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FREEDOM

#### **Anarchist Forum**

Fridays at about 8pm at the Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square (via Cosmo Street off Southampton Row), London WC1.

- 1990-91 SEASON OF MEETINGS
- 28th September 'Why Revolutions Occur' (speaker David Wedgewood) 5th October - Open discussion
- 12th October 'What Did You Do in the Sixties Daddy?' (speaker Peter Lumsden) 19th October - Open discussion
- 26th October 'Bored with Class Politics (speaker Andrew Lainton)
- 2nd November Open discussion 9th November - 'Anarchism, Deviance and Criminology' (speaker Peter Neville)
- 16th November Open discussion 30th November - 'Anarchism in an Ageing Regular
- Psychology' (speaker Peter Wilkinson) 14th December - 'Anarchism and Youth'

Anyone interested in leading a discussion either presenting a formal paper

conference in 1992 or both. Either it could be by invitation or entirely open. The problem with the latter is will visitors expect accommodation? It is easy enough to book a hall and get speakers. 'Free' accommodation I enclose £. for 'drop-in' guests, especially in London, may be more difficult to provide. Why hold them in London? Let us know your views.

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# Reminders from Recent History for Ridley & Co. 1. Brothers No Longer

The American Loan has been received with a great chorus of bitter condemnation by the British ruling class. Our businessmen are busy declaiming from the house tops how they bore the brunt of the war and how they lost all their markets while they were working for the government on cost-plus contracts. Our politicians are taking on the tragic attitudes of women of easy virtue who wish to make out that an unfair advantage has been taken of them, and from all sides we are treated to a continual repetition of the ingratitude of the American government and its capitalist accomplices.

Far be it from us to defend the American government. On the contrary, we regard with disgust the consummate hypocrisy with which, after the protestations of brotherhood that have been made during the war years, after the moral humbug to which American politicians have treated us for so long, they can turn to make a commercial advantage of the present need of the British people for raw materials and foodstuffs imported from abroad. But we do not think the British governing class are any less culpable than the Americans in this matter, for the whole situation arises out of the very nature of the system which they maintain and represent.

Indeed, looking at the matter objectively, it has done what any sharp capitalist would have done in the normal course of business. They have granted a loan at a fairly low rate of interest, on the understanding that the money would be spent on American goods. And, seeing that the firm with whom they were dealing with was desperate for credit, they have taken the opportunity, as any astute capitalist would, to drive a bargain of their own by hustling the British representatives into accepting the terms of the American proposals on the Bretton Woods scheme, which would mean the end of any form of discriminatory trading agreements between countries to the exclusion of others.

The British ruling class brings up the question of how much they have lost through the war. But this is an argument which does not hold much water between capitalists, for the Americans can point out that the British capitalists went into war of their own free will, to serve their own interests, and that in any case there has actually been a substantial increase in industrial profits in this country during the war. As for the grievances of the British about not being able to carry on reciprocal agreements within the Empire, the American capitalists would undoubtedly say that he is not very much interested in maintaining the British Empire.

We have put the matter in this way merely to show that, according to ordinary capitalist ethics, there is nothing particularly shocking in the American loan agreement. It only becomes shocking when it is seen in its proper setting, as a sign of the corrupt social order of financial and economic exploitation from which it springs. Any isolated act of capitalist trickery is evil not so much in its own right as from the nature of the system of property and government that produces it.

It has been said often enough by some of the Labour Ministers who are now busily engaged in the racket themselves, that capitalism of any kind is bound by its very nature to expand and seek new markets. And as the process of industrialisation spreads over the world and reaches the former consumer countries, turning them into producer countries in their turn, the markets steadily become more and more reduced.

In every major war since the middle of the eighteenth century, markets have been a dominant factor, and the last war was no exception. It was fought because the German capitalists wished to make Europe and the Levant their economic province and the

# Kohl loves Gorbi

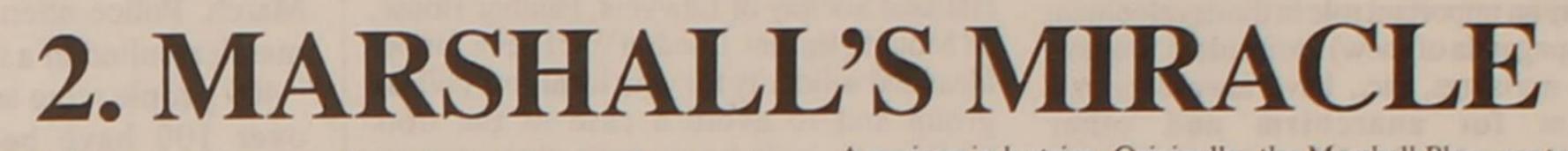
#### (continued from page 1)

supplied by the Americans, needed finance. And sure enough our American cousins, with whom Churchill and now Thatcher talk of our 'special relationship', were only too glad to oblige — at a price. Loans at a low interest rate and on condition that the money was spent on American goods!

The Bretton Woods scheme, which meant the end of any form of discriminatory trading agreements between countries to the exclusion of others, was another condition imposed by the USA on Britain at the end of 1945 for these loans. The Ridleys of 1945 (that is the business lobby) were the ones to protest loudest. 'We (the Brits) have made all the sacrifices and the Yanks are cashing in at our expense'. In 1990 the Ridleys are virtually saying 'We won the war but the Krauts are now on top of the industrial pile'. First of all the Brits didn't win the war. The Russians won the war and the Americans cashed in on the war. Since for so many Freedom readers the Second World War is as vague an event as is the First to this writer, we are reprinting in this issue two articles from Freedom: Brothers No Longer which deals with the Bretton Woods agreement in 1945, and an article by M. L. Berneri in January 1948 on Marshall's Miracle. We believe that by reading these two articles carefully, readers will understand what is behind the Tory support for Nicholas Ridley's outburst. It is nothing to do with German built-in aggressive 'instincts'. These old fashioned Tories, with blue blood going to their heads, still think that half the map of the world is tinted pink for the British Empire. And also most importantly that Britain is a major force in Europe which in the past (when half the world map was pink) she could divide and rule. This is no longer true and the Thatcher government has made a major contribution to this end. It is one of the few things for which we anarchists should applaud this government.

Japanese to turn the East into a great market for their own manufactures, to the exclusion of British and American capitalists. Britain and America fought this war to save their markets from imperialist rivals. Now these rivals have been eliminated. But the economic struggle for markets goes on. Not only are Britain and America lined up for a great conflict over the markets of Europe and Asia, but the war has turned other countries, formerly of colonial status such as Canada, Australia, Brazil and even India, into potential competitors in this war of trade. The former allies, having defended the rivals who threatened their trading supremacy, now draw apart and embark on an economic war of the kind which is the inevitable accompaniment of a market economy. The conditions of the American loan mean merely that the American capitalists have seen a strategic opening and have the war is over is that America holds the position of the greatest imperialism the world has ever known, and that its politicians intend to take every advantage of their positions. Would the

British ruling class have done any different if the roles had been reversed?



The State Department's report which gives estimates of the food, raw materials and machinery that will be shipped by the United States under the Marshall Plan, if Congress gives its approval, has sharpened the controversy as to the merits, or otherwise, of this scheme.

Mr Truman and his associates have candidly presented the scheme as an essential instrument of American foreign policy and seem certain that it can 'achieve miraculous results'. The British Labour Party has now unreservedly rallied to these views and has called a European Congress of the Socialist parties in countries adhering to the Marshall Plan to be held in March. But the Beaverbrook Press and the Communist Party oppose the Plan as undermining Britain's independence, while claiming that they are not opposed to American aid.

On one point, however, there is general agreement, from Mr Truman to Mr Pollitt — that the Marshall Plan is being used as a political weapon. The issues become less clear when the economic aspects of the Plan are being discussed.

The United States would like the world to think of the Plan as a crusade against police States, totalitarian rule, political and moral chaos. They have abandoned the rôle of the philanthropis assumed at the beginning and taken up that of the crusader. There is a third rôle which they could play with little effort, but which is deprived of glamour, that of the business man. A 20th century business man, of course, who has mastered the art of buying the right kind of government as if it were a new piece of machinery and who is more fond of waving the torch of liberty than his cheque book. A 20th century business man who becomes a Tom Paine when the business rival is Stalin and who remains a plain business man when the customer is Peron.

The Marshall Plan is not, as it has often been described, an 'example of a responsible and unselfish action'. The Marshall Plan is business and as such it is outside ethical considerations. It can only be good or bad business, and the report recently published, seems to indicate that it is not bad business. It would be ridiculous, of course, to believe that America is merely trying to get rid of her surplus production. The plan will mean 'sacrifices' which have been accepted all the more readily because it is understood that they will fall on the shoulders of the American worker rather than on those of the capitalists. One can also see at first glance that the plan for future European

recovery is going to mean the immediate recovery of certain

Text of the foundation agreement of the Association of Self-Managing Trade Unions, 'Resistance' (Soprotivlenie), passed at the foundation conference in Moscow, **3rd June 1990** 

The Association of Self-Managing Trade Unions 'Resistance' (hereafter ASMTU) is:

- Free, that means independent of State and party organisations and administration. Any relations with these bodies are built on the basis of dialogue, not subordination. Delegates to ASMTU are independent of other organisations they may be members of. They are obliged to fulfil their mandate given by members of ASMTU and may be recalled at any time. ASMTU does not support any political party and doesn't participate in parliamentary elections.
- Self-managing, based on the full autonomy of grassroots organisations. These form co-ordinating bodies made from their delegates and determine the powers of these organs by mutual agreement. Grassroots union organisations have the right to set the policy of their delegates and recall them at any time.

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For the workers everywhere this return to the struggle for

markets means only a new misery. Already, unemployment is becoming more than a threat to the American workers, and it will not be long coming to British workers. The new circumstances like the old, will produce crises, economic and otherwise, which the ruling class will turn to their advantage against the workers. Instead of being the means of leisure and abundance, the new potentialities of industrial production will merely contribute to poverty and degradation in all lands.

The only remedy to this situation is the abandonment of capitalism, with its market economy and its attitude of production for profit instead of use. In place of this should be built not a socialist structure of state capitalism, which will merely repeat the same faults in a different way, but a society whose production and distribution will be divorced from the idea of profit and hence from the ideas of exchange and markets. Goods should be produced for use, and should be given to people, not because they can pay or because they have anything to give in exchange, but solely because they need them. This use of the economy will only be achieved when the means of production and distributon are made use of it. One thing that becomes abundantly clear now that owned by the community and are operated by the workers for the benefit of the whole community. 29th December 1945

> Reprinted in World War - Cold War (Freedom Press, 1989, 422 pages, £6.95)

American industries. Originally, the Marshall Plan was to provide (on a credit arrangement) bread for the workers and raw materials and plant equipment for industry. Now, very substantial trimmings have been added. The biggest item of the exports to Britain is tobacco and France and Switzerland are also to receive considerable quantities although they have not asked for it. It will neither feed nor give labour to European workers but it will help the badly hit American tobacco industry.

It is also difficult to understand how an 'unselfish' administration could propose to increase by 34 million dollars American shipping construction during the next fiscal year, while it suggested that shipbuilding in Europe should be curtailed during the next four years.

It is a truism to say that the Marshall Plan will render Western Europe politically and economically subservient to the United States. The only two alternatives which have been put forward are that of the Beaverbrook Press, which demands greater efforts and sacrifices on the part of the workers (while advocating at the same time the re-introduction of the basic petrol ration to show clearly that the workers alone should make sacrifices) and that of the Communist Party, which would like to replace the Marshall Plan by a Molotov Plan.

These two plans being obviously incompatible, Europe is being divided into two sections which should, rationally, complement each other. Before the war more than 60% of the total imports of countries now behind the iron curtain came from Western Europe while only about 15% came from Russia. These countries, on the other hand, were exporting many of the agricultural products and raw materials which the countries in the Marshall area must now import from America. As if frontiers were not bad enough, we now have iron curtains, dollar areas, sterling areas, etc. It is impossible for Europe to achieve a healthy economy until these artificial barriers disappear.

We cannot accept the Marshall Plan any more than we can accept capitalism and imperialism. We cannot support a Molotov plan any more than we can support totalitarianism. We refuse to take sides. One does not choose between plague and cholera, particularly when one does not believe in miracles. M. L. Berneri 24th January 1948

Reprinted in Neither East Nor West by Marie Louise Berneri (Freedom Press, 192 pages, £4.50)

• Syndicalist, striving for the gradual elimination of administration through self-management and independent, federally-oriented modes of organisation. Means of production should pass into the hands of those who work on them. ASMTU actively participates in workers' political life and economic struggle.

ASMTU 'Resistance' has the rights and obligations stipulated under the International Convention on Workers' organisations. Each union organisation in ASMTU determines its own finances and membership conditions.

To realise their goals, grassroots union organisations unite voluntarily in the ASMTU federation on territorial, industrial and other bases. ASMTU's financial works, its co-ordinative and representative function, are implemented by its federal councils. Delegates composing the federal councils are elected on a proportional basis.

Grassroots union organisations in ASMTU enjoy full control of their own property and finances.

Federal councils pass decisions by majority vote of their full complement. They form ongoing and special commissions for the realisation of concrete programmes and for determining the competence of such commissions.

The finances of ongoing commissions set up unanimously by the federal council are determined by majority vote of delegates. Finances are provided in part by the grassroots union organisations and by fund-raising activity of the relevant commission.

21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

**Translated from Russian by Will Firth** 



# Activity in Brighton

#### From our Regional Correspondent

Cussex Poll Tax Resisters' Support Fund are one of the local groups raising money for the Trafalgar Square Defendants' Campaign (TSDC). The TSDC offers unconditional support for the 500 or so arrested victims of the police riot on 31st March. It aims to raise £50,000 to pay the legal and travelling expenses and, if necessary, the and the TSDC itself want to hear from those arrested and as many witnesses as possible so we can challenge the police and media lies about what actually happened.

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It is vital that people aren't intimidated into not demonstrating in the future. Large demos are not only a show of strength and solidarity, they play an important role in the development and propaganda of (new) social ideas. Demos, 'riots', uprisings, etc., have always been a medium for anarchism and other revolutionary theories. It is a myth that people 'regress' to a 'herd instinct' or get 'carried away' through the anonymity or 'sensory overload' of the presence of a crowd. These types of ideas are instigated by intellectual outsiders, usually apologists for the existing social order, who don't understand - and is that so-called riots, like the one in Trafalgar direction, against oppression and authority; is already running.

this is why parasites like Militant so dislike

The little group here has worked hard to raise money. Union branches, local anti-poll tax unions and other groups have been asked to affiliate (£10 a group), collections have been made in the street, at gigs, at pubs, at bill burnings and other events; badges, stickers and postcards have been produced and sold. The next big event is a benefit gig planned for fines of all those arrested. Both local groups September with The Levellers, a local band. They have a large following, and aren't even charging for their own expenses, so we hope to raise a lot of money.

These are the kinds of activities that anyone can get together. But even if you don't do this much, at least get your union branch or local APTU to affiliate to the TSDC (c/o the Haldane Society of Lawyers, Panther House, 38 Mount Pleasant, London WC1). For further ideas and solidarity for your local anti-poll tax group and to avoid a case of the trots (symptoms include centralisation, dogma, manipulation and elitism) contact Twins, Box 5, Hiziki, 15 Goosegate, Nottingham.

For a copy of the Sussex Poll Tax Resisters' Support Fund's excellent newsletter Resist, send an s.a.e. to the Hove address (Regional don't want to understand - the reasons for Correspondent). A donation would also be people's spontaneous violent actions. The fact greatly appreciated. Also, contact the Hove address if you live in the Brighton area or are Square (St Paul's, Bristol, 1980 is another at Sussex University or Brighton Poly and classic example) are opportunities for people want to get involved in an anarchist discussion to organise spontaneously, without top-down group for more general issues. A small group

# Waiting for the bus

have ninety percent flooding the universities, Potts lately. D'you think he's alright? .

. It wasn't that. He had to read through six Guardian and watching Question Time. pages of The Sun before he got to the big tits Maybe it's from waiting for buses ... page. He said the Lockerbie disaster only pushed it back to page five. There's that Mrs

T'll be glad to get home for a cuppa, Bert. Thomas crossing the road. Going for her Hope Mrs Potts doesn't way-lay me on the pension, I expect. Why is your pension rate doorstep ... If she does, I'll put the kettle on twice mine, Bert? ... Why are all the gods and give you a shout. I see the education men, Daisy? ... Come to think of it, they are, • Call for donations/fundraising to a experts are on about another new exam. aren't they. And the prophets, and the We've had GSC and GCE and GCSE, and disciples and priests. Even the Holy Ghost another one for halfwits, but have you noticed must have been a man. Wonder why he picked that it always ends up with the right number on a married woman? I don't believe it of passes it takes to keep the schools and anyway, do you? ... Well, I've heard about universities ticking over smoothly? ... How's ghosts and ghoulies and things that go bonk in that then, Bert? ... All arranged. They can't the night ... Haven't seen anything of Mr can they? And they don't want dole queues Well, he was and he isn't. England got beaten full of graduates, or there would be a riot ... by West Germany ... Sometimes I wonder You said the other day that some of the public how we women put up with you men. We get schools get ninety percent through to on with the housework and you men play with university ... Course they do, Daisy, our lords your balls. Fancy Mrs Thatcher getting all and masters have got the money to keep their pally with Nelson Mandela, and giving all that kids at school until they pass their exams. It's money to his black terrorists. Well that's what a race between A Levels and Alzheimer's Mrs Potts says they are . . . The government disease for some of them . . . There goes the will make him a Knight of the Garter, if it suits Meals- on-Wheels, Bert. Mrs Potts says old their plans, like they did Ceaucescu . . . But Mrs Wainwright has them. She says some of you said Ceaucescu was a terrorist. How come the ladies that deliver them are very posh, but he was knighted then? ... Because leaders of they're real good Christians . . . From what I governments can't go around calling each know about some of them, Daisy, they've got other terrorists. Churchill didn't call too much money, a spare car in the garage and Mussolini a terrorist. He called him the nothing to do with their spare time. And greatest living law-maker. They've got a maybe voting Tory gives them a guilty system which they call protocol. All conscience. Mrs Wainwright is the one who governments are in the same business, so they was going on about the Militants, isn't it? ... have to stick together as long as they can . Yes, she says she might vote Labour again if What's protocol, Bert? ... You mustn't kill Kinnock get rid of them. They've no business innocent people unless you declare war. And belonging to another organisation ... You ask if you aren't the leader of a government you Mrs Wainwright why Kinnock doesn't do can't declare war, so if you kill people, you anything about all those members who belong are a terrorist. Works like a dream. The less force base at Upper Heyford in Oxfordshire and deto the churches. Anybody would think Jesus people you kill, the more terrorist you are. commissioned one F-111E nuclear bomber. was a Socialist and Marx wasn't. And what And vice versa, so that if you kill thousands

# HOME NEWS

EFC

#### **Dates for your diary** (London area)

Monday 30th July at 9.45am — picket of Dear Editors, Bow Street Courts, in aid of defendants (tube to Covent Garden)

Sunday 5th August, 1.00 to 3.00pm picket of Wormwood Scrubs Prison, Du Cane Road, W12 (tube to East Acton or bus 72)

#### **Trafalgar Square Defendants'** Campaign NO FRAME UPS NO CRIMINALISATION **DROP ALL CHARGES NOW!**

The Trafalgar Square Defendants' Campaign was established in the wake of the huge anti-poll tax demonstration in March. Police attempts to break up the march resulted in a night-long battle.

409 people were arrested that day, and over 100 have been arrested since. Dozens have already faced trial and conviction in the basis of 90 hours of video material and 30,000 photos seized by the police. The Crown Prosecution Service has set up a special unit to deal with the cases, and 125 police officers are working full-time on the case - the largest investigation ever mounted by the

The Campaign will:

- Unconditionally support all those arrested
- Be run by and accountable to those arrested
- Co-ordinate legal defence and track down witnesses who can help defendants
- Expose the authorities' cover-up by publicising the police attack on our demonstration
- Bust Fund for legal/welfare costs
- We meet every Wednesday at 7.00pm at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC2
- We urgently need to contact every defendant and witness

#### **Parliament to be** burned down

Infortunately it's only a model U made of fir poles, but a group calling themselves The Barnstaple Cavaliers are inviting descendants of Guy Fawkes and his co-conspirators to "finish the job that their ancestors began". The ritual burning takes place on common land in the town of Torrington on 3rd November, and is in aid of charity. One of the organisers commented, "The state of politics today, a lot of people would like to see the Houses of Parliament blown up". Hear, hear.

Your reporter attended a public meeting on 3rd April at Friends House concerning Steven Hancock and Mike Hutchinson, two Ploughshares

They have been charged with causing criminal about those who belong to the Freemasons?. of innocent women and children with one damage amounting to £347,413. The event received . She said her Arthur was very upset about atom bomb, you are a peacemaker ... I don't very little publicity in the press. Surprisingly Steven Prince Charles breaking his arm . . . Never know where you get all these ideas from, Bert and Mike were offered unconditional bail. At the thought Arthur has much time for the Royals . . . Well, maybe it's not from reading The meeting they attributed this to the establishment not wishing to draw attention to the ease with which two young people of good sense disarmed a nuclear

> Messages of support can be sent to: Swords into Ploughshares, 7 Plum Lane, London SE18 3AF.

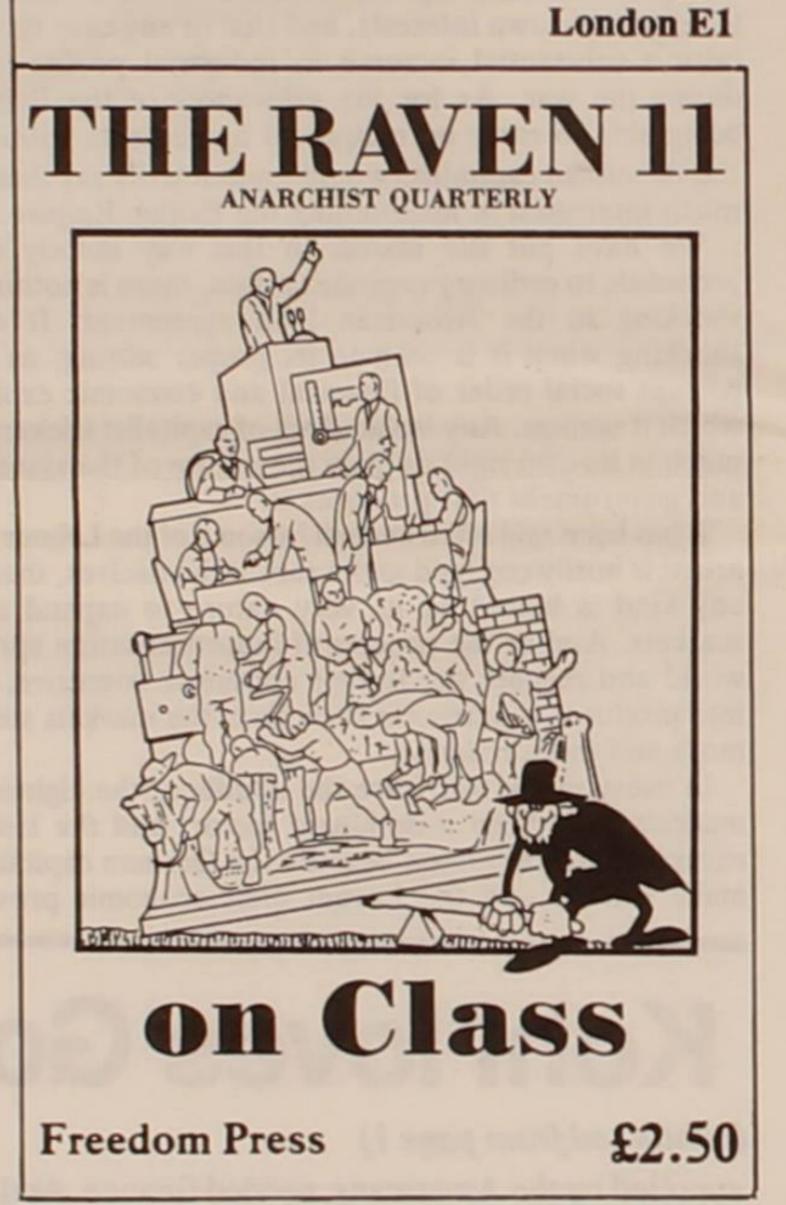
#### **Ex-Labour MP Accuses Media** of Left-Wing Bias!

In a debate in the House of Lords earlier this month Lord Wyatt of Weeford (the former Labour MP Woodrow Wyatt, and now the anti- Labour columnist in the News of the World) maintained that broadcasting was dominated by a left-wing establishment whose philosophy was too often expressed in "biased and slanted" programmes.

Lord Barnett, the Labour vice-chairman of the BBC, told Wyatt: "You are not exactly the greatest living expert on impartiality. Bias and impartiality is in the eye of the beholder. What you consider balanced in a programme, millions of people elsewhere would consider unbalanced. I concede we occasionally get it wrong. It is not surprising since we put out 200,000 hours of radio and TV a year."

It is so extraordinary that the BBC should be accused of 'left-wing bias' but unless we on the left actually do some monitoring of our own we will not be able to convincingly show that in fact the opposite is the case. Can we not organise among ourselves to monitor the BBC programmes over a period of a month, say, to see what we think about the BBC's bias?

If you are interested and willing to participate write to Freedom with suggestions.



### The World's Poor **Get Poorer**

The yardstick by which in the West they Judge the 'superiority' of capitalism versus communism is that the so-called Western democracies are prosperous and the communist (or now ex-communist) world is judged by the food queues and squalid accommodation available to most citizens.

The truth is that there are prosperous people in both societies as well as poor people. What surely is more surprising is that in the so-called prosperous countries there should be so many poor people. And the numbers are increasing all the time, as are the homeless.

A s to world poverty in general, this is I growing, according to the World Bank Development Report for 1990. More than a billion, or a third of the world's population, are living in poverty — they spend £2 a week on food out of an income of less than £4. The Report's definition of poverty does not allow for reservations: "Being poor means being unable to attain a minimal standard of living. ... it means low life expectancies, high death rates among infants and children and few opportunities to obtain even basic education".

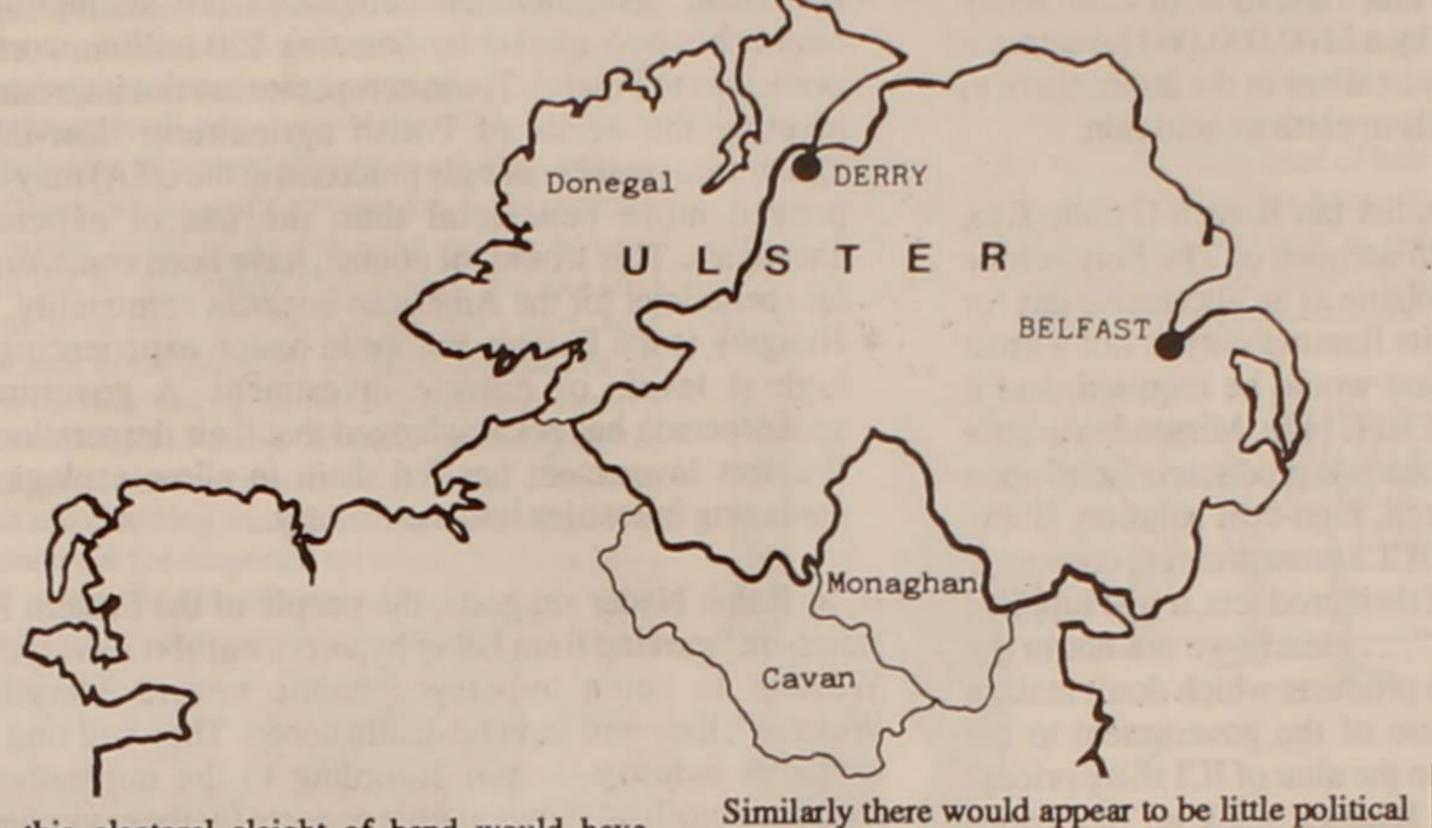
# NEWS FROM NORTHERN IRELAND Is It HOME NEWS? ike most other London-based publications, scene cannot fail to be amazed at this concern for Ireland. Interestingly despite eleven years of

'home news'. But is it home news - would news from Paris, or more interestingly, Dublin, be treated as home news, although both cities are nearer geographically to London than Belfast? Indeed the basic problem for the people of Northern Ireland is deciding where or what is their political home.

There are many explanations for the conflict in Northern Ireland and even the name used for the territory itself makes a political statement. Unionists generally use the term Ulster or Northern Ireland, disregarding the historical fact that the or Dublin. The two major Irish parties are politically of Loyalist councils closing leisure centres on original Ulster contained nine, not six, counties. Partition conveniently removed the three Western counties to ensure a Protestant majority. However

Freedom treats news from Northern Ireland as government as an institution rather than for what Thatcher, Northern Ireland is the one part of the UK governments do. The Six Counties are the most where Keynesian economics dominates centrally controlled part of the UK yet there is little objection to this lack of public accountability. In many areas of economic, social and political life such as health, education, policing, social services, housing. planning and transport, the lessons of centralised control are also increasingly being applied on the British mainland.

> The population of Ulster know that realistically there is little political love for them in either London Right of Centre and given present European economic structures there would be considerable difficulties in absorbing the Six Counties.



even this electoral sleight of hand would have failed, given higher Catholic/Nationalist birth rates, had there not been greater emigration from the West of the province and Catholic areas of Belfast, both starved of social and economic resources for 50 years by the Stormont Government and not much improved by Direct Rule from the Northern Ireland

The Irish broadcasting authorities (RTE), and by extension the Irish political parties, tend to use the term 'the Six Counties' or 'the North'. However, in reality for all the major Irish parties, unification is not an immediate political goal. Indeed the only party with a policy which has any immediate relevance for unity is Sinn Fein, but even it has had only limited electoral success (although dissemination of its policies is not helped by RTE's ban on broadcasting statements from Sinn Fein, pre-dating a similar restriction on British broadcasters by many years, and demonstrating that the Irish had little to learn from the UK in civil liberty issues).

This concern for names also extends to the title of the North's Second City. Unionists usually refer to it as Londonderry (emphasising the British connection) whereas Catholics use the word Derry (actually within the city itself Derry is used even by Protestants). In recent years, and to demonstrate pseudo-intellectual awareness, middle-class Ulster people have used the words 'Londonderry/Derry' (abbreviated to 'Stroke City').

The problem for the inhabitants of Northern Ireland is deciding whether it is Dublin or London to whom they owe their allegiance. In fact this concern for government is a prime example of false consciousness and is the root cause of much of the conflict. Any observer of the Ulster political

or economic rationale for the Westminster Government in maintaining the Union. There are however strong strategic reasons for the British presence in Ulster. The Province's geographical location is very important for tracking Soviet submarines and it is believed that Irish neutrality IV and South, as the Republic of Ireland has been severely compromised by detector football team advanced beyond all systems operating around the Irish coast. Strategically Ulster's position is also very beneficial to NATO submarines. Northern Ireland has been exceptionally useful to the British Security Services in developing surveillance techniques and technology, and for the British Army (and the Establishment) the conflict has provided an excellent training ground for dealing with street warfare. This however has been the result and de facto military justification for its continued presence. The Army originally was sent to Ulster because the RUC could not cope, and in the early days of the 'troubles' the IRA had effectively been disbanded. The Provisional IRA had not yet been formed and the officials had disposed of their weapons to Welsh Nationalists (seen on Derry walls in the late 1960s: 'IRA - I Ran Away'). A cynic might suggest that the solution to two world conflicts is to transfer the British Army to Israel an the Israeli Army to Northern Ireland.

Inionists wish to be British (but on their own U terms) and not in a way that would be familiar to inhabitants of the mainland, and Nationalists seek to emphasise their Irish traditions, although in a manner alien to the experiences and desires of the These players themselves illustrate the diverse population of the 26 counties. The problem for Catholics is further heightened by a reliance on largely of the sons and grandsons of emigrants extremely limited UK Social Security benefits from Ireland. Certainly there was something (although generally better than Irish equivalents) — deeply affecting in seeing these products of benefit offices are rarely bombed in Northern

8 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51



government philosophy.

Paradoxically the Unionist and Nationalist communities in Northern Ireland have more in common with themselves that they have with either Britain or Eire. A surfeit of nationalism (both British and Irish) and extreme Protestantism and Catholicism have mirrored and nurtured each other. Unionists object to the role of the Catholic Church in the Irish Constitution whilst ignoring the actions Sundays. Similarly politicians of all the Ulster parties at Westminster voted against the recent relaxation in the laws on abortion, and indeed abortion itself is illegal in Ulster.

The result of this shared extremism has been to the detriment of both communities. Trade unions have had a very limited role in the North (a remark heard in union circles in Belfast: 'We will fight to the last Englishman', reflecting a desire for the limited benefits of union membership without having to take any action).

The problems of deprivation and poverty are not helped by this mistrust. All issues in Northern Ireland eventually revert to the Orange and Green divide. For example, CND in Ulster never had the support in the Province that it did in Britain during the 1980s because it was not considered to be a matter of concern (i.e. it did not relate to the Border) and similarly pollution of the Irish Sea by Sellafield has failed to unite the Ulster parties. Ultimately if an issue in Ulster politics does not have a 'Border' dimension it will not attract support.

There have been few successful attempts to cross the sectarian divide. Working class politics have been marked by hatred and distrust of the opposite religion rather than a sense of shared oppression. For Protestants there is always a greater affinity to the Orange Order (essentially a working class institution) rather than to trade unions. Indeed the Northern Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions is seen as a body owing its allegiance to Dublin, and working class organisations flourishing in East Belfast and mainly comprising workers from the shipyard and the aircraft factory have been dominated by a Protestant rather than a working class heritage (as was demonstrated by the success of the Ulster Workers Council strike in 1974 which destroyed the power-sharing Executive). Indeed about the only time that there was joint Protestant/Catholic action was in October 1932 when there was a mass working class march in Belfast to protest at the harsh administration of Outdoor Relief by the Belfast Poor Law Guardians. There are many bands in Belfast but the only tune that could be played without offending either Protestant or Catholic sensitivities was 'Yes, We Have No Bananas'. This unity did not last long and when the march was dispersed by the police, baton charges were directed solely at the Catholic marchers. Although some minor semblance of unity did remain it had all but disappeared by 1935 when sectarian riots again occurred in Belfast.

July 1990 is the 300th anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne and once again the streets will echo to the sounds of tribalism and Protestant triumphalism. It will be difficult to avoid media coverage of 'the celebrations'. But given the peculiar circumstances of Ulster, Northern Ireland or the Six Counties, is it really 'home news'?

**Robin Blackford** 

# 2. Bread & Circuses

expectations through the World Cup. Now, in the aftermath, the costs will be counted. Working class families are in debt, marriage and other relationships are under strain and the trough that follows every peak experience is affecting large numbers of people. The 'bread and circuses' aspect of such mass entertainment events as the World Cup allowed a huge mass of people to experience the collective euphoria of being Irish for a brief period. As anarchists we must take note of the powerful focusing ability of Nationalism and work out our responses.

Certainly for the Irish who could get tickets for the games, the World Cup must have been great fun. Charlie Haughey and a collection of politicians took a private jet to the match against Italy. That was on the evening of the day of acrimonious debate and a walk-out in the Dail. But all of that was forgotten as the politicians boarded the jet, clinked their glasses together and flew off back to the adulation surrounding the football players. nature of Irish Nationalism. They are made up

A ass hysteria broke out in Ireland, North the Irish diaspora donning the green shirts and playing their hearts out.

The twin poles of Irish Nationalism received major boosts through the World Cup. When the football team met the Pope, the conservative Catholic aspect of Irish Nationalism received a shot in the arm. And then many Irish supporters defined their identity by being anti-English, allowing the coloniser to determine the psyche of the colonised yet again. For anarchists in Ireland there is much to ponder in the aftermath of the World Cup. Pity the football was so bad!

As Secretary of State Peter Brooke's 'Talks about Talks' ground to a halt, Nelson Mandela came to Ireland and said that the British Government should meet with the IRA. This caused an uproar on both sides of the Irish Sea. The fact of the matter is that the piece of unresolved history in Ireland, currently expressed by state repression of Irish Nationalism and the desperate actions of the IRA, must be brought into any talking to be done about Northern Ireland. Brooke's process will fail because of an unwillingness to do that.

And at base, such talks will not come to anything until they are engaged in by people, not politicians and leaders - people who have faced square-on the consequences of British and Irish Nationalisms in Ireland.

**Dave Duggan** 



21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

# FEATURES PAGE East is East, and West is West ...

The popular political changes in Eastern Europe have been interpreted by many Western journalists and politicians as evidence that free-market capitalism constitutes the only tenable means of organising human affairs - in recent weeks the environment has provided the arena for this game of ideological one-upmanship. By ignoring the fact that capitalist industry has created environmental problems every bit as urgent as those produced by the centrally planned economies of the East, the media has once again over-simplified a complex issue.

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The industrial excesses of the post-war years have taken a catastrophic toll upon the Eastern Europe environment. In the six countries that underwent political upheaval, the development of an environmental consciousness has drawn attention to the horrific levels of pollution:

- 60% of food produced in the Krakow region of Poland is unfit for human consumption and many people in Silesia are suffering from pollution related sickness.
- Nearly 800 towns and villages in Hungary have undrinkable water.
- The people of Czechoslovakia have to contend with widespread river pollution, dangerously stored toxic waste, untreated sewage, soil erosion and the fact that their life expectancy is seven years shorter than in the EC countries.
- In Bulgaria water supplies are polluted by 115,000 tonnes of Nitrogen. Only 15% of the rivers in Romania provide uncontaminated
- drinking water.
- East Germany has 15,000 uncontrolled toxic waste tips and provides the world's largest Sulphur Dioxide emissions (which reach Sweden as acid rain).

These problems were discussed at a meeting of environment ministers from EC and 'Eastern Bloc' nations in Dublin in June. Proposals for Western investment in the restructuring of Eastern industries were mooted — including a commitment of £35 million in environmental aid to Hungary and Poland from the EC. These offers of help are not motivated by altruism - the sulphurous 'fall-out' from the Eastern nations' heavy industry is slowly poisoning their Western neighbours. The basic assumption underlying this investment is that by gradually transforming countries like East Germany into 'consumer societies' with high technology industries, they will become cleaner and greener. The widespread pollution in the East is thus seen as vindicating the political system of the West, but this smug 'greener that thou' philosophy conveniently ignores the fact that the 'free market' approach to capitalism brings its own forms of environmental blight.

#### West

By switching from a centrally planned form of capitalism to a free market approach the countries denounced as 'the dirty men of Europe' may merely begin to contribute to a different

Ten Smith (Freedom, 16th June) seems to be Arguing that until Lenin appeared on the scene in the twentieth century, Marxism was essentially a libertarian doctrine. Leninism may very well have been a travesty, but I disagree with Ken Smith on a number of points.

Was Marx a libertarian or an authoritarian? I think Marx's intentions were essentially libertarian. Camus was to comment that the greatness of Marx lies in the "ethical demands which form the basis of the Marxist dream". However, the means he proposed to achieve this end were definitely authoritarian.

even the 1848 Communist Manifesto, showed authoritarian tendencies. (It is interesting to note that the 1844 Paris Manuscripts were not published until 1932, and Engels was said to be 'embarrassed' when asked to publish his and Marx's early work. Marx is said to have denied their existence perhaps because they were too unscientific!)

Two concepts form the core of Marx's work they are 'alienation' and 'production'. Some argue that 'production' is the most important and that Marx rejected ideas about alienation. In fact he tried to combine both concepts. He believed private property and an increasing division of labour alienates the worker; and thus to achieve freedom, private property and the division of labour must be abolished. He also believed that communism could not be achieved until there was relative abundance to meet needs. (It could be argued the food problem in the USSR and lack of industrial development hampered the revolution.)

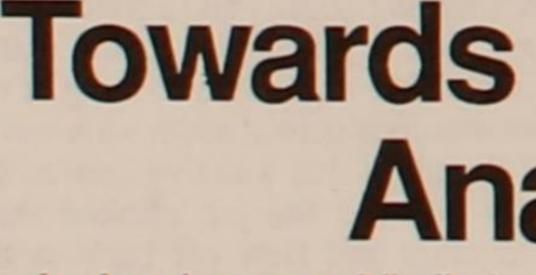
form of pollution. Western industry's response to the threat of greenhouse gasses and the destruction of the ozone layer should convince everyone that smug complacency about the 'environmentally friendly' nature of the capitalist system is unjustified. The battle to phase out CFCs illustrates some of the problems in applying public pressure to an environmental issue when the interests of industrialists are involved. The chlorofluorocarbon CFC12 is used in the cooling circuits and sealed lining of refrigerators. This gas, which depletes ozone and contributes to the 'greenhouse' effect, is released when fridges are scrapped. Under pressure from the new public consciousness surrounding this issue, ICI (the world's second largest manufacturer of CFCs) has proposed less dangerous HCFC alternatives. The environmental pressure group Greenpeace claim that these new HCFC substitutes will add 10% to ozone depletion, and that HFC134a (a completely ozone friendly product backed by a £100,000,000 investment by ICI) has the drawback that it oxidises in the atmosphere to form trifluoracetic acid and falls to earth as acid rain.

In an interview with TV journalist Ian Breach (Public Eye, BBC2, 29th June 1990) John Missenden of The Polytechnic of the South Bank proposes propane as an alternative gas for refrigeration cooling circuits. Its flammability is not a great danger since only a tiny amount would be required, and it costs one-fiftieth of the costs of HFC143a. Missenden asserts that ICI's commitment to fluorocarbon products is based upon their need to develop a high-tech, high-cost solution. If any confirmation were needed that ICI's most pressing concern is the commercial acceptability of their products, it was supplied by a company representative: "... clearly we are not in the business of putting money into products which don't make a profit". So what is the response of the government to the sacrifices of our environment on the altar of ICI share prices? Environment Minister David Trippier sums up the Tories attitude to the excesses of big business: "We should be proud of ICI. It is, after all, British".

In Germany highly effective environmental pressure groups have secured a tight schedule for phasing out CFCs, and a public policy of recycling refrigeration components: 96% of CFCs in the cooling circuits are recovered and re-used in the manufacture of new fridges. While applauding this example of 'people power' we should remember that it is not common for industrial policies to be shaped by public opinion. In Britain the government's timetable for the phasing out of CFCs was drawn up to suit companies more anxious to expand their market share than to preserve the ozone layer.

#### The Twain Meet

Ralph Nader, the American advocate of 'Consumer Power', has recently warned the people of Russia that their uncritical embrace of free market ideology ("they're swinging from Marx to Friedman") will leave them at the mercy of corporate greed and domination. If Eastern Europeans believe that



As abundance increases and distribution changes to meet peoples needs, so then the self-realisation e worker will occur.

therefore involve the downfall of the other." The answer is revolution. As said in the Communist "What then constitutes the alienation of labour? First the fact that labour is external to the worker, Manifesto, capitalism produces its own i.e. it does not belong to his intrinsic nature; that in gravediggers - the working class - due to labour will return individual and collective powers. Contrary to Ken Smith's view, I believe that his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself, does association in the centres of capital and power: the Marx's 'libertarianism' is to be found in his earliest not feel content but unhappy, does not develop cities. writings (mainly the 1844 Economic and freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies As Marx puts it, "the emancipation of society beings. Philosophic Manuscripts) and that his later works, his body and ruins his mind. The worker therefore from private property, etc., from servitude, is only feels himself outside his work, and in his work expressed in the political form of the emancipation feels outside himself. His labour is therefore not the workers; not that their emancipation alone is voluntary, but coerced; it is forced labour.... Lastly stake, but because the emancipation of the the external character of labour for the worker workers contains universal human emancipation - system all methods for raising the social appears in the fact that it is not his own but someone else's, that it does not belong to him, that in it he servitude is involved in the relation of the worker belongs, not to himself but to another . . . it is the to production, and all relations of servitude are but loss of his self" (Marx, 1844). modifications and consequences of this relation."

Marx believed alienated labour led to the I think we can go as far as to say that in 1844 Marx development of private property and capitalism. believed in the abolition of the State and the wages "The worker puts his life in the object; but now his system as well as private property. He indicates in life no longer belongs to him but to the object". The the lower phase of communism this abolition of the worker becomes the alienated and hostile servant of state will be 'incomplete'. Marx views communism in 1844 as the "positive the object (that is capital).

transcendence of private property as human "An immediate consequence of the fact that man estrangement, and therefore as the real is estranged from the product of his labour, from his appropriation of the human essence by and for man; life activity, from his species being is the communism therefore as the complete return of estrangement of man from man." man to himself as a social (i.e. human) being - a A depressing picture, but what is the road to return accomplished consciously [therefore without liberation? "Wages are a direct consequence of

capitalism will empower them, the environment may be the first area in which their hopes are dashed.

Debora MacKenzie (New Scientist, 16th June 1990) reports that Western companies are "taking every opportunity to enter the new open market, while it is no one's job to consider the overall impact on the environment". In spite of a huge influx of anti-pollution products, Western investment may not be as beneficial to the people of Eastern Europe as it first appears. Consider some recent Eastern imports of Western products:

- Steel mills in Poland have been fitted with flue-gas scrubbers from a Swedish company, but the most environmentally effective move would have been to build new, cleaner mills from scratch.
- American petrochemical companies are attempting to establish a new market by donating \$20 million worth of pesticides to Poland. These companies are not interested in meeting the needs of Polish agriculture: 'low-input' agriculture (as increasingly practised in the USA) may have proved more beneficial than the use of expensive chemicals. This would, of course, have been considerably less beneficial for the American business community.
- Hungary is the Eastern European nation experiencing the highest levels of outside investment. A government spokesperson has acknowledged that their desperation for Western investment has led them to allow ecologically damaging industries into the country.

If, as Ralph Nader suggests, the people of the Eastern Bloc states are "moving from being hypercritical about everything Western to being hypersycophantic toward everything Western", they will soon be disillusioned. They will find that capitalist industry — run according to the imperative of increased profit - shows as little concern for the environment or the health of the workforce as the Marxist-Leninist system they have rejected.

The environmental blight of the Eastern European states was created by an obsession with attaining high levels of industrial production using cheap technologies. In states run on free-market lines, an obsession with profit makes our industries equally unresponsive to ecological concern. A Greenpeace spokesperson recently pointed out that popular pressure on industry has merely led to the development of "environmentally-a-little-bit-safer products rather than environmentally-safe ones". The world is in too dangerous a condition to benefit from these mild reforms, but industrialists are only interested in continuing to enjoy huge profits. To achieve this goal they need their products to turn over quickly, to rapidly become commercially obsolete and to be wasted by the consumer. If we continue to allow the nature of our technology to be determined by this cycle of waste, we must expect our environment to suffer the consequences.

Andrew Hedgecock

# **Towards Post-Scarcity** Anarchism

estranged labour, and estranged labour is the direct cause of private property. The downfall of one must

need of vanguards! - RSW] and embracing the entire wealth of previous development ... [it] is the genuine resolution of the conflict between man and nature and between man and man ... Communism is the riddle of history being solved .... "(The history of a society hitherto being of class struggle.)

The transcendence of private property thus leads to the transcendence of all alienation, "that is to say, the return of man from religion, family, state, etc., to his human, i.e. social, existence". This is the self-realisation of the workers (men and women). The end of private property and the division of

that is creative talents and the potential to control society and nature to satisfy human needs, to human

So was Marx, as Ken Smith says, simply making schemes to 'tinker' with private property? And do his views really change in his later work? In Capital volume 1 (1867) we see that "within the capitalist and it contains this, because the whole of human productiveness of labour are brought about at the cost of the individual labourer ... they mutilate the labourer into a fragment of a man, degrade him to the level of an appendage of a machine, destroy every remnant of charm in his work and turn it into hated toil . . . they transform his lifetime into working time, and drag his wife and children beneath the wheels of the juggemaut of capital." Is this not a continuation of the 1844 manuscripts?

"It follows, that in proportion as capital accumulates, the lot of the labourer, be his payment high or low, must grow worse ... accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of miscry, agony of toil, slavery, (continued on page 6)

nce a year the Bond Street art dealers loosen the elastic in their bloomers and nervously tap the 'No Sale' key of their back room cash registers to give a culture knees-up for the Dionysiac mob of art for art's sake. To my shame, I was there as the wine flowed free in Cork Street. Both ends of Cork Street were barricaded by squads of uniformed commissionaires and through their picket lines was by invitation only. One walked in to this great Rabelaisian orgy wherein every art gallery was pouring out the red and the white and the fruit juice for the fruits and the two pop groups beat out their approvals, but never a sausage or a potato chip in sight. The happytime rivers of meat flowed in and out of the mass ranks of art galleries and everywhere the wine poured.

wine, more wine. One sat for a too-brief hour in the isolated Editions Graphiques Gallery among the mass Art Nouveau from the Naughty Twenties, sipped wine and ate the delicate sandwiches and, as Wodehouse, discussed the affair of Scargill with Victor and his beautiful companion to the sound of the winey world of the knees-up gallery dealers' night out for the middle class proles. But like unto Rome in its swift decline one has one's duty, so it was back to the galleries, the wine and the dealers to be the only one in the Bond Street area viewing the mass walls of art for the sons and daughters of the high-pocketed criminal classes and, hand on heart and clutching wine, it is mindless abstract crap churned out for desperate art dealers to fill gallery wall space. Bright colours and thick white wash brushes churned across sheets of hardboard, for the simple truth is that in this year of our Lord 1990 there is no original talent around and in Heaven's name, comrade, do not tell me that the money-loving dealers refuse to look at genius or that you know a friend, for the answer, comrades, is that any gallery dealer would sell the lid off their mother's coffin if they could find a buyer and as for the friend you know - everyone knows someone with talent who cannot paint so tell the friend in good faith to turn to inventing the electric light bulb. There are those in the art hype who can take pleasure in that they have found fame of a fashion via the Law Courts, for gallery dealer Peter Sylveire and the Canadian artist Richard Gibson had their £850 fine for outraging public decency upheld by my Lord Chief Justice, Lord Lane and his two mates in that Gibson made earrings out of human foetuses and Sylveire exhibited them in his gallery. There is a pub in Soho that used to exhibit a dried human scrotum over its bar — and for those who are convent- educated, the scrotum is the bollock bag that holds the male bollocks — and as in the Nazi death camps or the shrunken heads of South American natives, it is an affront to human dignity in that they are part of the body of a single protesting individual and no alibi or 'art' can justify this

#### **Towards Post-Scarcity** Anarchism

(continued from page 5)

ignorance, brutality and mental degradation at the opposite pole" (Capital)

Alienation coincides with immiserisation. Would an anarchist have disagreed with any of this? C. P. Otero says "he [Marx] excelled mainly as a theoretician of capitalism, and as such he was greatly admired by Bakunin . . . who disagreed with him on an important point, namely the issue of conquest versus destruction of state power". Bakunin believed consistently "the people can only be happy and free when organised from below by means of its own autonomous and completely free associations ...."

Until 1871, after the fall of the Paris Commune, Marx was in favour of a workers' party seizing hold of state power to transform fallen capitalist society into communist society. As James Guillaume said, 1848.) however, "how could one want an equalitarian and free society to issue from an authoritarian organisation? It is impossible".

Bakunin's proposal was, "I want society and collective or social property to be organised from the bottom up by way of free association, and not from the top down by means of any authority whatsoever. In this sense I am a collectivist".

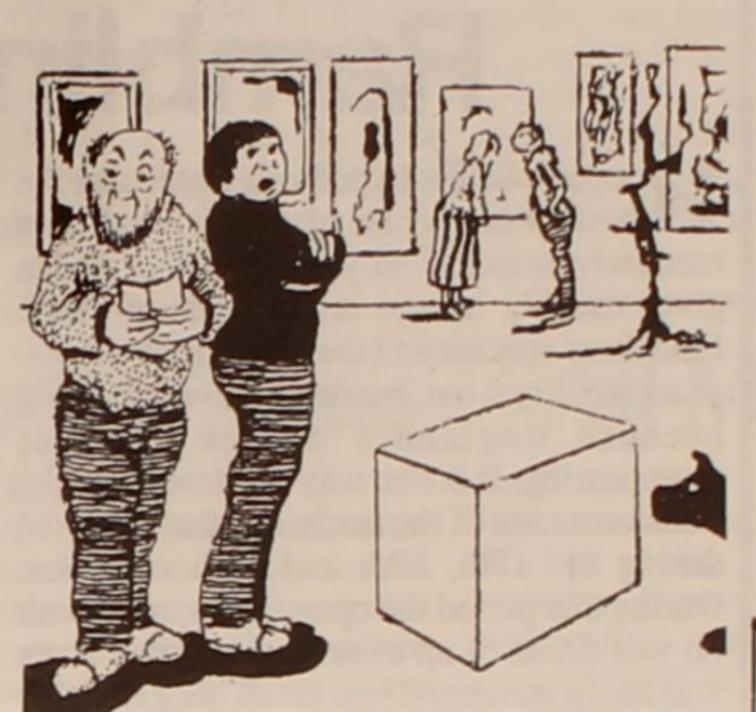
In 1871 Marx produced The Civil War in France and a remarkable change of position. Engels, in the

# THE ARTS --- BOOKS Cork Street Hues

human indignity. I will accept dried shit on canvass

as with the Irish Dirty Protest, and I will walk the sewers to view happytime graffito, but never the mocking or the physical abuse of another individual in the name of the greater good be it for economics, politics or art, therefore I demonstrate what a noble character I am.

But for the Town and his wine-happy frau it was the quiet smile and the Queenly wave of the hand as we fell in behind them to view The Artist's Eye One recognised friends and those one avoided and within the National Gallery. This small, free, displayed one's full talents. We learn from the street wenty-odd drawings, most of which raised a hand or an eyebrow to the various art exhibition within the National Gallery is the adverts, from the covers of magazines and from the gallery dealers according to one's standing with ultimate in civilised behaviour as a chosen artist struggling work of others, and as with the classics them and will I ever live down the shame, more exhibits a small group of paintings that have in all arts we come to them slowly in our approach influenced him or her into respectable obscurity. The season's name out of the bingo bag was Victor Pasmore, contract slave to the international Marlborough Fine Art Galleries 'You Want It We a beleaguered outpost of the lost world of Got It'. Pasmore is an old man, almost as old as me, and I sat on the couch beside his white head of hair and his white beard and he talked of his home in Malta and 'a woman' said "Thank God they've got rid of that awful Socialist government there", and



GRTHUR MOYSE

Adam, check my catalogue to find out if there is any implied or subjective racist or sexist connotations within this sculpture."

Victor gazed into abstract space. He signed my catalogue that I have strong reason to believe I lost in the King of Corsica pub in Soho, Guinness £1.57 a pint, but of the influence of the Great Masters on one's own work? Nay, nay, nay Victor. The small exhibition of The Artist's Eye within the National Gallery is pure pleasure. A few people, the wine served by beautiful young girls straight from the rural vicarage, and potato chips. For to agree with

1891 Introduction, was to say "... do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of proletariat". Marx and Engels proclaimed the "working class must, on the one hand, do away with all the old repressive machinery previously used against itself and, on the other, safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any

Had Marx become an anarchist? Was he not saying the state could be abolished at a stroke? (Lenin was later to coin the slogan 'Smash the State!') Bakunin was to say at the time of the Commune, "even the Marxians, all of whose ideas were contradicted by this revolution, were obliged to take their hats off to it. They went further -opposition to their own feelings, they proclaimed that its programme and its aims were their own .

." (But then the communists do have "the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement"! Communist Manifesto,

Did the means and ends of Marxism suddenly coincide with anarchism in 1871? Guillaume asks, "was this a sincere conversion of the part of the author of Capital, or a temporary manoeuvre dictated by events - as apparent adhesion to the commune to benefit from the prestige attached t its name?"

(to be concluded)

RSW

the late Omar as he peeled another grape, "were paradise enow". Yet when invited to line the small wall space within this exhibition the temptation is almost unavoidable to bullshit the viewers. I do not believe for one moment that Victor did this, but this member of the Euston Road School of British artists somewhere below number 10. In the creative arts add 12p towards postage) long before one reaches one's twenties one has and our understanding. Among the major works on display is the painting of Uccello's Battle of San Romano, and comrades no-one learns perspective from that masterpiece for the lesson is long-taught but what the hell, one seeks and finds pleasure within this small room. One takes pleasure in the still life by the artist Jan van de Velde with its dark browns and yellowed highlights and understands that this anticipates the pleasure that one must get from Courbet's 'Dish of Pomegranates' that he painted over a hundred years ago while in a French prison for revolutionary political activities and by shocking the better types on both sides on barricade for cultivating what the keepers of our minds deem to be vulgar and ugly. I waved to the old painter on my way out, clutching my wandering signed catalogue, and I bowed to the young girls at the wine and press table, age playing homage beauty, and they smiled back but I paused to listen as Brian Sewell, the Savonarola of the Evening Standard art page for the unkiddable millions swanned in on the soft midday breeze protesting in his soft musical modulated voice about 'a door'. I once sat in a Notting Hill Irish pub with his friend,

Britain's cultural spy Sir Anthony Blunt, and I can never remember Tony ever once mentioning 'a door' in our conversation. Very strange.

Arthur Moyse



A Night to Remember cartoons by Bob Cann

on a world scale of one to 100 is, as with all published by Bob Cann, 60p (from Freedom contemporary British artists, of the period | Bookshop post free, other countries please

> appeared over two or three years in Nottingham Anarchist News.

There is a political statement of sorts in a typewritten piece on the last page, which recalls the survivors of the Titanic: around 63% of first class, 41% of second class, 23% of third class and 24% of the crew. "So the rich will always save themselves, leaving us to go on paying for their greed and inhumanity with our lives — and our planet. When do we start fighting back?"

The cartoons are designed to amuse and (presumably) get people to read the articles, rather than to make propaganda in themselves. One of them even includes a defiant caption: 'If you think this cartoon lacks political content put a tick in the box, then piss off".

Half a dozen of them are of a strip headed 'Lifestyle' featuring the Karl Yundt character with the black sombrero and the spherical bombs. The basic idea has been done before, several times, but Bob Cann introduces a few ideas of his own. The black hat is hung about with corks like a cartoon Australian. It's good fun and worth 60p.



Voices from Tiananmen Square: Beijing Spring and the Democracy Movement edited by Mok Chiu Yu and J. Frank Harrison with an introduction by George Woodcock Black Rose Books £11.50 (post free from Freedom Press) 200 pages

This year a series of events were organised in London to mark the anniversary of the Tiananmen massacre. Numbers of Chinese, particularly mainland Chinese students, taking part were low. There may be a whole host of reasons why the democracy movement seems to have lost momentum so abruptly in Britain and for the disappointing set-backs elsewhere. The Embassies have issued threats to some. There is widespread pessimism, fear, mutual distrust, a feeling that the time is not ripe and so on. Nevertheless the lull is disappointing. Deng Xiaoping's massacre has ensured, however, that the movement ultimately will not die.

In China a war of information goes on. Once again Chinese officialdom has been steadfastly engaged in obliterating history, blackening its opponents with lies, meting out their barbaric punishments with impunity. The need remains to collect and assemble truthful records and for these to be made widely available out of China as well as within. As such, Voices from Tiananmen Square is a welcome addition. It is a collection of Chinese words and writings from April, May and June 1989 — mostly pamphlets, wall posters, speeches and interviews from prominent dissenting voices in Beijing.

There is much of interest and indeed is material for history rather than history documents, which served a purpose when they interest to anarchists. were written and would have been

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painstakingly copied, tape-recorded and transcribed by passers-by, do not seem very inspirational now. Many bear the mark of the young students who wrote them and, taken together, are repetitive and dull. The annotations are helpful but largely insufficient. There is no map and there will be much that is not apparent or lacking in flesh for the average reader. For example, many of the documents are taken up with criticisms of the Party in a fairly abstract sort of way. But we are not told how this Party sucks up, moulds and perverts many of those with the greatest talents and energies. We do not gain any insight into its invasiveness or pervasiveness and the confused blend of loyalty and resentment which it inspires.

The largest section of the book comes under the heading 'Chinese Society Opposes the State'. If Mok Chiu Yu is reading some sort of anarchist strand into the collection, then I am dubious. In the rag-bag of ideas circulating Beijing at the time we might find anything. We should remember how restricted many of the students' goals were, however, and that most of the citizens of Beijing were simply seeking a change of leadership.

There were other voices in Beijing that we do not hear about in this book. We do not learn much of the slogans being chanted, the songs being sung, the gossip and the excitement. In fact we tend, in reading, to lose sight of the event itself. For this very brief time in Chinese history the students of Beijing and many of the ordinary people held within their grasp something which far exceeded their petitions. Ephemeral it was, but many will remember historical importance in this book. The first the feelings of revolutionary zeal, and last fifty pages of the book I would comradeship, of the possibility of free recommend to anyone. The chief defect, political discussion which might actually even suggested in the introduction by George count for something. I feel that there is still a Woodcock: "Voices from Tiananmen Square great book waiting to be written about Tiananmen Square — one in which the itself", is that the book, for the most part, participants, not just the leaders, are given makes for very boring reading. Many of these their say — and one which will be of greater

Tim May

# The youth racket

There are many gigantic rackets in the modern world. An obvious one is the arms racket which involves the mass sale of weaponry to just about all and sundry and regardless of the consequences. A more subtle one is the state racket - subtle because the state is, like the weather, taken for granted by most people. The capitalist racket, too, is increasingly unquestioned. So long as the torrent of consumer goods is sustained people seem not to mind that the motive for production is the enrichment of the manufacturers. In the mental climate created by the above rackets old fashioned things such as personal integrity, common decency and honest craftsmanship decline.

The youth racket is a relatively new phenomenon and didn't exist before about 1950. Before that date almost the only things produced specifically for children and adolescents (to use the old word) were confectionery, books, comics, toys, clothes and such things as small bicycles. These products were Choir? (Don't laugh - it was a good choir in it regarded as the fripperies of childhood and way and gave harmless pleasure to many.) adolescence. The real business of the formative years was preparation for adult life. Every national, political, religious, sporting or cultural organisation had its youth section designed to teach or 1950 American businessmen realised that indoctrinate its members. Some were abominable, e.g. the Hitler Youth, the League of German workers had increased to such an extent that it was Maidens or the various cadet forces. Some were feasible to so organise things as to transfer that dubious in the extreme, e.g. the Scouts, Guides, money from young pockets and into big bank Church Lads Brigade and Sunday Schools, which, accounts (theirs). The large scale and carefully although they provided some healthy activities, had market- researched production of food, clothes,

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**Behind the Silicon Curtain: the Seductions** of Work in a Lonely Era by Dennis Hayes

Black Rose Books, 215 pages, £9.95

Thennis Hayes has been writing for the last few years for the San Francisco magazine Processed World and researching this book. In the last fifteen years this home of the microchip industries on the western shores of San Francisco Bay, named 'Silicon Valley' by Christian Right the journalists, has become a by-word for the new era of venture capital, technological innovation and upward mobility. Is this the key to the prosperity of the future? Dennis Hayes doesn't think so. He found pollution, exploitation of cheap labour, ill health among workers, racial prejudice, bad working conditions, stress and strain among professionals and a high rate of motor accidents.

An antidote to the media hype, this was a book which nevertheless ends on an optimistic note, for the author concludes that "for all the ennui it has brought us, our infatuation with electronics technology has also placed the levers of social change within reach of those previously declared powerless or marginal. An indomitable power to subvert economic and political policy now resides in the console of over 30 million computer workers ...." All that is needed is the political will.

Green Cities: Ecologically Sound Approaches to Urban Space edited by David Gordon Black Rose Books, 299 pages, £11.50

The State of Texas used to spend \$34 million a year mowing the grass at the side of State Highways. One lot of contractors mowed a section eight times in three months. Of course the sides of highways have to be kept clear so that motorists' visibility is not obstructed, but by simply understanding when it is that the native grasses put on seed heads they were able to vastly reduce the mowing and the use of herbicides as well as preserving wildlife species.

In London's Covent Garden, small gardens were created within the courtyards of flats for purely architectural effect, but this has led to

physically healthy, not because health is a good thing in itself, but because healthy boys become better soldiers than unhealthy boys.

Some youth movements began with high ideals but these tended to decline when the adult movement they served became warped. An example is the Pioneer sections of European Communist parties.

One British youth movement was admirable. This was the Woodcraft Folk - the children's section of the Co-operative Movement. Most of the above movements have vanished or

become shadows of what they once were. Even the Scouts, the largest (I think) surviving movement is not what it once was. A lad of my acquaintance told me that they sometimes spend evenings around camp fires listening to pop music. Where are the Woodcraft Folk today or the Colts section of the County Cricket teams or even the Luton Girl's

These youth movements have mainly succumbed to the youth racket. Round about children's pocket money and the wages of teenage

a variety of birds breeding where they were never found before.

In the Netherlands urban forests are being created in this very heavily populated country, with its special position in the biosphere Europe. This collection of two dozen case studies by

different writers who have all been involved in urban ecology, and illustrated by plans and photographs, has an international outlook and a very practical approach, and will be of interest to all those concerned with ecology or town planning.

Spiritual Warfare: the Politics of the by Sara Diamond

Black Rose Books, 292 pages, £10.95

The most comprehensive treatment available, Spiritual Warfare exposes the enduring political clout of the Christian Right, from its control of a multi-billion dollar. broadcast industry to its counter-insurgent 'missionary' work in the Third World.

Starting where the superficial media coverage of TV preacher scandals left off Diamond examines in riveting details the movers and shakers of the Religious Right the propagandists, fundraisers, US government policies, both foreign and domestic.

In addition to an extensive treatment religious broadcasting, Spiritual Warfare includes a harrowing description of as analyses of Christian Right activism in the the new solid obstacles blocking their path. Republican party, the mobilisation of anti-feminist women on 'pro-family' issues, hedges became the norm - easy to jump on ongoing efforts to delegitimise progressive Christianity, and a multitude of 'low intensity landowners' livestock. In upland areas with conflict' projects in Central America, southern Africa and the Philippines.

but extremely dangerous Christian Right is informed by extensive first-hand research hundreds of interviews, attendance at scores of evangelical meetings, and more than a decade of monitoring religious broadcasting.

**Books** reviewed in Freedom can be obtained from Freedom Press Bookshop, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

## FEATURES PAGE

in America solely because it was the most established there it spread to Western Europe and sent offshoots to wherever teenagers (a word invented at the time) had spare cash. The result has been a disaster.

Unfortunately most teenagers are not very discerning and are easily conned. Have any of the sentiments expressed in teenage songs (including punk rock anarchist songs of the 1970s) been sincere? What sort of a hero was the sulky negativist the crooners, punk rockers, heavy metal and similar rubbish purporting to be music that has been designed not to cover the back of the waist? The the young can be seen in the obesity of so many of affairs! them. Unfortunately many young people think it romantic and exciting to sit in a garishly lit fast food who don't succumb to the pressures and the outlet gorging themselves with expensive junk. Probably the most unedifying spectacle of the lot

matter of exploiting youth. The youth racket began was the sight of 1960s teenage girls fighting each other for the 'privilege' of entering the dressing prosperous country. Once the racket was room of some drugged, super-rich pop idol in order to suck his cock.

I could go on but I won't. I say that the youth racket is a disaster because it tends to turn young people into self-centred consumer statistics with an unreal view of the world. In its way it's just as bad as the old style youth movements that tended to produce docile soldiers or fanatical members of political parties or blinkered Christians.

James Dean? What has been the long-term effect of \_ In the Third World, where most of the world's youth lives, young people have little or any spare cash and consequently there is no modern youth especially produced for teenagers? What are the racket. Instead large numbers of ill-paid, desperate effects on young minds of many modern comics - youngsters are joining the reviving religious the old type comics were at least well written and fundamentalist movements of those lands. There often funny or imaginative? What is the long-term was recently a radio programme about unemployed effect on people's kidneys of jackets deliberately teenagers in Cairo who are recruited by Moslem fundamentalists into a group that goes round effect of that section of the food industry that targets vandalising Coptic churches. What a state of

> Fortunately there are always a few young people madness, but their numbers are not large.

> > **Hywel Jones**

# **Rambling Notes**

Scouts, frankly admitted that he wanted boys to be businessmen are any worse than anyone else in the gives roughly its age in hundreds of years. years old. Try it out, but don't leave it too long disappearing. It is one way of identifying the transformation of the landscape that occurred during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. During this period the open field system with its vast fields of up to several hundred acres was being converted into small hedged fields of 5 to 50 acres. This process was until 1660 ineffectually opposed by the government of the day, but after restoration of the monarchy and the institution of a government of landlords, the process was speeded up by the use of Parliamentary Acts of Enclosure, so that, especially between 1750 and 1850 and in the Midlands, the rural landscape and way of life suffered a drastic change.

> The manorial landlords, wishing to make money out of large scale sheep and cattle farming which needed little labour, achieved economies of scale by enclosing much common land used by the peasants for grazing their cattle and dispossessing them of the strips of land they cultivated under the open field system. Many villages were left deserted and the evicted peasants and their families had little choice but to move to the towns. This is the early years of the industrial revolution or were reduced to street begging.

This process is described in enough detail in Here English compromise triumphed as thorn horseback but effective in containing the poor soil, dry-stone walls were an alternative.

This unsettling journey into the little-known This is a plea for the retention of the bocage or hedgerow landscape for the richness and variety it provides, valued for relaxation by town and country. There is little pleasure in walking through the monotonous and desolate hedgeless landscape of intensive monoculture farming. But the countryside is not just for tourists and the large-scale agricultural capitalists have turned against with 120,000 miles gone in the last twenty neither being conserved nor cared for. years, or over a mile per daylight hour. This

Tooper's hedge hypothesis states that the process, which is most complete in East as their main aim the creation of pew fodder or films, books and above all music aimed at young Inumber of species of tree or shrub in a Anglia which had already lost half its hedges cannon fodder. Baden Powell, the founder of the people began. It is not true that American randomly selected 30-yard length of hedge by 1980, produces open prairies interrupted only by barbed wire or electric fencing, in Find three species and the hedge is about 300 which not just hedges but banks, trees, ditches and pools have disappeared with a because England's hedges are fast corresponding massive destruction of wildlife habitats. The present practice of maximising cereal yield to benefit from the artificially high subsidised price results in the loss of all other forms of land use as marsh, meadow, fen and woodland are destroyed. For such a farmer a dense network of hedges is an obstacle impeding mechanisation, wasteful of arable land and of time in the upkeep of field boundaries. Subsidies running at a yearly rate of £5 billion are encouraging over-use of chemical fertilisers, and the longer term results of soil erosion leading to dustbowl conditions, and nitrogen contamination of underground water resources are ignored.

> It is not nostalgia for a romantic past nor Lautomatic rejection of economic change that is behind a plea for the retention of the hedge. A walker is not equipped to specify good agricultural practice but can hope bad practice does not destroy the pleasurable downland landscape. There is support for the hedge, however, and from an unlikely source. The bureaucrats of the Council of Europe have published a treatise on hedges by the where capitalism began, in rural England. The French-Swiss Jean-Pierre Biber who argues peasants either found jobs in the factories of that there are agronomic advantages in the well-placed hedge because it helps to maintain the balance of the rural agricultural environment. The biological value of its the history books, but little space is given to contribution to the landscape is self- evident, the plight of the peasant families who lost the but he also spells out the economic land they cultivated or used for grazing, in fact advantages. These include the windbreak about as much as is given to the problems of effects which restrict damage to crops and authoritarian 'shepherding' churches, as well the fox hunters who were inconvenienced by reduce soil erosion. Hedges also retain water which reduces soil erosion, especially on slopes. He claims that overall crop yields are increased as the slight decrease near the hedge is more than compensated for by the increased yield over the main area of the field.

Until this century and in spite of the large population increases, the land has been protected from erosion by good farming practice involving grazing, manuring and crop rotation. Now soil erosion is increasing due to bad practices such as the widespread sowing of the newer autumn cereals for the higher yields and bigger profits (Robert Evans, New Scientist, 7th July 1990) which leave soil vulnerable in winter when the vegetation provides little cover. The soil of the land is one hedges, grubbing them out at an alarmingly of our most important resources and with increasing rate. In the 1980s the annual rate of nearly 70% of the land in Britain owned by loss has increased from 2,900 to 4,000 miles just over 1% of the adult population it is

# Counter Culture **Strengths and Weaknesses**

#### Dear Editors

counter-culture affected me deeply reader. — as soon as I had any money, I (In my view the most significant avidly sought out the types of records change since the days of the played by John Peel and Pete counter-culture proper has been the The dictatorship of the proletariat ... transmitting biased and unrepresentative could find.

counter-culture was in shreds by the an illusion of progress and neutral observers we must assume that local issues people are able to counteract early 1970s, although arguably some improvement where there is none. the legitimacy of all and every the effect of wrongful news of the ideas remained, albeit diluted We need the late-lamented government has never been achieved transmissions. However, if this British the punk movement which I evernow.) considered to represent any kind of Thus it will be seen that, for at least government can be said to be the have been used to supplement the verbal "There are hundreds of anarchists papers advancement, I was compelled to one regular Freedom reader, the dictatorship of the people, or proletariat, and brutal and somewhat obscene re-examine the late '60s movement rather hazy rebellion of the counter- as the case may be. The term might be commentary. Recently, claims have more critically with the added culture has led to a more rigorous better re-fashioned ... 'dictatorship by a arisen to suggest that the American benefit of hindsight.

For me, the great strengths of the a key role. counter-culture were the uncompromising opposition to r violence (which led me to subscribe to Peace News) and the promotion of personal, social and political Gorby's Limo personal, social and political freedom (which more recently led Dear Freedom, me to subscribe to Freedom). The Concerning State Capitalism ... whilst I have monitored the media on the

I was interested to read Peter unsupported by evidence (and in before he fashioned his individual democracy-protesting unarmed Irish Neville's review of The British more recent years I would add interpretation of Capitalism. peace campaigners. It is essential, for Counter-Culture 1966-73 by alternative therapies and similar Coincidentally his commentary on obvious reasons, that television produces Elizabeth Nelson (Freedom, 14th concepts to that list) - this Capitalism remained uncompleted just as the evidence of its claims even when that

witnessing the co-opting of radical chamber has ever existed in any country striking miners, Greenham Common As Mr Neville says, the ecology by capitalism, thus creating at any time worldwide. Therefore as peace women, and the unemployed. On

critique in which anarchist ideas play minority operating on the guise of a military operation in Panama claimed the

weakness of the Russian miners strike for wage increases filming of the Tiananmen Square counter-culture now seems to me to (last year) and Russian peasants feel massacre. Extensive newsreels exist have been the uncritical and unable to go joy-riding in President which show troop manoeuvres and unscientific acceptance of religious, Gorbachev's limo without being hospitalised injured, containing

has had the proven will of the people no is an example when evidence should follows:

mandate from the proletariat'.

# Dear Freedom,

## **Peace Picnic outside the Ministry of Defence**

n Saturday 7th July peace Vactivists from two affinity groups — the Peacenics and the Town Criers - organised a picnic on the Whitehall side of the Ministry of Defence. This was the third picnic which we have held on this spot, the others being in September last year and in February this year.

Our aims in holding a picnic here are to publicise the fact that the building belongs to the Ministry of Defence, where so much of our country's resources are wrongly used in planning for war and death instead of being spent on improving the quality of our lives. Almost as much is spent on 'defence' as is spent on the health service, an amazing fact

health service has to cover. We believe that conflicts can be

violence only breeds more violence.

questioned thought that the finished. government should spend less on the health service and the supporting the health service. environment, which proves that there is good support for our protest.

Our actions at the Ministry of would like to know more please Defence included playing parachute contact the people below: games, circle dancing, sharing food, Peacenics-Clare on 071-722 0151 sowing seeds and putting up a tent. or Anne on 071-607 7984 This was to symbolise the Town Criers - Chris on 071-26

when one knows how much the reclamation of the land for peaceful and joyful purposes. The Ministry of Dear Editors, Defence police kept a close eye on Brian Bamford, 'Left and World Wa settled by peaceful means, by us, but we were also able to have Two - was Freedom Press right?" some of our members at Camden able to negotiate with them to leave and be slaughtered in roughly equal improving our distribution. Lock showed that 93% of the people it until 2.30pm when our action

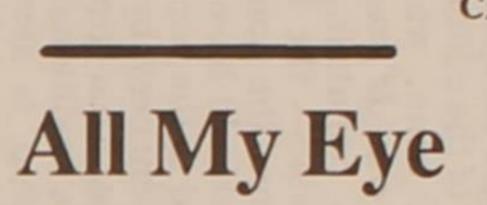
We also leafletted passers-by and completely innocent and powerless defence and use the money saved for members of a trade union march

Both our groups are looking for more members, so if any reader



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# READERS' PAGE



detained by the police or KGB then in our commentaries on the massacre. capacity as neutral observers we must However, so far the viewer has not yet assume that some form of private witnessed one single incident on film of property structure is in operation. It is a person being shot. At the same time that wrong to attribute the definition of Tiananmen occurred BBC 2 re-showed Capitalism to Karl Marx because the term film footage of 'Bloody Sunday' where peluctantly we shall be spiritual and psychedelic dogmas precedes Marx and was in common usage armed British soldiers shot dead lives of 2,000 unarmed Panamanians and CA as yet television has had little to say on that event. Another less important protesters at the poll tax demo, whereas radio stations worldwide reported between 200,000 to 300,000 protesters. These issues are important to understand

when constructing anarchist arguments.

## War & the Civilians

proportions to the soldiers in the trenches". Demanding that The Black Rose Books titles which children be expected to suffer for the were: sentiments of the god of the Old Hayes (£9.95) Testament who promised that the Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the upon the children.

Women may not be innocents, but they are virtually powerless, so that Mok Chiu Yu and J. Frank Harrison it is not 'sensible' to ask them to (£11.50) suffer "in roughly equal proportions" Green Cities: Ecologically Sound Ap-

There are too many Orwells David Gordon (£11.50) and women are to be drawn into their George Woodcock (£9.95) unspeakable games, it makes no Communication: For and Against Anarchists: they are taking part in George Woodcock (£9.95)

21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting

AH £3, Hadleigh AH £5, Brandon JG £2, Wolverhampton ADW £5, Nayland AAG £75, Poole DB £4, Wolver-

## **News from Angel Alley**

Insuspending the dispatch of Freedom to readers whose subscription expired with issues dated 5th May and 19th May July) because of the contrast between viewpoint led me to subscribe to the he was beginning to address ideological evidence is of a brutal nature. The (numbers 81 and 82 on the address his experience and mine. Although I excellent Freethinker, a magazine I and political elements of the capitalist presentation of this evidence can be done labels - second figures from the left) was still at school until 1971, the would recommend to any Freedom system. A partial definition of Capitalism at a time and on a channel where it will unless we hear from them that they is no basis for criticising the modern term not cause any offence but satisfy people wish to renew. For readers with joint State Capitalism. Private property equals monitoring the media for political subscriptions, if the third number on the exclusion of individuals from purposes. In recent years British media your address label is 11 it means that property use (Gorby's limo). has gained a local reputation for your subscription to The Raven expired with number 11 (on Class) Drummond, and also any copies of growth of awareness of ecological this concept is misleading because no news. Amongst the victims of and we shall not be sending number underground newspapers which I issues. Unfortunately, we are now proportionally representative national propagandised news items have been 12 (on Communicating) until we receive a renewal.

The Raven 12 is on Communicating, a much-ignored openly, and honestly, using the will of the trend spreads to international news then subject in the anarchist movement explosion of 1977. Finding little in something very like it — more than people, let alone the will of the local people are unable to counteract worldwide. In the Editorial in The proletariat. Therefore if no government news from far away. Tiananmen Square Raven number 11 we wrote as

> large and small published throughout the world. Books and pamphlets by the hundreds of thousands are distributed by groups and individuals, by alternative bookshops, at book fairs and meetings year in year out. Yet to our knowledge there has never been an international gathering of representatives of anarchist example was BBC reporting 30,000 publishing groups to discuss how effective is our work and how it could be made more effective; to discuss what we are writing about and what we should be writing about and how it can be put over most effectively. The minority press is today overwhelmed by the mass media press, TV, radio as never before. We shall be getting in touch with our comrades on the Continent in the hope that they will participate in this survey, and we invite Raven readers to send us their views for publication. In the course of the next few weeks we shall be raising these questions in Freedom and going into more details on the questions to which we have to seek answers in order to make our anarchist propaganda more effective, more wide reaching and more convincing."

Shortly we are also going to send discussion and negotiation, and that conversations with them and put our (Freedom 30th June) remarks "In out a questionnaire to Freedom point of view. They were worried wartime it strikes me as sensible that readers which we hope will help us A recent street poll carried out by when we put up the tent, but we were the civilians at home ought to suffer both on the editorial side as well as

we omitted to add to our column

stupidity of men, echoes the Behind the Silicon Curtain by Dennis

sins of the fathers shall be visited Christian Right by Sara Diamond (£10.95)

Voices from Tiananmen Square by

proaches to Urban Space edited by

'playing at soldiers', and if children | William Godwin: a biography by

difference whether they call Democracy by Mark Raboy (£10.50) themselves Nationalists or Oscar Wilde: the double image by

> Aphra Benn: the English Sappho by EFC George Woodcock (£9.95)

#### Freedom Press Overheads Fund

Bradford EPW £2.35, Nottingham CJ £1, Wolverhampton JL £3, Portsmouth MD £2.50, Brandon JG £2, Nayland AAG £25, Darwin S63 £1.40, Poole DB £1.50, Hereford

> Total = £39.50 1990 total to date = £454.00

Our best thanks to all those com-Total = £98.00 rades and friends who have con-1990 total to date = £723.80 tributed to our funds this month.