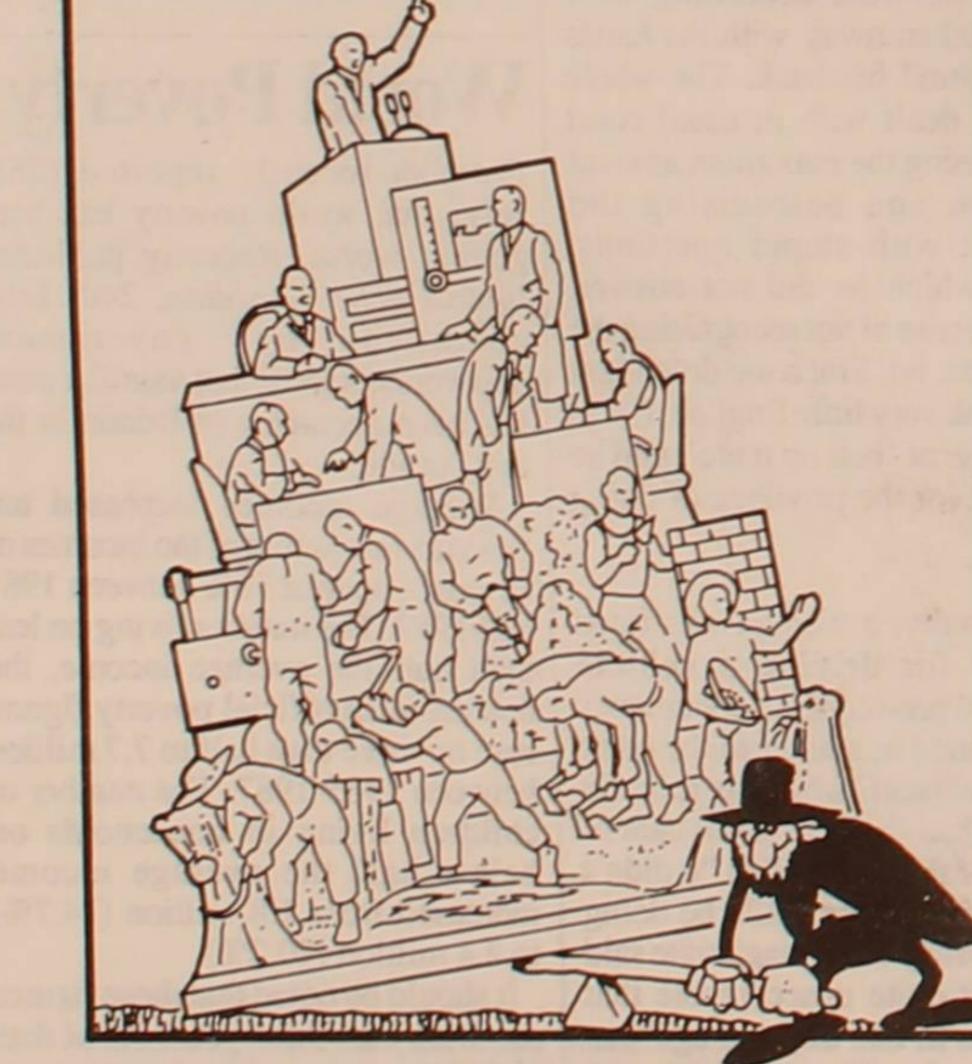
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Keep out the snoopers!

(continued from page 1)

will confirm, is more closely inspected as you leave these shores than when you land on the continent — in spite of the fact that a passport is issued to facilitate your travel abroad traveller will also notice that at the English port the Immigration Officer has alongside him another official with a black book who Stalker affair, on and on ad infinitum, I would snoops on the Immigration Officer as he opens | be indeed surprised." your passport. That chap is a policeman from the Special Branch who in theory shouldn't be

The advantage of the passport is that no one in this country can ask you to produce one to establish your identity, and this is where the voluntary identity card is the thin end of the wedge for compulsory identity cards. The committee argued that people were "well used to carrying plastic cards and identifying themselves before cashing cheques, borrowing library books, let alone crossing national boundaries". So obviously one card to do the lot "would be an enormous advantage". The argument is too silly to be worth considering as a practical proposition. Imagine using the same plastic card both at the library and at the cash dispenser.

England is admired by foreigners for three things: there is no conscription, we have no identity cards and the church has lost its influence. We should keep it that way.

"A man of peace"

In the many 'tributes' to Ian Gow published by the media he was presented as "a man of peace". A reader of The Guardian refers to that journal's reference to Gow's "implacable opposition to violence" and points out that this did not tally "with my recollection of Mr Gow's consistent and never-changing defence of all actions of the British army and RUC. If your reporters could provide a single instance "without let or hindrance" and not for the in the last 20 years where Mr Gow issued as purpose of getting out of this country. The much as a mild criticism following, for example, Bloody Sunday, the Gibraltar shootings, the RUC actions which led to the

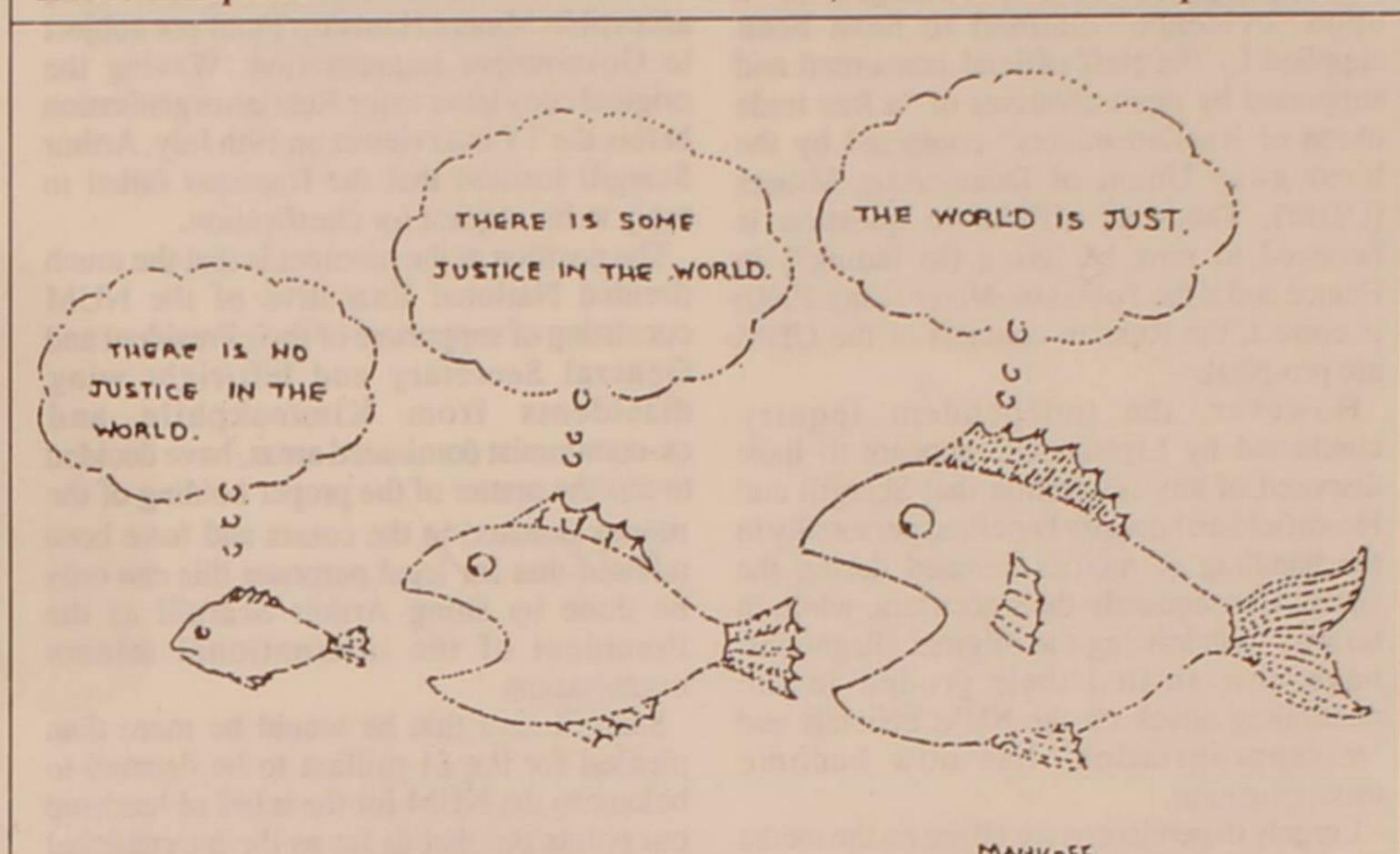
Freedom of the press

a couple of days after Ian Gow was blown Lup a 30 year old man (a Catholic) was killed by two gunmen (from one of the outlawed Protestant organisations) as he was standing talking to a neighbour.

The Guardian failed to report this killing and The Independent gave it ten lines in the In Brief column on an inside page.

We have been warned

ccording to the Daily Telegraph's Tel Aviv correspondent (4th August): "Israel, believed to have a stockpile of nuclear



weapons, gave warning yesterday of a devastating reprisal if it was attacked by Iraq. Mr Yitzhak Rabin, former Defence Minister, said nothing short of 'non-conventional weapons' could overcome Baghdad's army." (Mr Rabin was the hawkish Labour Minister of Defence in the former coalition

A case of the pot calling the kettle black

n a recent Newsnight TV programme after the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, an Israeli government spokesman condemned the Iraqis for the violation of another country's territory and called for immediate action. Considering that Israel has been in occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and invades and bombs targets in the Lebanon when it likes, surely the Israeli government is the last to protest about violations of territory.

ANARCHISTS IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION by José Peirats

In the publishers' opinion this is the most comprehensive, critical history of the Spanish Civil War and the role played in it by the CNT-FAI, the anarcho-syndicalists and anarchists.

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MANKIND IS ONE

Biological studies lend support to the ethic of universa brotherhood; for man is born with drives towards co-operation and unless these drives are satisfied, men and nations alike fall ill. Man is born a social being who can reach his fullest development only through interaction with his fellows. The denial at any point of this social bond between men and men brings with it disintegration. In this sense, every man is his brother's keeper. For every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main, because he is involved in mankind."

The idea that man is inherently social, that a co-operative commonwealth based on universal brotherhood, lies at the root of all anarchist teachings. Yet the passage above is not quoted from anarchist writings: it is the concluding paragraph from the remarkable UNESCO 'Statement by Experts on Race Problems',

issued in Paris on 20th July 1950. This succinct statement — it covers three and a half mimeographed pages of typescript — contains matters which are of tremendous importance to a world hovering between one war and the next. It touches a number of current problems in an authoritative manner, and therefore is of exceptional interest to all who are concerned with the future welfare of man. To anarchists it gives added scientific support to the basic conception of anarchism.

Eminent Scientists of Many Nations

The original statement drafted at Unesco House, Paris, by the following experts: Professor Ernest Beaglehole (New Zealand); Professor Juan Comas (Mexico); Professor L. A. Costa Pinto (Brazil); Professor Franklin Frazier (USA); Professor Morris Ginsberg (UK); Dr Humayan Babir (India); Professor Claude Levi-Strauss (France); Professor Ashley Montagu (USA). The text was revised by Professor Ashley Montagu, after criticism submitted by Professor Hadley Cantril, E. G. Conklin, Gunnar Dahlberg, Theodosino Dobzhansky, L. C. Dunn, Donald Hager, Julian S. Huxley, Otto Kineberg, Wilbert Moore, H. J. Muller, Gunnar Myrdal, Joseph Needham. We print the names in full to show how representative the list is, and to indicate that the view expressed is general among leading biological scientists, and therefore cannot be dismissed as the idealist conception of a small

They stress at the outset that "scientists have reached general agreement in recognising that mankind is one; that all men belong to the same species, homo sapiens. . . . The likenesses among men are far greater than their differences." They go on to make an important definition: "A race, from the biological standpoint, may therefore be defined as one of the group of populations constituting the species homo sapiens. These populations are capable of interbreeding with one another but, by virtue of the isolating barriers which in the past kept them more or less separated, exhibit certain physical differences as a result of their somewhat different biological histories. These represent variations, as it were, on a common theme."

After specifically indicating that the English, the Americans, the Jews, the Indians or the Chinese are not races, the statement declares: "National, religious, geographic, linguistic and cultural groups do not necessarily coincide with racial groups: and the cultural traits of such groups have no demonstrative genetic connection with racial traits, because serious errors of this kind are

nabitually committed when the term race is used in popular parlance, it would be better when speaking of the human races to

drop the term 'race' altogether and speak of 'ethnic groups'." The importance of this paragraph is very great: for it means that the basic unity of all men transcends these "national, religious, geographic, linguistic and cultural groups". One's first loyalty is to the brotherhood of mankind, and not to one's government or one's religion or to any mere group loyalty.

Three Main Divisions

Men may be divided into three major divisions: the Mongoloid the Negroid and the Caucasoid divisions. But the UNESCO statement is careful to point out that just as these divisions arose from the separation of mankind geographically, so they are not static "and there is every reason to believe that they will change in

There is no scientific ground for one division regarding itself as superior to any other. "Given similar degrees of cultural opportunity to realise their potentialities, the average achievement of the members of each ethnic group is about the same. The scientific investigations of recent years fully support the dictum of Confucius (551-478 BC): 'Men's natures are alike: it is their habits that carry them apart'."

And they drive the lesson home: "As for personality and character, these may be considered raceless. In every human group a rich variety of personality and character types will be found, and there is no reason for believing that any human group is richer than any other in these respects."

Now, the bearing of all this on the colour bar is obvious. It also bears on war propaganda about the 'sub-human' Japanese, or about the Russians). The UNESCO scientists are not afraid to direct the light of science on such dark places as Malan's laws against mixed marriages in South Africa, or similar laws in some States in the USA, or the Nuremberg laws of Hitler. As their statement is absolutely direct, we reproduce their passage in full:

"With respect to race mixture, the evidence points unequivocally to the fact that this has been going on from the earliest times. Indeed, one of the chief processes of race-formation and race-extinction or absorption is by means of hybridisation between races or ethnic groups. Furthermore, no convincing evidence has been adduced that race mixture of itself produces biologically bad effects. Statements that human hybrids frequently show undesirable traits, both physically and mentally, physical disharmonies and mental degeneracies, are not supported by the facts. There is, therefore, no biological justification for prohibiting inter-marriage between persons of different ethnic groups."

Later on they repeat this: "There is no evidence that race mixture as such produces bad results from the biological point of view. The social results of race mixture, whether for good or for ill, are to be traced to social factors." (Our italics.)

The apologists for the colour bar are thus deprived of their chief arguments. If they fall back on social difficulties of 'race-mixture', then it is incumbent on them to seek to dispel the causes of these difficulties — ignorance and segregation of communities. Their real motives — the attempt to maintain a difference of social status - are thus exposed. "All normal human beings are capable of learning to share in a common life, to understand the nature of mutual service and reciprocity, and to respect social obligations

and contracts. Such biological differences as exist between members of different ethnic groups have no relevance to problems of social and political organisation, moral life and communication between human beings." (Our italics.)

The implications of these statements are very far-reaching. They condemn as impertinent and superfluous the pretensions of imperialism whereby one group of men impose their domination on another, even when they claim to do so for the good of the colonial people. They condemn utterly the arrogance of the white (caucasoid) peoples towards the coloured (Negroid and Mongoloid). And they do so from no merely negative attitude. The statement of the UNESCO scientists rests on the solid positive fact

of the biological unity of mankind. The stressing of this unity could not be more timely, coming as it does at a moment when the menace of yet another global war seems more or less imminent. In the face of scientific knowledge the responsibility for continued war lies clearly on the social institutions of mankind, political, rational, economic and religious. Anarchists have long denounced these institutions which divide mankind and have insisted on internationalism, on the essential brotherhood of man. Now the scientists have explicitly endorsed this teaching.

Co-operation a Biological Tendency

Let us not fail to note the importance of the UNESCO statement from another point of view. The development of the atom bomb. of projects for bacterial warfare, show the irresponsibility not of science but of scientists in our present society. The UNESCO experts are to be warmly extolled for their courage and their sense of responsibility which men of science owe to their fellows in the promotion of social progress and the dispelling of the results of error and ignorance. Our final quotation requires no comment:

"The biological fact of race and the myth of 'race' should be distinguished. For all practical social purposes, 'race' is not so much a biological phenomenon as a social myth. The myth of 'race' has created an enormous amount of human and social damage. In recent years it has taken a heavy toll in human lives and caused untold suffering. It still prevents the normal development of millions of human beings and deprives civilisations of the effective co-operation of productive minds. The biological differences between ethnic groups should be disregarded from the standpoint of social acceptance and social action. The unity of mankind from both the biological and social viewpoints is the main thing. To recognise this and to act accordingly is the first requirement of modern man. It is but to recognise what a great biologist wrote in 1875: 'As man advances in civilisation, and small tribes are united into larger, the simplest reason would tell each individual that he ought to extend his social instincts and sympathies to all the members of the same nation, though personally unknown to him. This point being once reached, there is only an artificial barrier to prevent his sympathies extending to the men of all nations and races.' These are the words of Charles Darwin in The Descent of Man (2nd edition, 1875, pages 178-188). And, indeed, the whole of human history shows that a co-operative spirit is not only natural to men, but more deeply rooted than self-seeking tendencies. If this were not so we should not see the growth of integration and organisation of his communities which the centuries and the millennia plainly exhibit."

First published in Freedom, 19th August 1950. Reprinted in World War — Cold War (Freedom Press, 1989, 422 pages, £6.95)

MEETINGS

Anarchist Forum Fridays at about 8pm at the Mary Ward

off Southampton Row), London WC1. 1990-91 SEASON OF MEETINGS

28th September - 'Why Revolutions Occu

(speaker David Wedgewood) 5th October - Open discussion 12th October - 'What Did You Do in the Sixties Daddy?' (speaker Peter Lumsden) 19th October - Open discussion

(speaker Andrew Lainton) Criminology' (speaker Peter Neville) 16th November - Open discussion 23rd November - 'Anarchism: the moral concern of the Left' (speaker Dave Dane) 30th November - 'Anarchism in an Ageing 7th December - 'Anarchism and

Further meetings are now being arranged for the coming year from 11th January to 22nd March 1991 and 19th April to 31st May 1991, all at 8pm to 10pm. And in 1991 we hope to continue from 7th June to 14th July either at the same time or the earlier time of 6pm to 8pm. The reason for the possible change of time is that if the Mary Ward Centre continues to be used by other groups from 8pm to 10pm during this period we may continue at the original time, but if we are the only group operating the Centre may wish to

FREEDOM fortnightly

ISSN 0016 0504 Published by Freedom Press 84b Whitechapel High Street London E1 7QX Printed by Aldgate Press London E1 7QX

discussion either presenting a formal paper be by invitation or entirely open. The Why not receive Freedom every for contact Dave Dane or Peter Neville at the accommodation? It is easy enough to book a meetings, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper hall and get speakers. 'Free' accommodation Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, for 'drop-in' guests, especially in London, SUBSCRIPTION R Middlesex TW7 4AW. Some members of may be more difficult to provide. Why hold the forum have looked at the possibility of them in London? Let us know your views. other activities for 1990-91, but this has so far brought little response so these are being held in abeyance. However, it has been suggested that we look into the possibility of

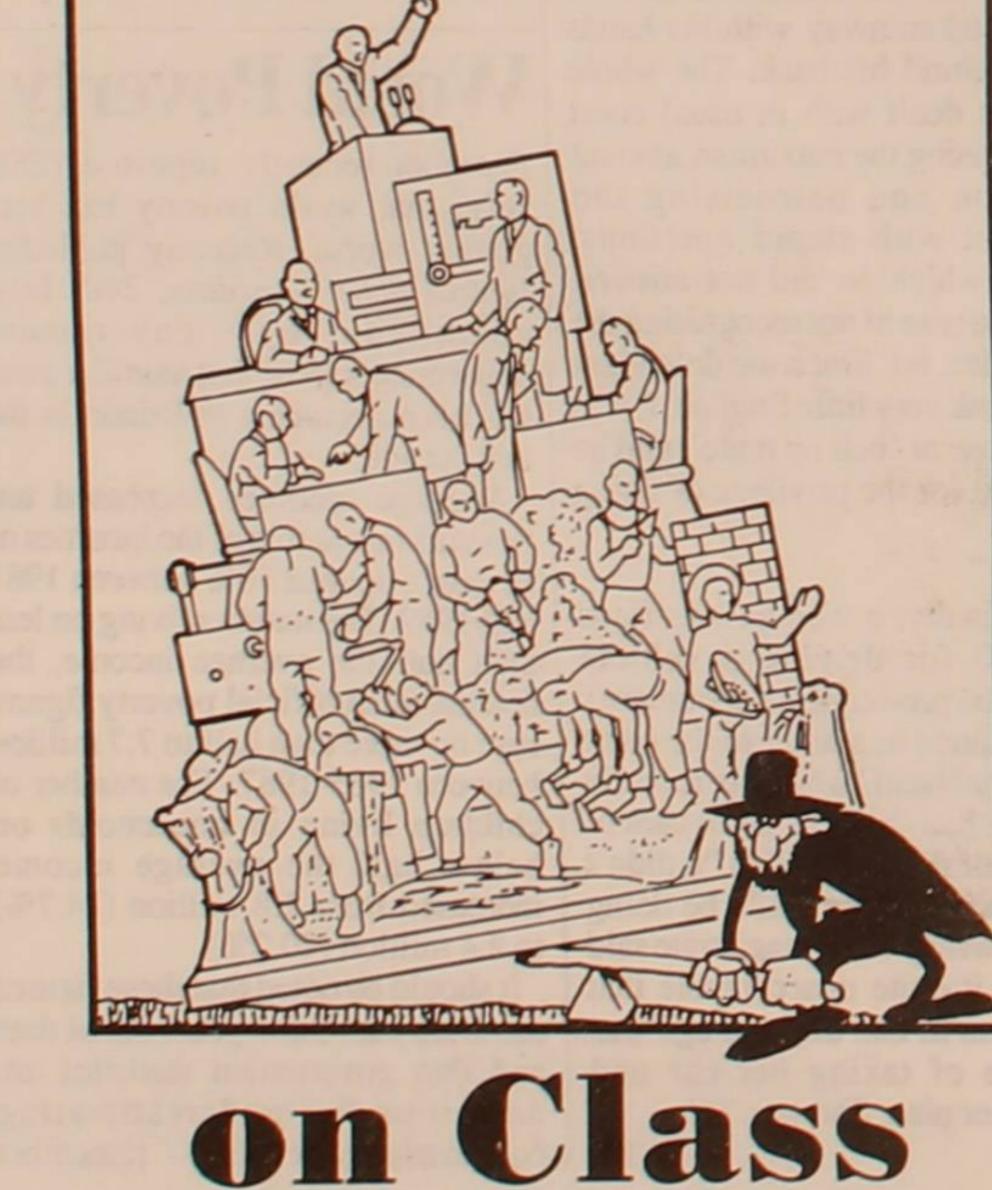
close earlier. Anyone interested in leading a conference in 1992 or both. Either it could or simply having a general discussion to problem with the latter is will visitors expect

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conference next year or an international

THERAUENII ANARCHIST QUARTERLY



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26th October - 'Bored with Class Politics 2nd November - Open discussion 9th November - 'Anarchism, Deviance and

> Society' (general discussion) Psychology' (speaker Peter Wilkinson) 14th December - 'Anarchism and Youth' (general discussion)

The Scargill 'Scandal' Continued

It is now many years since I worked my last shift underground in the Somerset coalfield. All the local pits were closed by 1973 and in anticipation of the inevitable, I had long given up any hope of sustaining even a token resistance to job losses through pit closures. Although for a time active in the NUM both at pit and area level, apart from the dead weight of right wing opposition to the need to reject the closure of pits, it was the failure of the working miner to recognise what was happening to the local mining industry as part of a long term national overall plan, which finally induced me to give up pit work.

strike, the fifth column of right (and left?) are pro-Nazi. matter of continuing pit closures.

expenditure of many millions of public misapplication. money, the sequestration of union funds and explored in depth.

various parts of the media against the Soviet miners. According to the Soviet miners up" and after the independent inquiry appears sordid tale in Freedom. Editors.]

President of the NUM, Arthur Scargill, has current leadership (not the original leaders 'exploded' with accusations of misuse of making the donation) the money from Russia union funds, as originally reported in Freedom was intended to meet the hardship needs of (24th March 1990). At that time, it will be miners and their families, caused by the remembered, two national newspapers and a 1984-85 strike. Arthur Scargill, virtually TV programme had alleged "that the NUM cleared of any dishonesty, claims that the president, the general secretary and the chief money in question was in fact donated some staff official of the union diverted huge time after the end of the strike and, for reasons contributions to strike funds emanating from which are by no means clear, the monies were Moscow and/or Libya and used many deposited in the coffers of the international thousands of pounds to pay off personal loans miners organisation. Scargill also asserts that on their own houses, etc. Additionally it is he subsequently wrote to the Soviet miners alleged that a sum amounting to £1 million organisation seeking clarification of where from Moscow is unaccounted for."

The rise to power of Arthur Scargill in the These allegations, which were largely based because there was already an independent and NUM following the 1972 coal strike seemed upon 'evidence' claimed to have been accessible Miners Hardship Fund not subject to indicate a belated determination to fight supplied by the staff official concerned and to Government sequestration. Waving the against both the rationalisation plans of the supported by representatives of "a free trade original copy letter to the Russian organisation Coal Board and the government's intention of union of Russian miners" contacted by the before the TV interviewer on 19th July, Arthur reducing reliance on coal for industry's energy break-away Union of Democratic Miners Scargill insisted that the Russians failed to requirements and the ultimate need to weaken (UDM). The staff official in question is the united strength of the NUM. Even prior to believed to now be living (in hiding?) in declaring war on the NUM by the NCB and France and if the Yorkshire Miner (May 1990) the Government in provoking the 1984-85 is correct, the Russian contacts of the UDM consisting of supporters of their President and

wing labourites in the various area power However, the independent inquiry bases of the NUM were already seeking to conducted by Lipman QC appears to have ex-communist dominated areas, have decided undermine any real opposition to disposed of any suggestion that Scargill and to test the matter of the proper holding of the collaborating with the Coal Board on the Heathfield dishonestly benefited personally in money donated in the courts and have been the handling of monies donated during the advised that for legal purposes this can only The protracted struggle of the miners during strike. Consequently their accusers, while in be done by suing Arthur Scargill as the the 1984-85 strike, the concerted efforts of the no way withdrawing the original allegations, President of the international miners Coal Board, the Government using the have now shifted their ground in the organisation. combined police forces of the country to continuing attack on the NUM officials and smash the strike and the miners union, the 'misappropriation' has now become pleased for the £1 million to be deemed to

Largely dependent as we all are on the media but points out that as far as the international the legal prohibition of sympathetic action by for most of the facts of the matter in these organisation is concerned he is not legally other workers in support of the miners, is now allegations, it becomes extremely difficult to empowered to remove such a deposit. a matter of history yet to be written and separate 'NUM facts' from media Having previously (Freedom 24th March investigative journalism. The main bone of 1990) expressed a personal view that the In recent months the continuing campaign of contention now appears to have become misappropriation "charges made against calumny and character assassination by centred on the £1 million donated by the Scargill & Co appear to have been trumped

to have endorsed this opinion, may I be permitted to indulge in a further piece of special pleading with regard to the £1 million from Moscow.

At the best, the simple explanation given by Arthur Scargill that, because of some uncertainty as to the intended destination, the international organisation appeared to be the correct place. At the worst, with the NUM's own official funds subject to legal sequestration and continuing on-going strike costs and other organisational commitments, it may well be that it was decided that depositing with the international body kept it safely out of the jurisdiction of British law and warranting the view expressed by the inquiry as "unsatisfactory" and an "error of judgement" from a strictly legal position.

But such an action, I would venture to suggest, might have been adopted in similar circumstances by any militant trade union

Johnny Miner

[This article arrived too late for inclusion in the last issue of Freedom. We are printing it without any attempt to update it. The 'Scargill Scandal' will continue for a long time yet with the tabloid and 'serious' press discovering and inventing more 'scandals' every day. However as we go to press it is reported that Captain Bob (Robert Maxwell) and the Union of Democratic Miners are interested parties in the privatisation of the Electricity Generating Board. Maxwell with his Daily Mirror has led the anti-Scargill campaign and the breakaway union's leader — Lynk introduced the Russian official who originally said the Russian miners had donated £10 million to the miners' strike fund. Maxwell says he will operate through the UDM. Lynk says he has nothing to do with Captain Bob and that his union can call upon £1,000 million for the purchase. Read the next thrilling instalment of this

The Factory & Beyond

Let them eat sweetbreads

What did I tell you? What did I tell you? Months ago I warned that the working class hero is going out of fashion. Working class men, that is!

When Vera Lomax, Rochdale's Labour Mayoress, threatened to castrate Alan Dempsey, a gas worker, while doing his job, she was merely expressing the current distaste of the left for the blue collar working man. Gas fitters, navvies and other toiling working men are about to follow Orwell's poor stout-hearted Boxer to the knacker's yard as the new class enemy.

Crying "I like sweetbreads for breakfast", our Vera flashed her knife, set her dogs on Mr Dempsey and added "... you disgusting male brat. Just look at the state of you, you can't even dress yourself properly."

Mrs Lomax, who has been a teacher by 'trade', went on to dissect the gas worker's dirty fingernails in the following terms: "I feel sorry for your wife with your mauling hands all over her. You molester!"

Right wingers like Auberon Waugh, have always gone on about how we workers smell. That's why we call our children 'kids' and our the left have been slow to catch on to this kind of denigration until now.

The socialists are more snobbish than we often give them credit for. Malcolm Muggeridge described how in the 1930s Mrs Webb, the Fabian high priestess, used to arrange their guest's chairs in a hierarchical pattern: "An earl, actually Bertrand Russell's brother, ... got better treatment than a don like Harold Laski ...".

The Oldham magistrates Court was unimpressed by Mrs Lomax's comments on the status of Mr Dempsey's fingernails and his

The Politics of Castration

sartorial get up - she was fined £300 for carrying a knife in a public place.

The gas fitter was a little confused as he pondered how to respond to this woman. He had already been showered with a cup of tea, so he decided to try a little swearing for good measure. Mr Dempsey added: "At that moment I was frightened. I just wanted to get out of the area."

And well he might be — there have been so many food scares recently that working men's sweetbreads may soon become the only safe meat to eat. They would certainly go down well with radical feminists and those good ladies in the Labour Party with Vera's penchant for bollocks.

How state socialism castrates workers The neutering of the working class movement

by the Labour Party has always been symptomatic of its centralised state politics. This was especially so even when the Labour politicians and the trade union bosses were the closest of bedfellows.

Unfortunately the socialist parties have always been the most active in promoting centralisation and corporation to the detriment of local and regional autonomy. Unlike the anarchists, the socialist parties have followed brothers and sisters 'our kid' and so on. But the Jacobin tradition, which has undermined working class autonomy and initiative.

> Something of the spirit of the continuing hangover of this Jacobin tradition was contained in the recent remark by the 'ex-Stalinist' historian Professor E. J. Hobsbawn, who said Russia was a "police welfare state". He added, 'police' is not necessarily a bad thing, "what one objects to is purges, mass exiles, and massacres. That's nothing to do with a police state. The police did." state can be a rule of law."

Once a Stalinist, always a Stalinist! But usually in democratic countries it is not a

problem of the state socialists being wicked, rather it is that they are too kind. Of course, some socialist politicians are in it for the job, mere place seekers and influence peddlers.

they wanted the money to go. This was

The position at the moment is that the much

divided National Executive of the NUM

General Secretary and left/right wing

Scargill says that he would be more than

belong to the NUM for the relief of hardship

dissidents from Kinnockphile and

reply to his request for clarification.

Yet the real dilemma of socialism is that of constant subsidies, grants and protective laws which make things easier for the trade union bosses. This gives them corporate credibility to operate within the state institutions and increases trade union membership.

Thus under state socialism the unions are bigger and incorporated into the government system. They may appear unbeatable to the undiscerning eye. This bulk did not deceive

Self-inflicted injuries

'Castration' also got a mention at the Conference of the Prison Officers' Association (POA) in Portsmouth last May. Commenting on the prison riot at Strangeways a warder, Peter Hancox, revealed: "We are talking about part castrations, prisoners with ligatures around their necks and unconscious

prisoners bleeding from every orifice." The prison officers have just been pushing industrial action in their campaign to get themselves better conditions, and more riot gear. One Wakefield delegate, reported in The Sport, called for officers to be armed with tactical weapons "such as stun devices and CS gas". Rioters, he added, needed to be taught "they ain't going to do it again".

Mr Hancox, who is secretary of the POA's Manchester branch, told the conference about the Strangeways rioters: "The prisoners responsible are not animals, because animals would not have done to their own what they

Now while I'm sure the Animal Liberation Front will be delighted with Mr Hancox's duck-eggs. sentiments. I ought to point out that as a

negotiator during the Strangeways siege Mr Hancox did set himself up as an expert on self-inflicted injuries.

When we interviewed him outside Strangeways the day after the riot ended, he was asked to comment on the facial bruises which the last remaining prisoners had been

His explanation reminded me of a line in the play Accidental Death of an Anarchist. He declared that the prison rioters had beaten each other up in order to bring the prison service into disrepute.

This remark gave rise to jocular comment among the journalists present, but it was never questioned in their newspapers the next day when the interview was reported.

Amputations on the body politic

Ian Smith, an old anarchist, when a lecturer at Salford University, used to advise his weakest students to become Marxists. Marxism with its systematic and cookbook approach offers the simple-minded student a chance to appear

In view of the current disarray in Marxist theory and practice, witnessed in Freedom in the dispute between Donald Rooum and Howard Moss, we need a clear signal from the Marxist ideological experts as to how far the rot has gone and which healthy limbs can be salvaged for further use. What we need is the ideological equivalent of a gangrene report or a dry rot survey telling us what parts of the body politic of ideological Marxism need to be amputated.

Does Trotskyism still represent healthy tissue? Is Marx the godhead safe? After all, he did claim that he, at least, was not a Marxist.

Or is the infestation something like dry rot whereby we need to chop off three foot beyond all obvious signs of infestation. We need some clear instructions if Marxism is to remain the easy option for academic

'Mack-the-Knife'

NUM Official talks to Freedom

Coal and Creative Accounting

Nother Courage in Brecht's play of the Lightman inquiry has, says Dave, "already same name declares: "Thanks be to God cost the NUM £20,000". for corruption; for men are human and judges are bribeable, and with corruption even the Simon, the secretary of IMO, had accused the innocent may get off".

Mirror claims it still has evidence that orchestrating the whole operation. "Scargill did use hardship money to pay off his own home loan and that of Heathfield . . .". The IMO and the international funds

The Daily Mirror refused to supply this On the matter of the funds now lying in were milking the hardship funds for their own miners during the miners' strike.

by the court sequestrators.

Thus in a temporary sense the union bosses were hardship cases. The house loans would not now seem to be a critical issue — unless Maxwell and The Daily Mirror come up with something more serious.

Mr Douglas told *Freedom* that he and many others within the NUM are anxious that the issues should be resolved within the labour movement, and not left to lawyers and professional politicians. He welcomed the decision of the NUM and International Miners' Organisation (IMO) that they try to solve their differences over the ownership of funds through negotiation. The miners, especially in Yorkshire and the North East, are suspicious of the legal profession and the courts — owing to their own experience during the strike.

Dave Douglas told us that the overall cost of the legal proceedings to the NUM could come to half a million pounds if pursued fully, and no out of court settlement was forthcoming. "Half a million" he said, "when there might be nowt to draw at the end". Paying the solicitors is like giving a donkey strawberries — the

When I pointed out to Mr Douglas that Mr solicitors of "manipulating the NUM", he said In this respect I have always regarded Arthur he thought this was true. His fear was that the Scargill, the NUM president, as somehow less solicitors, rather than the NUM national human than the rest of us. Yet The Daily executive and the membership, were now

evidence to the Lightman inquiry into the international bank accounts, the High Court conduct of two officials during and after the has agreed to the request from the NUM that 1984-5 miners strike. Lightman cleared the civil action pending against Scargill and Scargill and Heathfield of having their Heathfield for 'breach of trust' be lifted for 'fingers in the till'. Even some of Scargill's three months, while negotiations take place critics within the NUM leadership had always between the NUM and the IMO over the doubted the claim that Scargill and Heathfield ownership of money donated by Russian

Mr Douglas drew our attention to the When we questioned Dave Douglas, NUM necessity for secrecy in the management of branch delegate for Hatfield Colliery, he told funds during the 1984-5 strike. With the courts us that the membership was most concerned and sequestrators on the miners' backs during about if the union officials were getting and after the strike, the management of funds bridging loans. He said that the membership for financing the dispute could not follow was asking "Why should the officials get loans normal accounting practices. Some funds, from the union when ordinary members such as the accounts in Luxemburg, were couldn't". One answer is that while the miners seized by the sequestrators and frozen. Other down the pit went on wages when the strike money slipped through the net erected by the ended, the officials didn't get any payment, state and the courts, and was used to according to Mr Douglas, until eighteen re-establish the union after the strike. During months later. The reason being that all the the strike over 400 miners had been sacked union funds, including salaries, were tied up and they needed supporting after the strike.

> Naturally the reality of the state's action during the strike required several sleights of the hand in accounting by the union officials if the miners were to keep some money out of the hands of the sequestrators. "These practices" says Mr Douglas, "have horrified the lawyers, but the membership fully understands why it was done like that".

> The miners understand because they have endured an experience which the solicitors and accountants can only guess at. And the miners' conclusion has been that: 'The law is there to cheat those who don't understand it'.

Mr Douglas and other miners to whom I spoke were critical of the IMO. They tended to see it as a bureaucratic balloon of little practical value in its present form. According to Dave Douglas, "the IMO needs to be made more accountable, more democratic and to become less a plaything of the union leaders".

Mr Douglas said he thought that if Mr Scargill had been more open with the membership earlier the present crisis would not have been manipulated by the likes of Robert Maxwell (the proprietor of The Daily

When questioned about who was trying to

removing all possible opponents within the dividends. labour movement. Arthur Scargill represents a Arthur Scargill's alleged juggling of the Scargill are two MPs: Kim Howells, described by Mr Douglas as "Kinnock's mouthpiece", and Kevin Baron, another Welsh MP and Kinnock's private secretary. All these, he says, are "trying to discredit the NUM and what the miners traditionally stand for".

Press barons and predators

Since we spoke to Mr Douglas there have been The Daily Mirror reported that the Fraud Squad had begun investigating Scargill following complaints from two members of the public. One of these complainants denied he's been put up to it.

Yet it seems someone wants to keep the issue

This week there has been a fuss in the City over proposed plans for the privatisation of PowerGen, one of the electrical generating companies. At the weekend Hanson plc, artists in asset stripping, made an offer for the company. The Hanson conglomerate is 55% owner of Peabody which produces 10% of the coal mined in the US. Hanson has been called the grandmaster of the international coal markets, and the king of bids and break-ups.

While PowerGen has a three year contract with British Coal, once this expires Hanson would be able to bring in coal supplies from abroad. Lord Hanson supports the Tory party with financial contributions. If Hanson gets PowerGen there will be more pit closures and job losses among miners and power workers. Lord Hanson would prefer a weak NUM without Scargill.

Next news — guess who's thinking of making a bid for PowerGen when it goes to tender? That's right, Robert Maxwell and the Union of Democratic Miners.

All these contenders would welcome a weak and divided NUM.

But let's cast an eye over Maxwell Communications. Surely a press baron with such a sense of rectitude in other people's accounting would himself have a spotless record of financial management! We're informed that much of the Maxwell fortune is in a trust fund in Liechtenstein. Liechtenstein is a tax haven, and the accounts are secret. However, his company Maxwell Communication has just issued their annual accounts. Commenting on this the Lex column in The Financial Times says: "Maxwell Communications deserves some kind of award. It is not merely that the accounts are complex — from Mr Maxwell, no less was to be expected. The real challenge lies in trying to work out how, given the figures as stated, the business manages to Movement, and writes for their paper Direct sustain itself". It seems that Maxwell uses a method of accounting which was much

favoured by the now-bankrupt Coloroll, and

smash Scargill, Mr Douglas replied that in his as he now controls 55.5% of the company view Neil Kinnock had a vested interest in equity, he is taking shares instead of cash

potential embarrassment for Kinnock. The accounts to take on British Coal or the hatchet job, he suggests, is being managed by government of the day pales into Maxwell and The Daily Mirror. Others insignificance besides the creative accounting involved in the character assassination of going on inside international businesses. And business, as we have seen, is politics by other means! Besides Maxwell Communications, there have been Coloroll and Parkfield (both now deceased), Drexel Burnham Lambert and Donald Trump in the USA. Only last week Barry Riley writing in The Financial Times declared: "In the UK we are now learning just which public companies borrowed too much money to buy overpriced assets and used some curious developments. The day the creative accounting to cover up the NUM lifted their writ against Scargill and deficiencies in their income statements. Heathfield in the High Court over the matter Unfortunately . . . it does not seem possible to of their alleged 'mismanagement of funds', detect such misbehaviour from their published accounts".

> Mr Scargill has many faults viewed from an anarchist perspective. His principle policy flaw is that he, together with most other European leftists, is deeply influenced by the Jacobin tradition. That is, under his influence the NUM, since the strike, has been pushed in the direction of greater centralism at the expense of federalism and regional autonomy. He has done this because, as a Marxist, he believes that strong organisations must be ruled from a central command structure. History has shown that this is the view of a political innocent. It remains to be seen if this innocence will be sufficient for political

> > Brian Bamford

Profile:

Tave Douglas is one of the NUM's Yorkshire officials leading the campaign to get the investigation of the NUM's problems taken out of the hands of the solicitors and professional politicians, and put back where it belongs — with the

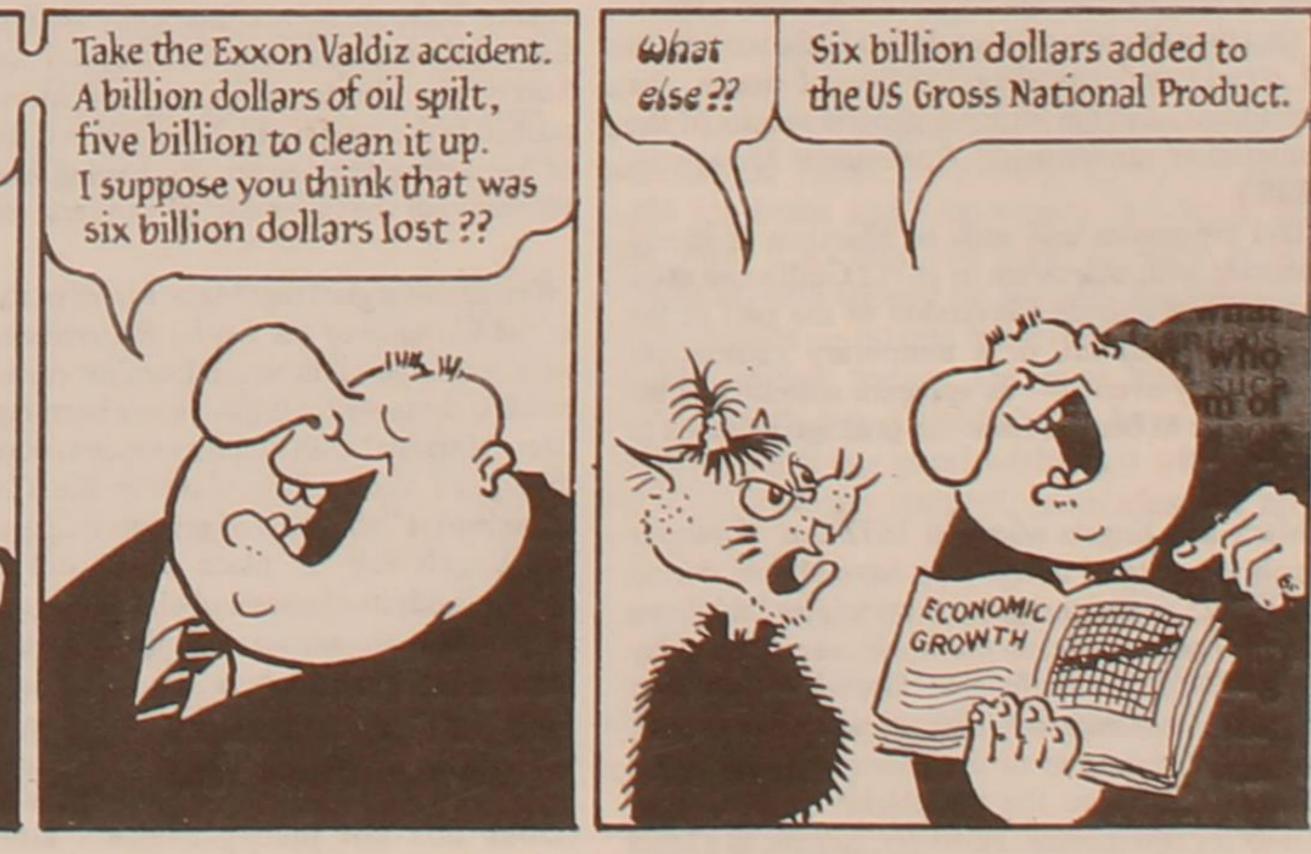
Mr Douglas is the Hatfield branch delegate. he was actively involved in the 1984-5 miners' strike and wrote two pamphlets on the strike for our friends in the Direct Action Movement. The pamphlets are entitled Tell Us Lies About the Miners and Come and Wet This

Dave now claims to be a Marxist who has many friends in the anarchist movement. His connection with the anarchists goes back many years. In the early 1960s he was a member of the Syndicalist Workers' Federation, and corresponded with me at the time of the engineering apprentice strike in 1964. He has a good working relationship with the anarcho-syndicalist Direct Action Action. He also tells me he distributes Class War which has an anarchist orientation.









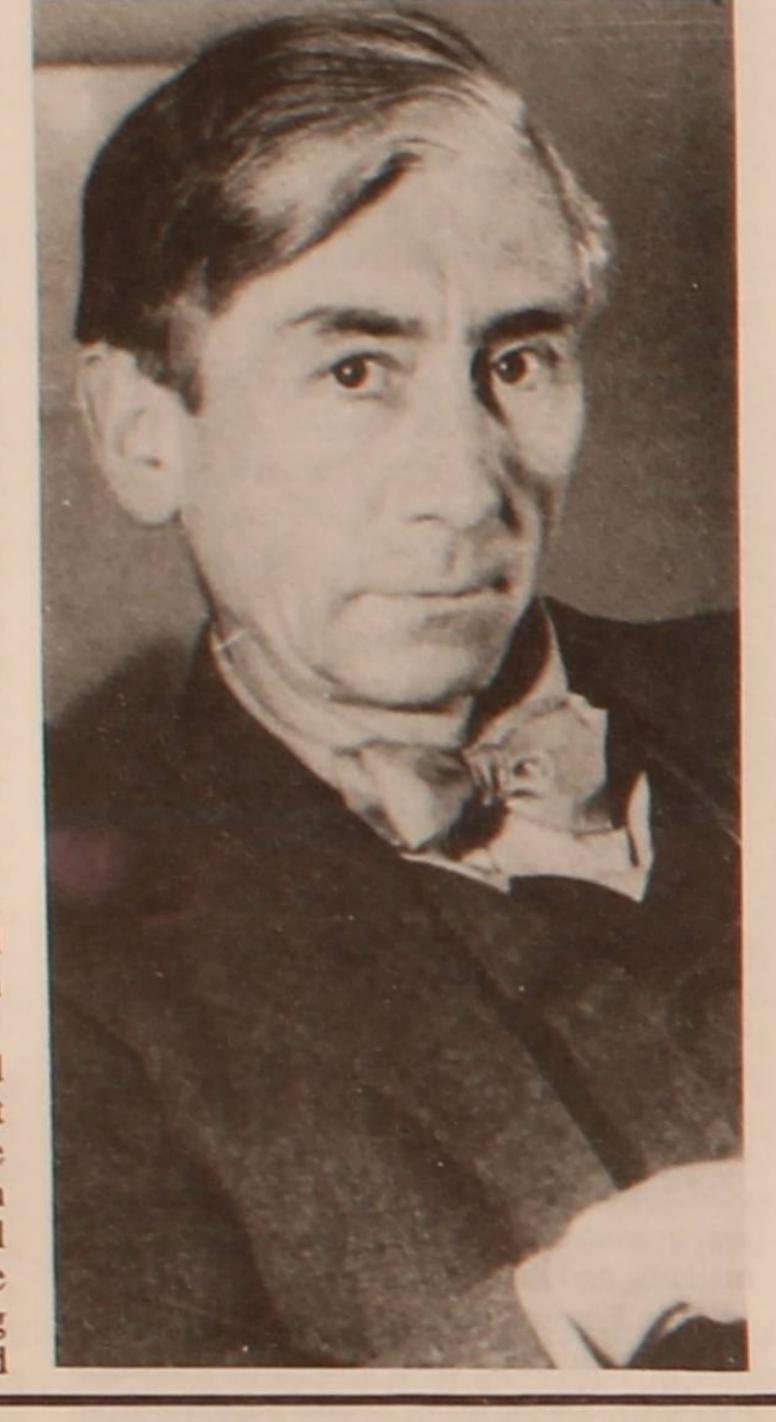
HERBERT READ -- A LIFE

James King Weidenfeld £25

Terbert Read was a leading member of the British cultural establishment for half a century. He was best known as a professional expert on art — an administrator, academic, editor, critic, publicist, and collector — who championed new forms of expression from the 1920s to the 1960s. At the same time he was a publisher, journalist and lecturer, and also a minor poet and novelist. And he was one of the few famous people in this country to adopt anarchism. Since his death in 1968 there have been several books — notably George Woodcock's Herbert Read: The Stream and the Source (1972) — but the first full biography has now been produced by the Canadian academic James King. He has relied largely on primary sources, especially Read's own papers at the University of Victoria in British Columbia, and has also consulted many of Read's family and friends. The book has all the trappings of scholarly research, gives a tolerable account of Read's public and private life, and is well produced, but it is in fact disappointing.

The first problem is that King's ideas and style are crude and clumsy, in striking contrast to the fastidious formality of his subject; the trouble starts with the book's silly title, which is virtually meaningless, and continues until its silly conclusion, that Read might have found religion on his deathbed. Then King tends to concentrate on the superficial and

The Last Modern: A Life of Herbert Read transient aspects of Read's career rather than on his serious and permanent achievements; the book reads as a breathless rush through the



detailed activities of a very busy and rather boring man, punctuated by trivial quotations from private letters; this may convey an Read was worth reading once and is worth writing about now, and it also misses the gentleness and generosity of his personal character. Finally King is embarrassingly ignorant about Britain, and many of his comments on social and political events are so on. either irrelevant or inaccurate.

These defects will matter mostly to readers who knew and liked Read or who are interested in recent artistic and literary history; but they will also matter to readers who are interested in anarchism, which was a significant aspect of Read's career. King mentions it from time to time, but fails to come to grips with it. He ignores Read's quasi-religious conversion to anarchism before the First World War, his brief involvement with Guild Socialism (a British variety of non-revolutionary syndicalism) and his long period as a vague fellow-traveller with Soviet Russia. Read finally came out as an anarchist only at the time of the Spanish Civil War, then continued to call himself an anarchist for thirty years, and took part in the anarchist movement for the first half of this period. He contributed to anarchist periodicals from 1938 to 1953, had several books and pamphlets published by the Freedom Press (also editing an anthology of Kropotkin's writings), spoke on anarchist platforms (especially at the time of the War Commentary trial in 1945), and was responsible for the

publication of many libertarian books by Routledge (where he worked from 1939 to 1963). But his acceptance of a knighthood in 1953 alienated most anarchists, and his relations with the formal movement almost ceased. Even so, he still gave talks about anarchism during the 1960s, and his last major element of truth, but it misses the point of why essay, published just before his death, was on the same subject. King misses much of this, and his cursory treatment isn't helped by references to 'Camilio Berneri' and 'Christopher Hewetson', a confusion between the Freedom Press and the Fortune Press, and

> Read had similarly ambiguous relations with the peace movement. He turned against war after being decorated for bravery during the First World War, though he never became a total pacifist. He naturally took sides in the Spanish Civil War, though he hated the fighting; and he had much the same attitude to the Second World War. He was later slightly associated with the peace movement and briefly involved in the nuclear disarmament movement; he joined the Committee of 100 and participated in its sit-downs, but soon resigned because he found it too aggressive. King's unbalanced approach is shown by the fact that he consulted no fewer than seven people about the peace movement, but only one person about the anarchist movement. As a result he has missed many relevant things in particular much of the surviving material concerning the Freedom Press, and in general the links between Read's politics and his cultural and educational ideas.

One problem with studying any aspect of Read is that he recycled his articles and lectures and reprinted them in several versions (continued on page 6)

(continued from Freedom No. 15 28 JULY 1990)

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, 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 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 the 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 Were not Marx's actions in the Hague Congress a 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 - in opposition to their own feelings, the 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 to its name?"

Marx and Engels admit in 1872 that "however much the state of things may have altered during the last 25 years, the general principles laid down in this Manifesto are, on the whole, as correct today as ever" (1872 Preface to German edition of Communist Manifesto). They do admit some parts are out of date due to the example of the Paris Commune, where the proletariat held political power for two months. However, Engels, in a letter

Towards Post-Scarcity Anarchism

to G. Terzaghi in 1872, stipulates that "it was the industrialise Russia? Increasing abundance at all lack of centralisation and authority that cost the costs will be justified in the future.) Paris Commune its life". (Lehning adds that the Does the Critique of the Gotha Programme "Civil War in France is in full contradiction with all contradict the Communist Manifesto? Marx sets the Marx's writings on the question of the State".)

and his clique. A supposedly democratic General intellectually still stamped with the birthmarks of Council was in fact subject to the iron will of one the old society from whose womb it emerges expelled due to their opposition to Marx, i.e. that he has given to it is his individual quantum of labour' keep it out of his opponents hands. The result was receives a certificate from society that he furnished the collapse of the First International.

more than one interpretation. But if we are to accept much as costs the same amount of labour". In other Marx as a libertarian then must we not admit that words, "a given amount of labour in another form" Bakunin's criticisms are unfounded, if not (Marx, 1875). slanderous, to Marx? I would argue the contrary. foreshadow of Bolshevik tactics? Ken Smith says Bolsheviks " . . . succeeded in clouding political recognises no class differences because everyone is thinking for generations. Misty language . . . lies a worker like everyone else, but it tacitly recognises were simply agitprop . . . ". Can we not trace these unequal individual endowment and thus productive very things back to Marx (especially his campaign capacity as natural privileges".) Marx does admit against Bakunin — and ironically stemming from that these are defects within the lower stage of Bakunin's failure to translate Capital volume 1!). communism, which will be overcome when "in a Surely the libertarian version of Marxism was higher phase of communist society ... after labour pushed to the margins by Marx himself for the sake has become not only a means of life but life's prime of becoming the leader (or having the leading want...only then can society inscribe on its banners ideology) of the international workers' movement.

Ken Smith argues that Marx's later writings, such as the Critique of the Gotha Programme (1875), were a change of direction from his earlier works, and that these writings have since been replaced by later 'Marxists' with "funny money schemes". The theory of the communists in the Communist Manifesto is "abolition of private property". Marx and Engels say "in place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the development of all". To achieve this the dictatorship of the proletariat must "increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible". (Does this not justify Stalin's attempts to

situation "what we want to deal with here 1872 was the year of the Hague Congress. The communist society, not as it has developed on its Hague was chosen by Marx because of its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it inconvenience to Bakunin (he'd have been arrested emerges from capitalist society, which is thus in if he went) and others, and its convenience for Marx every respect economically, morally and man: Marx. The Congress was 'packed' and Accordingly the individual producer receives back Bakunin and Guillaume, among others, were from society exactly what he gives to it. What he was becoming too authoritarian. The headquarters Here we have the basis for "funny money of the International were transferred to America to schemes". Marx goes on, "he [the producer]

such and such an amount of labour, and with this I agree with Ken Smith that Marx can be open to certificate he draws from the social stock . . .

Marx goes on to admit that natural inequalities will occur even in a classless society, i.e. unequal distribution for those who work harder, etc. ("It 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'!" (It is certainly a travesty that Lenin should add "it has never been vouchsafed to any communist to guarantee the advent of the higher phase of communism". After this Camus says "one hundred years of suffering are fleeting in the eyes of the man who prophecies, for the hundred and first year, the Eternal City".)

Marx assumes all social and political inequality will disappear with the disappearance of class distinctions. Kropotkin, on the other hand, argued es, whether in cash form or labour notes, would nply lead back to private property and capitalism, or else for the revolution to succeed, wages would have to be abolished altogether ("it is with this system ['to each according to his deeds'] that the wages system started, to end today in crying Otero), Black Rose Books, 1981

inequalities and all the abominations of the present state of things"). It is known, however, that the collectivists such as Bakunin and Guillaume also proposed a system of vouchers to obtain goods. They did however believe that rather than imposing a system they would leave it to the future to decide how things would be distributed. [A footnote to Kropotkin's Wage System reads, "The Spanish anarchists, who continue to call themselves collectivists, understand by this term common possession of the instruments of labour and 'liberty for each group to share the produce of labour as they think fit', on communist principles or in any other

To conclude on Ken Smith's point that even major anarchist thinkers have not got beyond Marx's Critique of the Gotha Programme, I would point to Murray Bookchin's 'Listen Marxist!' in Post Scarcity Anarchism, where he argues the need to transcend Marxism "not because it is too visionary or revolutionary, but because it is not visionary or revolutionary enough". He believes Marx wrote a 'brilliant critique of capitalism in an age of scarcity; but today in an age of technological abundance (where a long 'transition' period, to develop productive forces to achieve abundance, is thus no longer necessary) we need to move beyond the Marxism of the nineteenth century and turn towards post-scarcity anarchism.

Peter Kropotkin The Wage System, Pirate Press

Michael Bakunin The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State, Bash 'em Books

Michael Bakunin On Anarchism (edited by Sam Dolgoff), Black Rose Books, 1980 Michael Bakunin Marxism, Freedom and The

State, Freedom Press, 1984 Murray Bookchin Post-Scarcity Anarchism, Black

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D. McLellan Karl Marx — His Life and Thought, Marx and Engels Basic Writings (edited by L. S.

Feuer), Fontana, 1984 Marx and Engels The Communist Manifesto.

Karl Marx The Civil War in France, Peking Foreign Language Press, 1977

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Language Publishing House, 1961 Noam Chomsky Radical Priorities (edited by C. P.

Love Lies Bleeding Love Lies Bleeding

— A Life

by Claudia

in overlapping collections, but his political writings are fairly easily accessible. The most important were collected in Anarchy and Order, which appeared in a series of expanding editions from 1954 to 1974, and a few were included in other collections. Some haven't been reprinted from the various periodicals they first appeared in, though a few have reappeared in the recent volumes of the Freedom Press Centenary series, but they are Read's political and social ideas is quite thing.

Herbert Read

(continued from page 5)

helped by this book. As it is, King has gathered a great deal of information, but it is badly organised and badly presented, and it gives a distorted view of his subject. So Herbert Read still awaits a proper biography, based on some thought as well as facts; the trouble is that the existence of this one will make it more difficult for the next one.

Rambling

Notes

n emember the four-minute warning

which in 1964 we were told would

keep us safe — well, safer — and which

was dependent on the missile early warning

system at Fylingdales on the North

have an awesome beauty as well as

popular area for walkers. The radiation

produced there was probably not intense

enough to be a danger to the health of

Now, however, these radar antennae have

been condemned as obsolete by the US

military who are in control and they are to

be replaced by a new phased array radar.

This takes the form of a truncated pyramid

32 metres high and is expected to be

operational by the end of 1992. The more

intense radiation generated then could be a

health hazard, according to a British

consultant on electromagnetic radiation,

reported in the New Scientist (12th May

1990). Similar systems at Cape Cod in

Massachusetts and Sacramento,

California, have generated considerable

concern over the health risks and scientific

opinion is divided. But, of course, as the

New Scientist headline states, "New system

at Fylingdales is safe says RAF". And how

would they know when any ill effects

The conflict between recreational and

military needs for space in some of the most

beautiful parts of this small island i

continual and from the North Yorkshire

moors we turn to the Pembrokeshire Coast

National Park in Wales where the Ministry

of Defence, with the help and no doubt the

insistence of the US Navy, is proposing to

build an entirely new system of over-the-

horizon radar on a disused airfield. This

system, according to the same issue of the

New Scientist, will bounce high frequency

radio signals off the ionosphere (region of

the atmosphere 60 to 300 kilometres above

the earth's surface) down to an area 800 to

3,000 kilometres east and detect the signals

reflected back from moving ships and

aircraft inside this area, Russian of course.

The transmitting antennae will be spread

over a kilometre or more and consist of 35

metal towers, sixteen of which will be 40

metres high. They will emit sufficient

might not be apparent for years?

feasible and might be valuable, but it won't be

say the same about the men). Firstly there are partner to save legal hassles, but few were far too few of them. Secondly, with a few actually married. You might ask why men had notable exceptions, most of them now appear not changed their names instead? Some had. to be feminists, or at least they say they are All in all the anarchist women seemed much feminists or some feminists say they are tougher than the men and I am happy to say I not too hard to find. A proper consideration of anarchists which is not necessarily the same numbered, and still number, some of them as

A Class Whore Publication, £1.80

supposed it would be a movement of sexual equals. Relationships would be equal straight from the shoulder. Partly because my sexual encounters had been so limited and unhappy I supposed, or hoped, anarchist women would be just like anarchist men. I was therefore quite surprised to find most anarchist women I am talking about anarchists here, not just spouses — were very feminine but infinitely NW better anarchists than most men. More

> power to expose people 200 metres away to an electromagnetic field strength which is on the borderline of the safety level set by the National Radiological Protection Board, a body not well known for setting really safe levels of exposure.

Could this become quite a legal landmark? Some, although not all, scientific studies have found statistical evidence of suppression of immune function, cancer and eye problems associated with such radiation, and Chinese studies of people living near radio antennae and radar installations have Yorkshire moors? The three golf ball structures were visible for miles and did detected significant changes in immune function with exposure to much lower levels of radiation. A research worker at providing a useful landmark in what is a Surrey University who is studying the effect of this type of radiation on the brain was reported in The Guardian (5th April 1990) as saying that it is associated with an increased incidence of brain tumours and a possible association with leukaemia was being investigated.

The department of Haverford West County Council which is responsible for approving planning applications in the National Park does not expect to receive firm proposals from the MoD until late summer or autumn. The proposed site is Crown land and the government has the power to impose the scheme without obtaining planning permission if it is "in the interests of national security". However, at the moment at least, it intends to follow what is known as shadow procedure in which it will submit its plans for consideration by the council. The Park Committee of the council, although opposed to the project in principle, will then consider it on its merits, taking into account the anticipated environmental impact of the radar system and the views of all interested local and national groups and individuals. So, if people organise to actively protest against the building of this monstrous device, it can be stopped.

Naturally local residents are particularly concerned and have started a Pembrokeshire Against Radar Campaign (PARC) and need as much support as possible. We are often told by government ministers that there is no evidence of danger (think of Sellafield) and this case is no exception. One way of making sure that there is no evidence is not to carry out any investigations. So you will not be surprised to hear that the MoD has not conducted any research into the possible harmful effects of electromagnetic radiation and has no plans to carry out any such research.

intelligent, with stronger willpower, with greater staying power, yet surprisingly often filling domestic roles as well with great gusto and seeming to do both better than their The one thing which has always non-anarchist counterparts. Many were disappointed me about the anarchist 'married' in the sense it had become movement is the women (although they might traditional to change their name to that of their

Then came the '60s with nuclear

When I came into the movement I naively disarmament, the Vietnam campaigns and so on, and a new crop of women. These were generally less independent. Some were pacifists, although not all. Many became

anarchists, although often they had little to do with the anarchist movement, staying in the peace movement. Few pacifists had much contact with the anarchist movement which if anything stood aloof from the peace movement and vice versa. Most of the '60s women's anarchism appeared to have more to do with sexual freedom, licence perhaps, action without stigmatisation, than doctrinal anarchism. 'I am an anarchist because of the things I do' (or '... the men I screw') might have been their watchword. By the early '70s many of them had married, usually non-anarchists, often middle class spouses, and the rest tended to move into feminism (joined by many of their sisters when their marital relationships predictably failed and by some who are still married). Few of the women anarchists of the '60s that I knew remained in the movement. Certainly not lasting into the '80s. However, a small but steady stream of self-possessed women anarchists came in and are still coming in. We are still lumbered with the feminists and their male supporters who spend time telling the rest of us what to think, what to say, what to do, and how to live our lives — but not offering us any incentive.

About a year ago an interesting pamphlet appeared, I Claudia, which I felt was one of the best anarchist works I have read. It attacked feminists from a woman's point of view, telling them to put their own act together as women. Another pamphlet has appeared from the same source continuing the attack. Not having consciously met the author I do not know whether she is an anarchist, but it really does not matter — it is not as anarchism is but

What's wrong with using our brains for a change?

The political correspondent of The Independent (19th July) quotes Ministry of Defence officials as saying that the computer 'brain' designed to manage Britain's air defences is prone to nervous breakdowns and getting its sums wrong. As a result these technical problems with computer software have delayed the system no less than ten years. And they are not talking about a desktop job. This 'brain' costs only £248

The MoD's head of aircraft control explained to MPs what were the 'difficulties': "Firstly a number of logic areas. It gets its sums wrong. We get wrong answers sometimes and the bugs have to be tracked down and sorted out.

Secondly, from time to time it crashes. What this means is the equivalent of a nervous breakdown. It becomes confused with the information and goes levels?

Well, don't we all. But then we can take a holiday while somebody else deals with the job. But we are now talking of a 'brain' that costs £248 million. How many can we afford to have nervous breakdowns? Use your brains, service.

as people do anarchistically. You create the revolution by being it. Revolutions come about through conscious and unconscious anarchist acts. I would be proud if the writer were an anarchist but am happy that she acts out her ideas and says what she says.

The pamphlet itself is a polemic of statements supported by subjective examples including press reports. It is difficult to find a precise theme except to say that it appears to be concerned with feminist responses to wife battering and male violence. It is a direction to women, especially feminists, to put their own houses in order, have courage, face the world and stop trying to get protective sugar daddies be they men, husbands, lesbians, social workers, therapists, policemen or the state. Although it is strongly anti-feminist it is also consciously very feminist, telling women that feminism should not be used to duck out of life but take hold of it. Being a woman is being a person, asserting yourself, and although she does not say so, being a conscious anarchist. As an anti-feminist I must say this is the kind of approach I can do business with. I do not see women as sexpots and baby machines, but allies and interesting companions. Men meeting women on terms of equality is what anarchism is about, not knuckling under in response to badly worked out preconceptions.

The pamphlet is interesting, thought-provoking, well worth £1.80, should be bought by all anarchists and hopefully



discussed by feminists throughout the world. although I expect she will have to put it into book form for that. I hope the work is to be followed by many more.

I must admit, as a non-feminist, I would have preferred a small glossary of terms. Even the largest Oxford English Dictionary does not define 'marionismo' although it does say that marionism is the cult of the victim. Was this what was meant? In- groups develop private languages and I would not know what a WAVAW was if it came to supper. Something out of Edward Lear? I remember the occasion when a 'with-it' friend in the late '60s came around and said he was short of bread, so I handed him a loaf! More precise terms get to a wider audience. They also help translators. I remember that famous situationist pamphlet whose title I am still trying to work out — The Totality for Kids. I mean no offence here, this pamphlet is good and needs translation, especially into Spanish, Italian, French and German, to say nothing of Urdu, Punjabi, Pushtu, Bengali, Hindi and Arabic, to name a few. International comrades please note. It is well worth the read. I've read it six times already and I am still reading it and each time I find something new. What does Claudia say (for example): "I have never had the slightest desire to procreate; it seems tantamount to placing myself in leg-irons." Wow! This woman is for real. Great stuff. This comment is not merely about motherhood, yet in many ways it is, it is about comradeship, know yourselves. There are female leg- irons and male leg-irons and community leg-irons. If you want a society you have to work at it. Whilst no-one should be socially forced into relationships — no one has ever forced me having babies means the man has to get measured up too. Claudia, you have a long way to go but my good wishes go with you. How about some support, comrades, on all

Peter Neville

Books reviewed in Freedom are available at Freedom Bookshop through our mail order

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52

Then Nick Ridley opened his mouth and V did the unpardonable — spoke his true feelings about Germany — it was inevitable that one of Thatcher's 'driest' ministers would have to do the decent thing and resign.

The initial reaction was one of amazement that Ridley could have been so stupid as to possibilities. publicly declare what many thought was Thatcher's private feelings about Germany. The same day as his resignation The of a secret meeting at Chequers with leading the German. No longer would the inefficient historians and experts on Germany. Here they British economy be able to ride out the storms listed the now infamous supposed German 'national characteristics', which included aggressiveness, assertiveness, bullying, etc.

Underlying this whole episode is the unease among the ruling establishment on Britain's future role in the world. Our ruling classes have always had an ambiguous attitude towards Europe. Historically Britain has relied upon firstly its empire and then the so-called 'special relationship' with the US. While keeping one foot in the aforementioned 'Atlantic' camp, Britain has also kept one foot in the European camp too.

Thus Germany has always been an important trading partner and periodically British capitalism has feared the competitive strength of the German economy, not just in our traditional foreign markets but in our domestic market too. These fears lay behind Joseph Chamberlain's abortive tariff reform campaign at the turn of the century. This and other attempts at ending free trade were defeated by the City, fearing that protectionism would harm the world financial Waddington, the Home Secretary, is certainly role of the City of London. Britain's reluctant a prime example — a more arrogant or entry into the Common Market signified the pompous git would be really hard to find! emergence of an understanding among the Significantly, no mention was made at ruling elite that Britain's traditional role was Chequers of the rich history of German no longer tenable. Our increasing socialism, which before World War One had receptiveness to Europe and European the largest socialist party and labour integration is based on a realisation that the movement, with a healthy syndicalist 'special relationship' with America (which component. (And Thatcher is always warning made us in fact the 53rd state) is now of full European integration allowing economically unsound, as America has socialism in by the back door!) These facts become the world's major debtor and the were not mentioned at Chequers because those American economy lurches from one crisis to present were discussing the 'Germany' that

For certain sections of British capitalism, and America), instead of the World's fourth. the bacon.

The opening up of the Eastern Bloc economies gives welcome investment opportunities -Maxwell is already heavily involved in Bulgaria and is actively intervening in its domestic political scene and is casting his eye greedily over the new Russian media

by sheltering behind the protection of colonia markets or kindly US patronage.

This is what lies behind the Ridley outburst and this Government's ambivalent and cautious attitude to full European integration. 'National sovereignty' depends upon the and thus Thatcher, knowing the score but not being able to publicly declare our economic weakness, talks in coded terms of 'loss of sovereignty'. What Ridley did was to voice these concerns publicly — he was in fact doing what Thatcher could not, and in turn proving how expendable he was.

The Chequers meeting was also interesting in that it was in reality one ruling class attempting to analyse another (and not particularly well!). Those supposed German 'national characteristics' outlined at Chequers are remarkably similar to those displayed by our own ruling class. I can't imagine anything more arrogant, assertive or bullying than a product of the British public school system.

they were familiar with — establishment, capitalist Germany. The world and particularly the City, fuller integration into characteristics of the German working class Europe gives it a chance to regain some of its are as foreign to them as are our own working former power and prestige as perhaps the class. The Chequers meeting reminds one of second banking centre in an increasingly the ending of Animal Farm where the pigs important and powerful Europe (especially so have become indistinguishable from the with the 'ending' of the Cold War and the humans. What worries Ridley and those at retreat from world predominance of Russia Chequers was who would be bringing home

Science News

A t the entrance to a road leading off the A814 in Scotland there is a small notice which says 'Explosives may be electrically detonated — do not use CB radio'. Not surprisingly the OS map of the region is liberally strewn with signs saying 'danger area'. Explosives clearly are stored somewhere, and in a mountain in Scotland is no worse than anywhere else. More interesting is the tacit admission that radio, and therefore radar, waves can affect electronic devices. Everywhere, we now live in an electromagnetic smog but on the Clyde, just down the road, we have such a great concentration of electromagnetic radiation sources around the Faslane and Holy Loch nuclear submarine bases that it must be a pea soup equivalent. What is the risk that the electronic equipment of planes, military or

civilian, flying nearby could be affected? Noting this profusion of radar and communications installations around these nuclear submarine bases, a Manchester-based pressure group, Nuclear-Free Zone Authorities, has questioned the vulnerability of its weapons systems. Research has been

carried out in the US into these problems which are known as HERO (hazards of electromagnetic radiation to ordnance) and HERF (hazards of electromagnetic radiation to fuel), so clearly a possible risk has been

In this country questions in Parliament by Scottish MPs produced little response except for the statement that "electromagnetic radiation has not been a contributory cause of accidents to ground-based, seaborne or airborne weapons systems in the UK", which leaves a number of possibilities open, even if strictly accurate. There have been, for instance, rumours in Germany of low-flying military aircraft crashing due to such radiation interfering with their electronics.

The Ministries of Misinformation and Non-information keep busy and the press, with the honourable exception on occasion of The Scotsman, makes its own contribution to this Orwellian Newspeak. If an ammunition dump blew up would we be told of a freak volcano, and when planes blow up will it always be due to a terrorist bomb?

Anyone can be President

The state continues to exist because everyone were possible for anyone to gain power (and I have holds a number of false notions about it. One of the most common myths, which never seems to be contradicted, is the assumption that anyone can enter government and become the head of state. As it is so often expressed, 'anyone can be president'. People want to believe this because it implies that the state system is fair, gives equal opportunity to all, and is completely democratic. The belief, of course, is a lie. It is just not possible

for every single person to reach a position of power because many do not have the necessary attributes. all of them can emerge first. In fact, only one can However, full European integration would | To gain and remain in power people must have a do so. All the rest have to wait their turn down the expose the generally weaker British economy | low morality so that they have no compunction in tube. to the chill winds of greater competition from using the propaganda and advertising tricks to The point just made applies not only to central Independent on Sunday published the minutes the stronger economies of Europe, especially deceive the electorate if they are in a democracy, or government but also to all governing bodies and in using violence if they want to seize power by committees. Most people join such groups because force. (They do not need to be healthy, intelligent, they think that they can become the ruler — or at or knowledgeable.) When in power they must care least a part ruler — of them and so exert their so little about people that they perpetuate poverty and support the violence of the police and security want to control their own lives they must reject all forces. And they must support war, even if it means ruling groups and especially the governmental the destruction of the whole world. In addition to ruling group. They must reject all social all this, no ruler can gain real power unless he or organisations where the few control the many. They she is rich or married to someone who is. The economic strength of the country concerned, | would- be ruler must also know the right people. So, obviously, not everyone can be president because not everyone can satisfy these conditions. But there is more to it than this. When people say that 'anyone can be the president' they are really believing that everyone can be a president. They are believing that the situation is open to all. Now, this is not true for the simple reason that the number of positions of power are limited. In the case of

just shown that it is not), it is certainly not possible for everyone to do it. To make this possible, there would have to be not one president in a country but as many presidents as there are people. Suppose a country had fifty million people and that during the years between 1990 and 2000, Mr X is president. Then during the decade 49,999,999 people cannot be president because the position is already filled. saying that everyone can be president is like saying that out of a handful of peas passing through a tube

influence in the way they desire. But if people really must create a society where no one wants to rule anyone else. Each person must rule only himself or herself. There must not even be a sharing of power because there must be no power to share. People must be in command of their own lives and have no desire to be a president ruling over other people. They must not exert power for their own advantage; they must co-operate with others for everyone's

on, I'll carry the shopping . . . Do you think

Derrick A. Pike

Waiting for the

presidency, there is only one position. So even if it

You always said he would get off scot I free, Bert . . . You talking to yourself again, Daisy? ... That Colonel North. And Poindexter too by the look of things. You must be clever to know things like that. Nothing clever about it, Daisy. All the politicians and political commentators know it, but their jobs depend on them not saying so. If Hugo Young put that sort of stuff down for his column in The Guardian, they would tell him to find a good psychiatrist . . . Who's Hugo Young? . He's a sort of quality clone. Does roughly the same job for The Guardian as the gutter clones do for The Sun, except he has to say 'pour encourager les autres' instead of 'to get them all at it'. He's a university processed Hackrobot. Stands on his head over a sheet of paper and gets diarrhoea bad

... That our bus, Bert? ... No ... Those scientists in America reckon blacks aren't as intelligent as us. Did you see that in your paper? . . . Bloody marvellous, isn't it. Professor Highstink and his cronies, Professor Phew and Co. reckon they're so clever they can grade other people's brains. Then, when they've finished work, they go home to their clever wives, read Hugo Young, put the telly on, watch Question Time and thank the almighty for creating them white. Think about it, Daisy, a bunch of eggheads draw up a set of questions to decide our IQ numbers, right? They know the questions, so they know the answers, right? They pat each other on the back and agree they are all over 125, right? But if their average age is 50, their brain cells are on the blink, according to the experts, so

they end up measuring their own conceit. Where do they put women on their IO scale, Bert? . . . Don't think they've got around to that yet, Daisy . . . Do you think I'm intelligent? . . . Put it this way, if I'm on 100 you must be at least 101 to have picked me out of all those blokes you could have had . . . Did you pick me for my IQ? . . What was that bang? look at that, Daisy! That's what comes of driving too close. Now there'll be a tailback while the police come and sort it out. May as well walk it.

The bus will be ages coming now. Come

Ridley's going a bit funny, Bert? . . . Like with the poll tax, I can't see old Nick making a big cock-up like that by accident. I reckon the government Stink Tank experts put him up to that one because they need an enemy at the gate now that the communist threat has disappeared. A Son of Adolph saga that will keep people's minds off the poll tax for a little while . . Just hark how loud they've got that music in that house. Wouldn't like to live next door to that . . . Must be nice to live in the countryside like Terry Woebegone and all the other celebrities round this way ... Mrs Potts says the local celebrities are leading a campaign to stop the gravel companies disturbing the peace of their villages . . That's a good one, Daisy, the Trivial Irishman buys a big house in the countryside for peace and quiet and ruins it for his neighbours with his helicopter . . . Wasn't that awful what happened in that private boarding school in Newbury. The headmaster too! . . . The way things are going, schoolboys will soon be classified as consenting adults, so there'll be no legal problem . . . It's still a problem though. What's the answer to it? . . . There's no answer in a man's world, Daisy. Boarding schools are part and parcel of a man's world, and universities, and the armed forces and prisons. It's to do with power, Daisy, power . . . There's our bus coming now. Just as well we walked it. It's that woman driver . . . I prefer a woman driver. They don't start driving like Nigel Mansell if the slightest thing goes wrong . . . Mrs Potts says nobody's too poor to pay the poll tax . . . well, in a way she's right. Most people who say they can't pay run a car, drink, smoke, go abroad for holidays and buy the latest in gadgets. Mind you, the powers that be keep on at them to buy these things. If they don't they're put down as head cases. They can't win either way, especially if they've got kids . . . Quite right, Bert. Remember when we were the only family on the estate without a telly? Soon as our kids came home from school they disappeared. When they came back they were singing 'Robin Hood, Robin

Hood'... Here we are at last, Daisy, home

News from Angel Alley

Because Freedom fortnightly is not quite 'fortnightly' (a year's flapping its glorious message of flapping its glorious message of subscription is for 24 issues) there freedom from an upstairs window of will be no Freedom on August 25th a small terraced house in Peckham. and December 29th this year. However, this does not mean that Angel Alley closes down for the next fortnight. Our bookshop will be open as usual and the editors will be trying to catch up with correspondence and the council. other office jobs. We also hope that our writing comrades will go on sending us their articles as if ask for change. That was what had Freedom was to appear as usual, so that we can build up a stock of articles, reviews and letters for publication. And of course we shall be which later they commented on and working on Raven 12 'On Communicating', all the copy for passages beneficially. When Chuang which will have to be with the Tzu woke up one day he was typesetters by the end of August a the latest.

uly has been an exceptionally | The minds of the young idealists busy month in Angel Alley. It is the were probably as muddled when the time of year when we see many police raided the house. comrades from abroad — some old | When I walked past on 16th July friends, others visiting the bookshop | the house looked particularly bare. and our offices for the first time. We The police had taken in several of the what they have seen, as we are by renewing contacts and making new friendships

Whereas June was a 'quiet' month so far as the bookshop and Freedom Press were concerned, we have more than made up for it in July, and though the commercial book trade if far from optimistic about the future the steady progress of Freedom Press since 1986 is being maintained. With both Black Rose Books and Freedom Press titles, we are anticipating a record year for the circulation of anarchist literature.

comrade in Folkstone recently reported on his first attempt at street producing it? If so, will they get in between them. One thing is certain and it is that the wholesalers will not handle Freedom or The Raven for no other reason than that it's not worth their while for the number of copies they would expect to sell. We have to find our 'markets' and it involves personal contacts, street selling

attendance at meetings. A good example of what might have been a missed opportunity in London was the conference organised by the William Morris Society on the 20th July - 31st July 1990 occasion of the centenary of the publication of News from Nowhere. Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Our comrade distributor in Bradford Fund learned only at the eleventh hour of this conference — in London, mark you! - and was able to secure a table to display his and our titles, and sold nearly £200 worth of Freedom Press and Black Rose titles! Recently there was a Charter 88 conference which was not covered either by sellers or by a Freedom reporter.

Are there among our readers/comrades any who share our view that selling literature is as important a task as actually

The Greenhouse Summer for the

For how long was determined by residents set-in-their- ways who demanded the eviction of the vegan, non-violent youngsters who'd been

Black Flag

I recognised them as ones who had got up the residents' sense of opprobrium. Instead of money I had given them a copy of Chang Tzu showed they'd been reading uncertain whether he was the man or the butterfly he had dreamt himself

Even more on the poll tax

pparently, East Sussex County Council are expecting to lose £800,000 because of the chaos at Turnaround Distribution 'repping' collecting offices. County treasure Mervyn Hancock has warned councillors that some arrears may have to be written off. It's good to hear that these people realise they cannot win. Meanwhile, this writer Lowever, we still need comrades | and friends carried out a small survey who are willing to act as sellers among students living on campus at or agents (supplying local Sussex University. More than 500 newsagents/booksellers) for people were interviewed — 92% Freedom and The Raven. It can be a said they were opposed to the tax, heartbreaking task when an hour's | 63% said they hadn't yet paid (nearly street selling only produces two three months after the poll tax was 'customers', but on the other hand a introduced!) and 45% said they

young comrades sell 20 copies efficient distribution network for Freedom and The Raven.

If you do not feel able to be a Freedom or Raven street seller, are our subscribers so politically isolated | witness, taken away with his hands acquaintances would be interested in case was dealt with in usual court beginning few copies are sold), and of Freedom to distribute among their

DONATIONS

Edmonton, Alberta HB £27, Stoke or Trent DS £5, Chorley PC £5, Bromborough TH £29, Tokyo GK £20.

Freedom Press Overheads Reykiavic OO £3, Edmonton HP £20,

Chorley PC £5.

1990 total to date = £482.00

because they can see no alternative take heart from these figures.

Court

young woman appeared in court this morning charged with nonpayment of fines. Defending herself, she explained that she had recently rhetoric, the magistrate expresses his disbelief that anyone receiving combined income support of £67 per week (with her husband) could not afford such a sum. The young woman further explained that they were currently paying £41 per week rent until their housing benefit claim had living expenses to pay. The magistrate retired to consider the enormity of the young woman's plea, returning some ten minutes later to accept her reasoning and order an alternative repayment — £4.50! The feel that they go away encouraged by occupants, and impounded the flag. young woman left court shaking her Rodney Aitchtey head in disbelief.

> Text in the dock was a young man behaviour. Asked to 'move on' one night by an over-zealous PC, he replied: "What is this, a fucking police state or something?" This young man, previously of 'good' character, found himself the recipient of a £30 fine and a banal helping with purchasing equipment and equal and informal basis. They would enquiry from the magistrate: "Well, have you nothing to say for yourself?" He shrugged and said nothing. Well, if they won't answer his question, why should he answer

Text came an Italian national charged with using threatening behaviour. Counsel for the defendant stated that on the morning in question the man was late for work, having tended to his sick wife first. he was stopped in his car for failure to wear a seat belt, and became agitated when relationships and includes a vision of a EC1V 7JT. (TWIN also publish a selling that "they sold like hot cakes". touch with suggestions and offers of asked for personal details so that a world based on mutual support, shared quarterly journal The Network, And in Suffolk, with some effort, two their time with a view to building up an fixed penalty fine could be issued. | ideas and shared technological promoting the equal exchange of Prosecution alleged that the man was know-how — a vision which should information on trade and technology — 'most uncooperative' and, after a naturally appeal to anyone concerned enclose £2 and an s.a.e. for a copy, from struggle he was, according to a with building an anarchist society from the same address.) our journals and other Freedom | fashion, using the maximum amount | Freedom recently reported (28th how often the government has Press literature? Readers who will of jargon and patronising the July) that world poverty has been fiddled with the unemployment have a go at interesting their friends | defendant with stupid questions, | getting worse. Recently published statistics! (regular appearance on a definite should send us £1 and we will post most of which he did not answer. figures (The Guardian, 24th July) What is thus beyond doubt is that pitch week after week even if at the them a selection of ten recent issues Was this a case of not recognising the compiled by government the government's claims of having court? Alas, no. Since the defendant departments show that a similar trend rejuvenated the economy and of could speak very little English, it was has been occurring in Britain in the having brought increased prosperity

> anything wring". The magistrate said to 2.4 million (20.2%). he found it quite unacceptable that | It should be noted that these figures larger. Total = £28.00 rejected her plea. She was 76!

paid £150 for the privilege of doing

Let's hope those who are only paying International Co-ops Link Up

Information Network (TWIN).

is part of a wider European movement. It the charity collection boxes. has over 800 members, both individuals The plan for this year's conference is to lost her job and was no longer in a and co-operative groups. Last year have two weeks of 'exchange visits' position to afford the repayments of ICOM organised an international followed by a two-day conference in £5 per week. After much court | conference on 'Workers' Co-operatives | London on the 6th and 7th of October.

- an international movement'. Trading', set up to assist Third World human level. It is hoped as far as possible was processed. As well as that they development through equitable trade and to match like with like (e.g. weavers,



development ventures abroad.

an increasing number of requests from be interested in coming to the conference UK-based companies wanting to build and visiting a UK-based co-operative links with producer co-operatives beforehand. overseas. This has led to the idea of For more information on ICOM please twinning co-operatives for mutual send an s.a.e. to: The Industrial Common benefit (for instance a wholefood Ownership Movement, Vassalli House, distributor here could twin with organic 20 Central Road, Leeds, West Yorkshire, producers of tropical pulses or fruits) and LS1 6DE. to open up more diverse and alternative Details of the link-up can be obtained outlets for Third World produce and from Martine Drake, Conference goods. The co-operative movement Co-ordinator, International Co-op nternationally depends on an obvious Link-Up, Third World Information shared belief in non-hierarchical work Network, 345 Goswell Road, London

o-operatives are a well-tried way of the grass-roots. The aim of the 1990 putting the basic anarchist ideals of link-up is to start an international mutual aid and free co-operation into network for the exchange of skills and practice. On 6th-7th October this year experiences between co-operative there will be an international link-up of workers from the 'rich north' and the o-operatives, jointly organised by the 'poor south' of the planet, and to discuss Industrial Common Ownership ways in which people worldwide can Movement (ICOM) and the Third World help each other directly rather than through state-run development agencies. ICOM is a Yorkshire-based federation So it offers one practical solution to the of worker co-operatives in the UK which old chestnut of whether the best way to was formed to promote common help our less fortunate brothers and sister ownership and industrial democracy, and on Planet Earth is to put our shillings in

The idea of the exchange visits is that TWIN gives technical and commercial overseas co-operatives' delegates will advice, training and support for stay with hosts in the UK during the development projects involving pre-conference fortnight, giving an co-operatives in Third World countries, opportunity for both parties to learn from and in 1988 ran a conference 'Who Cares each other and discuss problems - an About Fair Trade?' TWIN has a essential pre-requisite of bridging the commercial sister organisation, 'Twin worldwide North/South divide on a farmers, bicycle makers, carpenters or merchandisers would stay with members of similarly-engaged co-operatives here).

The subsequent conference will consist of a series of workshops and open discussions on the theme of international co-operation at the level of the workers' collective, and it is hoped that from this will emerge an appropriate follow-up network to carry on the learning, understanding and helping process.

ICOM and TWIN would like to hear from any co-operative or producers' collective in the UK which would be willing to act as hosts to one or more overseas guests for a minimum of about Clifford Harper three to four days during October with an interest in discussion and learning on an marketing products for co-operative also like to hear from any overseas co-operative members, especially but not Both TWIN and ICOM have received exclusively from the 'South' who would

that none of their friends or acquaintances would be interested in case was dealt with in usual court World Poverty and Class Politics

more a case of 'belt up mate', and he last decade.

notorious for underestimating suggest otherwise. TV | embarrassing details — remember

to the country as a whole are Average incomes increased ten demonstratively false - even by times as fast as that of the incomes of their own calculations. Contrary to Britain's poorest 10% between 1981 the claims of the mid-1980s that class And finally, a woman was fined and 1987. The number living on less differences were no longer of £100 for driving a vehicle than half the average income, the importance and that a new non-class without the pre-requisite documents. nearest to an official poverty figure, political outlook was called for (the She explained in a letter to the court | rose by more than half to 7.7 million SDP line that ironically has now been that her husband, who was recently between 1985-1987. The number of claimed as Labour's own), the Total = £86.00 | deceased, had "always taken care of | children living in households on Thatcher 'revolution' has in fact 1990 total to date = £809.80 | that kind of thing" and that "it didn't | below half the average income increased the margin between the occur to her that she could be doing increased from 1.8 million (14.7%) rich and the poor, making the former richer and the latter poorer and

> any woman in this day and age was are more than three years out of date. Is class really an outdated concept incapable of taxing her car and and that government statistics are and class politics a myth? The figures

28 28 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56