

# anarchist fortnightly **Freedom**

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FIFTY PENCE

**"How to solve this  
problem of social  
alchemy: to elect a  
government of  
geniuses by the votes  
of a mass of fools?"**

**Errico Malatesta**

## **THE ELECTORAL RACKET 'TACTICAL VOTING' WITH A VENGEANCE!**

**F**or the past eighteen-odd years 'tactical voting' has generally meant Liberals voting Labour or vice versa in marginal Tory seats to get the Tory out. But there is now a new twist to this 'tactical voting' which is summed up in an article by one Robert Harris with a three-column double headline in the *Sunday Times*

(5th May) "Why all good Tories should vote Labour".

On another page in the same issue the former editor, Andrew Neil, advises the Tories on what they will need to do *in opposition* to ensure that the Labour lot will be out by 2001. A five-column double heading sums up Mr Neil's objectives - "2001: a

manifesto for the restoration of the right".

Needless to say we are not proposing to summarise the two strategic theses. (This writer knows who Andrew Neil is - didn't he have Don Juanesque rivalry with the then editor of the *Observer* for the favours of some lovely lady? As for Robert Harris, he must be well known since the *Sunday Times* just publishes a sage-looking head but no CV.) What, in effect, Robert Harris is saying is that Tories should ensure that Labour gets in next time, for this is:

"... a once-in-a-lifetime, hurry-hurry-while-stocks-last opportunity for the true Conservative to make Margaret Thatcher's dream of a Britain free from socialism a reality. What Labour now offers - and may not offer in five years time if it loses - is the chance to consolidate what Toryism created in the 1980s, while Toryism itself can at last go safely into opposition and ponder its next moves. Why be greedy? Why not seize the chance?"

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## **MICHAEL HOWARD FOR LORD CHIEF JUSTICE?**

**T**he Lord Chief Justice, Lord Taylor, has learned that he has cancer and suddenly resigned his office. John Major, as Prime Minister, has the job of appointing a new Lord Chief Justice.

The usual practice, which was followed in the case of Lord Taylor, is that the retiring Lord Chief Justice and other senior judges decide whose turn it is and the Prime Minister, fictionally in the name of the monarch, appoints whoever the judges recommend. Under the slogan of reducing government, however, the Thatcherite Conservatives have steadily manoeuvred to concentrate government in this country in their own hands. Most appointments to the quangos which replace elected local authorities and run public services are blatantly political appointments, designed to ensure that Tory policies are pursued whoever is elected. Why not a blatantly political appointment to the job of Lord Chief Justice?

During World War Two, according to various political memoirs, Churchill as Prime Minister promised the job of Lord Chief Justice to his friend and political ally Walter Monckton. Monckton did not in the event get the job, owing to the unexpected longevity of the existing Lord Chief Justice, but the promise constitutes a sort of precedent.

There is currently a quarrel between the judicial and political establishments about which of them should control sentencing policy. The Home Secretary Michael Howard, representing the vindictive 'prison

works' tendency in the Conservative Party, has been censured a dozen times by judges for interfering with the supremacy of the courts. Most recently, the judges have declared illegal his decision to add five years to the 'minimum tariff' of two ten-year-old murderers, and he has waxed hysterical on television about judges interfering with the supremacy of Parliament.

Michael Howard has never been a judge, but like Walter Monckton he is a highly qualified lawyer, a Queen's Counsel, and eligible for appointment as a judge at any level. His appointment as Lord Chief Justice would perpetuate his vindictive policy, alarm everyone concerned for civil liberties, embarrass the incoming Labour government, please the *Daily Mail* and the *Sun*, and infuriate the judges. John Major must find the prospect funny and attractive, and he has nothing to lose but the next general election which he has probably lost anyway.

### **THE 'PRISON WORKS' INEXACTITUDE**

Cabinet Ministers who want to boast of their achievements plant parliamentary questions. During Home Office questions on 2nd May, Michael Howard arranged to be asked about the 'latest recorded crime figures' and replied that crime in England and Wales had fallen by 2.4% during 1995, and 8% in the three years to the end of 1995, a 'historic fall'. He politely refrained from mentioning the even more

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## THE ELECTORAL RACKET 'TACTICAL VOTING' WITH A VENGEANCE!

(continued from page 1)

And Mr Harris reveals his hand without any modesty:

"It may not, in any case, be such a bad time to be out of power. If the dire predictions of the right are correct, and if hard decisions will soon have to be made about the future of the welfare state, who better to make them, in the interests of social cohesion, than Labour ministers?"

He is quite right. Consult the files of *Freedom* and you will see that we are always pointing out that the Labour Party wins when economic austerity has to be applied to the capitalist system. Why, after all, did they have a resounding victory in 1945 (after six years of war and rationing) and lost the elections in 1951 having done the dirty work of imposing austerity on the ordinary people in order to rehabilitate the capitalist system. And for their pains they were out of office for the next thirteen years.\* Once again they were returned to office in 1964 and 1966 to take the 'hard decisions' – which meant clobbering the poor to salvage the capitalist system – and of course they were voted out at the next elections! The same again in the mid-1970s following the disastrous Heath government.

Everything in this world where people's minds are made up for them by the mass media, points to a Labour victory at the general elections next year. We are convinced that the Tories will hold on until the last minute – after all, it's a well-paid job with very generous expenses – apart from the directorships!

Andrew Neil's political opportunism is summed up in the last paragraph of his proposed 'manifesto':

"A radical reform of tax and welfare. A semi-detached approach to Europe. Sensible constitutional reform. Opposition would be worth it if it produced a future Tory manifesto along these lines."

What none of these would-be political gurus will face up to is to ask themselves *where does the economic power lie?* They believe both in the 'free market' and the 'power of Parliament'. As even the blind have seen, the growth of the multinationals and transnationals has relegated any power that governments have on the economy is to allocate fairly or unfairly revenues that it receives from different forms of taxation. This is the only distinction that the three main political parties can offer in their programmes. After all, they believe in capitalism; they all believe in the unequal society. As again anarchist repeat, *ad nauseam* perhaps, so long as you go on talking about getting to the top of the ladder of success, money, etc., there will inevitably have to be an awful lot of people at the bottom to provide for those who have managed to climb the ladder of success!

There seem to be some new-anarchist (like the new-socialists) not only here but in our Italian contemporary *Rivista-A*, for instance, where much space has been given to

correspondents who think anarchists should also become 'tactical voters'. Our response will be declared by some correspondents as 'simplistic' when we ask what would be said of a declared vegetarian who admitted to eating meat (not even BSE beef)? Anarchists have no time for political parties and for voting for individuals or parties to run their lives for them, and if they do then they should not call themselves anarchists. Is that 'dogmatic' and 'simplistic' or just common sense?

\*Readers interested in those thirteen years of Labour opposition will find much material in *The Impossibilities of Social Democracy* by Vernon Richards, (Freedom Press, 150 pages, £2.00 post free inland, overseas add 15%).

## MICHAEL HOWARD FOR LORD CHIEF JUSTICE?

(continued from page 1)

historic rise of 42% in three years, which had occurred just before he took over, during the Home Secretaryship of his colleague and rival Kenneth Clarke.

The clear implication was that Mr Howard's new initiative of putting criminals in prison and keeping them there was somehow deterring or preventing crime.

Mr Howard knew of some even later crime figures, but chose not to mention them. In the six months prior to his statement, from September 1995 to March 1996, recorded crime had risen in each successive month. During the same period, use of prison had increased by 50% in the crown courts and 300% in the magistrates courts, so it could not be said there had been a relaxation of Mr

Howard's policy. The reduction in crime between 1993 and September 1995, and the sharp rise thereafter, was either a statistical fluke or due to other factors.

The figures came from the minutes of a Home Office internal meeting on 22nd April, leaked to the *Guardian* presumably by an official worried about prison overcrowding. On 22nd April there were 54,974 people incarcerated, about 1,000 more than the projection, and the prison population was increasing by 350 a month more than had been provided for in the budget.

The mother of James Bulger, the two-year-old murdered by ten-year-olds, is unhappy about the judges decisions not to let Mr Howard increase the sentences, and says she would like the guilty children locked up for life. Prison works as a means of avenging the victims of crime, but as a means of reducing the incidence of crime – which is surely the object of public policy – prison does not work.

### CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

Anarchists make a sharp distinction between criminals and delinquents. Criminals are those who break the law, including admirable socially useful people who struggle against tyranny and war by illegal means. Delinquents are those who do harm, a category which includes not only criminals but also persons whom the laws protect. Anarchism, however, is opposed to coercive institutions of every kind and does not advocate any kind of systematic punishment.

This does not prevent us from preferring some penal systems to others, as long as they exist. On ethical grounds we prefer humane systems. On expedient ground we prefer systems which tend to deter re-offending. And we can have it both ways, because the evidence is that the most humane punishments – allowing the delinquents to live at home or in comfortable surroundings while receiving education and counselling – are most effective.

As for the fact that recorded crime in the 1990s rose sharply for three years, then dropped steadily for three years, then rose sharply again for six months. We note that the crime graph roughly parallels the graph of unemployment and despair among the poor, but refrain from drawing facile conclusions.

## Pret à Porter or Ready to Go

The findings of this week's auditor's report on the 'alleged' gerrymandering by Westminster's Tory controlled council, conveniently timed to appear *after* the local elections, come as no surprise to anyone who has even a cursory knowledge of the case, viz virtually everyone in Britain.

For those of you who have been holidaying on Alpha Centauri for the past seven years, the salient facts are as follows. Westminster City Council, headed by Dame Shirley Porter – a millionairess, by virtue of having been clever enough to be born the daughter of the founder of Tesco – deliberately gentrified (her word) parts of the borough where the Tory vote was declining. This was done by illicitly selling council properties, having first ejected the tenants, on the assumption that the buyers, as home-owners, would tend to vote Conservative.

The resulting debate between Messrs Major and Blair in the House has centred around the legality or otherwise of this action. As you might expect, Blair, being a lawyer, would automatically attack from this direction. This enables Major, keeping carefully within the limits of the law and playing for time, to riposte that one should always assume the accused to be innocent until proven guilty – this from the head of a government that seems to consistently subscribe to the opposing view. The aridity of this debate is reminiscent of one on the relative merits of Sainsbury and Tesco's own brands of soap powders.

There are of course other deeper issues, leaving aside for the moment whether Dame Shirley as well as breaking the law has also transgressed the rules governing the conduct of local authorities – how can anybody have any respect for a supremo of social services who, in a letter to that other notorious

do-gooder Mrs Thatcher, says "Our electoral position ... is being seriously eroded by the number of homeless we have been forced [sic] to house". Forced? This is the leader of a body which should have as one of its main aims the housing of the people for whom they are responsible.

Where will this end? We could have wonderful schools if only we could get rid of all these unpredictable and demanding children, or really magnificent hospitals if we dispose of all these sickly and complaining people.

It seems to us that just as Westminster was a flag-ship for local Tory parties, so the egregious Dame Shirley has managed to achieve a kind of negative status as a mascot of all that is wrong with the grassroots leadership of the party.

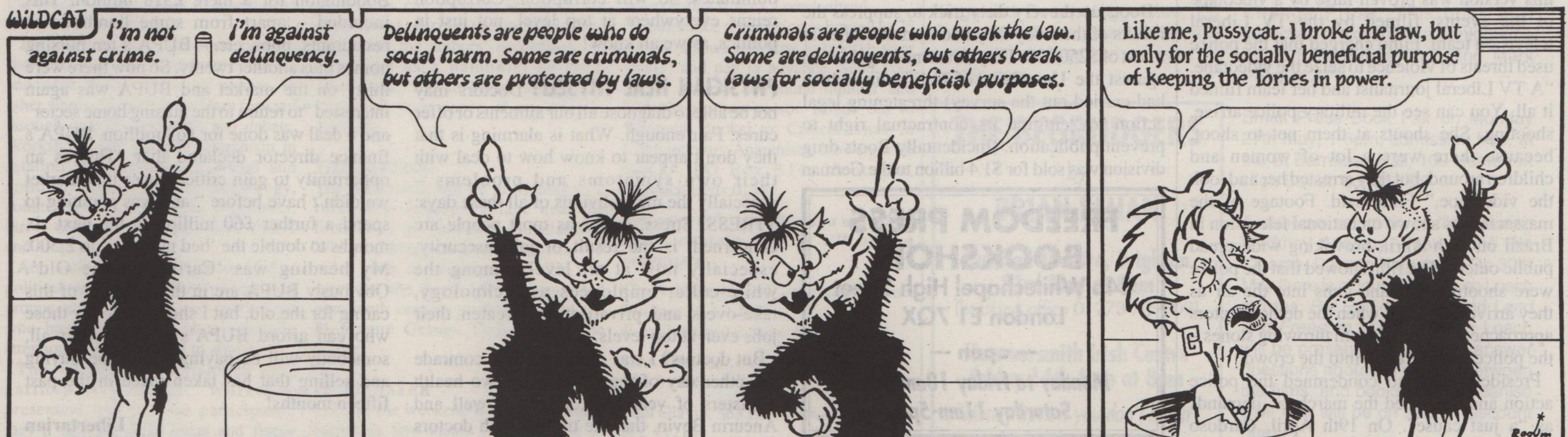
The auditor, John Magill, in his 2,000-page report points to a "catalogue of deceit, destruction and delay" to hide the evidence. The linchpin of his case is the letter quoted above. No doubt the writer and her illustrious recipient shredded their respective copies, but what Dame Shirley probably overlooked is that this document was permanently lodged in the memory of the word processor on which it was typed and was thus retrievable by the auditor. If so, then it is curiously fitting that a leading light of a party which has vastly expanded the territories of the secret state should be destroyed by one of its main instruments of repression – the computer.

Once again the Tories have shown that they have almost boundless contempt for the electorate and have lost sight of the fact that if you must have a state then its only real function should be something the Tories completely disregard – the welfare of its citizens.

### REGULAR READERS PLEASE NOTE

Because of the Bank  
Holiday weekend, our  
next issue will be in three  
weeks, dated 8th June.

Last date for copy is first  
post on Friday 31st May.



# LANDLESS PEASANTS MASSACRED IN BRAZIL

**On 17th April, agents of Brazil's militarised police attacked a group of 4,000 landless peasants who were waiting for transportation to a demonstration, killing at least nineteen people and wounding at least fifty. The massacre took place in the municipality of Eldorado de Carajas, Para state, where some of the demonstrators had been occupying land.**

The landless protesters had set up road-blocks on the highway that connects Belem with the southern part of the state, and were demanding that the state provide them with transportation which would take them [our sources diverged on this point] either to Maraba, where they were to meet with representatives of the National Institute of Colonisation and Agrarian Reform (INCRA), or to Belem, the state capital, where a demonstration was planned. When the Para government agreed to send fifty buses, the demonstrators removed their road-blocks and began waiting at the side of the highway.

"A sergeant from [nearby] Paraopeba arrived at the camp an hour before [the massacre] and said a bus was coming to take a delegation to Maraba, to conclude negotiations on the Macaxeiras ranch," explained Airton Paleiro, director of the National Confederation of Agricultural Workers (CONTAG). Some 1,500 families have been occupying the Macaxeiras ranch, in the nearby municipality of Curionopolis, while they negotiate with state authorities on their resettlement; about 2,500 members of these families were taking part in the demonstration on the highway. "But when the buses arrived they were filled with police who came out firing," said Paleiro, who described the police action as an ambush. "One police detachment came from Maraba, and another came from the other side, from Paraopeba," he added.

"The police arrived firing tear gas bombs and shooting at peasants," explained Gustavo Filho, coordinator of the Landless Movement (MST). Filho said police hid the bodies of several victims, including that of a three-year-old child. According to Filho, many of the victims were killed in their houses or in the surrounding jungle, without having resisted police. The chief of security in Para, Paulo Sette Camara, said it was possible more bodies could be found, "because many of the wounded fled into the jungle when the shooting intensified". On 19th April, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso sent army troops into the area to search for victims.

Paleiro said that peasant leader Oziel Alves Pereira was shot twice and killed inside a vehicle after the military police had arrested and handcuffed him. At local hospitals, doctors confirmed that some of the victims appeared to have been executed. An investigative commission of federal deputies also confirmed, after visiting the morgues, that some of the victims were executed.

Para security chief Sette Camara initially claimed the shooting started when the police "met with gunfire from armed peasants," but this version was proven false by a videotape of the events, filmed by the TV Liberal television team. Filho charged that the police used threats of violence to seize the videotape. "A TV Liberal journalist and her team filmed it all. You can see the military police arrive, shooting. She shouts at them not to shoot, because there were a lot of women and children around, but they arrested her and took the videotape," Filho said. Footage of the massacre was shown on national television in Brazil on 18th April, provoking widespread public outcry. The film showed that the police were shooting machine guns into the air as they arrived, and that when the demonstrators approached – some of them throwing stones – the police fired directly into the crowd.

President Cardoso condemned the police action and described the marchers' demands as "a just cause". On 19th April, Cardoso

pledged to speed up passage of two bills that had been stalled in Congress: one that would allow military police to be tried in civilian courts in cases involving civilians; and one that would accelerate the legal procedures for government appropriation and redistribution of unproductive land.

But CONTAG secretary Francisco Sales called Cardoso "the main one responsible [for the massacre], for slowing down agrarian reform". According to INCRA, nearly 800 families in Para state have already received land under an accord that calls for 1,800 families to be settled by the end of May. INCRA denies claims by the MST that it is behind schedule on the distribution. Brazil has one of the most uneven land distributions in the world, with 45% of the land belonging to 1% of the population.

Para governor Almir Gabriel said he felt "desolated by the exaggerated reaction of the military police". Gabriel said he ordered clearing of the road-blocks by peaceful means, but did not authorise the massacre. [In any case, the protesters had already cleared the road-blocks when the massacre happened.] Gabriel has dismissed the colonel in charge of the operation, and has ordered

both a military and a civil investigation. "We will pursue this case vigorously, and at the end of the investigation, punish those responsible and make an example of them," said Gabriel. The massacre was committed by the fourth battalion of military police in Para state, under the command of Colonel Mario Colares Pantoja.

Gabriel also ordered state health officials to give priority treatment to the people wounded in the incident, and said the state will pay pensions to the relatives of those killed. Gabriel and Cardoso both belong to the Social Democratic Party of Brazil. MST leaders say Gabriel bears part of the blame for the massacre because he authorised the police to use force against the demonstrators. The MST, which is pressing for faster agrarian reform, says police around the country have killed 700 of its members in the past decade. On 9th August of last year, at least eleven people were killed in a similar massacre carried out by militarised police against squatters in Rondonia state.

On 19th April, hundreds of campesinos held demonstrations in Belem, capital of Para state; in the federal district; and in the states of Rio de Janeiro, Espirito Santo and Rio Grande do

Sul, to protest the government's agrarian policy and to demand punishment of those responsible for the Para massacre. In Belem, the crowd clashed with the militarised police when they tried to invade a police barracks, but no one was seriously hurt.

A week earlier, on 10th April, the MST led a 'March for Agrarian Reform and Against Unemployment', a nationwide mobilisation of nearly 10,000 people to hold demonstrations in eighteen state capitals. In Sao Paulo, some 800 of the landless demonstrators took over the INCRA offices, and in Curitiba and Belo Horizonte, hundreds camped out in front of the agency's offices. MST leader Gilmar Mauro, who led the march of 3,000 people in Sao Paulo, explained that the purpose was "to bring the debate on the agrarian question to the cities". Mauro estimates that last year at least 100,000 families left the countryside to live in the outlying slums of the cities; he explained that this migration puts additional pressure on already-overcrowded cities. A day after the massacre, on 18th April, the MST mobilised more than 10,000 people for an occupation of the Giacometti farm in Rio Bonito de Iguazu, in southern Brazil.

The MST won one of its demands when on 19th April Cardoso accepted the resignation of Jose Eduardo de Andrade Vieira from his post as Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform. Andrade, a prominent banker and landowner, insisted that he had already made the decision to resign when the massacre occurred. The MST has also been demanding that INCRA be removed from the control of the Agriculture Ministry.

Source: Nicaragua Solidarity Network, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY  
tel: (212) 674-9499, fax: (212) 674-9139  
e-mail: nicanet@nyxfer.blythe.org

**PROFIT VERSUS THE TRUTH** Replying to another correspondent on the subject of scientists and our well-being (*Freedom*, 23rd March) I put the question to John Wood: "Can you imagine if those scientists engaged on R&D [Research and Development] were to find solutions to wear and tear with machines, with humans, etc. ... Do you think that in a capitalist world the 'discoveries' would be marketed or suppressed?"

I got a reply, not from *Freedom's* correspondent but much more importantly straight from the horse's mouth!

An *Observer* headline (28th April) reads "Boots suppressed its own survey on cheaper drugs", and continues:

"Boots, one of Britain's most trusted companies, commissioned research – and then suppressed it after the results showed that its most lucrative drugs could be replaced by products three times as cheap and just as effective. The episode, revealed this weekend, has reinforced fears that corporate sponsorship compromises medical research when it threatens profits."

Are the anarchists right or wrong when they maintain that the profit motive corrupts everything it touches?

The *Observer* article deals in considerable detail with the interests involved here and in the USA. After all, the use of 'cheaper options' could "wipe £242 million a year off US health care costs".

Boots used every dirty trick to suppress the results of the study they had commissioned at a cost of \$250,000. They threatened legal action against the University of California (which had carried out the survey) threatening legal action to "enforce its contractual right to prevent publication. (Incidentally Boots drug division was sold for \$1.4 billion to the German

## ANARCHIST COMMENTS IN BRIEF

chemical giant BASF – wheels within wheels!)

The two *Observer* reporters in Los Angeles and London point out that:

"The suppression of the research is an example of a growing trend that is difficult to prove but which worries academics and scientists.

Richard Smith, editor of the *British Medical Journal*, said: "Some companies take the view that they own scientific data because it was produced by a study they funded. It is difficult to know how widespread the problem is, but it can have a serious biasing effect on the scientific literature. It is worrying."

So what? Dr Andrew Herxheimer, a clinical pharmacologist who has studied drug companies' support of clinical research, might have for some a word of consolation when he declares that "this problem has always been with us" and concludes that "it cannot get any worse". And as a good scientist and logician, he concludes "so in that sense things can only get better".

Of course not! So long as the profit motive dominates, so will corruption. Corruption reigns everywhere at top level, not just in politics, as we all know!

**PHYSICIAN HEAL THYSELF!** Doctors may not be able to diagnose all our ailments or offer cures. Fair enough. What is alarming is that they don't appear to know how to deal with their own symptoms and problems – especially the most obvious of all these days: STRESS. Stress, so far as most people are concerned, is the result of job insecurity, especially now at all levels among the white-collar employees as technology, take-overs and privatisation threaten their jobs even at top levels.

But doctors? I was reminded by a comrade the other day of the remarks by two health ministers of years ago, Enoch Powell and Aneurin Bevan, that the trouble with doctors

was that they always wanted more money. And so long as money is linked to the number of people doctors have on their lists, most will opt for the maximum and possibly give bad service, and at the same time suffer inevitably from stress through biting off more than they can chew. Now they are blaming all the paperwork involved. On the rare occasions I see my doctor she seems to have everything on a computer, which she manipulates at the same time as she talks to me!

I see (*Guardian*, 18th April) that one "family doctors' surgery has asked patients over 65 to leave the practice and find other GPs on the grounds that it does not have the expertise to care for them". Do they really mean 'expertise' or is it that they haven't the time?

**CARING FOR THE OLD IS BIG BUSINESS** In December 1994 BUPA (the 'private health care group') sold its ten homes to Boddington for £27 million. In the meantime Greenhalls took over the "rival pub and hotel group" Boddington for a mere £518 million. This included – apart from some hundreds of restaurants, pubs, etc. – BUPA's ten nursing homes plus another twenty. So now there were thirty on the market and BUPA was again interested "to return to the nursing home sector" and a deal was done for £68 million. BUPA's finance director declared that "This is an opportunity to gain critical mass in a market we didn't have before" and was planning to spend a further £60 million in the next six months to double the 'bed numbers' to 2,500. My heading was 'Caring for the Old'. Obviously BUPA are in the forefront of this caring for the old, but I should add 'for those who can afford BUPA's prices'. After all, somebody will be paying for all the buying and selling that has taken place in the past fifteen months!

Libertarian

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## ANTI-JSA CAMPAIGN LATEST CAMPAIGN CLOSES IN ON CHEETHAM HILL

Today, Friday 10th May, the Manchester campaign against the Job Seekers Allowance will be moving to protest against the enforcement of a pilot scheme at Cheetham Hill Job Centre. This will be their second action at this Job Centre, which is at the forefront of the government strategy to introduce what has been described as 'the most draconian and anti-libertarian piece of legislation to reach the statute book this century'.

The Manchester campaign includes claimants from Cheetham Hill, people signing-on in central and south Manchester, members of Tameside Unemployed Workers Alliance and some of the Salford unemployed. To date the struggle has under its belt the successful occupation of the Cheetham Hill Job Centre reported in the last issue of *Freedom*.

The Manchester branch is part of a national loosely-knit network around Groundswell – the coordinating body of claimants and workers against the Job Seekers Allowance – which is holding its next national conference in Sheffield on 25th May. Many anarchists and libertarians are backing this movement.

The statement now being issued by the Manchester group to the Cheetham Hill claimants declares: "You are now under attack – from the JSA!" As they enter the Job Centre to sign-on claimants are being warned: "The JSA ... can become another Poll Tax".

As you read this, employment service staff are being told by the unemployed activists that staff at some Job Centres know it will lead to a loss of jobs in the unemployment service when the JSA is introduced. Some are taking action against the Job Seekers Allowance. The Manchester anti-JSA campaign calls on the

Cheetham Hill staff, all staff, to follow the example of the militants and to "stand with the unemployed by refusing to harass them, and by, for example, striking against the JSA".

This material coming from the alliances of the unemployed claimants contrasts with the literature on the Job Seekers Allowance provided by the government. The official literature presents the JSA scheme as a benign way of helping people to find work and get off the employment register. But besides the unemployed, many liberals see it as a way of criminalising the unemployed, and even members of the House of Lords saw it as a serious attack on human rights.

Those who hope a change of government will lift the threat of the Job Seekers Allowance may be disappointed. All the signs are that a Labour government will retain the JSA scheme in its essentials – though perhaps they will change the label on the bottle. Last week Chris Smith MP, Labour's Social Security spokesman, called for a programme of getting people off benefits and into work so as to cut the social security spending.

The Job Seekers Allowance, as it stands, means creating a pool of cheap labour. It means people will be ordered to take poorly-paid jobs by Job Centre clerks and pen-pushers. Junk jobs and falling wage rates will follow. Cheap labour will become scab labour as workers fight to resist wage cuts. That is why the trade unions and the TUC are opposing the JSA. The Job Centres and the Job Clubs will become the barracks for a massive scab army ready to be drafted into any area of industrial dispute to break unions and smash strikes.

As we move towards a cheap labour economy on the South East Asian model, it is going to be difficult for any government to

resist using the unemployed labour pool as a weapon against workers trying to protect their incomes. All the indications are that a Labour government, with Gordon and Brown and Chris Smith in too, will have something like workfare on the agenda, and whatever their intentions, the outcome of their project will be to depress wages.

In these circumstances it is amazing that, with a threat to organised labour looming through the Job Seekers Allowance, that a body committed to anarcho-syndicalism in Britain – the Solidarity Federation – has yet to declare its hand. The Manchester Solidarity Federation last week told a delegation from the Manchester Anti-JSA Campaign that they hadn't yet decided to oppose the Job Seekers Allowance, because it was only a 'single issue campaign'. When asked what was the Solidarity Federation policy on unemployment, the delegation was given no clear outline of any policy for the unemployed in England or anywhere else. It is unbelievable that an organisation claiming to be dedicated to social struggle should be ignoring the Job Seekers Allowance, which represents the greatest threat to employed and unemployed workers for many years.

It may be that the Solidarity Federation

nationally is not so indifferent to the plight of the unemployed, or so laid-back about the JSA.

### EJECT THE PILOTS!

The aim must be to shut down the JSA pilot schemes like the one at Cheetham Hill. The idea must be to make the whole monstrous project unworkable. Recently there was a rumour that Cheetham Hill was dropping its pilot scheme. That was after last month's anti-JSA demonstration. This now seems to be misinformation put out by one of the other Job Centres.

It is also claimed that the Project Work scheme operating in Hull is living on borrowed time. There is a determined effort to close it down, though some suggest the scheme may be put out to private tender if it is not possible to get the Labour local authority to cooperate with the project.

Militant action against the Job Seekers Allowance has been taking place for some time in Brighton and Edinburgh. Huddersfield is still planning the formation of a group. The Tameside Unemployed Workers Alliance is now well established, and is in some ways the main extra-parliamentary opposition to the one-party rule of the Labour Party in the Tameside Metropolitan Council. The TUWA is an awkward squad to have roaming around any borough and they seem to have a knack for wrong-footing the power dealers inside the council and the local Labour Party.

We must wait and see if this month's Groundswell national conference can pull together all the separate elements.

Mack the Knife

## McLibel: 250 days of failure for McDonalds

McDonalds, the international fast food enterprise, has the second best-known trade name in the world, after Coca Cola (Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck are better known, but their names vary between countries). As the vast financial conglomerates 'downsize', and McDonalds keeps strictly to the business it knows, it is rapidly becoming the largest employers in the United Kingdom.

But while in general the story of McDonalds is the commercial success story of the second half of the twentieth century, the story of its attempt to silence criticism is a story of failure. It has spent some two and a half million pounds on the longest civil trial in British history, 250 days of court time in nearly two years, suing a pair of penniless anarchists for libel. This is thanks to the intransigence and intelligence of our comrades Helen Steel and Dave Morris.

The World Wide Web, which came into being after the McLibel trial started, is now the chief instrument of those disseminating information and propaganda by computer. McDonalds got themselves a web site, to disseminate the truth as they wanted everybody to see it, and it was accessed 1,800 times in the first week.

Then the anti-McDonalds campaigners got a Web site, McSpotlight, which was accessed a million times in the first month. It was launched on 16th February at demonstrations in London, Chicago, Helsinki and Auckland. In London, Steel and Morris launched it in front of McDonalds, Leicester Square, using a laptop computer connected to a mobile phone. Those who own a piece of software called Frames for Network 2 can now display statements from the McDonalds Web site on one side of the screen with comments from the McSpotlight Web site on the other side.

In the whole world there are only seven million computers connected to the Internet, all owned either by institutions or by private individuals wealthy enough to pay for the equipment and the telephone bills. Comparisons with the Jarrow marchers, and phrases like "a watershed in grassroots

activism" in the McSpotlight press handouts, may seem somewhat exaggerated, but McSpotlight is supported by volunteers in fourteen countries, is copied onto countless 'mirror' sites, and features films and statements which McDonalds thought they had suppressed. It is a thoroughly worthwhile enterprise.

Meanwhile at the trial, Paul Preston has been cross-examined by the defendants. Mr Preston is President and Chief Executive of McDonalds UK, and Senior Vice President of McDonalds Corporation. He was the first witness to give evidence in chief, in June 1994, but McDonalds lawyers requested that his cross-questioning be postponed.

He has been asked about food safety, nutrition, the environment, animal welfare, workers' rights, advertising to children: all the points worked over throughout the trial and in the leaflet *What's Wrong with McDonalds*, which is its main subject. More interestingly, he has also answered questions about a leaflet published by McDonalds themselves, just before the trial started, calling their critics liars. This is the subject of a counter-claim by Steel and Morris, that McDonalds has libelled them.

When McDonalds issued writs for libel in 1990, their objective was not to have a trial but to get the anti-McDonalds campaigners to stop. Faced with two defendants willing to fight the case all the way, they launched into four years of delaying tactics. McDonalds underestimated the staying-power of the two, and when the trial eventually got going it became apparent that they had also underestimated the two's intelligence. The McSpotlight Web site has shown that the two have acquired many supporters all over the world.

The only consolation which McDonalds can take from this mess is the reflection that any publicity is good publicity.

**McLibel Support Campaign,**  
c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX,  
telephone 0171-713 1269.

McSpotlight: <http://www.McSpotlight.org/>

## ANARCHISM IN PRACTICE AND THEORY

A one-day conference was held at the London University School of Advanced Study on Friday 3rd May 1996. Unfortunately I slept very badly the night before and arrived rather late feeling very sleepy and so missed the first session by Alan Carter (of Heythrop College) on 'A Justification of Radical Disobedience', although those that were there said it was a masterly contribution.

John T. Sanders (Rochester Institute of Philosophy, New York) looked at 'The State of Statelessness', examining Rappaport's distinction between cooperation and conflict and brought in contributions from games and decision theories and distinguished between capitalist anarchists, market anarchists, socialist anarchists and philosophical anarchists. I liked his comment "Government is a bad habit".

After lunch Richard Cleminson (Bradford University) looked at 'Sexual and Cultural Politics of Catalan Anarchism in the 1930s', pointing out the mixture between libertarianism, and what we

might call Victorianism, in Spanish sexual thinking. He indicated we should not look only at the apparent heroic period of Spanish anarchism as a prelude to future anarchist reality, but look more closely at what was happening and what was said about the women question, about homosexuality, anti-semitism and the like. Spanish anarchism reflected the cultural ideas of their period and aspects might be out of place today.

Carl Levy's (Goldsmith's College) 'Italian Anarchism 1870-1926: From the First International to Fascism' was a very detailed, if rambling, contribution to the subject, formless rather than themeless, and it was difficult to comprehend what he was trying to say, although parts of it were excellent. I felt that if it had been condensed it might have been an excellent talk.

Peter Marshall produced a masterly summing-up, integrating anarchism with environmentalism. "What we need is a new analysis of needs and desires", he said. Just the kind of conclusion required by this kind of meeting. Despite the fact that the conference was an hour over time, few people left early.

**FUTURE EVENTS:** There is another conference on Saturday 22nd June 1996 from 10.30am to 5.30pm on 'Egalitarian Justice': details from Shahrar Ali, Assistant to the Coordinator, Philosophy Programme, Room 305, School of Advanced Study, Senate House, London WC1E 7HU. Conference fee: £10.

Interestingly enough there was a leaflet from the Libertarian Alliance, which it appears has now re-started, about a conference also on 22nd June from 11am to 5.30pm on 'Anarchy, State and Utopia? Robert Nozick's Project Revisited' which is to be held at the Cellar Bar, Red Lion Pub, 48 Parliament Street, Westminster. For tickets contact the Libertarian Alliance, 25 Chapter Chambers, Esterbrooke Street, London SW1P 4NN. Conference fee: £3. All day bar.

Peter Neville

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## — ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

**WHOSE LAND IS IT ANYWAY?**

It seems to me that squatting can be seen as *Ideological* or *pragmatic*. What I mean by this is that when Winstanley and the Diggers settled on land at Walton-on-Thames in Surrey in 1649, they were ideologists, dramatising a century of unauthorised encroachments, pushed on as Christopher Hill noted, "by land shortage and pressure of population". Similarly, when in September 1969 squatters occupied a former royal residence, number 144 Piccadilly in central London, with a banner proclaiming Proudhon's slogan 'Property is Theft', they were ideologists, dramatising the scandal of homelessness in a city where at the time acres of usable housing was empty, waiting for vast redevelopment proposals and road-building, which in the event never happened. We need to be reminded of the finding by Dr Graham Lomas that in London by 1975, more fit houses had been destroyed than had been built since the Second World War.

There have always been pragmatic squatters, relying on the distant and absentee property-owners, to allow them the occupation of premises by default. The last thing they desired was publicity and the thing they most desired was a rent-book and security of tenure. You will know that the term 'Squatters' Rights' is a popular term for the complicated case-law of Adverse Possession, which means, broadly-speaking, that if you have had unchallenged occupation of land or buildings for twelve years, you can claim ownership.

We have a continuous history of squatting in the margins of history. A Victorian historian of Windsor Castle observed that at one time paupers had squatted in many of the towers. In the early nineteenth century an apple-seller called Ann Hicks annexed a portion of Hyde Park at the east end of the Serpentine. Her shanty was known as the White House and was steadily improved. An admirer, Katherine Lloyd, explained that:

"From a stall with an awning, a lock-up shop was evolved. Then a small back enclosure appeared including four walls with windows and a door. The height of the building was next increased, and under the excuse of repairing the roof a chimney was provided. The next step was to get a hurdle erected to prevent the curious from peeping in at the window. The fence by degrees was moved outwards, until a fair amount of space was enclosed. At this stage the authorities intervened and secured possession of the domain of Ann Hicks who was granted a small allowance."

However, I have to turn to the period at the end of the Second World War. It started in 1945 with what was known as the Vigilante campaign which spread from Brighton to other seaside towns like Hastings and Southend. Committees of, largely, ex-servicemen, under cover of night, installed homeless families and their furniture in unoccupied houses – usually successfully, since no action could be taken to evict them

once they were in, until the usually absentee property-owners could initiate legal proceedings against them.

In the following year the campaign grew because of the anomaly of the emptying-out of hundreds of army and air force camps during the worst housing shortage the country had known. The first of the 1946 squatters was James Fielding, a cinema projectionist from Scunthorpe who, desperate for somewhere to live so that he could keep his job, moved on 8th May with his family into the former officers' mess of an unoccupied anti-aircraft camp. As soon as the news of their action spread around the town, other young couples in a similar predicament moved into the other huts and the first of the new squatter colonies was born. Two other camps in Lincolnshire were seized, and this was followed by the occupation of several camps around Sheffield. At Sheffield settlers formed a Squatters' Protection Society and linked up with the pioneer squatters at Scunthorpe.

These events were rapidly followed by the seizure of hundreds of camps everywhere in Britain. The authorities who at first disclaimed any responsibility for the squatters – passing the buck from one department to another – were forced to recognise the occupations, and local authorities were instructed to turn on water and electricity supplies. Later in the year the Ministry of Works, which had previously declared itself "not interested" found it possible to offer the Ministry of Health (then the department responsible for housing) 850 former service camps.

The government announced on 11th October 1946 that 1,038 camps in England and Wales had been occupied by 39,535 people, and on 5th September it was stated that four thousand people had squatted in Scotland. Since the government could not destroy the movement, it tried to absorb it, and expressed itself confident that the settlers would "see reason" and "move out when the situation had been explained to them". On Saturday 14th September, the Minister of Health, Aneurin Bevan, just back from his holiday in Switzerland, instructed local authorities to cut off gas and electricity supplies to property under their control occupied by squatters.

But in fact, by this time, councils were already directing homeless people to occupy empty huts where by this time settlers were organising communal cooking and nursery facilities and forming a rota to stoke the boilers left behind by the armed forces. A very revealing report in a series called 'How Are They Now?' appeared in the *News Chronicle* for 14th January 1947. The correspondent described a Lancashire camp:

"There are two camps within the camp – the official squatters (that is, people who have been placed in the huts after the first invasion) and the unofficial squatters (the veterans who have been allowed to remain on sufferance). Both pay the same rent of

10 shillings a week – but there the similarity ends. Although one would have imagined that the acceptance of rent from both should accord them identical privileges, in fact it does not. Workmen have put up partitions in the huts of the official squatters – and have put in sinks and numerous other conveniences. These are the sheep; the goats have perforce to fend for themselves.

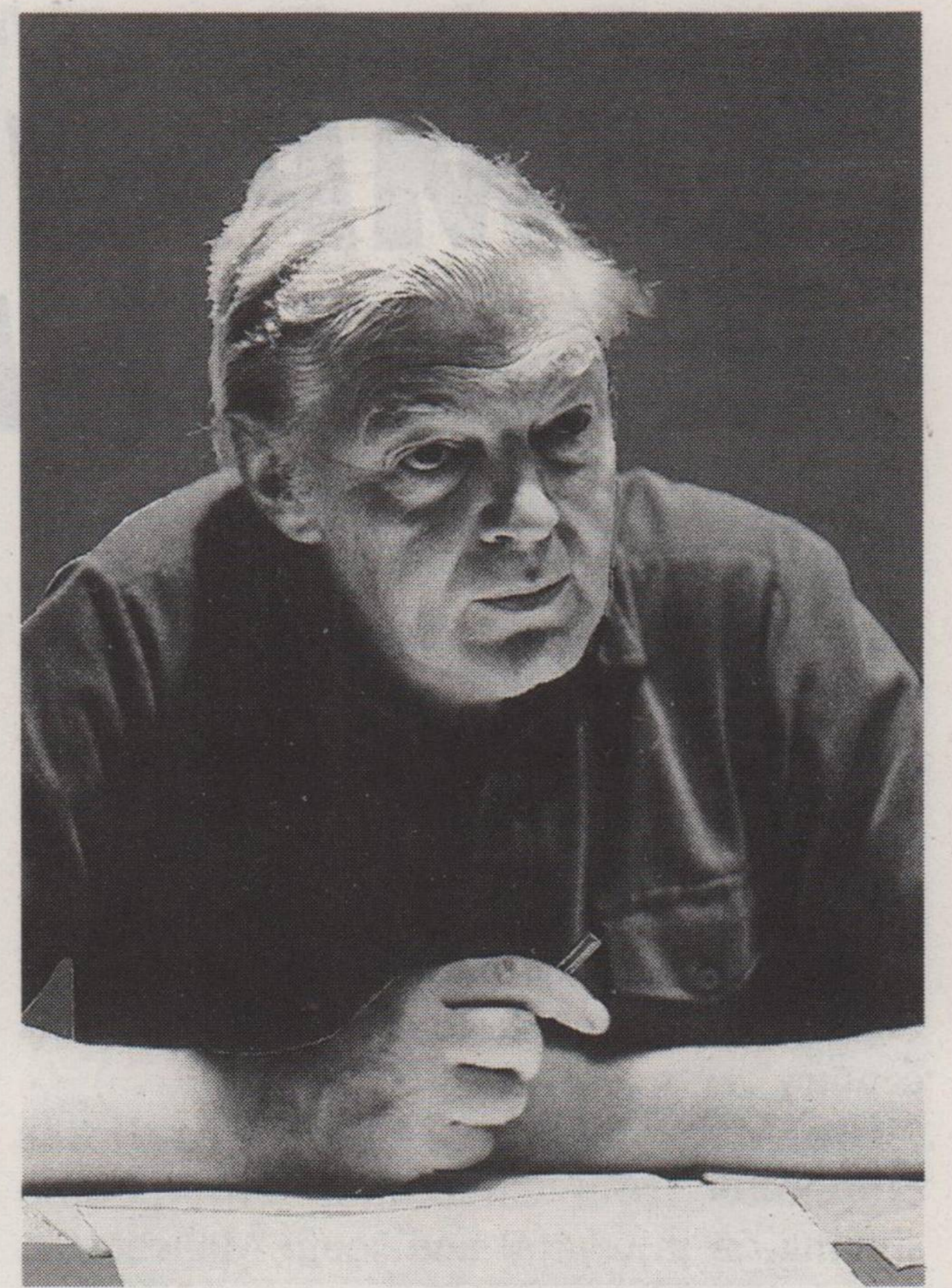
An interesting commentary on the situation was made by one of the young welfare officers attached to the housing department. On her visit of inspection she found that the goats had set to work with a will, improvising partitions, running up curtains, distemping, painting and using initiative. The official squatters on the other hand, sat about glumly without lifting a hand to help themselves and bemoaning their fate, even though they might have been removed from the most appalling slum property. Until the overworked corporation workmen got around to them they would not attempt to improve affairs themselves."

In October 1946, Aneurin Bevan sought to turn public feeling against the camp squatters by suggesting that they were "jumping their place in the housing queue", when in fact they were jumping out of the housing queue by moving into buildings which would not otherwise have been used for housing purposes. It took most of them years in fact to get into that 'housing queue'. Over a hundred families who in 1946 occupied a camp called Field Farm in Oxfordshire, stayed together and over ten years later in 1958-59 were rehoused in the new village of Berinsfield on the same site.

But meanwhile, as the camps began to fill, squatters turned to other empty buildings: houses, shops, mansions, disused school buildings, race tracks and a stadium were among the places occupied, and on 26th August 1946 two Aberdeen hotels and on the 29th two big Glasgow hotels were seized, and later abandoned. The final and most spectacular phase of the campaign began in London on Sunday 8th September when the 148 former luxury flats of Duchess of Bedford House, Kensington, another block in Weymouth Street, Marylebone and big empty houses in Holland Park and Camden Hill were occupied. On the following day three more houses in Marylebone were taken over, and on the Tuesday sixty families entered Fountain Court, a block of flats in Victoria. On the Wednesday the flats at Abbey Lodge, Regents Park and the 630-room Ivanhoe Hotel in Bloomsbury were occupied. The tactics adopted by the police varied from day to day, from sympathy to threats, according to instructions from above.

The Communist Party, although a year earlier it had denounced the Brighton Vigilantes, was very active among the London squatters. So much so that people who had to rely on newspapers for their information assumed, and have assumed since, that the whole thing was a Communist stunt. The whole affair ended in the anti-climax of a "general evacuation" by the London squatters when a High Court injunction against them was granted. This was seen as the end of the squatting wave, though many of them were found accommodation of one kind or another by the London County Council, while the camp squatters had settled down until they could find something better.

Needless to say, pragmatic squatting continued, especially as local councils acquired vast tracts of urban housing for eventual comprehensive redevelopment. It re-emerged as a public issue in 1968 thanks to two activists, Ron Bailey and Jim Radford. They were busy agitating about the failure of local authorities to comply with their statutory duty to the homeless, trying after long and bitter campaigns to draw public attention to conditions in hostels for homeless families in Kent and Essex and in the LCC area. By this time, as Bailey put it, "a squatting campaign was clearly on the cards; it only needed a spark



Colin Ward

to set it off", so they installed homeless families in unoccupied houses which had been publicly acquired and earmarked for demolition years later for eventual road improvements, car parking or municipal offices.

This outraged the local authorities who responded violently. They used thugs described as 'private investigators' as their agents to terrorise and intimidate the squatting families, and this was widely reported and photographed in the press and on television, and this in turn drew public opinion towards support of the squatters, as did the policy of deliberately wrecking the interiors of empty houses just to keep the squatters out. I myself saw the way in which council employees smashed sinks and water closets, poured cement down the wastepipes and ripped out staircases so that even squatters could not settle there.

Bailey was commissioned by Penguin Books to write his account of the events in 1969, but his book was not published until 1973 because of lawsuits resulting from the activities of the so-called 'bailiffs' employed by one London council. When it did appear, his publishers omitted his concluding chapter which defended the squatters' movement both against those who oppose direct action from a constitutional point of view, and secondly against his critics on the allegedly revolutionary left. He remarked that:

"In the squatters' movement I have worked with ordinary non-political people for admittedly small gains, and we achieved a large measure of success. Ordinary people acted and won; and ordinary people manage the houses in which they now live. So when councils offered to hand over houses we accepted these rather than fight over them unnecessarily." (Ron Bailey 'In Defence of Direct Action' in *Wildcat* No 3, November 1974).

For what happened after the grotesque over-reaction of councils to the activities of the squatters, was that, ashamed of their mismanagement of empty housing they owned, they gladly entered into agreements for short-life housing co-ops, some of which, because of the changed climate of housing policy, have had a very long life. In London, some of the most successful housing co-ops have grown out of squatting groups. And in fact, a quarter of a century after his venture into the squatting world, Bailey dedicates his most recent book on the scandal of empty housing in a situation of homelessness, to the late Conservative chairman of the housing committee of the London Borough of Lewisham in 1968-71, in "admiration of the

(continued on page 6)

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Through the Anarchist Press

# PURE GENIUS

I have now seen anarchy in practice and, so far, it works. The Land is Ours campaign, after three months of careful preparation, occupied a thirteen-acre site (Gargoyle Wharf, York Road, Wandsworth) and within minutes of arrival two coachloads of people set about transforming the derelict land fronting the River Thames south of Wandsworth Bridge into a 'sustainable village' including gardens, vegetable plots, imaginative housing and community projects for local people, who have given tremendous support all through the week.

In six days a basic core of about a hundred people, with over a thousand who have come to help on a daily basis, have made this place both liveable, entertaining and worth coming to. There is no better cuisine in London, and the store-room is full of the choicest vegetables from donations and from the local New Covent Garden Market. A community of individuals! The vegetable plots are increasing at a daily rate, with some friendly rivalry between the new piled-on permaculture where hands are the only tools and the traditional methods of working up the ground with pickaxes, forks and shovels.

The owners – if such a word is fit to use in the context – are the Guinness brewery group who inherited the site in 1986 when they 'took over' the Distillers Company, and ever since then the thirteen acres remained unused. Guinness, in partnership with Safeways, put in a lame proposition for a superstore which even the notorious Wandsworth Council had to reject.

The site is self-policed – again this is a ready-made phrase – which in effect means that there is a completely crime-free zone. Inside the site no money changes hands, although the initial cost of setting up the operation came to £3,000, mainly from donations, which was spent on a large mail-out, hire of coaches and building materials. Ever since then the local builders and other well-wishers have brought

in supplies (see photo). There is now a rudimentary water supply for drinking and for irrigation. A proposal to use Thames river-water for irrigation is being considered.

The communal pavilion, 'Octavia's Love Nest', is a beautiful wooden structure in which Colin Ward gave his talk on 'Squatting Through the Ages'. This structure went up in three days, and a windmill generating solar power should be in place by today.

The place is swarming with reporters from all over the world and Tony Benn came on Tuesday 7th May as early as 7am and gave his opinion that homelessness "was a necessary discipline of capitalist society". He said that what he saw was admirable. When asked if he would stay, he nevertheless chose to return to his cronies in the Gas House across the river.

Guinness, of course, do not seem to exist in the summons which they issued against Nicholas Harris, George Monbiot, Steve Collier and Persons Unknown (could it be you, dear reader?). The plaintiff is named as United Distilleries plc for the hearing on Wednesday 15th May at the Royal Courts of Justice in the Strand. The shares of Guinness stand at about £4.60 a share at the moment and the site is also worth a cool £20 million. A drop in the Guinness fortune, and it is rather irrelevant that, rich as they are, they are prepared to go lying into court (some solicitors have neither shame nor brain) for the summons testified that the "land herein mentioned are not residential in nature". Then what was that about their planning application for 110 (unaffordable) flats skirting the superstore? And what are these people, these Londoners, who at this moment are residing here, their laughter filling the air as their hammers knock the wood into its place and pushing the good mulch in their wheelbarrows. Irish mist?

This is anarchy in action, and I'm cautiously optimistic that it is here to stay.

John Rety

## WHOSE LAND IS IT ANYWAY?

(continued from page 5)

astonishing courage and vision he showed by entering into the first legal agreement with squatters in 1969" and he adds that "As a result of his action, tens of thousands of homes that would otherwise have stayed empty have been brought back into use and hundreds of thousands of homeless people given new hope and dignity".

Local politicians may have come to agreements with squatters (and this is perhaps more evident in other European cities like Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Copenhagen) but central government politicians of both major parties have been unremittingly hostile. Once they discovered that squatting was a civil, rather than a criminal offence, governed by legislation dating back to the year 1381, they set about changing the situation. The Law Commission responded in 1974 with a document on Criminal Law Offences of Entering and Remaining on Property, which was incorporated into legislation by the Criminal Law Act of 1977. This failed to deter this country's 50,000 or so squatters, and in practice, so has its Conservative successor, the infamous Criminal Justice Act of 1994.

During the preparation of the Labour government's legislation, surveys of squatters were undertaken by Mike Kingham and others, which demonstrated that typical squatters were not happy hippies, but people in desperate housing need. In preparation for the Criminal Justice Act twenty years later, the Home Office issued a Consultation Paper in which it stated that it "does not accept the claim that squatting results from social deprivation. Squatters are generally there by their own choice, moved by no more than self-gratification or an unreadiness to respect

other people's rights". It also observed that cases of squatting "involving very young children were negligible".

Ron Bailey in his most recent book uses the latest available survey figures to show that the facts are very different. He finds that:

"About one third of squatting households contain children and this has been the case for over five years. Under Section 58 of the Housing Act 1985, all such families are statutorily homeless and so entitled to be accommodated by local authorities. This would often be bed and breakfast. The fact that they are squatting actually saves ratepayers vast amounts of money. Many other squatters need psychiatric help: since 1990 more than 28,000 hospital beds have been lost and only 5,000 residential places provided. Thus, many ill people have drifted into sleeping rough and squatting. In addition, currently 2,000 squatters are women escaping violent partners. Even more squatters are homeless single people for whom there is no statutory provision at all and for whom council waiting lists are meaningless. About one in twenty squatters (2,500 people) are ex-owner occupiers, evicted as they were unable to meet mortgage repayments. In conclusion, therefore, all the available evidence shows that squatters are homeless people in desperate housing need, often with other social problems such as mental illness or the need to escape violence and harassment. These are the people that the government is attempting to make into criminals."

The government ignored the representations of eminently reasonable people like Ron Bailey who for thirty years has tried to seek some accommodation for the homeless in official policy, and, as you will know, the Criminal Justice Act incorporated an astonishing rag-bag of legislation directed against the poor. Hence the important question: "Whose land is it anyway?"

Colin Ward



Local lorries bringing free supplies

## THE LAND IS OURS WE'VE OCCUPIED THE DERELICT LAND ON YORK ROAD

### WHAT'S GOING ON?

Campaigners from The Land is Ours are occupying the site of the old distillery and oil depot on York Road, SW11. We're building a sustainable village with gardens and public amenities. We're laying on lots of events: music (acoustic only), circus stunts, talks, painting and story-telling. Everyone's welcome – please come and join us.

On 8th May we celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the biggest occupations in British history, when demobbed servicemen took over a thousand derelict sites. On 12th May we'll be handing the land over to the people who want to live there or to use it in the longer term. This, if you're interested, means you.

### WHY ARE WE DOING IT?

We want to highlight the desperate need to make good use of the derelict sites in Britain's cities. They're the best places for the affordable housing, the community facilities and the green spaces our cities need so badly. At the moment they're either being wasted or used for the sorts of developments which tear up communities – such as giant superstores and extremely expensive housing.

We want to show what can be done in places like this – and how much better development can be when ordinary people are involved rather than just big business and bureaucrats.

### WHY HAVE WE CHOSEN THIS PLACE?

Because, with the right sort of development – making use of the waterfront and the excellent location – it could be wonderful. Also, since

Elm Farm was shut down by Wandsworth Borough Council, the people of Battersea have been deprived of one of their best amenities. We want to restore some of the things the area has lost.

### WILL WE BE A NUISANCE?

We're acutely aware that we're within earshot of people's homes, so no amplified music or other major noise will be allowed on site. This is a peaceful, friendly and constructive occupation. If you feel worried by any aspect of what we're doing, please come to the reception tent at the main entrance and tell us what you think, and we'll try to sort it out.

### WHAT WILL HAPPEN NEXT?

To a large extent this is up to you. We believe that homeless people and the local community should be the driving forces of development. So please come along and join our meetings. Tell us what you think and what you would like to see the land used for. Then we can work out together how we can put your ideas into practice. A planning meeting is held every morning at 11am – everyone is welcome.

### WHO ARE WE?

The Land is Ours is a campaign, not an organisation. It has no membership and no paid staff. We're campaigning for sensible land use in Britain and better access both to the land itself and the decision-making processes that affect it.

The Land is Ours  
East Oxford Community Centre  
Princes Street, Oxford OX4 1DD



The derelict site on occupation

# DAYS OF BEER AND POSES

It is the season of throat-clutching and the feminine vapours for the Town and his shy-making frau as they do the two-minute walk from the National Gallery and the left-hand turn into the National Portrait Gallery for, having supped of madness via the brush, they can then stand mute witness to the clicking camera-work of the late John Deakin who, with the aid of cancer of the lungs, left the social life of Soho to the sound of the hymn and the spade. One can do no more than wait for one's turn to put the boot in than by quoting the constantly-quoted epithet by George Melly, the jazz singer, that has become John Deakin's epitaph: "a vicious little drunk of such inventive malice and implacable bitchiness that it is surprising he didn't choke on his own venom". But one should remember Melly's other words that the world chooses to forget: "his vitality, his wit" and "his delighted relish in his own self-destruction". Deakin was a sad type and I, and you, have met them in the pub and the bookshop and rage tints our anger if one finds oneself the victim of their spew, but be it summer or winter, the day is too short to let them sour the beer. Deakin was one of that vast majority gifted without talent yet over-eager to make his stamp upon his associates and the world, and be it insect, bird or animal, it is accomplished by parasitically attaching and living off a greater lice, yet who can condemn them if their company amuses.

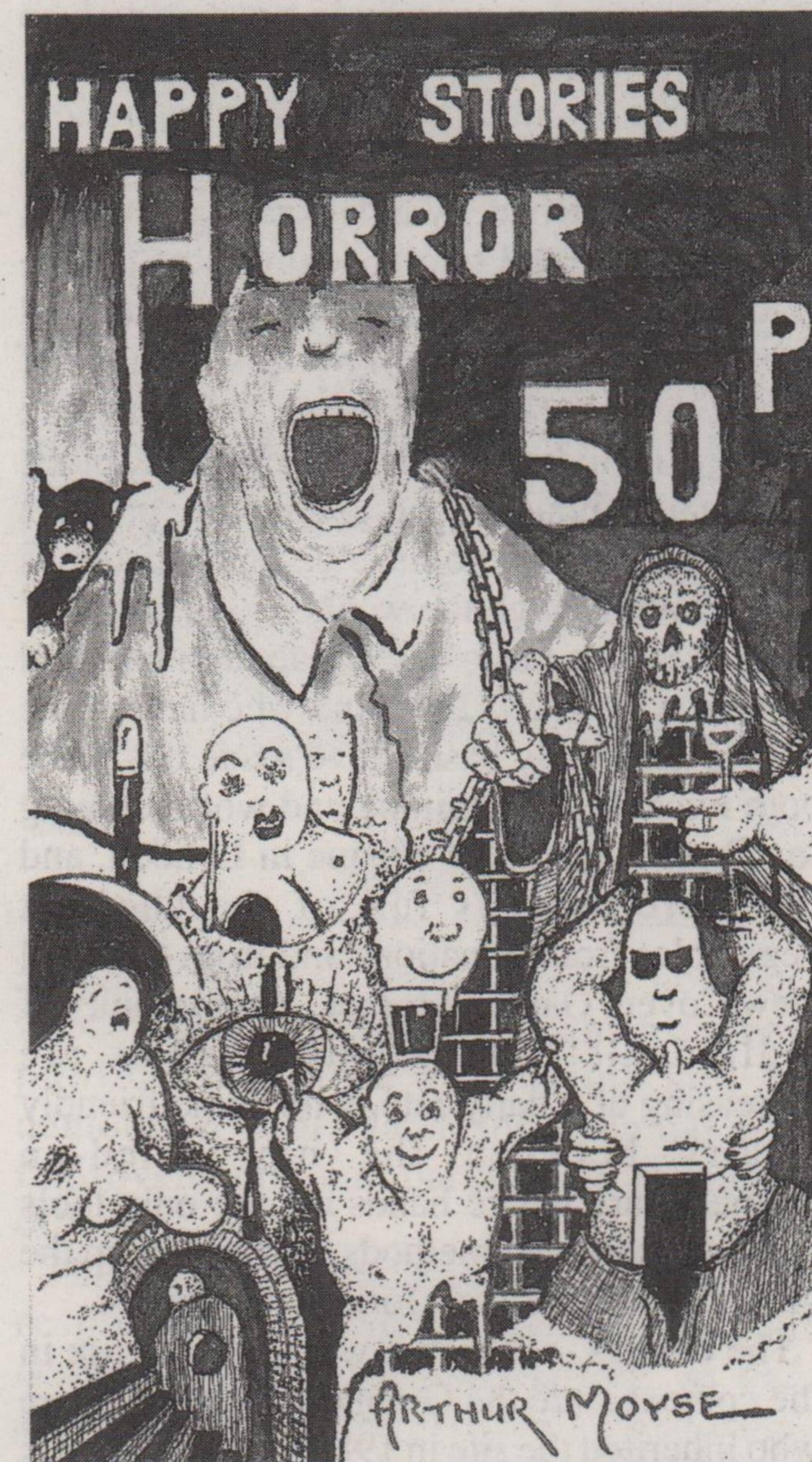
I have never accepted that photography is an art, but click the camera's living lie in the right direction and one has one's fifteen minutes of black-and-white glory. But Deakin's slight talent was the curse in that those he chose as subject matter were usually life's failures, the great forgettable mixing with the great unwashed in that small island of London's Soho. For Soho is an island given over to soft-core pornography, cheese, wine and four public houses whose reputation, like the beer, is over-rated. Here within the crowded bars life's failures whisper the gossip of the arts and hint and hint of success that is but a signing away.

Deakin clicked his camera for *Vogue* and, to quote the eye-raising Brian Sewell, "London streets, Paris cafés, the stews of Rome and their denizens" which for my sad desires means a life of cheerful unconfined pleasures. Deakin's one major trophy to hang on the loo wall, dark and brooding, with the photographs of yesterday's forgotten Finest Painter of this Century, was his association with the painter Francis Bacon, whose Gilray-style 'screaming cardinals' repainting of Velázquez's 'Portrait of Pope Innocent X' gave Bacon the award of the rubber banana as the Finest Painter of this Century, and Deakin cuddled up to Bacon's shadow and clicked the camera. Bacon was one who gave one much short-listed pleasure when he dunked his toe into the gravy bowl with his crude re-hash of Velázquez's painting but with the mouth in that voiceless scream taken from Sergei Eisenstein's 1925 'The Battleship Potemkin' (Bronenosets Potemkin) film of the screaming woman on the Odessa Steps and Bacon supped off Velázquez and Eisenstein and Deakin supped off Bacon. This is not to condemn or to mock, for what one creates and what one's audience – be it only one – claim for the work in question demands a degree of respect and understanding, but do not let those in hired authority tell me that I am in the presence of a genius and its verification is the art market price tag. Deakin is now kaput and only his soured reputation will survive for a brief while until the next shit makes it to the bar of a Soho pub, but Bacon's screamers will fill the art dealers' vaults with the good ol' Victoriana of yesteryear.

So many years ago Bacon had a minor major exhibition within the Hamilton Gallery, queened over by a patriarchal woman who drove an ambulance during the Spanish Civil War, and it was of bright crude colouring of 'van Gogh' full-length and walking along the yellow brick road, and each canvas was big and bad and with all the hype over the National Gallery's collection of Bacon's 'screaming cardinals' now on display, within

what art dealer's vault do Bacon's painted 'van Goghs' continue to trudge their lonely way to forgotten oblivion? Every social grouping has its hierarchy, yea even the anarchist movement, which is dictated for a brief while by how much one can hold a headline or wine and dine reciprocal associates, the political parties on who picks up the tab at the Soho Gay Hussar, the winos with their racial bar at the cider and surgical spirits drinking fest, the dedicated criminals over length of time they 'did' and the Indian Untouchables over the marriage costs, each and all create their social classes and within the 'anarchist society' one must wonder who will sit at the high table for the worm within the bud feeds upon every idealised society for, like Bacon's replay of the glory road on the backs of Velázquez and Eisenstein, there are Deakins who will live off the Bacons, etc., etc.

There are those who tell me that genius is akin to madness but that it only applies to the creative arts. Politicians and engineers are free of this blight that has long placed mad scientists high in the 'top ten' of the entertainment list, but if any one man can be held responsible for pointing the finger at those who daub and pen then it must be Max Nordau. In the early 1880s Max Nordau's book *Degeneration* hit the bookshelves wherein, with scissors and paste, Max proved to the philistines and his own satisfaction that all creative artists, be it pen and brush, were degenerate maniacs poisoning the minds of the world's solid citizens by their evil creative genius. As a reader of the *Sun* tabloid with a number of relatives who lived and died stark raving mad, and as a 'failed artist', there are times when one accepts Max's claim. But then perhaps Max himself was mad! Max's chief hate object in his scissors-and-paste book was Oscar Wilde, who was never mad but could be, at times, extremely stupid and it was left to Shaw in his book *Sanity in Art* to pull the rug from under Max's 'decadents and aesthetes' with its sustained attack on Wilde, but then Shaw would wouldn't he! It is to



Wilde's credit, and let no one forget this, that Wilde was the only writer in London to sign G.B. Shaw's memorial asking for the reprieve of the Chicago anarchists awaiting execution, and if that is degenerate madness then touch me with the Royal Finger.

That little pool of failure in the Soho pubs continues for there are always new recruits with their stories and Albert Meltzer is dead and the world is a poorer place for his absence. Always on the defensive, I and the world will miss him for he gave a touch of laughter to grim idealism. Be it Weston-Super-Mare but let it be peace.

Arthur Moyses

## The Raven

Anarchist Quarterly  
number 31

on

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As we go to press we learn of the death of Albert Meltzer on 7th May at the age of 76 following a stroke. But for all the self publicity and fantasy contained in his recently published 400-page autobiography, and the quite extraordinary and equally fantastic obituary by the erstwhile amateur 'terrorist' anarchist Stuart Christie in *The Guardian* on 8th May (obviously Christie had prepared his obituary in anticipation of the demise of "anarchy's torchbearer"), I would have suggested leaving Meltzer to die in peace and with all his fantasies.

But Shakespeare's "The evil that men do lives after them / The good is oft interred with their bones" certainly does not apply to Meltzer!

Just listen to Christie's paean of praise for his torchbearer of anarchy:

"A life-long trade unionist he fought Mosley's blackshirts; actively supported the Spanish revolution's anarchist communes and militias and the German anti-Nazi resistance and was a key player in the Second World War Cairo Mutiny. Post-war he helped rebuild Spain's anti-Franco resistance and the international anarchist movement ... The anarchist-led resistance to the 1936 Franco uprising in Spain boosted British anarchism. Albert helped to organise arms shipments from Hamburg to Spain and acted as a contact for the Spanish anarchist intelligence service."

But it just isn't true! And unless somebody says so, one can imagine the academic historians – whom Meltzer so despised – using this kind of crap which Christie (who wrote the gushing Foreword to Meltzer's 400-page autobiographical fantasia) quotes in his *Guardian* obituary.

I did know Meltzer in his younger days, as I have none of his sycophants – they weren't even born. He and I registered at the Labour

## INSTEAD OF AN OBITUARY

Exchange in 1938 or '39 in Denmark Street, off the Charing Cross Road, as conscientious objectors. Whatever he says in his autobiography, our intention was quite clear: we felt solidarity with the pacifist conscientious objectors but refused to appear before the tribunals on the grounds that a bunch of bureaucrats (and it included trade unionists) could not be the judges of our consciences. In his autobiography he says that the intention was to be called up and then make the revolution within the army! Utter nonsense, just as the so-called 'Cairo Mutiny'. As to all his activity during and after the Spanish Civil War – including "helping to organise arms shipments from Hamburg to Spain" and "a contact for the Spanish anarchist intelligence service" – as I write I am bursting my sides with laughter!

Meltzer was an able journalist and in the days when *Freedom* was weekly he specialised on the Middle East. He was a hopeless platform speaker, whatever he suggests to the contrary in his libellous autobiography. And one major fact that he does not recognise in his fantastic recollections is that those of us he accuses (and Christie parrots in his obituary) as the "neo-Liberals" actually defended and rescued Meltzer from the anarcho-syndicalists, who wanted to exclude him from the Anarchist Federation in the 1940s. His most virulent opponents were Tom Brown, Bill Gape and two others whose names escape me (one an Irishman who was found dead in Hyde Park, and a Scotsman – apologies for old age). In the

autobiography Tom Brown *et alia* are okay.

One final point. I was responsible for *Freedom* weekly from 1951 to 1964. Meltzer contributed articles and was *never refused publication*. And even in the '80s when I edited one of the Freedom Press Centenary volumes, I included articles that he had contributed. Far from appreciating impartial selection, he wrote me a letter protesting at their inclusion and demanding payment of royalties!

I realise that mine is not the usual kind of obituary. Some three autumns ago at the Anarchist Book Fair I saw Meltzer in animated conversation with the ever-animated and dear friend Elizabeth Earley. I thought it might be the moment to make contact with Meltzer through Elizabeth. I approached them, a kiss and a smile for Elizabeth, and I was wanting to shake hands with Albert. He looked daggers at me, accompanied by all kinds of insults from pinching the Freedom Press 'assets' and betrayal of the movement, most of which can be found in his libellous autobiography.

All I could tell him as I left them was that, though five years older than him, I would have the opportunity to write his obituary.

Which I have just done, and I admit *with sadness* (because after all we were comrades together for some twenty years). But I believe that for the past thirty years he did more harm than good to the anarchist cause, and his libellous autobiography condemns him for all time.

Vernon Richards

# A Strange Conservatism

Dear *Freedom*,  
 Larry Gambone's 'A Strange Conservatism' (*Freedom*, 20th April) gives a misleading impression of populism. He certainly presents a vague and unclear picture of what populism is. A major study of the subject, *Populism: Its Meaning and National Characteristics*, edited by Ghita Ionescu and Ernest Gellner, 1969, holds that the term refers to those social movements which stress the virtues of the simple, common folk versus the aristocrats, the 'over-educated' and the vested interests. Populism is reformist in its aim to protect the interests of these common people, but it also embodies a 'strange conservatism' in that it derives from and is supported by that segment of society which is composed of small property owners - family farmers and small, often rural or 'outback' entrepreneurs. These people want social reforms which will protect their ideal of private property against the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a few monopolistic corporations. Thus, populists are suspicious of bigness, of concentrated authority, of intellectuals and city dudes. This, however, does not mean that they have any fundamental critique of the state or government. They, like the Militia Men - who are also populists and were discussed in an earlier article (*Freedom*, 13th May 1995) - are eager to use government to protect their interests.

Gambone confuses the issue by introducing individualist anarchism and the Libertarian Party into the discussion. These have little relevance to populism. It is likely that C.H. Douglas might have been vaguely influenced by Proudhon in his development of social credit. But the monetary reform of Greenbackers and Populists had little anarchist flavour. Quite the contrary, for them the state should have more control over the monetary and banking systems. The Libertarian Party is predominantly a party of upper middle class yuppies, computer

analysts and quasi-intellectuals and has little relation to populism.

Contrary to Gambone, it seems perfectly obvious that populism can be 'left-wing' or 'right-wing'. The Farmer-Labour Party was a left-wing expression, adopting a mildly socialist platform. But most populist expression in North America has been of a right-wing nature. Tom Watson, the last People's Party candidate for President in 1908 had by that time become a racist blaming the ills of the world on the blacks and the Jews. Gambone mentions the Union Party, but fails to point out that its most well-known leader was Father Charles Coughlin, an anti-Semite and admirer of Francisco Franco and Mussolini.

Oddly enough Gambone fails to mention a host of more contemporary populist movements, all of which are 'right-wing'. There was the Share the Wealth movement led by Huey Long, a populist rabble-rouser whom many considered to be a fascist demagogue. Then there was George Wallace's American Party in 1968. Wallace was a major opponent of civil rights and anti-discrimination legislation who campaigned for President against the Washington bureaucrats, the 'pointy-headed' intellectuals and the fat cats - all good populist rhetoric. In recent years there has been a Populist Party advocating populist-type reforms such as monetary reform, repealing the income tax, saving the family farm, and the right to bear arms, as well as racist, anti-immigrant and anti-foreign ideas. In 1988 its presidential candidate was David Duke, a leader in the Ku Klux Klan, and in 1992 it offered 'Bo' Gritz, a leader in the Militia Men. And, then, there is Ross Perot and that major Canadian manifestation of right-wing populism, the Social Credit movement which for a time so appealed to Alberta farmers and British Columbia petty bourgeoisie.

In sum, this 'right-wing' emphasis arises out of the property interests of alienated white Christian small-

holders who look back fondly to the arcadian yeoman democracy of that slave-holder Thomas Jefferson. Sometimes, as I have intimated, this emphasis can become fascistic.

Harold Barclay

## Allotments

Dear Editors,  
 Allotments are the only independent source of local food.

I have bought potatoes for only three weeks over the last four years. From this you may realise that I do take the matter seriously. Please note that this did not start with Agenda 21, but comes from a deep-seated concern of the ratio of mouths to land available in our close community, controlled entirely by money. This money constantly devalues with the machinations of the moneymen coupled with the collapse of banks.

The only stability to weather this gathering storm is to educate the public in the uptake of all available land possible for food production until all local mouths are fed.

In the face of economic collapse, we cannot eat concrete. All land possible should be held in trust to be rapidly converted to food production. Any rise in rent for agricultural land must be stopped. And in fact not only a cut in rent rises but a programme of education of local people as to how to get the best return from the land cultivated, while keeping it in good heart. This must not be forced labour but high kudos should be attached to people growing food locally.

Raspberries from California in the height of our own season has to be the ultimate madness. While a friend of mine tells me that he buys his potatoes from the West Country, by the sack, while down there on business. On one visit he was told by the farmer that they were waiting to be delivered ... from Lincoln.

Stop this madness with a proper programme to promote a pride in locally grown soft fruit and vegetables.

Eric Hickson

# Anarchist Myth of Violence

Dear *Freedom*,  
 There have been a couple of off-hand comments recently arguing that only violence will bring about change, given that, as VR states in *Raven 31*, force is "the only language [the bosses] will respect". A similar view informs the editorial article in *Freedom*, 4th May that "Diplomacy will not solve the Palestinian crisis". Obviously this is one argument, but both pieces also contained dismissive and somewhat sneering references to those of us who believe that only non-violent methods will bring about worthwhile change, in Europe at least.

The editorial article in *Freedom*, 4th May, cites various brutal conflicts from the past to argue that violence is a necessary component of change. Notwithstanding the narrow ahistoricism of the writer's explanation of change both in South Africa (practically all the victims of the violence there were black, and the white population was never under any general threat), and in French Algeria (where, incidentally, de Gaulle's duplicitous remark, "J'ai compris", was aimed at the recently rebellious *peuds noirs*), he has surely ignored the most important and stunning changes that have occurred in the last fifty years - the collapse of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe. Romania apart (which was more in the way of a badly-executed army coup), the great changes were brought about by the inertia and ossification of anti-creative and anti-human systems, and the mass resistance of the populations of countries like East Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Despite the recourse to violence by regimes with a history of terrible brutality, the mass of people were not to be moved. That is our task, to change the perceptions of enough of our fellow countrymen and women, so that they will desire a new way of living, not, as VR says in *The Raven*, "Anarchists who are pacifists hope to achieve our ends by persuading the rich and powerful of the errors of their ways ..." No, we do not seek to

do that, why should the powerful wish to change? Instead we should seek to create the sort of feeling that brought about the 'velvet revolutions' of Eastern Europe, when the mass of ordinary people changed things despite the powerful.

If others doubt the truth of this view, and the small glimmer of hope that the events of the late 1980s and early 1990s gave, then let the great Czech novelist Ivan Klima, a victim of both the Nazis and the Communists, persuade them:

"Revolutions are usually marked by high-sounding slogans and flags; blood flows, or at least glass is shattered and stones fly. The November revolution, which earned the epithet 'velvet', differed from other revolutions not only in its peacefulness, but also in the main weapon used in the struggle. It was ridicule. Almost every available space in Prague - the walls of buildings, the subway stations, the windows of buses and streetcars, shop windows, lamp-posts, even statues and monuments - were covered, in the space of a few days, with an unbelievable number of signs and posters. Although the slogans had a single object - to overthrow the dictatorship - their tone was light, ironic. The citizens of Prague delivered the *coup de grace* to their despised rulers not with a sword, but with a joke. Yet at the heart of this original, unemotional style of struggle there dwelt a stunning passion. It was the most recent and perhaps the most remarkable paradox to date in the life of this remarkable city."

Let us cultivate the 'spirit of Prague', not some bloody and distorted historical myth of violence.

Steve Cullen

please keep sending in your letters and donations ...

## CRITICAL ISSUES IN CONTEMPORARY ANARCHISM: THEORY, POLITICS AND VISION 7th to 9th June 1996 Conference

This weekend conference will bring together people who have thought a lot about anarchism and have engaged in organising efforts to bring us closer to a free society. It's conceived as being a step beyond 'Introduction to Anarchy 101' or 'How to ... (brew beer, put out a 'zine, run an info shop, etc.)', as important as these types of discussions are in other situations.

The aim is to allow 'seasoned' peers to share ideas on what anarchism *could be*, and what makes our work unique. In other words, to move anarchism forward through critical discussion and debate. Workshops will examine anarchism in relation to contemporary social and political issues, such as technology, counter-institutions, ethics, economics, direct democracy, culture, dual power and more.

Anti-authoritarian activists engaged in political struggles, members of anarchist groups and collectives, and individuals who have given these ideas scholarly attention, are encouraged to attend.

The weekend is envisioned as a participatory event. Workshop presenters will also be participants; they'll develop their ideas and frame

questions for up to thirty minutes, leaving about an hour and a half open per session for discussion. Workshops are currently being finalised; please contact us if you have an idea for one.

We also encourage those attending to bring a 5-10 page paper related to the conference theme. The written statements can provide the basis for discussions during the weekend and may, with the authors' permission, be compiled as a pamphlet or book afterwards. Please bring at least 25 copies of your paper, if possible, to circulate.

### THE SETTING

The conference will be in Montague, a rural New England village near the foothills of the Berkshire Mountains in Western Massachusetts (approx. 18 miles north of Northampton). We will meet at the Book Mill, a renovated nineteenth century gristmill, and at the Montague Grange Hall around the corner.

### TO REGISTER

Cost for the weekend is \$25 per person, including five meals (we're trying to

make it affordable and also break even).

Indoor floor space at the Book Mill or outdoor camping nearby is available at no extra cost (bring your own bedding/camping equipment). If you prefer, Motel Six is only seven miles from Montague and costs about \$30 a night for two people. Call for reservations at least a week ahead.

Conference registration is limited to 75 people. Please call now to reserve your spot(s) and pay in advance. Send your name, address, telephone number and \$25 cheque per person (made out to Perennial Books) to: Critical Issues in Contemporary Anarchism, c/o Perennial Books, PO Box B14, Montague, Massachusetts 01351.

For more info or to discuss a workshop idea, contact any or all of the organisers:

Cindy Milstein, 145 Intervale Avenue, Burlington, VT 05401.

E-mail: igrimmer@moose.uvm.edu  
 John Petrovato, PO Box B14, Montague, MA 01351.

Paul Glavin, 383 6th Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11215.

## HACKNEY ANARCHY WEEK a celebration of subversion in East London 24th May - 2nd June

A few of the events included in the programme (see also back page for details).

Riff Raff Poets present *Visions of Poesy*, organised by Dennis Gould, on Sunday 26th May at 7.30pm, entrance £2, at Acton Arms, 296 Kingsland Road, Haggerston, E8. Relaunch of this anarchist poetry book with readings from many of the contributors.

Alternative TV gig on Friday 24th May at Chat's Palace, 8pm sharp, £3. Legendary punks ATV will be playing with their original 1978 line-up and introducing several surprises. The event will be the official launch of *Gobbing, Pogoing and Gratuitous Bad Language* published by Spare Change Press. This book is a collection of fiction on a punk theme by various writers, including Mark Perry of ATV.

Small Press Book Fair on Monday 27th May, 1-6pm, admission free, at the St Barnabas Hall, 109 Homerton High Street, London E9.

A sublime selection of films during Hackney Anarchy Week at the Rio Cinema, Dalston Kingsland. On 30th May there is a double bill of Ken Loach movies: *Riff Raff* (6.45pm) and *Land and Freedom* (9.15pm). Ken Loach will be present at 8.30pm to answer questions about his work in between the films, and books on the Spanish Civil War will be on sale at discount rates.

**THE BEGRUDGERS**  
 by  
**BRIAN BEHAN**  
 Pavilion Theatre, Brighton  
 23rd May at 8pm  
 (booking office 01273 709709)  
 Hammersmith Irish Centre  
 Friday 14th June at 8pm  
 "Money back if you don't laugh"



## GROUNDSWELL 5

(Groundswell is a network of workers and claimants fighting against the introduction of the Job Seekers Allowance)

### National Conference

Saturday 25th May  
12.00 - 6.00pm

at

Sheffield Coordinating Centre  
Against Unemployment,  
73 West Street, Sheffield

For further details contact:  
PO Box 446, Sheffield S1 1NY

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## Northern Anarchist Network Conference in Sheffield weekend of 15/16 June

at

The Sheffield Red & Black Centre  
Wharnciffe Works, Green Lane,  
Sheffield S3

further information from:  
Sheffield Anarchist Group, Black Star,  
PO Box 446, Sheffield S1 1NY

## London Anarchist Forum

Meets Fridays at about 8pm at Conway Hall,  
25 Red Lion Square, London WC1R 4RL.  
Admission is free but a collection is made to  
cover the cost of the room.

### - 1996 PROGRAMME -

17th May General discussion

24th May Stirner was not an Anarchist  
(speaker: Adrian Williams)

31st May General discussion

7th June The Difference Between Anarchism  
and Socialism (speaker Mark Osborne)

14th June General discussion

Anyone interested in giving a talk or leading a  
discussion, please contact Peter Neville at the  
meetings, or at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham  
Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW (tel:  
0181-847 0203, not too early in the day please)  
giving subject and prospective dates and we  
will do our best to accommodate. A collection  
is made to pay for the £15 cost of the room.  
Donations are accepted from those who cannot  
attend regularly but wish to see the  
continuation of these meetings.

Peter Neville  
London Anarchist Forum

### - TURKEY -

talks and discussions on

- ANARCHISM
- ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM
- THE KURDISH STRUGGLE

by 5th May Group  
(Turkish and Kurdish anarchists)

30th May at 7.30pm  
Barnabas Hall, 109 Homerton High Street,  
London E9

## Dales Red Rambles

A series of free guided walks in the Yorkshire  
Dales. All walks are on a Sunday unless  
otherwise stated. Bring walking boots,  
waterproofs, food and drink.

May 19th - Airedale: Farnhill and Sutton  
Pinnacles. Meet outside Bay Horse Pub at  
Sutton (near Keighley) at 10.45am. Length  
approx 8 miles.

Telephone for further details  
01756-799002

## Anarchist Communist Federation

The Anarchist Communist Federation is an  
organisation of class struggle anarchists.  
For contacts:

Across Britain, London and surrounding  
region: ACF, c/o 84b Whitechapel High  
Street, London E1 7QX

Scotland (for contacts in Aberdeen, Elgin  
and Glasgow): PO Box 5754 (no other  
mention), Elgin, Scotland IV30 2ZD

For Merseyside and region: Merseyside  
ACF, PO Box 110, Liverpool L69 8DP

For Brighton (and contacts in Bognor and  
Hastings): Brighton ACF, c/o Unemployed  
Centre, Tilbury Place, East Sussex

## GLASGOW ANARCHIST SUMMER SCHOOL

24th August 1996

All enquiries to:  
R. Lynn, 151 Gallowgate,  
Glasgow G1 5AX

more details nearer the event

## Hackney Anarchy Week

A celebration of subversion in East London

25th May - 2nd June 1996

A week-long festival is being organised. If  
you are interested in getting involved,  
contact: Hackney Anarchy Week,  
BM Active, London WC1N 3XX

e mail: [anarchy@phreak.intermedia.co.uk](mailto:anarchy@phreak.intermedia.co.uk)

## Red Rambles

A programme of free guided walks in the  
Midlands for Greens, Socialists,  
Libertarians and Anarchists. All walks are  
on a Sunday unless otherwise stated. Bring  
walking boots, waterproofs, food and drink.

June 9th: Walk leader Jon. Meet 11am at  
picnic site car park below Derwent Reservoir  
Dam (map reference SK173893), Derwent  
Valley, Derbyshire. Circular walk, length  
8-9 miles over mountainous terrain.

July 7th: Walk leader Jon. Hollinsclough  
and Chrome Hill. Meet at 11am by phone  
kiosk in Hollinsclough (map reference  
SK667065, Outdoor Leisure Map 24) for a  
5 mile circular walk in Upper Dove Valley.

August 4th: Walk leader Ray. Lost Villages  
of Leicestershire. Meet 11.15am at centre  
of Peatling Magna village, Leicestershire  
(leave M1 at junction 21) for 6-7 mile  
circular walk.

September 1st: Walk leader Mike.  
Loughborough Countryside. Meet 11am at  
Forest Gate pub car park, Forest Road,  
Loughborough, for 5-6 mile circular walk.

Telephone for further details  
01773-827513

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