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IS' IS GOOOD Define - 2 defence business would be hit by lower weapons spending. In spite of having lost, so they say, scrike for a shorter working workers' strike for a shorter working week - that has all been made up by the increasingly profitable Al Yamamah contract with Saudi Arabla. BAe gets 500,000 barrels of oil a day and in exchange supplies the Saudis with a	whole range of military weapons and equipment. As The Guardian's correspondent put it: The Guif crisis has presumably killed any doubts in Saudi Arabia about whether they need such things. But it has also made those 500,000 barrels rather more valuable, making the weapons more affordable as well'. Also no the debit side for Saudi for such their multit- national guests are costing an awful lot, but presumably the military personnel are spending money too. But above all it's the money coming in from oil, not at \$18 a barrel but at any price. And Saudi Arabia is also producing more oil. According to a <i>Guardian</i> editorial (28th September) Saudi Arabia is in receipt of some \$5 billion extra a month from its higher oil production at higher prices.
Gault Crisis' is good news for British Rerospace since it had turned the generation of the group's exchan	Relations and solutions of the second second and second s
as when the Tories took over from Labour in 1979. What followed was a massive increase to more than 20%. This was reduced equally dramatically by the classic method of unemployment, which rose from 1.7 million in 1979 to nearly 4 million. In the second half of the 1980s the priority was to reduce unemployment and by a series of fiddles with statistics, training schemes, etc., unemployment was shown to drop month by month to 2.6 million. In the meantime the Balance of Payments went from a surplus to a deficit. Also for the first time in this country's history more manufactured goods were imported than were exported.	The Rising The launch by the Scar-Gomm Society, a housing charity for lonely people who are single, of an appeal to raise funds for research into loneliness and for training workers to specialise in this field. David Weeks, principal sychologist at the Royal Edinburgh Hospital had some startling things to say on the subject of loneliness in the research startling things to say on the subject of loneliness in this field. The declared that it had become the nation's principal emotional problem as result of the subject of loneliness. The declared that it had become the subject of the past ten years. The declared that it had become the subject of the past ten years. The declared people from social contact and created a widespread to be a social contact and created a widespread to be a social contact and created a widespread to be been been been been been been been
	· Middle East is very different from the quantum of a state

Anarchist Forum

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

1990-91 SEASON OF MEETINGS 12th October - 'What Did You Do in the Sixties Daddy?' (speaker Peter Lumsden) 19th October - Open discussion 26th October - 'Bored with Class Politics

(speaker Andrew Lainton) 2nd November - Open discussion

9th November - 'Anarchism, Deviance and Criminology' (speaker Peter Neville) 16th November - Open discussion

23rd November - 'Anarchism: the moral concern of the Left' (speaker Dave Dane) 30th November - 'Anarchism in an Ageing

7th December - 'Anarchism and Psychology' (speaker Peter Wilkinson)

14th December - 'Anarchism and Youth'

ACF

The London group of the Anarchist Communist Federation (ACF) is holding a six-week course on anarchism. All the talks begin at 8pm and are at the Marchmont Community Centre, Marchmont Street, London WC1 (Russell Square / Euston tubes). Entrance

•11 October - 'The Origins and Development of Anarchism' • 18 October - 'Anarchism, the State and

• 25 October - Bakunin versus the •1 November - 'Anarchism and

•8 November - 'Revolutionary Anarchism Today'

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EDITORIAL COMMENTS Getting the Gulf 'Crisis' into Perspective (with acknowledgement to Government Records)

TATe are always being reminded that a stinks to high heaven. Short of shredding week is a long time in politics. After all, documents the dirt comes to the surface years it's only a couple of months ago that all the later thanks to conscientious researchers and Western European powers were acclaiming to the 'serious' press which may retail their Iraq and denouncing Iran. As we write these findings, obviously depending on the political lines, Iraq is World Enemy Number One and interests of the proprietor. The Independent Thatcher's government has re-established (which we have just accused of a nonsense diplomatic relations with Iran. The headline!) gives a summary of government Independent's (28th September) front page records dealing with an earlier Gulf crisis (in sub-headline: "New friendship amid the Gulf 1958) revealing Anglo-American proposals crisis boosts hopes for Rushdie and the Beirut for Britain to invade Kuwait! hostages" is sheer nonsense. A government which made it abundantly clear that the British 'hostages/guests' in Kuwait and Iraq after the occupation of Kuwait would not influence their military decisions, if and when sanctions failed to 'bite', is surely not concerned with half a dozen British hostages in Beirut. Thatcher and Co are made of 'sterner stuff' British politics throughout the ages has been one of divide and rule. It worked when the British Empire actually existed. All that is left apart from the Falklands, Gibraltar and Hong Kong (for a few more years) are 'Rule Britannia' on the last night of the Promenade Concerts and the liberal distribution twice a year of Orders of the British Empire, medals for the mediocre citizens who share the values of our vulgar, greedy rulers.

Nivide and rule is not working among Britain's European 'allies' and in the long term it will also fail in the Middle East. Britain has a long history in the Middle East which

Anthony Bevins, in what can only be a brief summary of these archives writes, that:

"The British government, in consultation with the United States, considered the possibility of a post-Suez invasion and occupation of Kuwait, turning the controversial State into a Crown

The drastic action was mooted in 1958 - three years before independence was finally agreed — as part of an Anglo- American plan to maintain Western control over the Gulf oil fields."

In the two-day debate in the House of Commons on the Gulf crisis, Thatcher in her opening speech summed up the history as follows

'Kuwait's borders with the newly-created Iraq were drawn in 1923. They were accepted by Iraq when it became an independent state in 1932. Nonetheles Iraq resuscitated its territorial claim against Kuwait in 1961, when British protection of Kuwait came to

British forces were despatched at the request of the ruler to protect Kuwait's independence and sovereignty. They were subsequently replaced by an Arab League force. The existing border was then



(continued from page 1)

prepared to act in the way they acted to curb workers' action. On the contrary most obvious is to create confusion stroke.

The contrary is the case, yet each year we enthusiasm. hear the same story: prosperity for all is just around the corner. It's a lie and their own statistics prove it to be.

the items that came to the rescue of the the Tories back for another 'thirteen Balance of Payments were the Invisible wasted years'. Exports (income from overseas investments, insurance, travel, etc.). These too have plummeted.

significant redundancies convinces us existing institutions. that 1991 will see a massive increase in collar employees.

Tenneth Baker's announcement that re-election in 1992 rather than 1991 can members. be interpreted in a number of ways. The

the income tax on these very people was among the opposition parties as to when reduced from 70% to 40%, thereby they should launch their election presenting them with some £3 billion at a campaigns and use their limited financial resources. To assume that trickster Baker is bluffing and that elections will take Tvery year for the past four years we place in 1991 means allocating all one's Chave been assured that inflation financial resources for 1991. And then if would go down and interest rates would there are no elections until 1992, all the be reduced. Also that the balance of money and effort expended in 1991 is lost, payments would be drastically reduced. and in 1992 there is no money and less

Our view in this matter is that the government expects the financial Interest rates at 15% have now been situation to get worse and since the polls with us for exactly a year, and Mr Major show that they would lose an election now is quite clear that it won't go down, and they do the obvious and remain in office that inflation will go up before it goes until the bitter end -1992. They could down. Now of course there is the excuse then introduce a vote-catching Budget in of the Gulf crisis and the increase in oil early 1992 hoping to bamboozle the prices. Last month's Balance of Payments electorate and if they lose then, a Labour was almost treated as if things were on Government would have to, as usual, the up and up only because the deficit of introduce a series of austerity budgets £1,100 million was 'better' than the (which never affect the rich) and four or previous month's £1,700 million! One of five years later they are out of office and

TATe anarchists are not offering advice VV to the Labour Party, let alone four years for dustmen. Applicants would be Dut equally important is the fact that in suggesting that socialists should vote for required to take physical tests — the last time D the past five months, even accepting them. We are saying that all those who they were expected to be able to hump 147 the government's cooked statistics, not call themselves socialists must realise only is inflation increasing and Balance of that to participate in the electoral racket Payments showing no signs of decreasing, is a waste of time. It is simply an but unemployment figures are on the argument as to who can run the capitalist increase each month. So far they have system more efficiently. Surely socialists been at the rate of about 20,000 per want to abolish the capitalist system and month. Press reports of banks and other we can only start to do this by creating service institutions announcing our own organisations on the outside of

The House of Commons is the House of unemployment, especially among white the Establishment, the mouthpiece of capitalism, of the banks, the insurance companies, the pension funds and the multi-nationals. There nothing will ever The government would probably seek change except the faces of the club

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finally reaffirmed between Iraq and Kuwait in 1963. That is the history."

Anthony Bevins wryly comments: "Unfortunately, nothing in the world of high diplomacy and low political intrigue is ever so simple that it can be boiled down happily to one paragraph of a Margaret Thatcher speech"

onsidering the the available archives run to more than 127,000 pages in 240 volumes, and that even the eight-volume collection of facsimiles used by Mr Bevins runs to more than 5,000 pages, it is difficult to summarise but it is clear that there must be a lot of 'dirt'. The essential facts that emerge are that Britain and America were determined to maintain control in the oil-rich territories.

Anthony Bevins quotes a secret telegram on 19th July 1958 sent by Selwyn Lloyd, then



Foreign Secretary, 'cleaned and even amended' by Foster Duller, US Secretary of State, to Harold MacMillan, then Prime Minister, in which he says:

"In it, Mr Lloyd says: 'I am sure that you are considering anxiously the problems of Kuwait. One of the most reassuring features of my talks here has been the complete United States solidarity with us over the Gulf. They are assuming that we will take firm action to maintain our position in Kuwait.

They themselves are disposed to act with similar resolution in relation to the Aramco oilfields in the area of Dhahran, although the logistics are not worked out. They assume that we will also hold Bahrain and Qatar, come what may. They agree that at all costs these oilfields must be kept in Western

'The immediate problem is whether it is good tactics to occupy Kuwait against the wishes of the ruling family. The disadvantage of this course is that we will probably forfeit their goodwill and support. The labour force working in the oil area may strike.

To produce tolerable conditions for a long-term operation, we should have to take control of the whole of Kuwait and run it as a Crown Colony. For a short-term operation we could hold the oil area alone, but that would no doubt mean a Nasserite regime in the rest of Kuwait, bringing the inconveniences and pressures that happened when we held the Suez base, but not the rest of Egypt.

'I do not think that with us in the oil area the ruling family could survive in the town of Kuwait unless they endorsed hostile action against us in the oilfield. The effect upon international opinion in the rest of the Arab world would not be good. The advantage of this action would be that we would get our hands firmly on the Kuwait oil.' The Foreign Secretary concluded that it was better to keep out of Kuwait, even though British troops then converging on the Gulf 'will have to be turned

He says: 'On balance, I feel it is very much to our advantage to have a kind of Kuwaiti Switzerland where the British do not exercise physical control. Mildly pro-Egyptian sentiments from Kuwait do not matter as long as the Egyptians cannot by an Iraqi-type coup obtain control.

'If this alternative is accepted, we must also accept the need, if things go wrong, ruthlessly to intervene, whoever it is has caused the trouble'."

Iraq's justification for the invasion of Kuwait refers to a long- standing frontier (continued on page 3)

Dreaming of Being a Dustman in New York?

TAT 7 ith the opening of the frontiers of what was the Eastern-bloc countries there are millions who are dreaming of making their way to the land of free enterprise, where everybody has a motor car and the roads are paved with gold. Perhaps compared with their present conditions they will be better off ----

especially if they have some special skills. But for the proles the prospects are not all that bright. The New York Sanitation Department recently advertised 2,000 jobs over the next



An AP report from Mexico City Aestimates that Mexico received £236.8 million more than it expected in export oil revenues during the first three weeks of September. The State run Pemex exported 100,000 barrels a day more than planned at an average price of \$28.13. They were expecting only \$13 a barrel on sales of 230,000 barrels a day.

bags of simulated rubbish each weighing 64lbs into a container the same height as the back of a lorry in — wait for it! — 27 minutes! The tests also require candidates to be able to read "and understand instructions". said a funny man from the Sanitation Department, "there's no advanced calculus or trick questions" put to the applicants.

For three of us living in the backwoods and who have been supplied with wheelie-bins which require no more effort on the part of the dustman than pushing a pram — a large pram

- it is unbelievable that at the very heart of the nation that has explored the moon they are still collecting the city's rubbish in bags!

But for the would-be immigrant who can read and write, and hump 4.2 tons of rubbish by hand in 27 minutes there is another shock awaiting him: the number of applicants who were also prepared to pay the \$15 fee for the test was 101,000.

Staggered by the response, the authorities are proposing that, for the first time, a computer will randomly pick 15,000 for the physical

One of the prices the 'liberated' Eastern bloc citizens will have to pay for a market economy system is unemployment. Many are beginning to ask themselves whether they are jumping out of the frying pan into the fire.

21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

HOME & INTERNATIONAL NEWS The Poll Tax: National and Local Activity

Come indication of the political persuasion of • Rescheduled Payments — an opportunity to Brighton residents is suggested by the fact that both the town's MPs are Tories, and the Labour council adopts such Thatcherite policies as firing corporation dustmen and contracting cheap private companies instead. However, the local council's own public relations department estimates the proportion of non-payment of poll tax to be as high as 36%! 150,000 are on the poll tax register here, so is this is assumed to be a conservative estimate (pun intended) which excludes those not even registered, non-payment figures could be as high as 60.000!

As impressive as this is, other areas are now doing even better: Counter Information (well worth ordering - with a donation - from Pigeonhole CI, c/o 11 Forth Street, Edinburgh) reports non-payment figures of 60% in Lambeth, 50% in Haringey, 48% in hackney, in Norwich, Leeds and Greater Tameside 50%, 39% in Bath and 40% in Liverpool!

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Local APTUs here are looking forward to the Brighton court cases with relish. The fortnightly confrontation at Hove magistrates courts continues with some degree of success, giving us valuable experience. Time-wasting and support for non-payers remain the tactics; although in some areas many adjournments have been won, down here magistrates have stubbornly passed the buck back to the council in most cases by issuing liability orders. Non-payers and their supporters have been frustrated by the courts' insistence that pleas of poverty are 'irrelevant'(!); but even if non-payers 'lose' at this stage, councils still have a long way to go to recover debts. As you may know, the issuing of a liability order in England and Wales gives councils three options:

- Bailiffs this is largely a scare tactic. None have been sent out in Hove yet. When they do we shall be ready for them; although many people do not seem to be aware of the fact that, unlike in Scotland, bailiffs cannot get into your home unless you give them permission (though they may lie about this to intimidate you).
- Arrestment of Wages the liability order means that failure to provide the name and address of your employer is a criminal offence. At this point, workers need to organise to put pressure on employers not to comply with court orders. For nonpayers on income support, the most that can be 6DG. deducted is approximately £1.75 per week for single people and £2.75 per week for couples.

Gulf 'Crisis'

(continued from page 2)

dispute and other contentious question (Freedom, 22nd September).

The archives provide interesting material in this connection.

"One of the great bones of contention between Iraq and Kuwait has been the island of Warba, which effectively blocks Iraqi access to the port of Umm Qasr. In 1955 the British government had attempted to get Kuwait to agree to lease that island to Iraq in the eyes of the police. along with a strip of land south of the Iraq oasis town of Safwan.

That deal was rejected by the ruler of Kuwait early in 1956, even though it could have resulted in the definitive demarcation of the Iraqi-Kuwait border which was so vague that at one point, south of Safwan, it was based on the position of palm trees.

As for the disputed islands of Bubiyan and Warba, in 1908 Sheikh Mobarak, ruler of Kuwait, told the British authorities that 'the island of Warba is our property and the place of the erection of fishing nets of the people of Kuwait for two hundred years'.

first-hand evidence from fishermen on the neighbouring island of Bubiyan, one 85 year old said: 'There are no fishing nets at all on Warba island. Whoever says there are, tells lies'. The island was uninhabited and when the local Awazim use, one replied: 'It is of no use to anybody'. Such is the stuff of wars."

We have no intention of defending Saddam Hussein and his henchmen. They are no more the defenders of freedom than are the Anglo-American mafia: poachers turned gamekeepers.

waste more time!

When all this fails, the council will be able to order non-payers back to court and threaten them with jail. It seems likely that if numbers are large enough at this stage, a token payment will be sufficient to appease councils. This option is so far off that the poll tax might be abolished by then! Even so, there will still be persecutions of non-payers by councils (in Hove, rates defaulters are still going to court now!). In this case, APTUs need to organise to force councils to write off all poll tax debts.

Autonomous organisation more narrowly, the series of violent attacks on town Recently, a meeting was organised by one of the halls initiated by the general public on the months Brighton APTUs in an attempt to facilitate preceding the riot; see Freedom, 24th March 1990) communication between various Sussex anti-poll and wish to prosecute the police using the state's tax groups. This was not an attempt to impose a own apparatus? central decision-making structure upon Sussex I believe the contradiction here is more apparent APTUs — quite the opposite. It is felt by many that than real, many class-conscious members of the the Militant-dominated Sussex Federation is simply crowd did attack sections of the police too cliquey and selective in their distribution of 'unprovoked'; but, independently of this, many information. The alternative network proposed at more protesters were attacked by the police - and the meeting is not intended to boycott the fought back - without ever before having seen the Federation, but rather to be an independent forum police as the natural enemy. Class struggle for ideas and information (e.g. fundraising, tactics anarchists therefore hope that the riot opened their in court, suggestions for activity). Names and addresses were exchanged so that activists may Finally, I want to conclude by attempting once contact each other for support without going through the Fed.

One issue that came up was the fact that many APTUs are short of cash (needed for leafletting, for example). It was suggested that going round pubs with a bucket is the quickest way to raise cash; this is true — Sussex Poll tax Resisters Support Fund have been known to raise more than £100 in one night through bucket-shaking and handing out copies of our newsletter. Jumble sales were another suggestion; but gigs were universally agreed to cost more effort than they are worth. In the past this has been the case with our own group; but the last gig we organised was heavily publicised and sold out, raising more than £300 even after expenses (totalling the same) were deducted! (Thanks are due to Lenna and the Snakemen, Raiders and Star Whores).

For further information and ideas on non-Militant mediated APTU co-operation, write (with a donation) to 3D, 116 The Avenue, London N27

Marching for the right to march

The Trafalgar Square Defendants campaign (donations, affiliations, etc., to TSDC, c/o Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers, Panther House, 38 Mount Pleasant, London WC1X 0AP) have called for two days of national and international action on October 19th and 20th. It is hoped that groups will protest locally on the 19th (at cop shops, courts, poll tax offices, British embassies, etc.) and take part in a march organised on the 20th. The latter (which unfortunately clashes with the Anarchist Book Fair - the Book fair goes on until 8pm, so please come to the march first!) is being organised by the London Federation and has little relation to the 'people's' (Militant) march from Glasgow. There may be a rally or something at the end; this is not clear yet. Look out for further details or contact the TSDC or the London Fed.

The march is a protest against the poll tax and an assertion on the right to march, which the Militant-dominated National Federation seem to think is less important than trying to be respectable

The background to this march brings me to an important difference of opinion among activists on the 'Great Poll Tax Riot' of 31st March. The basic argument of the TSDC is that the police started the riot, and that protesters merely acted in collective self-defence. This perspective exemplified in the recent Channel 4 documentary 'The Battle of Trafalgar' (Tuesday 18th September at 9pm) which described the way police hemmed people in from all sides then repeatedly and 'indiscriminately' charged into them (it wasn't really 'indiscriminate' Unfortunately when British officials took as they only attacked the public, not each other!). A comrade described this programme as "whining liberalism" for reasons that have been set out very clearly in the Anarchist Communist Federation / Class War leaflet Non-Payer's Guide to the Poll tribesmen were asked whether the island was of any Tax (30p plus s.a.e. from PO Box 1QF, Newcastle Upon Tyne, NE99 1QF) and graphically described in another leaflet Poll Tax Riot: 10 hours that shook Trafalgar Square (£1 form ACAB Press, BM 8884, London WC1N 3XX). These reasons can be summarised as follows: Since the police function to protect the capitalist system, they are the enemies of the majority of the working class; to say that they

started the riot suggests that working class people are inevitably victims of their enemies' initiatives (e.g. to criminalise the anti-poll tax movement) rather than active creators of their own destiny.

Because of this, many anarchists see the riot as a minor victory for the working class majority, and claim that it was not the police but members of the working class who started it because the latter are so angry at life under capitalism.

Is this view reconcilable with that of the TSDC and others who do not necessarily look at the wider context of the riot (very broadly, the unequal economic relationship between controllers of productive capital and the working class majority;

again to highlight ideas shared by class struggle anarchists and anarchists who are less class conscious. The value of the non-payment campaign is that it encourages people to organise independently of the state; the numbers of non-payers in Scotland have increased in the second year of poll tax, not because non-payment has caused bills to go up (the flawed 'emiseration leads to revolution' argument) but because people can see others already doing it successfully! Similarly, the value of Colin Ward's examples of anarchy in action in the areas of housing, town planning and non-hierarchical organisation is that people's awareness of what similar others can do without direction from the state or well-paid professional gives them the confidence to do the same themselves (for 'similar others' you could read 'others in their class').

If the riot gave people confidence it is because they saw that we have the sense and collective strength to organise spontaneously when we want to, without the direction of powerful minorities. Awareness of the conflict of interests between 'us and them' is not always enough; we need an awareness of what we are capable of, and this comes through experience and example. It would seem. that the most successful propaganda and praxis are inextricably linked.

Johnny Yen



Thatcher's visit to Switzerland hurled manure, bottles and firecrackers at police last night.

Officers stood by with teargas as 250 anarchists and gay activists, many in Thatcher masks, went on the rampage in the capital, Berne.

Tram headlights were smashed as they rampaged through the city shouting "Thatcher go home". A band playing in the railway station fled as the mob threw beer bottles

at them. Police diverted traffic away from the city centre and told one driver "Do you want to get your bus burned?"

ing "No Poll Tax", "Maggie go to Hell" and "Freedom for Northern Ireland"

Others demanded the repeal of the law banning local government funds being used for promoting homosexual All day police stood by with barri-

cades to protect the hotel where the Prime Minister's delegation is staying - but Mrs Thatcher missed the demonstration.

She was seven miles away at a state dinner marking the first official visit to Switzerland by a British Premier, and urging her hosts to dig deeper into their wallets to help pay for the struggle in the Middle East.

Switzerland has given only a meagre £4 million to ease the plight of refugees and the front-line states.

FEATURES

More light (continued from page 5)

of Shakespeare's Globe Theatre on the South Bank it is an attempt to rehabilitate an art style They never had the honest social brutality of information, would see that the detonator to the German artists of that age and it is curious the powder keg is a barrel of oil. that the political right never seem able to Futurists in the Art Nouveau art shops in the section of the population. But at least they did visual art has formed the background of many are expounded each year at Conservative Party Conferences and the wars they glorified rage on and no-one ain't laughing.

Arthur Moyse



HRH and the NHS

(from a correspondent)

A s Charles Windsor, also known as the Prince A of Wales and reputed to be the second richest person in Britain (the first being the Queen), recovers from his recent major orthopaedic surgery in a Nottingham hospital, we wish him no harm. He has been criticised by some for not going private like most of his rich friends do so that scarce National Health resources are conserved for you and me, but praised by other for exercising his rights as a citizen who had paid his taxes and National Insurance contributions as a self-employed person! But as Orwell noted, some citizens are more equal than others. He was able to choose his hospital, a centre of excellence for his problem, and chose his surgeons — you guessed it, two internationally recognised experts. The hospital was fortunately able to accommodate his personal chef, valet and security staff in a 28-bed ward nearby, vacant because of staff shortages. The hospital spent £3,000 providing his private room with a new sofa, television and easy chairs.

His reported income of £2 million a year less 25% tax comes from the Duchy of Cornwall estates, where at least one of his tenant farmers is struggling to survive (The Guardian, 29th August). Whilst farm livestock prices have risen only modestly, this farmer has seen his rent rise from £200 per year in 1980 to £3,000 now. But at least he is now connected to the mains electricity - until just three years ago he would have had to rely on battery television and radio to follow the many reports of his landlord's health.

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Arms Bizarre

The Middle East has long been regarded by experts as the powder keg of the world. Yet Western powers have been, and are still, that had its small moment and like the cubism | at an increasing rate, supplying its constituent that fed off it is no more. History failed them | states with arms and military expertise. To an for they were to be the visual interpreters of unsophisticated observer, such as a child, this Italian fascism with their demand for more odd behaviour would prompt the question: speed, machines, and in the final greater glory, Why? After all, these Western arms dealers war, war, war. They came into being, one | are all members of a United Nations could type, in 1909 with the poet Tommaso organisation which professes not only to be Marinetti's manifesto, The founding and dedicated to peace, but to a Charter which is a manifesto of futurism and always it was speed, tacit condemnation of the regimes which hold machines and physical muscle and the Italian sway in that part of the world, like Kuwait and middle class of the period lapped it up until the Saudi Arabia, which do not even profess to be 1914-18 warkilled the laughter and the cheers. democracies. Even a child, given the

Things were complicated enough before the produce any valid work of art for all art is 1939-45 war, when all the nations were revolt against an accepted way of life until it making and breaking alliances and pacts like gets sucked in, see Monet and the Royal bookies hastily hedging their bets when a Academy. You will find the sculptures of the racehorse suddenly endears itself to a large side streets of London's Bond Street. Their not arm their possible adversaries to the teeth in the process. We now have a situation where Italian airline posters and their political beliefs it will be a question of which side has got the most Exocets, nerve gas, tanks and planes, all supplied by the permanent, veto-wielding members of the United Nations Security



aristocracy and landed gentry? Have they capital gains and inheritance taxes, reduced to living in the servants' quarters whilst we traipse around the main rooms, having paid our two quid to the National Trust, allowed to look at but not touch the furniture and treasures?

Of Britain's 93,174 square miles of land surface, the state and public bodies control about fifteen per cent. This includes five per cent used by the Forestry Commission to produce those coniferous deserts and one per cent churned up into mud by Ministry of Defence tanks. One per cent belongs to the National Trust who are not above selling off bits to the MoD for more tank practice or another firing range.

In a property-owning democracy with two thirds of households owning their own mortgage you might suppose that control of the other eighty five per cent of land is widely distributed. But reality, as usual, is different. Marion Shoard in This Land is Our Land quotes a survey which concluded dukes and marquesses, viscounts, earls, barons, baronets and the royal family owned over thirty one per cent of the land with 200 (over two thirds) each averaging eight square miles and concludes that now, twenty years later, the situation is likely to be little different.

The Sunday Times (16th September) in its survey of Britain's 400 richest people who between them own 6,875 square miles, or seventeen square miles each, found that 103 are aristocrats, 78 with a seat in the House of Lords, and 80 gave their occupation as land-owning! Of their total wealth of £54.3 billion, one third is in the hands of large landowners. Plenty here for the one third of householders who are landless.

Strangely absent from this list are the major industrialists of the nineteenth and

18

In a capitalist country ownership gives twentieth centuries who made their control, so who owns the land in Britain? fortunes turning British northern towns Not easy to find out, because although a into smoke polluted slums. Because in central register is kept, its contents are Britain no bourgeois revolution displaced secret. Leaving aside that no- one actually the land-owning class, the old country owns land, only the freehold, defined as a estates remained intact. These property free of duty except to the crown, industrialists achieved their socially how much is still owned by the old upward mobility by aping not replacing the existing establishment. This involved them not all been dispossessed by death duties, in acquiring their own land, sending their sons to Oxbridge to study classics instead of engineering and marrying their daughters into old money. Some economists attribute the decline of the capitalist competitiveness of British industry this century to the time these 'captains' spent hunting, shooting and fishing. All this was made easier by the agricultural depression towards the end of the last century when much land went out of cultivation and rural workers were forced to the towns to find work; in the phrase of the time, the pheasant displaced the peasant. So old money joined new money, both became richer and the aristocracy and landed gentry kept much of their political power. These industrialist families may not be among the 400 wealthiest but I doubt that any need income support The intelligentsia of late Victorian escape the grimy towns and return to the

England also joined the movement to that in 1967 a hard-core of titled families countryside. Writers and artists, John Ruskin, William Morris and Edward Carpenter prominent among them, advocated a return to an imagined pastoral tranquillity. But it was mainly the middle classes in the south who responded, using industrial money to move out of London into the Surrey hills, creating a picture-postcard parody of Robert Blatchford's Merrie England. For the industrial workers of the northern towns, tied to the factory floor for six days a week by the need to make a living, escape

was not so easy; except on Sundays. Then with bicycle or on foot they left behind the pollution and made for the purer air of the surrounding moors, often to find access to much of it denied by those who had got there first or had never left. But that is another story. HS

Council. Once upon a time we could say 'It's all right, it's one of ours' - now we have also to check which way it is going. If Israeli Spitfires could shoot down at least four British Spitfires (yes, it is a fact) during the Israeli-Arab war, what the hell is likely to happen in the Middle East now.

Despite all attempts by Western powers to justify their actions on moral grounds, the only 'principle' operating in Middle East politics is oil. So important is that commodity to the United States that if the choice has to be made between Muslim and Jew, Israel will have to go to the wall. The Jewish leaders must be aware of that simple truth, and are understandably alarmed at US and British plans to sell millions of pounds worth of arms to their sworn enemies, ostensibly to counter the supposed threat from Iraq.

What if these events are all part of a NTot a day passes without some 'discovery' acquire arms, with which they could confidently square up to Israel? What a devilish plot! If only Balfour were alive to witness it! Oh that Rommel and Monty could see their old battlegrounds now, awash with tanks and guns and planes, with not one German or British Commander in sight!

In his book The Seven Sisters, written fifteen

21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

years ago, Anthony Sampson ended with these words: "... the insatiable consumption of the West is putting [Middle East] nations, particularly Saudi Arabia, in an impossible position with regard to their internal and external politics; and the only effective escape from a future oil crisis will not lie with increased Middle Eastern production, but with more serious Western conservation and economies. The real lesson of the crisis can only be: we have met the enemy — it is us." EFC

A Racket a Day **Does Not Keep** the Dentist Away

stage-managed scheme thought up by Islam to which is going to revolutionise either the quality of life, life expectancy, not to mention all the schemes which will ensure that we all become millionaires in no time.

> All these 'discoveries' are primarily intended to make their exponents millionaires in the first place. Then it's up to you to follow. There is no shortage of qualified people to lend their names and prestige to these rackets, assisted by the media. A perfect example appeared in The Independent on 24th September

Toothpaste could end decay

A new generation of toothpastes, available within the next two years, will virtually eradicate tooth decay, according to a leading dental scientist.

Dr George Stookey, research dean at the Indiana University School of Dentistry, said extensive trials in the United States had proved that the new toothpastes – which combine fluoride and anti-microbial agents - are more than twice as effective as fluoride preparations.

Dr Stookey, who has been attending a dental conference in Newcastle upon Tyne, said: "Good oral hygiene, the use of these new toothpastes and regular visits to the dentist should mean that tooth decay can be all but eliminated."

The headline means nothing. 'Could' also means 'could not'. The first paragraph quotes the "leading dental surgeon" as saying that this magic toothpaste will "virtually eradicate tooth decay". 'Virtually' = 'possibly' and possibly can also mean that in fact it will not eradicate tooth decay.

The second paragraph is less optimistic. Our "leading dental surgeon" only claims that the new toothpastes "are more than twice as effective as fluoride preparations". How effective are fluoride preparations? If one is not mistaken, when they were introduced that was another 'revolution' in the toothpaste racket!

The third paragraph brings us all back to earth. "Good oral hygiene", says Doctor Stookey, is essential (as if we needed a research dean at the Indiana University to come all this way to tell us). And since he was addressing a dental conference in Newcastle not surprisingly he advocated "regular visits to the dentist". If you observe those two routines combined with "use of these new toothpastes . . . should mean that decay can be all but eliminated".

READERS' PAGE

Department of **Steamed-Open Letters**

reedom has discovered a friend who works in the Government Secret Service Department which is responsible for intercepting and steaming open any suspect mail. He has undertaken to pass anything of interest to us.

Dear de Courcy,

N

NLESS HARDENED

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I am absolutely delighted that the Gulf crisis during the debate at the House immediately glasnost period simply because it was politic to do so. I also thought that the vast majority of the electorate would be thinking along the on. But now that the Gulf crisis has underlined the wisdom of maintaining the Services -

even at a slightly reduced level — I am quite prepared to put appropriate questions at Prime Minister's Question Time once Parliament is in full swing.

There is no doubt about it, the sight of our stalwart troops embarking for action overseas does persuade the electorate that Britain remains a force to be reckoned with. I am sure was most distasteful not only to the electorate van. but also to any relatives who might see such aware of human feelings.

old British tradition.

increases to foot the armaments and Forces much for the right to a solicitor. have done this before.

exile in London. They are said to have assets | waiting for the trial. of one thousand billion — I realise that this

sure that the Gulf crisis can be further prolonged. I estimate that if it goes on until power. Christmas or beyond, then we are bound to make a profit out of it.

One other point: the glamour of serving i the Gulf at this time should not be overlooked already been discussed, but I am not sure about as a propaganda point in armed forces Cecil Parkinson's stance. This would, of recruitment policy. The intake between April course, materialise in our next term in office. and June of this year totalled a measly 7,457, but already I see it as a bumper opportunity for has finally demonstrated the good sense of but the number of people leaving came to shareholders to cash in on what amounts to a maintaining our forces at full strength. As you 10,183. In the guarter in guestion the total goldmine. We have already discussed the know, I did support armed forces reductions strength fell to 303,111. We need to do a damn possibility of obliging the haulage companies sight better than this, taking into account that to use certain stretches of what will eventually after the Berlin wall fell and throughout the throughout the Gulf crisis we will have to become toll roads, and now that the railway operate what amounts to a shuttle service in system is unable to cope with much freight order to replace the chaps who are suffering well, draw your own conclusions. from the beastly heat, which can rise to 120 same lines. Swords into ploughshares and so degrees farenheit. Our lads are not built for it, there most evenings for a convivial drink. Join and I think that we can expect a high number me. We can discuss all these matters in greater of casualties due to heat- related complaints. depth. Looking at the overall situation, I do believe Yours enow,

that the Gulf crisis will on the whole provide a



witnesses of my arrest. I find it pretty weird T am one of a number of people who were that my case came up so soon and can only that we all have vivid memories of national arrested during the anti poll tax march on figure out that the Brixton authorities got my morale during the Falklands skirmish. As you 31st March 1990. I was accused of kicking and case brought up because of the picket. know, I did not fully approve of the television punching a police van and was taken to Bow I was wearing an 'Okay, who framed the coverage of the action itself. The sight of our | Street Police Station where I was told I would lads with their limbs in shreds, limping about, be charged with malicious damage to a police take it off as it might influence the jury! The disappeared. Good riddance.

I asked to see a doctor who came a couple of sights. It is time the TV companies were made hours later. I had cuts and bruises on my hands and face. I told the doctor that I thought the big It is not impossible that Tom King will have toe of my left foot was broken where the police to revise the defence estimates, which were van had rolled over it. I asked him to have a severely cut during the Defence Estimates | look at it but he declined. I told him it was Committee hearings. Indeed, I would advise really painful and I asked him to write it down him to do so, because we now have proof — in his notes, which he said he would do. if proof were needed — that keeping our guard | However, when it came to the trial he said that up at all times is absolutely vital. It is a good I had never mentioned it to him! I asked the sergeant for a solicitor and to have somebody This need not lead unavoidably to any tax informed of my arrest, which I was refused. So

bill, although we always hide the real facts and The day after I was arrested I was charged figures in various ways during the run-up to with malicious damage, to which I made no the next election, and later reveal the true cost reply, but was also charged with violent under the heading of 'revised estimates'. We disorder to which I replied "It's a stitch up!". The police wrote no reply and threw me back What I would suggest is that we get as much in the cell. The next day I was taken to Bow money as possible out of the financially obese | Street Magistrates Court where I finally got a Kuwait government which is at present in solicitor. I ended up in custody for four months

One week before I went to court I was told figure takes your breath away, but it is by my solicitor that my case would not be up nevertheless true, due to the accumulated oil until September or October. About five days revenues prior to the Gulf crisis. They cleverly | later, Sunday 22nd July, the Trafalgar Square salted it away on the London markets. They | Defence Campaign staged a picket outside have already offered to consider our figures as | Brixton Prison where I was being held. The far as the supply of air, sea and land operations picket was for people like me who had been are concerned, and almost regardless of the arrested as a result of the march. Two days outcome, they will reimburse the British after the picket I was brought to court for my government. If they were to argue the point | case to be heard. I should not have been in





tip-top booster to the Tory party image as we steam towards the next General Election. You may have noticed that the TUC Annual Conference got off to a remarkably poor start with Willis and Scargill exchanging insults in public. It shows Labour for what it is, but we should be charitable and appreciate that they, too, are helping us towards a further term in

Speaking of which, I would like you to keep me informed vis-a-vis the proposal to privatise at least part of the motorway system. It has

I hope to see you at the club next week. I am

Poll Tax Prisoner

rabbit' logo t- shirt, but the judge told me to evidence against me was six police officers stating what I had done, which was, according capitalists, their parties and the markets they to them, "lead a crowd of 30-50 people in attacking a police van"! The police said that I ran up to the van and kicked it and tried to punch it. However they had already said that the van was barely moving because the road was jammed solid with people - how, therefore, could I run at the van?

The police said that I was of "scruffy appearance" and was dressed like an anarchist! The trial lasted for three days in all. The prosecution told my barrister that he knew it was a fit up, but he had to do his job. The judge summed up and might as well have told the jury to find me guilty!

By the time I had said a few words to my barrister the jury were back with the verdict. They must have just had a smoke and said that's enough time, he's guilty! I couldn't believe it, fifteen minutes for a jury to reach their verdict! I think once the jury heard it was the poll tax riot, I was guilty!

The judge got the prosecution to check up and see if anybody else had been brought to trial for the same thing, but it appeared that I was the first. The judge then told me that he was going to make an example of me, which he sure enough did. I got sentenced to two him "thanks"! years for violent disorder and nine months for malicious damage to be served concurrently. The prosecution then asked for £500 when we produce an interim bill, then I am | court as the TSDC were still trying to contact compensation but the judge told me he

News from the Isle of Man

The Isle of Man has in the last few years been taken over lock, stock and barrel by the money men of the banks, insurance companies and socially useless tax dodgers and yuppies.

To walk around Douglas, the main town on the island, is to walk past rows of banks of the 'financial sector' that produce nothing but the wasted efforts of builders who more than likely knocked down a house to make a hideous office block for bank workers to waste their days in.

If things change on the economic front, politically it is very conservative. The island has never changed its law on homosexuality so what the local papers call 'gay sex' is a criminal act. But due to a ruling of the European Court, if the island's parliament Tynwald doesn't change the law the UK government will do it for them. So much for Tynwald.

In the past hanging and birching have been kept in law but not in use.

There is a lot of resentment felt by Manx people, so it came as no surprise when Manx Nationalists set fire to houses built for rich new residents.

Political parties do exist here but they tend to be weak. There is a Manx Labour Party and Mec Vannin, the Manx Nationalist Party. Mec Vannin means 'sons of man' in Manx Gaelic. There was a Conservative Party and a branch of the CPGB but these seem to have

We could live a lot better without all the worship

Peter Christian



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wouldn't impose that on me, for which I told

Robert Robinson (a.k.a. Simon O'Reilly) RA 0741, Camp Hill Prison, Newport, Isle of Wight

POLITICAL PRISONERS & 'JUSTICE'

Southern Ireland's Longest Serving Prisoners

Marie Murray is now in her sixteenth year behind bars, which makes her the longest serving woman prisoner in Irish history. Along with her husband, Noel, they are currently the longest serving prisoners in the southern state.

Despite efforts to gain their release, by friends and family, and a limited public campaign early in 1990, the Department of Justice shows no sign of responding to calls for at least a release date. As a Noel, has also been released. consequence, the 'Friends of the Murrays' in Dublin and Belfast have decided to relaunch the campaign.

Out of sight, out of mind

Marie and Noel were convicted in 1975 in the non-jury Special Criminal Court for the murder of an off-duty Garda, Michael Reynolds. Initially they were sentenced to hang, and spent six months in the death cell. But the sentences were overturned on appeal in Noel's case, and on retrial in Marie's case, and they were given 'Life'

The Murrays have made several attempts to improve their conditions, but have run up against delays. In 1986 the High Court turned down a request for 'Conjugal Rights' under the constitution, despite being ably presented by Nobel Peace Prize Winner, Sean McBride -Noel and Marie are still awaiting the

appeal four years later. In 1987, they petitioned the Minister

for Justice for release, 'distancing themselves from subversive organisations', as required under Ministry protocol. They are still awaiting a response.

In early 1990, both Noel and Marie were interviewed by Dr Ken Whitaker, who heads the Sentence Review Body. He made his recommendation to the Minister for Justice, Ray Burke, and again, a decision is still awaited.

Other releases

The Sentence Review Board was established in 1989 to make recommendations to the Department of Justice on long-term to prisoners who have served over seven

prisoners. It is recognised that 'Life' in the south of Ireland is on average eight years and eight months.

As a result of interviews and recommendations, several long-term prisoners have been released. These include two men who were convicted for the killing of Senator Fox, and who had served sixteen years. Another prisoner convicted for the killing of Captain Nairac, and who was imprisoned two years after Marie and

Circumstances

Marie, 42, and placed in Mountjoy Prison, has done much to prevent being 'irrevocably institutionalised', a phrase used by Dr Whitaker in a comment on the danger



members in Gibraltar in 1988 produced the usual crop of platitudes and political strike. bravado, not least from the Governor's office. Banalities were bandied by the Governor such as that the shooting "showed there was no hiding place for terrorists".

When it was discovered that no bomb had been planted and the dead IRA members were unarmed, the Governor's office declared it was "devastated". And yet, neither the Governor nor the police had troubled to evacuate people close to the suspected car bomb because, as they later claimed, they did not want to alert the terrorists.

Sir Peter Terry, the now ex-Governor of Gibraltar, who last month was shot while at puzzle, had an eventful term of office in Gibraltar between 1985 and November 1989. He had not only the SAS shootings and the inquests into the three dead terrorists to contend with: May 1986 saw massive industrial unrest on the Rock in which the local police failed to protect the shipyard bosses who left Gibraltar in fear for their lives, some never to return. At that time the

salesman on Main Street. Yet I doubt if the reporters who made the "man of peace". remark ever questioned anyone on Gib beyond Sir Peter's circle of cronies in the Masonic Lodge (one of many on Gib) he attended. home in Staffordshire doing a crossword The press speculated last month as to his where it has always lain — in the hands of one possible role in the SAS operation against the man, the Governor." But how was such a IRA in 1988. Joe Bossano, the present Chief Governor selected? The Times of 1946 states: Minister of Gibraltar, in an interview in El Pais shortly after the SAS shootings, said the the appointment of a general whose army killings had not features as an issue in the career had earned him a high appointment or Gibraltar General Election, which took place a baton, for neither of which a vacancy after the incident because, he claimed, all existed". matters of defence and foreign policy were the responsibility of colonial power. That is Governor had considered using the military to Britain, or rather Britain as represented on the



The System of 'Justice' in England

For several years I went to Marseille to do England today seems to similar to those I my scientific research and looked at depicted by Dumas. That is, policemen and places of interest such as the hotel in which Louise Michel died. It was impossible to avoid the tourists who visit the Chateau d'If, located on its island outside the harbour and attracted partly because of the novel The Count of Monte Cristo. This led me to watch a re-run of a film version on the television recently.

nineteenth century and describes how the hero is unjustly imprisoned in the Chateau d'If after an anonymous accusation about a letter which he was carrying. His imprisonment served to safeguard the father of the magistrate and bring him to the notice of his superiors, after this his success was certain.

In the unlikely continuation, the hero escapes and discovers a treasure which enables him to revenge himself on those responsible for his plight. However, the combination of greed and graft depicted in Paris is very similar to present-day England.

It is even more remarkable that false imprisonment is so commonplace in England today. Although the victims sometimes receive some compensation, I don't know any who have become wealthy enough to attack the system, they have to rely on the efforts of others.

The reasons for this common practice in

judges are promoted and prosper.

Perhaps the conditions of imprisonmen have improved very slightly since those days, but with Strangeways so recent they have obviously not improved enough. Nearly. 100 years after these fictitious events, the Dreyfus | this month, and we're expecting a flood of The novel is set in the first half of the case led to a great agitation by Emile Zola, Anatole France and others.

> There are too many recent cases in England, such as the Birmingham Six and the Guildford are handing out some really hefty sentences. Four and many others sent to jail because they were Irish. In these cases, reading the socalled forensic evidence was enough to realise that there was no valid case. Among the many other cases, there are the victims of have to make the payouts too small to be Broadwater Farm, sent to jail because they were black and lived at the scene of a riot.

An elderly judge inadvertently revealed his thoughts when he said that it was better to execute people so that they could not complain, whether or not they were guilty. In | Square Defence Campaign also needs funds | Penguin Island it is related to how one minister thought it best to have no evidence because once evidence is examined you find that it has been faked. Meanwhile, the lawyers and their masters become fat.

Norman



FREE THE MURRAYS

years. She is currently studying for an MA, after taking Leaving Certificate exams, and a university degree (the first prisoner to do do in the south). She has won an award for her writing and had a short story published in the Irish Times.

Noel, in Limerick Prison, keeps in close contact with his elderly parents. Paddy Murray is 85 years old, but is unable to visit regularly since a heart attack in 1988. Bee Murray, who is 77, has carried on a letter writing campaign, and like most relatives of prisoners, herself feels under sentence.

Campaign

An International Day of Protest has been called for October 10th. In London we are

The shooting by the SAS of three IRA counter the shipyard strike, the street demonstrations and a threatened general

Air Chief Marshall Sir Peter Terry made his career in the RAF, joining as an apprentice in 1945. One of the press platitudes last month had it that he was regarded on the Rock as a "man of peace who promoted poetry recitals". cultural backwater, and the recitals of Shakespeare's sonnets at the Garrison Library offered a middle class retreat from the video

Poll Tax Riot Support Group (PTRSG)

Progress Report

Tt's been five months now since the Trafalgar Square demonstration and in that time we've collected £1,160 in cheques and £295.30 in cash and POs to help defendants with hardship. But we still need your help!

We have so far helped two people and are i the process of helping three others. However, many cases are due to go through the courts letters over the next few weeks. We're concerned that we may run out of money before we can help - especially those who end up, or are already, in prison. The courts We seem to be hearing from the most serious cases — people with more simple problems appear to be getting help from their friends and

local anti-poll tax groups. We don't want to useful.

So please, if you haven't already done so, send a donation made out to PTRSG. If you have sent a donation, consider sending another. Also, don't forget that the Trafalgar for its campaigning work. The events of 31st March have not gone away by a long straw. Thanks for your help.

> c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street London E1 7QX

holding a picket outside the Irish Embassy from 12.30pm to 2.00pm.

We will also host a public meeting in Conway Hall on October 30th at 7.30pm with creche). Come to both.

Ne are also continuing a letter-writing campaign and ask you to write to: Ray Burke, Minister for Justice, 72

Stephens Green, Dublin Ireland, and The Irish Ambassador, Irish Embassy, 17 Grosvenor Place, London SW1.

Affiliation to the campaign is £3 unwaged, £5 waged, £15 organisations. We welcome donations, and any other offers of help. Write to: Free the Murrays, c/o Tenants Corner, 48a Oval Mansions, Vauxhall St, London SE11.

Rock, at the time, in the person of Sir Peter Terry the Governor.

Given that Gibraltar has a Gibraltarian Parliament and Chief Minister, what is the role of the Governor? Historically the Governor of Gibraltar was almost a power unto himself in the colony. Indeed many of the Governors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries didn't regard Gibraltar as a colony at all but rather as a fortress upon which civilians were allowed to live and work. During the nineteenth century several Governors clashed with the It is the case that Gibraltar is something of a growing Gibraltarian merchant class over the rival interests of the military garrison with those of the traders.

John D. Stewart, an Ulsterman and a Protestant, writing of the political situation in Gibraltar in 1950 claimed: "It is evident that at this stage . . . in spite of the semblance of democracy, of representation of local interests and opinions, all power lies fairly and squarely "The method of selection of the Governor, by

Sir Peter had already had a high appointment as former Deputy Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, but the Gibraltar job was probably offered as a cushy Mediterranean prelude to retirement. Toy-town pomp and ceremony; the freemasons; poetry recitals at the Garrison Library; golf at Spanish Sotogrande; not a bad way to wind down into the autumn of life.

Despite some cosmetic changes in the Constitution the Governor still retains power to determine all but the most local matters. This was what Joe Bossano's comment to El Pais implied. Though the Governor was not involved at the Coroner's inquest proceedings, it is certain he was in on the SAS operation in 1988. It is generally held that he was at the final briefing of the SAS the night before the then IRA suspects were shot dead. There is also some speculation that he was the linkman for MI5 intelligence in London.

Of the rank of Governor, J.D. Stewart says: "Governors come and go: in my ten years on the Rock I served under four of them, and they were only distinguishable by their physical differences". If only people knew, says Talleyrand, of the smallness of the men who rule over them. And yet, the wounding of Sir Peter is seen by some in the press as a "propaganda coup in IRA terms".

The real significance of the shooting of the ex-Governor was not lost on the Prime Minister as she faltered and ejaculated the phrase "guerrilla warfare" in response to media questioning about the event. If the IRA can hit an ex-Governor — why not an ex-Prime Minister. Mrs Thatcher in planning a retirement in which she will be forever looking over her shoulder, can't be viewing The PTRSG Group the prospect very cheerfully after last month. Brian Bamford



Seeing in the Dark edited by ian breakwell and paul hammond

Serpent's Tail, £10.99 This is the age when we are living on too

scars. Of our culture, of our politics, yea even could not accept. another major Royal Academy crowd-pulling exhibition when the PR circus has conned the heavy breathers into believing that a surfeit of Chinese white on the palette and onto the canvas giving the 'impression' of shimmering light is work of major importance. Like unto Chinese watercolour paintings it is no more than insubstantial reflections caught by by Michael Bakunin flowing waters. But don't blame Monet, or the translated and edited with a biographical check-out counters of the Royal Academy, sketch by K.J. Kenafick just question your own values in relation to Freedom Press, 64 pages, £1.50 (post free) five hundred years of Western art in relation to pleasant trivia.

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But the Town and his weary wife are happy for like me they have found pleasure in an age when the darkness of the cinema gave thought.

whorehouses or abandoned shops within a their trade. many tales told by old men flaunting their jungle of slums that saved us from a world we There is so much pleasure in these short

a glory that never can be repeated, but let the dredged up through the State's educational society the one single avenue of escape. young not sulk for you in your turn will lie, system our taste was not too bad. It is pleasure



Marxism, Freedom and the State

about the downfall of a communist government? And what will they put in its Then asked how anarchism differs from place? Another government? "After a brief Marxism, the anarchist inevitably turns moment of liberty or revolutionary orgy, to the writings of Bakunin, for it was in his breakwell and hammond's compendium of attacks on Marx and his followers in the First citizens of a new State, they will awake to find cinemagoing. It is a book of essays, short International that Bakunin crystallised the themselves slaves, playthings and victims of pieces and vignettes collected from a wide cast theory of modern anarchism, in combining a new power-lusters", wrote Bakunin. The six chapters of this book cover the nature and, one prays, for a wide audience and the philosophy of human liberty with the theory of human liberty; Marxist ideology; the State book deserves it. This is an age when a of socialism. But here the problem is that and Marxism; internationalism and the State; generation has grown to adulthood with Bakunin never produced a full-scale book in social revolution and the State; and political television as part of their way of life. They his lifetime, so that it is useful to have a short action and the workers. may sneer at it but they cannot contemplate a anthology made from his copious and often society without it for as the American ham repetitive writings, and one welcomes this the nature of human liberty and how it philosopher wrote, the media is the message, reprint in which the main points of Bakunin's manifests itself in society. He distinguishes and god knows what that means. Almost all of thought are accompanied by an account of his between freedom and egoism or individualism those who have contributed to this book are of life and the philosophical influences on his in that no one can be free in isolation, one's

"Give me a fiver and sign here." The solicitor waited while I produced the money, scribbled my name on the document, then shook my hand. up. "That makes you a co-partner in the smallest housing association in the country."

The six houses in two terraces of three each were not yet built. The three co-partners scarcely knew each other. I had found them through a list issued by the Central Housing Corporation. One was a solicitor, the other was a surveyor. They had discovered a parcel of disused market garden land in the posh part of Blackheath with its own private operation. entrance, and they thought it could hold six three-bedroomed houses.

The Housing Corporation, a kind of quango of the time, said they needed a third co-partner before a mortgage on the land and the building scheme itself could be issued. That was why I joined them. I had landed a Civil Service job in London, but due to high rents and a heavy mortgage on property several prices were being segmented. A lot of properties in behind me. Blackheath meant that we could all be market. Prices were being manipulated, despite together.

The land cost £10,000 and the houses were built the buyers. at around £7,500 each. Remaking the private road If — and it is a hell of a big if — the many came to £5,000. This happened about 20 years ago, hundreds of housing associations around the Housing Corporation. Each of us now had a house, government-squeezed Housing Corporation, it garage and a small garden. We let the other three would be possible to buy many of these empty houses within a couple of months, and formed a properties and accommodate the homeless at management committee on which every tenant was economic, non-profit-making rents. But the notion a serving member. It was painless, pleasant, and is, admittedly, full of thorns. In the last few years there were no disagreements because everybody the government has systematically refused to accept was absolutely equal. None of us could actually buy Housing Corporation estimates, making it virtually the houses. They had to be rented. On leaving this impossible to fund new schemes. A few have been housing history." vest-pocket housing association each member was completed, such as the upgrading of some of the old entitled to a proportion of the capital appreciation Peabody Estates in London, but there is nothing like sum, which accumulated out of the invested residue the former tidal wave of activity. Most of the the landscape of Britain? of rents after the group mortgage was paid.

Colin Ward would have applauded our enterprise. they are totally inadequate when measured against His new book, consisting of ten rousing lectures on the known needs. call at a time when new housing seems to be crusader. The ten lectures in Talking Houses, based confined to Georgian-style executive homes in on 45 years of investigation and observation, are the free)

select little enclaves on the outskirts of towns where business parks and industrial estates have sprung.

A house for a fiver

Council housing is a dead duck. Few local authorities are able to build new houses or properly maintain existing properties. The Labour Party is following the ancient and threadbare line to the effect that if they get into power (it is time political parties stopped talking about 'power') they will build god knows how many houses every year. As Colin Ward says, they make it sound like a military

The country now is awash with empty properties of every description. At the lower end of the scale you can pick up a small terraced house in the north of England for as little as £18,000. As for the top . . well, shortly before many of the parasitic end. estate agents were forced to prune their dubious business activities, it became apparent that inflated

existing projects are simply refurbishments, and

BOOK REVIEWS

being raped while a film was showing, and this was the Golden Age of the Cinema. Denis does not lie, for in a tatty cinema by an escape from a life that for too many was Hammersmith Broadway in the 1930s I recall mean, narrow and vicious. From the prison of dividing my envious attention between the the factory, from the wastelands of the streets, screen and the two or three prostitutes who it was the cinema that offered relief to the during the showing of a film would take their mind. The cinemas built like fantasy customers into the women's lavatory to ply

essays for one either says I remember, I of our wars, it is not only 'time with a gift of On late night television they run and rerun remember, or God was it really like that, but tears' but brawls that have become legends of those ancient films and we realise that though in the ghastly twenties and thirties it was for a

Of this book I would have liked the net to with toothless gums and rheumy eye, of the all the way through this book with Denis have trawled in more odder types such as the to view the pretty trivia that is Monet and it is masturbating male customers with a different autobiographical statement by each of the

price scale and of two unfortunate usherettes contributors that is a work of art in its own right, such as "Therese Eiben lives in NYC where she spends much of her time in the dark", "Maggi Hambling paints in her studio next door to Giovanna Cooper", "Charlie Holmes is a friend of Les Coleman's", "Lawrence Upton ardently supports European monetary union" or "Vieanne Lyle has a parrot named Abu who breakfasts daily on toast and marmalade". This is the book reviewed on television, long quotations in The Statesman but for me what makes it worth £10.99 are two marvellous vignettes on pages 30 and 136. Pleasure indeed.

But the world must continue to suffer as the Town and his Free Bus Pass toting frau lightfoot it to that last refuge of the Empire, age of heropersons 1990 and let history Norden leading the pack. He tells of a front Kray twins or a few Soho types or National South Kensington and the Accademia Italiana forgive you. For the Town and his gouty frau row of women breast feeding their babies, Front heavies, for somehow one feels that one at 24 Rutland Gate, SW7, for the exhibition of it is the Free Bus Pass into the past as they women's lib, you're so late into history, of toss knows what the established figures will say, 'Futurism in Flight'. It is an exhibition of a trudge to the Royal Academy to join the queue off Kate who went from row to row but it is pleasure for all that. There is a short talent that led nowhere and like the digging up (continued on page 6)

Anarchism v Marxism

The book appears in a striking new jacket in black on red showing a photograph of a crowd of people, presumably in some Eastern European country, under the statue of Lenin. What can they be doing — are they bringing

stuff to make anybody with a need for practical action to get up and get going. But here and there you may disagree with his contentions. He applauds the dissolution of the GLC. He does not think that local authorities should directly provide housing. But apart from the housing association principle, who is to be responsible for this basic human need? Speculative builders? Developers? Central government itself? Absolutely not! What he does favour is the co-operative, and he cites a number of interesting and practical examples of self-build co-ops. One of his much admired administrative models is the Swiss commune. Although he does not say so, here in Britain it should be possible for self-build groups to enter into partnership with polytechnic building technology departments, utilising their banks of know-how. It need not cost a penny, because it could be integrated into the syllabus. And again, regional development agencies now have ready access to European Community funds. Already, many millions of pounds have been forthcoming in the shape of improvement grants.

themselves. There will be muddle and confusion, hence the prices. All the money was put up by the country were able to raise funds via the duplication of effort, wasted cash and misappropriation of funds. But what makes you think this hasn't happened in the days of big, public

James Lawton

radical housing policy, should become a rallying Colin Ward is a bold and mentally muscular (Colin Ward, Talking Houses: ten lectures, published by Freedom Press, 142 pages, £5 post as prophetic.

own freedom is bound up with that of others. He rejected the concept of rights and duties which he considered to have a religious origin, and a major part of his writing is to show religion as idealised authority. He denies that abstract theory can be the starting point of human emancipation. If that were so, then as the theoretical knowledge is possessed only by a few, there would be the need for an élite to direct popular movements, and this élite would lead the masses back to slavery.

In Marx's State, although there will be no economically privileged class there will be the reign of 'scientific intelligence', a new minority ruling class, a new hierarchy, and Bakunin shows this cult of the State to be a feature of all Marx's writings and activities.

Bakunin was concerned with the question of Marx is, like Bismarck, a 'German patriot' and to reconcile his nationalism with his internationalism he must see Germany as a progressive State. But Bakunin denies that the most advanced capitalist States are those most capable of social revolution. Marx takes no account of factors other than the economic, and so thinks that the wretched conditions of the masses is not to be blamed on the nature of the State. Moreover, to Marxists the working class means the upper layer of the workers, "the least socialist, the most individualist" part, and he had a contempt for 'the rabble'.

> Bakunin on the other hand looks to "the instinct of revolt" against authority, and he sees this as being more or less developed in different races or peoples according to the extent to which they have been conquered politically. He considers it a fatal error to suppose that a political revolution must precede a social revolution, that socialism can be introduced by new political parties, and warns that the Marxian programme will lead to tyranny.

Bakunin knew both Marx and Proudhon and Kenafick claims that "his system consists of Proudhonian politics and Marxian economics", and one must bear in mind when Despite his assertion that he has nothing new to reading Bakunin that he and Marx shared a lot hundred miles away, I was forced to leave a family excess of £100,000 suddenly appeared on the say, Colin Ward is a staunch guide to what is of ideas. He never abandoned his admiration possible. He says that what he wants to see is "not for Marx's economics and he shared with him high interest rates and wholesale stagnation among a mass solution, but a mass of small, local, (and it was a feature of the thought of the time) small-scale solutions that draw upon the a belief in the class struggle, and in a kind of involvement, the ability and the ingenuity of people historical evolution in which mankind marches on to a glorious future.

> Although much of his thinking on anarchism has been modified by later writers such as solutions? It will be nothing compared with the Kropotkin and Malatesta, in view of this it is enormous waste of money and resources in the mass perhaps all the more remarkable that he should housing drives of the '50s and '60s, and the residue have differed so completely from Marx on the of misery and disillusion that they have left behind. question of liberty. In the chapter 'The State This is one of the hard-won lessons of a century of and Marxism' he sees marxism as a religion with a "little army of fanatical adherents", the In the meantime, Colin, what about the thousands "continuator of Bismark", sharing with him and thousands of empty properties which now litter the cult of the State. And the State means competition, war and slavery.

Today, when the Cult of the State has assumed enormous proportions compared with Bakunin's day, his warnings can be seen

Charles Crute

READERS' PAGE

Beyond Politics

Dear Editors,

After reading your notice of my book only thing people think about is not Beyond Politics (Freedom 8th the economic problem or the class September) I think almost as highly struggle but the military problems or of your reviewing as I have long done 'security'. excuse for the usual follow-up letter, making war on purpose so the people arrived in town. intended to grab a little more won't think of anything else but war, sales. But may I make one point and security of the people'. Can anybody raise one question.

class. But it also insists that each I'm losing hope in this country. Right individual supporter must now Israel is the most unsafe country understand and accept the validity of for the Jews. I feel I'm fighting alone the (anarcho-)socialist case for his or and I don't know if what I'm doing her individual self, and that is where the extreme political individualism

Your reviewer rightly says that the political movements can be arranged in many different sequences. But can it be shown, for any sequence except the one put forward in Beyond Politics, that five socially important is right. I will continue fighting on features of behaviour change until there is no more hope. consistently along the range? That is There have been mass what gives this particular demonstrations of the people who arrangement of them its unique live in tents, who want the equal significance, that is what indicates privileges like the Russians are the presence of an ideological getting but since two Israelis have structure underlying the conflict and been stabbed to death and the confusion of the political surface.

Israel

Dear Freedom,

situation is not getting better. On the you can help, but I will be happy and contrary it is getting worse. The grateful to get advice. This is about Middle East is very different from the situation in Israel. I hope it will Europe. I don't believe that fighting change for the better. for anarchy in Israel is desirable for Solidarity and understanding, the time being, till we have an understanding between Jews and

Heroism and Barbarism

Dear Editors,

All things being equal in the world of football, the home side will win. And so it was in the so-called Battle of Russia supported us in the Gulf but it Britain, where the Luftwaffe had to could be difficult to explain why travel across the English Channel, or Russia had been, until recently, a the North Sea, before the match dreaded enemy for over four decades could begin. Both sides comprised after the war. Can we imagine their the fearless and cowardly, reckless reaction to being told that Britain is and cautious, psychopathic and the second biggest seller of timorous, expert and inept, but all armaments in the world? What about would be heroes, if only dead ones, the massive arms sales to Saudi provided their stress thresholds were Arabia and the United Arab not tested to destruction.

The key to the Battle of Britain heroes about that? myth lies partly in Churchill's - or What of the barbarous Hun? How Dear Editors, his script writer's — words 'The would they react to the sight of I am writing in response to the letter bad either! Few', and partly in the spectacular World War Two RAF and Luftwaffe of EFC in Freedom of 8th September. And finally the flamboyantly- FREEDOM FORTNIGHTLY and gladiatorial nature of that pilots getting together over a few In answer to your review of Love Lies dressed (and why not?) facially FIGHTING FUND confrontation. Not a few bomber beers and proclaiming that they had Bleeding by Claudia she* says that made-up (and why not?) drug-taking Norwich JL £1; Slough EC £2.50; crew members have gone on record nothing against one another - that the pamphlets are an "unsympathetic (and why not?) Claudia is in every Bristol JB £50; Tunbridge Wells BL to air their grievances over the they were just obeying orders? It was hatchet job on an oppressed section position to mount an attack, £2; Douglas, Isle of Man PC £3.75; adulation heaped upon 'The Few'. It last orders for our dead heroes, of society, i.e. women". would be interesting to hear them wasn't it? their own huge losses. And so it is. war after all?

It is a pity the dead cannot speak. Perhaps they would say: STOP! What would be the reaction of those LET ME REST IN PEACE! unfortunate ones of 'The Few' who 'bought it', as we used to say, to the

Arabs and even if possible between governments. Only then can we think of anarchy. The Middle East exists Poll Tax News of anarchy. The Middle East exists on war, religion and fanaticism. The

be so cold blooded and cruel?

The SPGB does envisage the I'm writing to you because I don't



problem with Iraq, everybody is George Walford getting tense and worried and all other problems in this society have been forgotten. The army is back in shape and the generals are happy

I wish you could help me in some way but since we both live in Well I'm back in Israel and the different environments I doubt that

Tel Aviv

world today? Would they believe us if we told them that we are sending the RAF to the Gulf to defend one dictatorship against another dictatorship which had been supplied with arms by us? That we are ready to go to war with a dictatorship after training its pilots in Britain? They might not be surprised to learn that Emirates? Dare we tell our dead Love Lies Bleeding mean that I don't love children,

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 53 54

non-payment of the community charge prejudicial and rambling invective (17th September) a number of marchers against the Labour Party, delivered by the

publicity and drum up a few more or as the government says 'for the their way to Sunderland, they arrived in for some time to come. time for the start of proceedings at the local courts. An estimated 200 attended the town's magistrate's court to deny revolution as the movement of a really know what to think any more. liability for payment. With proceedings abour-run Cardiff City Council the buildings were evacuated after the non-payers to court during two weeks in printers. announcement of a bomb scare - a October. The council has effectively cunning ploy, some would have it, to declared war on its people who can't pay restore order by removing protestors and or won't pay the poll tax. he mass of defendants so that However, the council has admitted that granted an adjournment for three weeks. reported to have paid nothing, over 3,000 held at various social clubs around the in arrears - that's out of a total of region, where marchers acted as guest 218,000 people registered to pay the poll speakers. At my local meet (Houghton tax. Social Club) the attendance was just short



To say this is is utterly section of society who hide behind a £3; Perth ZK £3; Tokyo GK £10; Woltalk off the record. Regrettably, What would they think about the presumptuous, as well as being veneer of hypocrisy that otherwise verhampton JL £2. bomber crews were involved in the Final Solution? Six million Jews? entirely defeatist. For your masqueraded as oppression, i.e. gruesome activity of blasting Dresden and Hiroshima? Suez? information EFC, I am a woman who middle class feminists who (in my innocent children to death or Falklands? Which way is that Exocet is not oppressed. I choose to fight experience) are as equally selfish as permanent injury. No gladiatorial going? Is it one of ours? Would they those who seek to discriminate any group of men I have ever met. FREEDOM PRESS OVERHEADS copy in that. Best kept quiet despite be interested to know who won the against me because of my gender. In short, keep up the good work FUND The more I do so the more I realise Claudia. Your brave and forthright Bristol JB £50; Tokyo GK £10; Wolthat much of my past oppression was views are most welcome. my own doing! WW2 Fighter Pilot She then goes on to say that women Slough have an "instinctive desire to *EFC is in fact a 'he' - Editors

of 25, although some did say that the figure would have been greater if it were not for the bingo and a pie and peas supper nearby. The speakers at Houghton came from Chesterfield, Tayside and On the day Sunderland Council began taking people to court over Glasgow. Their comments ranged from the sincere and informed to the usual the sincere and informed to the usual On the publishing side we are hard to be usual

That evening numerous meetings were escaped registration and 50,000 are now

procreate". Bullshit! I have no such desire whatsoever — and that doesn't because I do. Nor does it mean that I don't like sex because that's not so

withering or otherwise, on any Aude, France PH 50p; Fareham JB

Simonstone, Lancs

News from Angel Alley

Freedom Centenary Volumes of your cartoons. Your reviewer's Sometimes I think governments in on the Glasgow-London leg of the statutory Militant supporter. 1965-1986 which has been edited by generosity has made it hard to find an the Middle East are promoting and people's march against the poll tax Nevertheless, the anti-poll tax movement Charles Crute and will be published is definitely alive and well here, led by this year. We were hoping to Having marched through Jarrow on local people, and should go on fighting announce the publication of the volume of anarchist poetry for this Dave Morland month but although the typesetting Houghton-le-Spring has been completed the editors/designers have not yet bordering on the farcical, by all accounts, Lplans to take 10,000 poll tax produced the final layout for the

> mear readers and contributors of Freedom. We have just read a proceedings could progress more rapidly. the true current figure of non-payment is news item with the heading "When Most if not all denied liability and were near 70,000 in Cardiff alone. 15,000 are keyboard-bashing proves a health hazard", and asked ourselves how many of you are risking this health hazard as a result of writing for Freedom and/or The Raven? Not EM many, you must admit, yet if we are to make Freedom and The Raven really the journals of an alternative society they must not be written by a handful of devoted comrades. We find that in the 'serious' press the most interesting items are the Readers' Letters. Obviously we are given a selection, and if Freedom were to be flooded with letters we would also have to make a selection. But we receive so few letters. Are you all 'keyboard-bashers' elsewhere?

To our section editors and local correspondents: dear comrades, the holidays are over. We look forward to your contributions to Freedom's columns!

Ceptember to November are Ocritical periods financially for Freedom. Very few subscriptions are due for renewal so we only can count on income from bookshop sales and they don't even pay for our postage bill on each issue dispatched. So we depend more than ever on a healthy donations list. If you value the work we are doing, please send your contributions without delay. Unlike the various charities we pay no salaries and our contributors are only rewarded by having their articles published. And we pay no rent, no rates, just postage, typesetting, printing and binding.

Special thanks to our Bristol comrade who is not even a subscriber who sent £50 to each of our funds. Are there any more such generous comrades out there?

DONATIONS 1st - 27th September 1990

Total = £77.75 1990 total to date = £930.55

verhampton JL £2; Southport JT Theresa £5.05.

> Total = £67.05 1990 total to date = £696.15

> > 59 **60**