nothing and I have to double my efforts to preserve and protect the illusion. All this wastes energy just to avoid ridicule and criticism. The gateway to nothing is always the most heavily guarded because, as Scott Fitzgerald tells us: the condition of emptiness is too serious to divulge.

Having got the defensive shit out of the way I am making this pledge to join John's private revolution. Let's make the private more public.

Denis Pym

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HOLY SHIT!

Twelve Days on the Road
by Noel E. Monk and Jimmy Guterman
published by Sidgwick, £9.99

There are always those who will find a pleasure in viewing their fellow creatures degrading themselves and it is a mass audience and numbers you and I among them, comrades, for we claim the saving grace of being able to indulge in that little feminine giggle of disgust as we play Pontius Pilate and flat-foot it to the exit for mum and her home-made pudding and custard.

The days when you paid to watch, with disgust, the fairground 'geek' biting off the heads of live chickens or rats, or viewed the pickled foetus within the tented fairground side-show are long gone, John, for art and its mass audience have taken over via film, stage and gallery. There is nothing of the dark side of the soul that the artist or writer should not use as a subject matter, be it High Camp or High Art, for if we can spew out the suppressed poisons within the mind then we will, may, cleanse the body politic and physical but never seek to perform ol' salvation by using any other living thing as your purge. In 1977 the pop group the Sex Pistols fulfilled a nation's need by beating the strings and making naughty words mit the mouth, man, but as there are only five naughty words, as with all artists they had to emphasise their limited oeuvre if not with brighter colours then more physical jerkings and raucous sounds. In 1977 Glen Matlock was given the old heave-ho for to bring in the new rising star of effing and blinding Sidney Vicious, for the Pistols now had the 'reputation' because of their December 1976 effing and blinding interview on television, said to have been masterminded by their eminence grise Bill Grundy. They were now the clowns of the 'naughty' circuit and in

January of 1978 they hit the glory road of the USA redneck heartland for their headline tour. But in that New World of mass murders and gourmet cannibalism the lads were small root beer. Cook, Jones and Johnny Rotten had tried to give a meaning to the group, but when Rotten heard that McLaren wanted to airline the group down to Rio to play tic tac toe with the train robber Biggy Boy, Rotten, the mainspring of the group, decided that he was for the golden handshake and refused to go, meaning the group was now finished.

All that was left was for Sid Vicious and Nancy to physically destroy themselves and Sidney handed in his guitar and a poor body



festering with drugs to the great manager in the sky. In moments of social conscience they did what is always deemed fashionable by anyone pissing in a doorway to stealing the *Mirror* pension funds - they called themselves anarchists. But they were what they were: a small group of unfortunates who physically destroyed themselves for the perverse pleasure of the crowd and the economic well-being of a few individuals. But to their negative credit - like poor old Oscar - they practised what they performed and, to my great sadness, I found another one of my heroes with trainers filled with clay. No one has any obligation to live up to my or your ideals, but I always had a special place within my heart (along with the Propanolol 40mg heart tablets) for Richard Hamilton.

In 1956 the Whitechapel Art Gallery, wherein I was thrown out in 1992 for being slightly pissed, mounted the 'This is Tomorrow' exhibition, and it was accepted as a major Pop Art show with Hamilton as its leading walk-on. True it was named by the cynics as 'This was Yesterday', but what the hell - Hamilton, my hero, was there. In 1967 Fraser, a fashionable art dealer, and Mick Jagger were nicked on drug charges and drew prison sentences, Jagger being discharged on appeal. There was a press photograph of the two of them handcuffed within a police car and Hamilton produced a magnificent screen-print of that press photograph, and in 'flower power' swinging London I held that that was the art work of that time.

1982 saw some television pictures of IRA prisoners held within Long Kesh Prison, known for its shape as The Maze. The IRA prisoners decided upon a particular form of protest in that they refused to wear prison clothing, only their blankets, and not only not washing but smearing their own human shit all over their cell walls. Hamilton, using enlargements from a 16mm film, painted a single figure of an IRA prisoner draped in his blanket and with the cell wall behind him smeared with his own human shit. Ah, I always accepted this painting by Hamilton as a painting worthy of the master craftsmen of the Middle Ages and that the shit upon the

canvas was human shit because this seemed to me the ultimate logic of a work like that. One learns, within the Tate exhibition, that it is no more than 'oil on canvas'. It can be demanded of one that does it matter how the artist depicts the subject, and the answer is that in this matter yes. Whatever one thinks about these imprisoned men or the reason for their imprisonment, what cannot be gainsaid is that the reason for their protest being noted and the reason for Hamilton using an enlarged television photograph of them was that they smeared their own human shit upon the walls of their cells, and if one seeks to reproduce that protest then I say that the artist in his turn should have used it on his canvas. If you ask where would the artist have found human shit to use, then I would willingly have provided it. With others. This could be deemed a matter of no import except maybe to me, but I do question and query why one major silk-screen is treated as a matter of slight importance and why a major work by an artist fails the ultimate truth by the use of material.

There are posters and hand-outs for Hamilton's exhibition and the two finest works that Hamilton did, one of Fraser the art dealer and Jagger handcuffed within a police car, the other of a near-naked IRA prisoner in a Maze prison cell, the walls of which are smeared with his own human shit, were not used as posters for Hamilton's Tate Gallery exhibition. My guess, for what it is unworthy of, is that the Fraser/Jagger silk-screen would offend the entrenched neo-Thatcher establishment, while a reproduction, no matter how falsely painted, would be deemed to be politically unwise. I guess I only guess, massa. Instead for a poster and a hand-out we have what in complete honesty looks like an advert for a television rental firm. As a poster it is meaningless, for the tiny teeny little dribbles of one-inch long blood seeping from the base of a television set switched on to the Gulf War are no more than a few tiny unnoticed stains on the bookshelf. But if real human shit was used on the canvas of the painting of the IRA Maze Prison cell, then no gallery would dare to exhibit it, but by God it would have found an audience. Right, Sid?

Arthur Moyses

LIFE BEYOND THE WINDSCREEN or FREEDOM TO STAY

Away With All Cars

by Mr Social Control (Pedestrian Freedom Front)

Playtime Forever Press, A5 pamphlet, illustrated, approx 28 pages, £1 plus 10p postage & packing

At last – a coherent, well-produced, full-frontal assault on the car in the shape of this manifesto from the PFF. It covers not just the absurdity of the situation in this “great car economy of ours” (M. Thatcher), but the car as a weapon; as a destroyer of both the ecology of town, countryside and planet, and of civilised society; and the boredom and impotence which, in the guise of freedom and power the car actually produces in its driver.

As a mode of transport the car requires roads, garages, petrol stations, bridges, car parks, factories, insurance offices, scrapyards – and hospitals. Car-occupied land takes up 23% of London, 29% of Tokyo and 44% of Los Angeles. This pamphlet is full of sharp insights on the many loonies of the car, laced with statistics and told with humour, if you like yours black. Lambasting motorists in his area who persuaded the local council to cut down crab apple trees because they didn't like windfalls on their car bonnets, the author fumes: “It is amazing that you all spend so much time cleaning and polishing machines

that make everything else in sight such a filthy stinking mess. Crab apple trees are not a nuisance. Cars are a nuisance. Where do you think oxygen comes from anyway? Out of your fucking exhaust pipe?” *Touche!*

But the PFF firmly rejects the idea that the car is just an environmental issue which can be moderated by reforms like traffic calming, pelican crossings or pedestrian precincts, and dismisses the distinction others make between ‘green’ and ‘dirty’ cars, or ‘good’ and ‘bad’ drivers. Indeed they use the opportunity to attack the capitalist system which, in both senses, drives and is driven by the car industry.

So why pick on the car? Because, apart from its symbolism, its sheer physical presence overwhelmingly dominates life in the ‘developed’ world, and the developing world can't wait to get its hands on more of them:

“Its ceaseless traffic in traffic is what stops us enjoying life. And may be even what stops us communicating with you. That's why we want to smash the windscreen; we want to break through to you and tell you that there's a world out here. We want to reach out to you and prise your hands from the sweaty steering wheel and gently lift you out of the car – before we pour petrol on the seat and set alight to the ugly thing. By petrol it was brought to life and so by petrol it shall die. So don't say you've not been warned.”

The necessity of driving, for many people, is

conceded – but does the author relent in his attack on them? No chance:

“We are not bursting with alternative methods of transport for you to go to all your ridiculous shopping centres, office blocks, and so on ... We do not believe in improving public transport. We loathe public transport. We hate paying for it, waiting for it, looking out of its windows at dirty car-choked city streets.”

I know the feeling. And if he does overstate his case somewhat – so what? We all know that that is often the only way to get people to sit up and listen.

Instead, the author advocates the supersession of transport, which would free vast tracts of public land – roads, car parks, roundabouts, etc. – for use by everyone.

“The broad highways that slice our cities into fragments would become genuine thoroughfares, linking communities rather than dispersing them. There would be an end to roads and we would have streets to walk down.”

Yet when he continues: “Perhaps some would have canals cut along their centres with electric trams running along the bank ...” one begins to suspect that his anti-public transport stance is more than a little tongue-in-cheek. The re-populated streets would cause a big drop in crime, and the reduction of geographical distances between activities might produce a reduction in their scale and a rediscovery of daily face-to-face contact. What one might call, paraphrasing Colin Ward, ‘Freedom to Stay’.

Addressing the motorist throughout, the PFF

calls for a return to *life beyond the windscreen* and says:

“The final irony is that you can gain no satisfaction from all the space that is being so generously turned over to your use. You do not actually use the space you pass through even though you prevent us from using it, all you do is try to mitigate it by passing through it as quickly as possible. As far as you are concerned you are never really in it at all, you just watch it go by, a boring TV programme projected onto your windscreen. And the more space there is for you to wish you did not have to drive through, the more unhappy you are because the more obstacles there are to your progress: other cars. You must hate cars, really hate them, more than we, as pedestrians can ever imagine.”

So who is the PFF? It has no followers, only leaders. All people who hate cars are fully paid-up members, who merely differ in their degree of activism. Calling for a campaign of anger against the car, this tract, like all good manifestos, is a heady mixture of philosophy, solid facts and good old fashioned rant. And, as a spur to the action, it points out that targets are not hard to find:

“The very thing that makes them so infuriating is also what makes them so vulnerable: they're absolutely everywhere.”

If you hate cars and all they stand for – and even if you only mildly dislike them – you'll love this pamphlet. But more importantly, get one for your car-driving friends.

KM

Reflections on Open Government

(continued from page 4)

Australian involvement in that war. No officer cadet was ever expelled more promptly!

I returned to my home town, Adelaide, got a job in a bank and joined the anti-religious Secular Society. A few months later the Secular Society voted to send me as a delegate to the ‘youth festival’ in East Berlin in August 1951. I attended the festival, but for a number of personal reasons never returned to Australia.

When I left Australia I was still a teenager. I did not belong to, nor was I associated with any political party, communist or otherwise. I did not belong to a trade union and participated in no ‘activities’ other than standing on a public platform of the Secular Society in the Adelaide parklands every Sunday afternoon where I derided all forms of religious belief. Would I warrant a file in the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO)?

Insignificant and unimportant as we all are individually, we are also ‘big-headed’ enough to believe ourselves worthy of notice. When the Freedom of Information Act became law, I naturally applied for any information held about me – but in my more sober and rational considerations, I realised that any expectations of finding something originated from adolescent fantasies that had remained with me forty years later. Fantasies or not, the Australian Archives in Canberra replied to my request in the affirmative! Yes, there was a file on me!

For a nominal fee and after a wait of nearly six months I received some ‘documents’ held on me. They told more by their ‘omissions’. In all I received photocopies of five documents – but each was numbered (within the file): numbers 10, 14, 30, 31, 32 – so the complete file consisted of at least 32 pages. (As my fellow travellers to Berlin all had their passports impounded on their return to Australia, I find it difficult to believe that the file ended on my departure from Adelaide, page 32.)

Four of the five pages I *did* receive had as

much text deleted by black felt pen as was allowed to remain. All signatures and initials had been deleted. The first page detailed the name and address of myself and parents, another page, mostly deleted, logged my ‘membership of the Secular Society (formerly called the Rationalist Association)’ and that I was an ‘associate of communists’. The remaining pages were my passport particulars detailed on memos to ASIO HQ in Sydney with a copy to the Melbourne office and referring to previous memos of 2nd and 18th May 1951 where I had been “adversely recorded”. There are no clues as to the contents of any of the other, at least, 27 pages in my file.

An accompanying booklet, *Statement of Reasons Under Section 40 of the Archives Act*, explained why I had only been given five pages: the file “contained information concerning ASIO” ... “with respect to matters relating to security” ... “confidential relationship between ASIO and providers of information to ASIO” ... “providers of information have indicated that information will not be forthcoming if the confidence is not respected” and “document contains name, signature or initials of an officer of ASIO”.

I have no idea what information is contained in the bulk of the file on me held by ASIO. I do know that it will be only trivial material because, put bluntly, by any reckoning I was a ‘nobody’ on the outer fringes of the ‘peace movement’. One can only guess at the massive files that must be held on the thousands of adults who *were* active politically and industrially at this time! My failure to obtain details of my own, obviously innocuous, recorded activities does expose the Freedom of Information Act for the balloon of hot air that it clearly is.

Following the anarchist revolution when the ASIO files are *really* opened, I doubt if there will be any evidence of any discernible difference between the ‘methods’ of the Australian, British and Stasi ‘snoopers’. In spite of all the talk about freedom of information, this is the ‘openness’ that Major and his ‘loyal opposition’ colleagues correctly see as the real threat to their authority.

Bob Potter



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Christianity and Anarchism

— 1 —

Dear Editors,
In Mr Dodson's letter (*Freedom*, 11th July), he makes the following statement: "He is also wrong about Jesus. That he lived on earth as a man is well documented historical fact, rarely disputed even by atheists."

This statement is rubbish. Mr Dodson cites no authority for his dogmatic pronouncement, and I would draw attention to the considerable literature on the subject. Either we are going to throw around simple mis-statements of fact, as he does, or we are going to take the trouble to examine the available evidence, and have some informed discussion.

There is no reliable evidence that Jesus ever existed as a historical figure. He is a legendary character just as is Hercules, Achilles or Robin Hood. That is not to deny that there have been a variety of men, living in different historical eras, who have contributed to the legends of these hero figures. It is significant that Paul was writing his Epistles, etc., in ignorance of the stories of Jesus contained in the four Gospels, and he did not claim to know when Jesus was supposed to have lived. Paul firmly believed that there had been such a figure, but for him the hero figure might have lived back in the mists of history. This fact is well known to all reputable, orthodox Christian theologians. Obviously it is impossible to prove that a figure (or figures) identified as Jesus, did not exist, just as it is impossible to prove that Hercules, etc., did not exist. But serious scholars, whether they are Christian or atheist, do not attempt such a vain exercise. What has been shown quite clearly is that there is no historical evidence for the existence of Jesus. Many Christians prefer 'faith' to 'evidence'. I would refer readers to such scholars, both Christian and atheist, as Hanson and Hanson, Key, Robinson, and Wells.

What Mr Dodson may have got a hold of is some of the writings of orthodox theologians who have no difficulty in shooting down several absurd books dealing with the Jesus myth which are no

better than science fiction, and justly deserve to be condemned. But the serious research of such atheist scholars as Wells is treated with due respect by orthodox Christian scholars of repute. While it would be easy for me to quote from such atheist scholars who dismiss the 'historical Jesus' as a simple myth, in the present context it is more appropriate to quote from Christians. Thus Cadbury writes: "I am not disposed to join those who deny entirely the historicity of Jesus, but one must be prepared to admit that the religion which became the Christianity of the Roman Empire may have had but slight relation to the historical actuality of its founder."

Another Christian student of theology writes: "Mr Campbell wonders whether I am claiming that Jesus did not exist. It is an interesting question and I think the balance of probabilities is that he did not. I have come to this view only through a careful study of the case developed with the attention to detail of a forensic scientist by Professor George Wells in

— 2 —

Dear Editors,
Peter L. Dodson (Letters, 11th July) suffers from several misconceptions. The existence of Jesus is certainly not a well documented historical fact. This is a point which is forcibly argued by many atheists. Of the many books on this subject I can recommend *Did Jesus Exist?* by G.A. Wells.*

More importantly, there is a clear inconsistency in believing in both anarchism and religion (at least the Judaeo-Christian-Islamic variety). Anarchism is a positive, life-affirming philosophy which possesses ethics based on mutual respect and generalised benevolence. Compare this to a belief in a 'spiritual entity' which has created a world full of miserable sinners whose only hope of fulfilment is to act always from self-interest so that they can book their ticket to the 'wonderful' existence awaiting them after death.

JA

* Available from Pemberton Publishing Co., 88 Islington High Street, London N1 8EN.

3

Dear Editors,
Peter Dodson (Letters, 11th July) is quite right to say that anarchists can be religious — though most of them have actually been non-religious and indeed anti-religious. But he is quite wrong to say of Jesus: "That he lived on earth as a man is a well-documented historical fact, rarely disputed even by atheists". On the contrary, because of the misleading ways in which the Bible is arranged and Christianity is taught, one of the least-known but best-documented facts about Jesus is that there is virtually no good evidence for his life.

The trouble begins at the beginning. Jesus is said to have been born both during the reign of Herod the Great (who died in 4BC) and at the time of the census in Judaea (in 6AD) — 10 years apart; he is also said to have come both from Nazareth (in Galilee) and from Bethlehem (in Judaea) — 70 miles apart. He is then said to have preached from about AD30 and to have been crucified a couple of years later. However, there is no first-hand evidence about him at all — no writings by him or anyone who knew him — and the same is true of all his associates. Nor is there any other contemporary evidence about him at all — no references to him dating from the time of his alleged life and death. The earliest references come only several decades later, and the earliest independent references nearly a century later.

The first Christian documents — the Epistles written by Paul about thirty years after his death — say virtually nothing about his life. The next

documents — the Epistles written by unknown writers a little later — say little more. The best-known documents — the four canonical Gospels written by unknown writers on the basis of unknown sources between fifty and eighty years after his death — say much about his life, but disagree about almost every detail. The many non-canonical Epistles and Gospels say much more, but are so unconvincing that they aren't even accepted by Christians.

The first non-Christian references to Jesus — by the Jewish historian Josephus sixty years after his death — are now accepted as later interpolations. The earliest non-Jewish references to Jesus — by the Roman administrator Pliny and the Roman historian Tacitus eighty or ninety years after his death — are clearly derived from Christian sources. So are the still later references in the writings of the Jewish rabbis.

In view of the lack of reliable evidence about Jesus, it is not surprising that so few people in Palestine in the mid-first century became Christian. It has been seriously argued by reputable scholars for more than two centuries either that nothing certain can be known about his life or that he never lived at all; among people who have taken the trouble to study the subject, the former view is held by many Christian scholars, and the latter view is held by many atheists. The latest version of these arguments appears in a series of books published during the past twenty years by Professor G.A. Wells, available from the Rationalist Press Association.

NW

four books ... Having obtained an honours degree and a higher degree in theology in the 1960s, I was no pushover for the view that Jesus never existed. I was, of course, already aware of the view shared by many liberal protestant theologians, including Rudolph Bultmann, that the New Testament contains no reliable information about the historical Jesus; but Professor Wells makes a far better case than any of those theologians, in my considered opinion."

I think I have written enough to make it quite clear that Mr Dodson is writing nonsense, and, I am inclined to think, nonsense than stems from sheer ignorance of the relevant body of theological research literature. Whether or not his adherence to the Christian faith is at all relevant to his vaunted anarchism is another matter. For myself, I think that people should learn to do without the prop of religion, whether it be Christianity, Islam, Marxist-Leninism, Judaism, or other systems of irrationality. I agree with A.N. Wilson that "Religion is the tragedy of mankind".

Tony Gibson

A.T. Hanson and R.P.C. Hanson (1989) *The Bible Without Illusions*, London, Student Christian Movement.

H.C. Kee (1977), *Jesus in History*, New York, Harcourt Brace.

A.T. Robinson (1963), *Honest to God*, London, Student Christian Movement.

G.A. Wells (1986), *Did Jesus Exist?*, London, Pemberton.

H.J. Cadbury (1937), *The Peril of Modernizing Jesus*, New York, Macmillan.

D. O'Hara (1992), 'Gospel Truth' in *The Skeptic*, 6, 26.

Top Gun

The Anarchist Research Group recently circulated its supporters informing them that the powers that be had decided that the *Bulletin of Anarchist Research* was now to be divided into two parts. One part to be "a new international journal concerned with all aspects of contemporary anarchist research and theory" to be named *Anarchist Studies*, edited by Tom Cahill, and published by a commercial publisher. The other part to be the *Newsletter of the Anarchist Research Group*.

A list of associate editors and an editorial board was listed giving their names, subject and higher educational institution. Many academic journals give

New Anarchist Group

Dear Comrades,
I want to found an anarchist group in North West London. I feel that there are many anarchists or anarchist sympathisers in my area, but nowhere to go and meet each other.

I think that if more anarchists met, even on a small and social level, that this would be rendering the cause a great service.

I propose that the group be called the Sacco and Vanzetti Group, which is an inspiration to all shades of anarchism, gives us something to live up to and be proud of. I further suggest that the group should be largely tolerant of all forms of anarchism, but I have a leaning towards individualist anarchism, although I agree that Max Stirner needs more thought and moderation than has been shown to him in the past.

If anyone in North West London would like to form such a group then write to me c/o Freedom Press.

Mary Quintana

Anarchist Sociology of Federalism

Dear Editors,
I was surprised to read Colin Ward's claim (*Freedom*, 27th June 1992) that Proudhon advocated a right of secession in his theory of federation. Although

Beyond Sexism

Dear Editors,
George Walford writes: "The social issue ... is determined by the prevalence of authoritarian ideology, held by many women as well as many men" (*Freedom*, letters, 11th July). But it is not simply authoritarian ideology that prevails — it is male authoritarian ideology, invented and imposed by males. Any man or woman who attempts to defy this ideology is faced with a grossly unfair contest.

George has no need to remind me that "some women control some men". They do, but on a personal and trivial level only. These trivial reversals of power take place in the context of an overwhelmingly male authoritarian system. And the holding of anarchist ideas does little to alter the fact that a woman or a man is subject to the state's male authoritarian ideology.

It is a mistake to suppose that "in their earliest and most formative years most males are controlled by women" when, in fact, the whole process is controlled by a prevailing male ideology. Fathers have very little control over their children in the face of headmasters, the television corporation, the churches, the entertainments businessmen, etc., and mothers have even less. And guess who controls that lot.

Ernie Crosswell

Bakunin's writings do explicitly grant this,¹ the following passage from *Du Principe Fédératif* appears not to support such a view: "If a conflict of interests arises, can a federal majority faced by a separatist minority claim that the pact is irrevocable? ... I believe that separation is fully legitimate, on a matter of cantonal sovereignty not embraced by the federal pact ... But it may happen that, in terms of utility, minority claims conflict with majority needs, that divisiveness imperils the liberty of the states. In such a case the question is resolved by the right of war, which means that the larger party, whose ruin would involve the greater loss, must triumph over the weaker."²

Perhaps Colin could expand on his interpretation of Proudhon's position in the light of the above quote? Robert Graham, at least, has recently claimed that: "As with Proudhon, Bakunin defended the absolute right of each group to secede from the federation, but unlike Proudhon he did not vitiate this right by allowing for majority rule over a recalcitrant minority."³

David Hartley

1. "The right of free union, as well as the right of secession, is the first and most important of all political rights; lacking that right, a confederation would simply be disguised centralisation ..." (Bakunin, quoted in *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin*, edited by G.P. Maximoff, New York: The Free Press, 1964, page 275).

2. P.J. Proudhon, *The Principle of Federation*, translated by R. Vernon, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979 (page 42).

3. R. Graham, 'The Role of Contract in Anarchist Ideology' in *For Anarchism*, edited by D. Goodway, London: Routledge, 1989 (page 162).

such a list which is usually composed of prominent academics who can, if asked, give help and advice. Their inclusion also gives a certain sense of legitimacy to otherwise sometimes rather dodgy academic publications.

Tom Cahill suggested: "The work required of a 'member of the board' is to find (or even write) an article each year and to review something every year as well. Perhaps the most important job is to promptly and sensitively referee any papers that we might send you, usually in your specialist area."

At the ARG meeting of Saturday 4th July 1992, where Andrew Lainton gave an interesting if controversial paper on 'Paul Goodman and Pragmatic Anarchism', I ventured to question Cahill's criteria for selection of the editorial board since my name was not included despite having already offered to play a role, and having had an article and a number of book reviews published in the *Bulletin of Anarchist Research*. I also questioned the legitimacy of a number of the names included. I have access to a number of university and college prospectuses. Many of the names listed as members of the editorial board do not appear to be members of appropriate departments. He admitted these might not have been academics but research students, an unusual practice for an editorial board. In answer to why I was not included he said who went in was by his decision and the reason was I "had an attitude problem". Wow! Makes me feel like Tom Cruise. I must nail this to my masthead. Have attitude problem, will travel. Not a bad description of an anarchist.

The Anarchist Research Group unfortunately appears to suffer from a degree of academic snobbishness and academic inferiority. Few of its supporters appear to have academic prominence. Also its regular members do appear to have got the impression from somewhere that they are a kind of self-appointed middle class officer corps of the anarchist movement. To re-paraphrase Robert Michels: "Who reads anarchy reads oligarchy". If we can

learn anything from pragmatic anarchism the one thing the anarchist movement suffers from is too little democracy. Some people seem to be frightened of it.

The ARG does not have any democratic structure but simply business meetings prior to the quarterly meeting where the old hands, i.e. those with power, including access to institutional production facilities, free postage and the like, confer with those without power (and access to these facilities) then make totally undemocratic decisions. Is this what we mean by anarchy? If so I am beginning to think that some anarchist practices, defined as an apparent workers control, are more totalitarian than one thinks and perhaps some non-anarchist ideal concerning checks and balances on the abuse of power might in future be given greater weight, which was in part how I perceived the thesis of Andrew's paper.

Peter Neville

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MEETINGS

Anarchist Forum

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

1992/1993 MEETINGS

- 25th September - Donald Room will introduce his new book: *Anarchism: An Introduction*
- 2nd October - General discussion
- 9th October - 'Anarchism and the Limits of Reform' (speaker Dave Dane)
- 16th October - General discussion
- 23rd October - 'Women in Society' (speaker: Mary Quintana)
- 30th October - General discussion
- 6th November - 'Work' (speaker George Walford)
- 13th November - General discussion
- 20th November - 'A Retiring Person' (speaker Peter Neville)
- 27th November - 'Prison in an Anarchist Society' (speaker Peter Lumsden)
- 4th December - General discussion
- 11th December - 'Exploiting the State' (speaker Andrew Linton)
- 8th January - 'An Anarchist Daily' (speaker John Rety)
- 15th January - General discussion
- 22nd January - 'Whiteway And On' (speaker Michael Murray)
- 29th January - General discussion
- 5th February - 'Anarchism and Feminism' (speaker Lisa Bendall)

Meeting slots still available until 26th March 1993 and from 23rd April to 9th July 1993

FREEDOM fortnightly

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We are now booking speakers and topics for the 1992-93 season. This is from 25th September to 11th December 1992, then from 8th January to 26th March and 23rd April to 9th July 1993. If anyone would like to give a talk or lead a discussion, please make contact giving names, proposed subjects and a few alternative dates. These can either be speaker-led meetings or general discussions. Overseas and out-of-town speakers are particularly welcome. Friday is the only night available for the meetings as the centre is booked up for 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). The Mary Ward Centre is an adult education centre which lets us have a meeting place, not an accommodation address or contact point.

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. Will those leaving early please note this. We are not affiliated to other groups nor have the means to subscribe to these. We are a meeting point, a discussion group, not an action group. Many of us are active elsewhere. The Forum is our common ground. We aim to cover a wide spectrum of views.

We ask participants to allow others a chance to air their views without rude interruption or attempting to dominate the meeting. We would like the Forum to be a place where newcomers, especially those without public speaking skills, would feel welcome. Anarchism accepts the uniqueness of the individual and although what one might say might be subjected to critical evaluation by others we all have a right to the expression of our views on anarchism so long as we allow others the same right. In this we would like more women participants and comrades from ethnic minorities.

The Forum is now also generating off-centre discussion groups on more specific themes elsewhere on other evenings. Details by invitation from Forum participants at the meetings.

We are also organising anarchist picnics twice a year. This year's summer picnic will be on Bank Holiday Monday 31st August in the Orleans Gardens recreation area on the north bank of the River Thames in Twickenham, Middlesex. Watch this space for further details.

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- Sunday 6th September: **Bonsall** – meet at Market Cross at 10.30am, a circular walk to the Heights of Abraham. Length: two miles.
- Sunday 4th October: **Brassington** – meet at village hall at 1pm, a circular walk via Harborough Rocks. Length: four miles.
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