

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

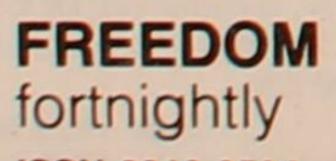
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23rd November - 'Anarchism: the moral concern of the Left' (speaker Dave Dane) 30th November - 'Anarchism in an Ageing Society' (general discussion) 7th December - 'Anarchism and Psychology' (speaker Peter Wilkinson)

14th December - 'Anarchism and Youth' (general discussion)

Further meetings are now being arranged for the coming year from 11th January to 22nd March 1991 and 19th April to 31st May 1991,



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

Aldgate Press, London E1 7QX.

accommodation for 'drop-in' guests, 1990-91 SEASON OF MEETINGS November - 'Anarchism, Deviance and 'i rovide. Why hold them in London? Let us Department

> The Mary Ward Centre 42 Queen Square, London WC1N 3AQ Tel: 071-831 7711

Nottinghamshire **Book Fair**

at Farndon Memorial Hall (one mile south of Newark on the A46) 10am to 4pm

Sunday 4th November entry 35p A range of Freedom Press books on the Black Sheep Books stall.

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"Inflation pressures were easing" and the "economy was slowing, as it must do If inflation was to fall" and this could be seen "in the High Street, the housing market, car sales figures". And he warned the government's bêtes noirs, the workers, that they must restrain their wage demands to below the inflation rate. Of the press reports we have seen of that debate (throughout which Mrs	Thatcher remained silent Shore, a former Labou Minister (and opposed to) at some length with th unemployment that will Britain's entry to the ERM The objectors argue t sterling has entered ERM too high and in view of th British production is compared with the rest of will note be able to compe European 'competitors'. Hentering European 'competitors'.	The Ant Der Der Personi on p
		ave sizeable minority of old people, and the affluent West cannot afford a bealthy diet. The North-South divide is the affluent West cannot afford a healthy diet. The North-South divide the starty shown by the fact that the expectancy of life is lower in the North. The Independent's photograph is in fact of great social interest. The caption describes the men as find this writer's opinion, small farmers mainly involved with livestock, (continued on page 2)
on the government side or the opposition benches could foretell Farmers call for st Nillions Wor It is not surprising that the 2,500 farmers who descended on Westminster – in the first place on	their MPs (some of whom refused to meet them) — and then to a mass meeting at Central Hall didn't make the front pages of our serious press. The Guardian photograph on an inside page occupies 28 column inches with 9 inches of text. The Independent is even more generous with its illustration (24 column inches) for a mere 6 inches of text. The front page headline for The Independent was "Polly Peck boss faces bankruptcy" and for The Cuardian "University expansion in chaos". For these townies the fact	the do the transition of the t
ry Workshop 24 Glasgow 8th November 1990 s History Workshop is to be asgow College (the city's ic). There is once again an 'strand' with the following e. Becker: Max Nettlau and st Historiography rump: Japanese Anarchism in the Wars Gemie: Anarchist Analyses of e. uail: New Class, Old Order Weir: Stewart Gray, Leader of Marchers and Christian 1862-1937 Goaman: Glasgow, City of ional Culture ion fees: £15 funded/waged or ed strations to (and further on from): Thompson, Communication ment, Glasgow College, 70	FREEDOM AND THE RAVEN SUBSCRIPTION RATES SUBSCRIPTION Surface Burope simal simal Freedom (24 issues) half price for 12 issues Claimants 10.00 Regular 14.00 18.00 27.00 23.00 Institutions 22.00 25.00 33.00 33.00 The Raven (4 issues) Claimants 10.00 Regular 11.00 12.00 16.00 14.00 Institutions 13.00 15.00 20.00 20.00 Joint sub (24 x Freedom & 4 x The Raven) Claimants 18.00 Regular 23.00 28.00 40.00 37.00 Bundle subs for Freedom (12 issues) minand sbroad sbroad surface airmail 2 copies x 12 12.00 13.00 20.00 5 copies x 12 48.00 54.00 82.00 Other bundle sizes on application	FREEDOM CONDACTSScence, Technology, Environment: Andrew Hedgecock, 9 Hood Street, Sherwood, Notingham NG5 4DHIndustrial: Tom Carlile, 42 Gaston Avenue, Keynsham, Bristol BS18 1LT Land Notes: V. Richards, c/o Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London Et 10XXMedeocok, 9 Hood Street, Sherwood, Notingham NG5 4DHMastrial: Tom Carlile, 42 Gaston Avenue, Keynsham, Bristol BS18 1LT Land Notes: V. Richards, c/o Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London Et 10XXMedeocok, 9 Hood Street, Sherwood, Notes: V. Richards, c/o Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London Et 10XXMedeocok, 9 Hood Street, Sherwood, Et Box 909, Cardiff CF1 3XU Hove, East Sussex BN3 5PQReiford: Freed Oughton, 2 Holly Road, Reiford, Nous.Northern Ireland: Dave Duggan, 27 Northland Avenue, Derry BT48 7JW Norfolk: John Myhill, Church Farm, Hethel, Norwich NR14 1HD Sotland: Stephen Cullen, 12 Dundonald Street, Edinburgh EH3 6RY
Addens Road, Glasgow G4 BA. Tel 041-331 3253. Ooks reviewed in <i>Com</i> can be ordered from Cedom Press Bookshop Whitechapel High et, London E1 7QX Open onday to Friday 10am-6pm turday 10am-2pm	London I am a subscriber, please renew m Please make my sub to Freedom is The Raven starting with number 1 I am not yet a subscriber, please e I would like the following back m at £2.50 per copy post free	y, 84b Whitechapel High Street, E17QX any sub to Freedom for issues into a joint sub for Freedom and 1 of The Raven enter my sub to Freedom for issues umbers of The Raven (numbers 1 to 10 are available) Fortnightly Fighting / Freedom Press

The Anti-Poll Tax Demo of 20th October: A personal report

thought they might get hurt.

Many of the reports I've read and heard have stressed how good natured the demo was for the most part. But many of the chants were anti-police, and I wouldn't mind betting that at least 90% of the people present hated the police. Dave Morris of the TSDC said on the radio that the police seemed to be after a rematch (continued from page 1) (they had booked Horseferry Magistrates Court in advance of the demo!) and that out for clapping a defendant's speech. As | abandon will remain unsold? he was thrown onto the courtroom steps, most effective defences.

was one of those who attended the early On Radio Four news, a police feeder march which set off from spokesman claimed that the demo had Horseferry Road Magistrates' Court. We been "hijacked by anarchists" because met the bulk of the march at Kennington 2,000 or more people went to picket Park at about 12. Estimates of the Brixton Prison. The news described the numbers have varied enormously; but it's picket as a "splinter group" for some clear that this demo was nowhere near as reason. The fact is that the TSDC big as that of 31st March. This is partly arranged with the police for the demo to because the Trafalgar Square Defendants' continue from Brockwell Park to the Campaign (TSDC) and the London prison; the picket was an official part of Federation don't have the resources to the agenda. The 'anarchist hijackers' were match Militant in order to publicise those like myself who handed out leaflets demos, and partly because many people to people on the march to Brockwell Park



probably some of them on hill the demonstrators were not. But there is | farms where it is probably still possible for no love lost between the anti poll tax young would-be-farmers with no capital movement and the police; many on both | to farm. The National Farmers' Union sides would welcome any opportunity to (NFU) is not concerned with the small have a go at the other. It is not just on farmer and even less with the small national demos that the underlying | market grower. When their president Sir tension between the oppressed and the Simon Gourley addressing the rally at guardians of the state comes to the | Central Hall declared that agriculture had surface. In many local campaigns there "reached crisis point" his suggestion for has been violence. In Coventry, Bob | solving the crisis was that one-third of the Phelan, 57, was dragged forcibly from a | agricultural workforce would have to magistrates' court where a poll tax | leave the industry in the next few years. hearing was taking place. He was ordered | Can one imagine that the land they

he had a heart attack. His wife was not Derhaps one ought to go back a few allowed to use the court phone to call an vears — say 20 years. In East Anglia ambulance, because the pigs were too good grade 2 arable land was readily busy trying to get his name and address. | available at £200 an acre. The price of Two hours later, he died in hospital. Also wheat was about £25 a ton. In the '70s in Coventry, bailiff busters have been with Britain's entry into the Common subject to police intimidation: Market and enjoying the high guaranteed surveillance, arrest without charge and prices for cereals, the pension funds and strip-searches. More and more, the anti insurance companies suddenly became poll tax campaign is manifesting itself as interested in investing in the land. The an open class war. It cannot possibly be two factors combined to make the price of a non-violent, legal campaign for this arable land escalate. And it should not be means accepting the rules that the State forgotten, now that farmers are crying has laid down for its own benefit. The | their eyes out, that then they ploughed up illegal attacks we have directed against | their pastures, grubbed up thousands of the bailiffs and sheriff's officers (e.g. miles of hedges (with subsidies for doing intimidation, firebombing offices, so), reclaimed every bit of poor land to supergluing locks, slashing tyres) are the grow cereals to cash in on the artificial (subsidised) prices paid by the EEC. Just

UNEMPLOYMENT

(continued from page 1)

allows for a 6% variation over and below manufactures which people want which already set the targets. are no longer produced in this country. But how to reduce the inflation rate It's not a question of competition by without reducing the interest rate and in countries 'more efficient' or with 'cheap so doing not releasing more spending? Thatcher government took office in 1979 was made — not here even if it bears a well known brand name.

A s everybody should know, two or A three years ago this country for the first time in its history became a net importer of manufactures.

inflation rate now at 11%. In our opinion eliminate the oppressors?

the government is concerned to reduce the inflation rate not only for political and the Deutschmark - so 12% to play with electoral reasons but because all kinds of and for currency speculators to go on payments are related to it, starting with doing good business) Britain's balance of wages in the public sector involving some trade with the rest of the Community is two million wage earners for which the many billions of £s in deficit. The fact is Exchequer is directly concerned but also that we import a whole range of in the private. The car industry has

labour'. The fact is that the moment the We are convinced that the government's solution is to maintain a high interest rate they removed all restrictions on the export thereby squeezing industry and of capital. And if one's memory serves businesses to prune their budgets, and right some £17,000 million were invested this simply means, as we have already mainly in the cheap labour areas of the suggested in Freedom, a massive rise in world — the Far East. Look at the labels unemployment. After all the government on your radio or television to see where it did this in its first years in office when unemployment rose from 1.7 million to nearly 4 million and then reversed the trend of unemployment only by a rise in inflation.

As anarchists we are delighted to Hobserve the capitalist system in So EMF only serves to restrict the £ disarray. Unfortunately the victims are sterling's yo-yo rise and fall within a 12% always the poor, and it saddens us that range. It will not affect the interest rates the palliatives doled out to keep them (the 1% was a lollipop to keep Mrs quiet seem to work. When will the Thatcher happy at Bournemouth) nor the underprivileged of the world arise and

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ANTI-POLL TAX NEWS

telling them of the picket, and advocating the abolition of prisons. The prison symbolises best the true nature of the liberal-democratic state; it was therefore likely that the picket would attract those with least liking for the police.

The size of the picket was very pleasing; there's been nothing like it since the early 1970s, apparently. Music played and people thronged about. I wasn't present at this stage, so I don't know exactly how it came about that the police tried to disperse the crowd. Maybe the police were

provoked (missiles, etc.) but, as I've said, I'm quite sure they were prepared to cause trouble in their turn. They sent vans and the riot squad in, outnumbering the demonstrators in the end. Still chanting 'No Poll Tax!', hundreds of people ran and skirmished with the police.

On the whole it was a good day. It was sad that so many of us were arrested (one I heard of was nicked for hurling an empty cigarette packet!) and injured by the police and that the picket was broken up early, however. It was also amusing to hear that Steve Nally, the Militant leader of the All Britain Anti Poll Tax Federation, was canned; it seems that most of those who demonstrated see through him as easily as they see through the police.

'Demo Hijacker'

Farmers call for study on 'cereal fuel' **Millions Worldwide Starve**

racket, you name them, only to be so old capitalist rule number one that supply should never exceed demand. As we write, pig production in this country has gone up 14% in the past year simply because prices had started to go up. Meanwhile sheep and cows are being culled and of course everybody is doing it at the same time and prices are plummeting — but not in the shops.

The pension funds and the insurance companies having bought at £800 and watched it rise as a result to well over £2,000 an acre then realised that the inflated prices for cereals which would result in vast surpluses which could only be disposed of to Russia, China, and Third World countries at less than world prices that when farms have come up for sale they have been snapped up at inflated

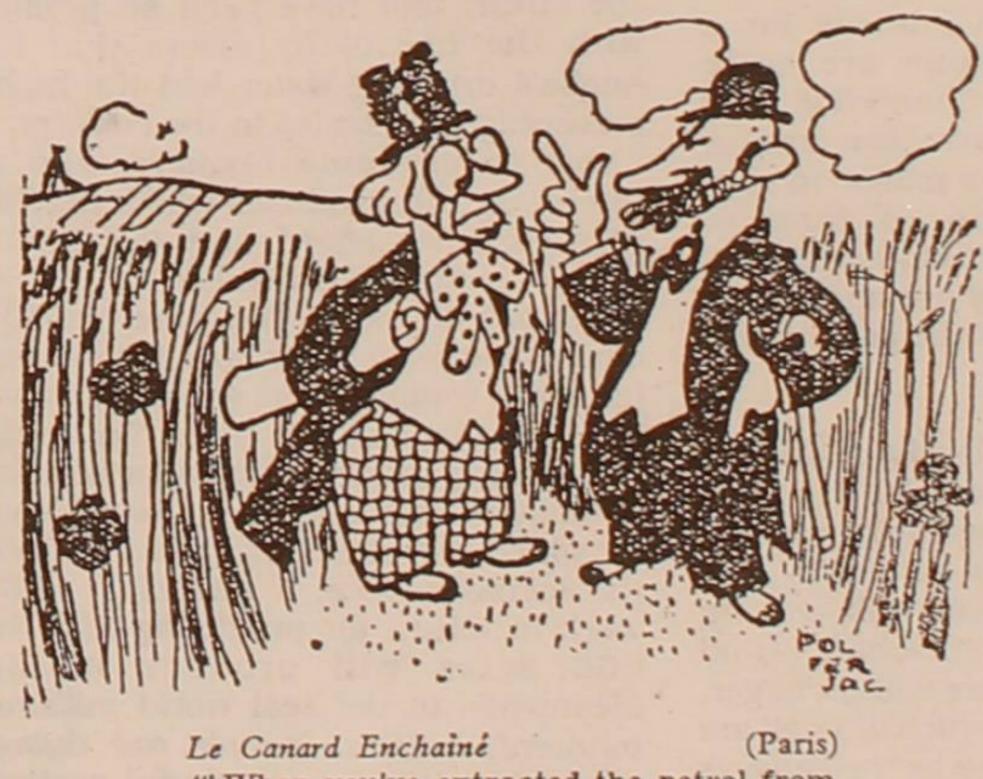
as later they jumped on the oil seed rape prices by farmers and the bandwagon, the sheep racket, the pig ex-military-stockbroker fraternity 'farmers' (much more concerned with surprised when they were faced with the having their military titles observed by all and sundry than getting their boots muddied).

The problems for the 'small' farmers is that they suffer from the same disease of their Big Brothers: more land. So many of them used the few well-farmed acres they had inherited from their dad to raise the money to buy more acres — not at £10 an acre as some of their dads had had to sell land to pay their debts - not at £200 when it was available up to 1970, but at £2,000 and more an acre. Even paying 10%, more cereal growing even at £100 a ton, is not viable. They would need to gross two tons an acre simply to pay the moneylenders. With talk of the EEC (which are to this half the price paid to deciding to reduce subsidies by a third, farmers in the EEC) could not go on for it's obvious that thousands of small ever. They soon disposed of their land farmers will go out of business. The portfolios. What is interesting to note is British government is in favour, the German, French and Irish governments (continued on page 3)

STABVATION IN THE MIDST OF ABUNDANCE.

LEW CAN be unaware of the terrible food shortage in Spain to-day. From comrades coming from Barcelona we learn that the children, in spite of all that is being done for them by the adult population, are suffering as a result of undernourishment.

Yet in violent contrast to these conditions one reads of the abundance



"When you've extracted the petrol from the wheat, couldn't you make a sort of synthetic flour out of the petrol?"

of wheat France. One would have thought that the French Popular Front Government, which professes its sympathy with the Span-Government, would have facilitated matters so that the surplus wheat could be sold to Spain. Instead of which, the "synthetic products" maniacs are trying to obtain a synthetic petrol from the surplus wheat.

Do you want to know why? Well, -because of the col-

lapse of the world market a quintal of wheat is worth 90 francs in Chicago, less than half what it costs in France. Consequently, even if the State allows special prices for exportation there will still be a considerable loss involved for the foreigner would not want to pay more for French wheat than he would if he were to buy it in the world market.

So, in the official Government communique we learn that, "The distilling of excess harvests has been practiced for many years with wine and beet. Thanks to this method it has been possible to assure a certain stability in price and production for these two essential products of our agriculture. The same policy must be used for wheat." There is the explanation, comrade. Meanwhile Spanish men, women and children are suffering from undernourishment. . . . But after all, this is the essence of Capitalism! Spain and the World, September 1938

21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

No More Superglue

ook at public behaviour during and after political elections. The final folly comes as soon as the results are announced.

It is like the end of a boxing bout. The victor's hand is raised. The beaten opponent smiles sheepishly and vanishes. And that is that.

Not quite. Look at all those who voted for one side or the other. 'A disappointing result', admit those who favoured the wrong combatant. 'It's our victory!' yell the other lot.

There is something rotten with a system based on combat, especially when the combat is concerned with winning the hearts and minds of people with slogans and forms of persuasion.

Look at it this way. A community contains a multitude of ideas. Those with money live in big houses at the far end of town. Those with less money live at the other end. On the other side of the tracks are the poor.

Regardless of where any of these people live, all of them are basically interested in making the town fit to live in. Discounting the aberrations which come mainly out of the political situation, such as vandalism, shop-lifting, wife- beating, murder, child abuse and general boozy behaviour, all classes share common interests.

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In this sort of environment politics is a dangerous and divisive game. The virus of power creeps into

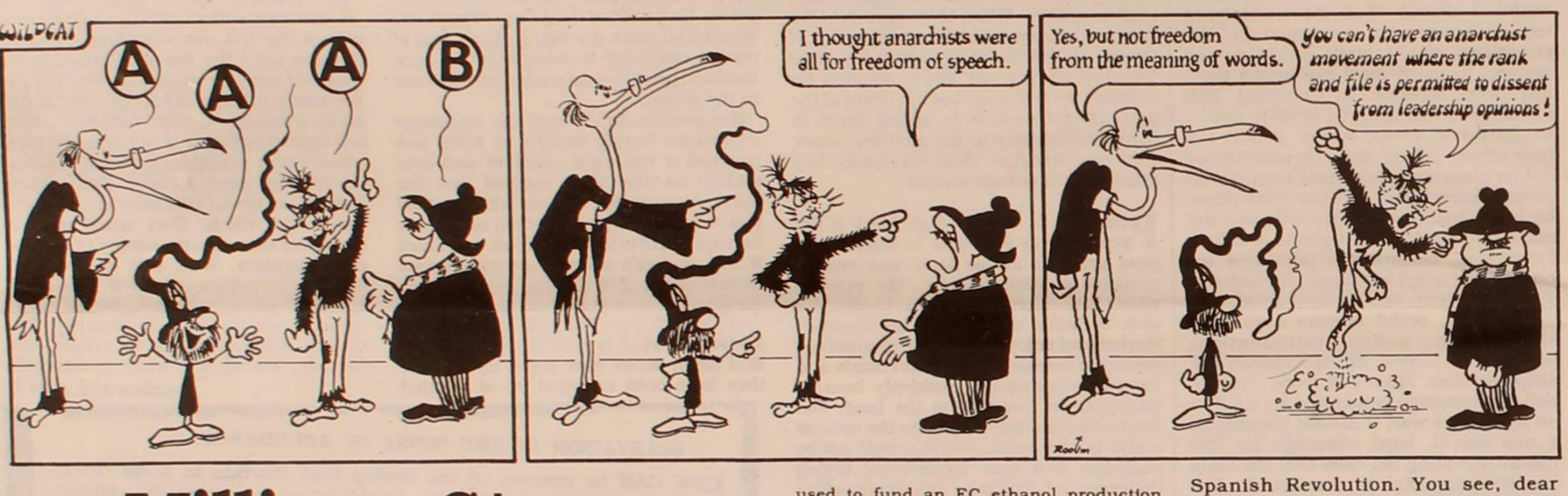
interests, they may be professional people who eye politics as a step up the ladder of prestige.

Politics as a career holds no interest for the ordinary citizen. He has politics thrust upon him. It is gift-wrapped in such a way as to persuade him that he is directly affected and should take an interest. But one thing he avoids at all costs is being pushed on to a platform to make speeches and catch votes.

In the last eleven years, during the violent journey over the Thatcher badlands, it has become obvious that politics can harm the mental health. The Westminster industry, while professing to give 'greater choice and more freedom' to the individual, cords of all kinds around the citizen.

Common consent has no place in this form of government. It rules by decree with a less than token opposition, and it generally gets exactly what it inadequate. It has become government by dissent, not assent. A political crisis is now simmering.

wants. At least, it has done so up to the present, but Wildcat & Co consists largely, but not Philippines there have been five attempted coups the limbs of government are becoming creaky and entirely, of jokes from Freedom Press's on a government which must shortly fall. In Wildcat Anarchist Comics and Wildcat Strikes Australia and New Zealand the powerful farmer's Again, translated by Peter Peterson and Rita lobby, conscious of impending failure in cattle In the last few years people have started to realise Wunderlich, redrawn and lettered in German | rearing and wheat growing, menaces the policies of that they are too far removed from government to by Donald Rooum. Philip Sansom's government. make any impression. The speed with which new In Britain an elderly woman casts about in vain introduction from the first book is also laws are introduced leaves even those well versed translated. Published by Trafik, of Mulheim, for some more political superglue only to discover in politics totally breathless. This was driven home that the container is empty. 66 pages, £3.95 post free from Freedom Press the bloodstream of some of the people, although it during the trades union law reforms which provided **Buster Black** is disguised as altruism. They have few other the means of sequestrating union funds. It is also Bookshop.



Millions Starve

(continued from page 2)

are opposed. One would like to credit them with honourable motives for a change. But the reasons are quite obvious. Germany, as Chancellor Kohl pointed out, has some two million farming families; France has still a million in spite of tens of thousands of farmers abandoning the land. Britain has a mere 150,000. No wonder they are no longer a pressure group so far as the government is concerned.

The effect of drastically reducing subsidies as favoured by the government can only have one result. The price of farm land will go down. The 50-100 acre arable farms will sell up unless they have plans to diversify - and as a result the large estates will get larger. The small mixed farms (which after all are the real farms) will survive as they always have, because they are essentially subsistence farms which produce the basic needs of the farmer and his family as well as ensuring the fertility of the land without all the expensive bag fertilisers on which factory farming now depends. The small mixed farm which is not sapped by payments to the moneylenders can be run as a part-time enterprise allowing the farmer to supplement his/her income if he/she so wishes, with another part-time job or service.

The most inefficient farmers are the large scale landowners concentrated in East Anglia who only grow cereals (with now and then a break crop of beans, or rape) who hitherto have set fire to their prairies after harvest (after 1992 they've

got to find a different way of disposing of the straw) and have been so profligate with the use of fertilisers that East Anglia's drinking water had the highest percentage of nitrates in the country. Now these same farmers who are producing the surpluses which the Third

World cannot afford and the EEC no longer wants to subsidise, being subsidised to the tune of $\pounds 80$ an acre to set aside their land for five years (meaning that no crops will be grown, nor the silage or hay taken). In East Anglia there are 'gentlemen' farmers who have actually set aside as many as 600 acres for which they are being paid £48,000 for the inconvenience, a miserable £960 a week in return for promising that those 600 acres will produce nothing. Meanwhile in the real world millions of innocent, helpless people are dying starvation. What a wonderful system is that of capitalism and private property!

Dut the capitalist system has no limits D to the kinds of projects it can think up. The East Anglian Daily Times (17th October) provides us with the first title to this editorial. We quote:

"Farmers in East Anglia have secured national support for a scheme to produce 'green' petrol from surplus cereals. Efforts are now to be made to get the

European Commission to undertake a feasibility study. The initiative has come from the Norfolk branch of the National Farmers Union in a

recommendation accepted by the union's executive.

The branch said with the cost of export subsidies to ship surplus grain from the EC of about £70 a tonne, the same money could be

POPULAR PROTEST

present in the revised Official Secrets Acts. It surfaces in legal action against poll tax objectors. All these and other new and amended laws inhibit freedom, It is the legal consequences which matter. The silken cords tighten even more when it is realised that people who refuse to register for poll tax may also lose their right to vote. This is a political method of effectively disenfranchising thousands of people who would naturally vote against the Tory government in the next general election on this single issue.

Without a vote, you do not exist. If you attempt to vote, you could be intercepted. It will then become

WILDCAT & CO. Wildcat cartoon book in German had been published. That announcement was premature, but we are pleased to say the book arrived in time for the Anarchist Bookfair.

possible to computerise your details. In no time you will be branded as a poll tax objector who skipped and ran. Even if you did register and then objected, you can be seen as a dissident. The equipment is there. It will be used.

The political eunuchs among us who cannot accept loss of freedom are presented by the politicians as people who lack civic responsibility, unwilling to finance a system which does, after all, provide welfare facilities for the old, allowances for single parents, schools for children. Emotional claptrap has become dogma. The guilty and the non-guilty are separated and divided, and some are disgraced, and some are righteous.

All this stems not from the true ideals of citizenship and the cohesion of communities, but from the use of two or three political creeds which are practised by Westminster by 600-odd has done exactly the opposite by winding silken TTe announced in September that a practitioners. They are people few of us have ever met personally, and with whom we strongly

The bankruptcy of political systems is evident throughout the world. In America Bush can barely shore up a dangerously weak economy. In the

used to fund an EC ethanol production programme.

Ethanol, which can be used in the place of petroleum, can be manufactured from cereal crops such as wheat and maize. It is already being used in parts of the United

States and Brazil." The enthusiastic Norfolk NFU secretary

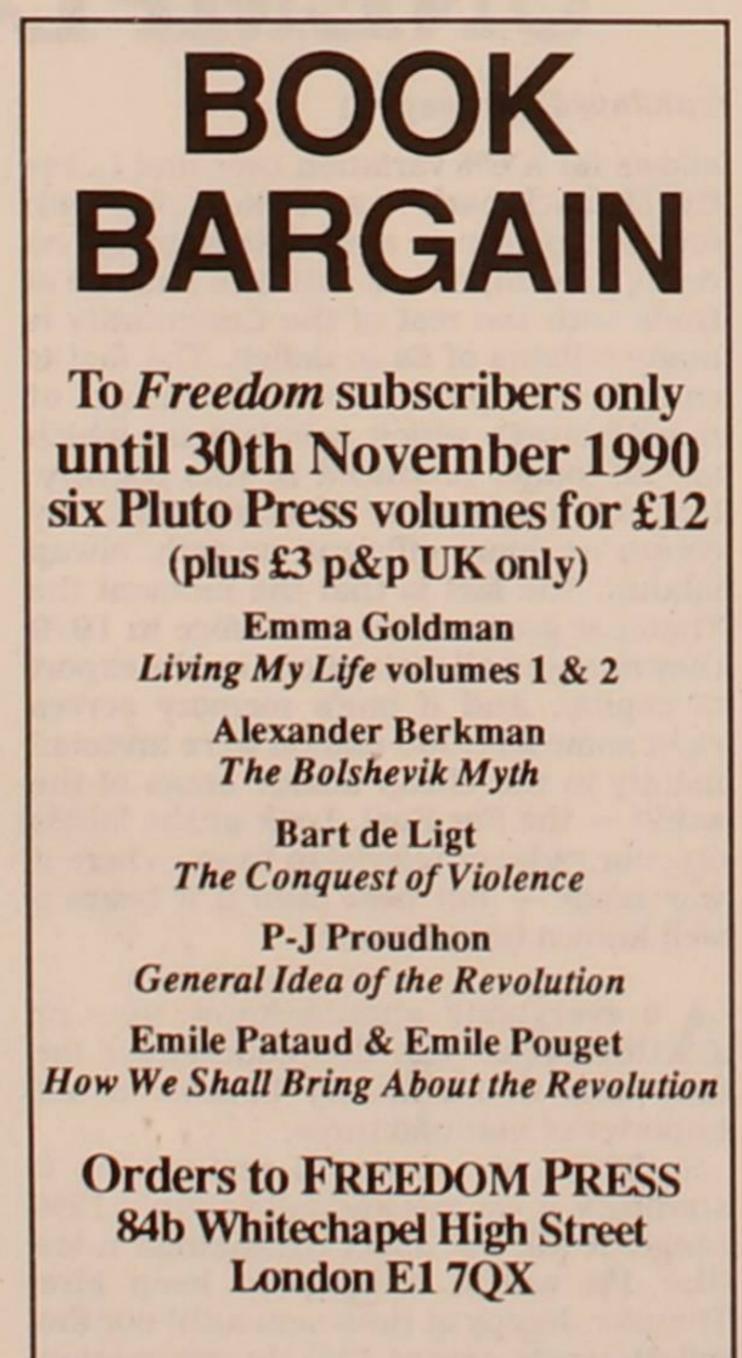
Mr Ken Leggatt declared: "Never has the time been better to proceed with such a scheme". Not only could ethanol production "offset cereal surpluses in the EC" but would also be "a replaceable source of energy, reducing reliance on coal and oil". And he thought an ethanol production plant could one day be sited "in East Anglia, the largest cereal growing region in the

As if we were short of fuel. Pits still with millions of tons of coal are being closed down because they are not 'economical' that is profitable in capitalist terms. We don't burn the money: we burn the coal to keep warm! In Africa forests are being cut down to produce fuel. In India manure is burned instead of being added to the land. And in Brazil where thousands of children are dying of hunger, ethanol is being produced from maize and wheat.

Is this what capitalist efficiency is all about? It has nothing to do with the eleven disgusting years of Thatcherism or the 'thirteen wasted years' of Tory government 1951-1964. This is capitalism. And if any blue-eyed Labour supporter thinks that anything will change (apart from changing the faces in the quangos and a few handouts to 'deserving causes') this latest insult to humanity - of converting food desperately needed by millions of our fellow beings into a substitute for petrol - we are reproducing a comment from Spain and the World which Freedom Press published from 1936-1939 during the

readers, nothing changes in the capitalist world. Their main concern is the quick buck. The ballot box is the lazy way to change society. And after a century it has changed nothing.

But meanwhile millions are starving and the Western world is proposing to use bread seeds to fuel their cars!



Corporate Crime and Punishment

ournalism, like teaching, requires the 'Jack of all trades, master of none'. Thus to be a failed solicitor enables one to pontificate about the law, and so on.

Having braved a year on a post-graduate course for prospective legal professionals I know that one of the most curious areas of criminal law taught in law schools is that of corporate or company crime. To what extent is it possible for a company to take on the characteristics of individuals for the purpose of being prosecuted under the law?

It may be easy for us to conceive of a of a company committing rape or having sex procedures. with a person under the age of consent. But what about corporate murder or manslaughter?

Lecturers in criminal law delight in setting essays for students on the limits of corporate crime, and judges amuse themselves trying to define the characteristics of the firm as a in the English courts. corporate body comparing its features with that of a human being.

Hidden in the footnotes of the chapter on corporate crime in the criminal law books is a reference to the case of a Welsh construction collapsed. The case, which was I think unpublished, is only remembered by law lecturers and their students — oh yes, and their chops at the prospect of high fees.

Corporate manslaughter

The prosecution case of corporate manslaughter against P&O European Ferries collapsed last month when the Judge, Mr Justice Turner, directed the Old Bailey jury to defendants because the prosecution had failed to prove its case.

When the 'Herald of Free Enterprise' owned by P&O Ferries (Dover), formerly Townshend Car Ferries, capsized outside Zeebrugge in 6th March 1987, 192 people

> Riotous days are here again

The anti poll tax demos of Saturday 20th October were apparently not as large as the one of 31st March. At the time the police were said to have said 40,000 and the organisers 50,000, but later the BBC said the organisers claimed 10,000 and the police 5,000. Take your pick.

I only went on the march from Kennington Park to Brockwell Park. I missed the Trafalgar Square Defendants' Campaign 'feeder' march and I didn't go on the subsequent march to Brixton Prison (not being physically tough and suspecting there would be police had turned out from all over the country - people of all ages - quite a number of infants in pushchairs. Practically every radical or 'left-wing' or 'revolutionary' faction took part, including the numerous varieties of Trotskyists and other Leninists. There were quite a number of sale, from An Phoblacht of the Provisional Sinn Fein, to Socialist Standard of the SPGB (seven copies of Freedom were sold, it past the next Labour government [if but a large number of Class War - I saw had sold over a hundred). However there were many marchers just from local Anti Poll Tax Unions and student groups, etc.

chanting and drums beating incessantly. It went by a long circuitous route (so it seemed) through that part of inner South the status quo. London. The routes and starting points of

were killed. An earlier Sheen inquiry in 1987 into these deaths described the management of Townshend Ferries, now P&O Ferries, as "infected with the disease of sloppiness".

Mr Justice Sheen had then said managers should have been aware there was a real risk of ferries setting sail with their bow doors open. He added that the management had "turned a deaf ear" to warnings and put pressure on crews to set off early from Zeebrugge without proper standing orders to cover the closure of doors.

The jury at the Dover inquest into the deaths company committing, say, fraud, returned 187 verdicts of 'unlawful killing' embezzlement or theft. It is less easy to think after hearing details of the company's impossible, to prove corporate manslaughter.

> Despite the condemnations of these earlier Living off morality inquiries and a fifteen-month long police Some politicians who for electioneering investigation, the Crown case of corporate purposes must give morality its moment, have manslaughter at criminal law against P&O declared their anxiety about the present state Ferries collapsed. It is now doubted if a case of English law - since P&O got off. John of corporate manslaughter can even succeed

firm has to be viewed as taking on the an unseaworthy condition. He said, the law characteristics of an individual. As with an was inconsistent in pursuing individuals individual criminal for a crime to have been committed there must be both the actus reus company, prosecuted for corporate — the practical enactment of the crime — and manslaughter in 1965 when a bridge it built the mens rea — the mental conception of intent to commit the crime. In most crime both elements are to be found in the mental and practical acts of the perpetrators. In corporate those solicitors into corporate crime who lick crime the controlling force (mens rea) of the criminal act is usually to be located in the boardroom or among the directors of a company, while the handiwork — the dirty work which completes the crime — is usually carried out lower down the company hierarchy at some distance from the bosses.

It is significant that the driver of the Purley enter formal verdicts of 'not guilty' against the train has been jailed, but P&O managers go free. People who work in industry know that management often mouth phrases about safety, but at the same time put pressure on people lower down to such an extent that dangers are created.

Previous House of Lords rulings have set the

both the main march and the feeder march had been apparently altered more than once in the preceding weeks, seemingly under pressure from police. In Brockwell Park the speakers platform was an open-top double-deck bus and there were several speakers from Scotland. Hot dog and other refreshment stalls did a roaring trade with long queues.

According to eye-witnesses the violence near Brixton Prison was started by police with their usual tactic of hemming the crowd in and then charging into them. One petrol bomb may have been thrown. violence). It was a fine sunny day. people (The reason they marched to try to picket Brixton Prison was that several people are said to be held there in connection with the 31st March.)

Of course, the All Britain Anti Poll Tax Federation is usually said to be under the domination of 'Militant' Tendency (for overseas readers, I should explain that Anarchist flags. Almost every Militant Tendency is a Trotskyist faction anti-establishment periodical was on still, despite some expulsions, partly, as far as I know, within the Labour Party -

whereas, as an Anarchist, I wouldn't put there is one] to keep the poll tax, whatever many people in possession of a copy and they may promise now, so it is another one of their vendors told me personally he matter in which we need to 'protest without illusions'.)

What the full underlying significance of this type of demonstration is I don't The march was noisy, with singing and pretend to know, unless it is simply to show that a considerable number of individuals are bitterly discontented with

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BUSINESS ETHICS

test for manslaughter as being whether a "controlling mind" of the company ignored a "serious and obvious risk". That there has been negligence, even gross negligence, on the part of some senior people involved in the 'Herald of Free Enterprise' disaster is not in doubt. But this was not enough, there had to be recklessness by the defendants in regard to an obvious and serious risk. This, it seems, the prosecution was unable to show.

Michael Zander, Professor of Law, thinks future corporate manslaughter prosecutions could still succeed in theory. But in practice, he thinks, it will be hard, some would say

Prescott, Labour's transport spokesman, said that a Labour government would make it a The problem with corporate crime is that the criminal offence to send a ship out of port in

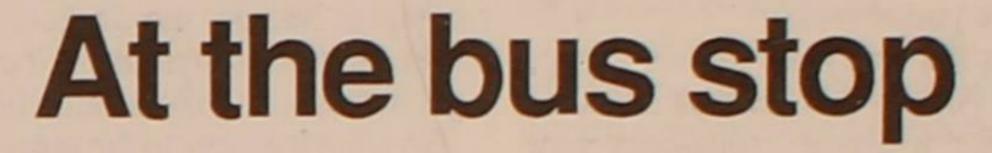
deemed responsible for transport accidents, while absolving their companies from responsibility.

These politicians, as Bertold Brecht says, pay respect to moral principles not by living a moral life but by living off morality. Don't they see that the shedding of blood is extremely distasteful to the good businessman, except where necessary — for the sake of business.

P&O, like all good businessmen, know that bloodletting is bad for business: especially when it's on a grand scale as at Zeebrugge. After all, there had been 60,000 previous crossings before the 'Herald of Free Enterprise' capsized.

But even when the deaths in the pursuit of business are on a small scale, inflicting death and injury on your customers and workers is best minimised. The members of the five British firms forming the consortium building the Channel Tunnel, who have been charged with failing to discharge their duty under the Health and Safety at Work Act, know full well that it doesn't do to keep crushing members of your own workforce. It's hard to keep up the acceptable face of business, when providing jobs involves your workers in putting a down-payment on a coffin.

(continued on page ')



They reckon Kinnock gave a Terry Waite is going to say about it all statesmanlike performance at the when he gets back. Before he was Labour Party Conference, Bert ... kidnapped, he gave the government a Statesman? Conman more likely. He uses rocket for helping to bomb Libya and the platform to convince people that shit is calling Gaddafy a terrorist. What's he sugar. Then when they vote for shit, he says going to think about the present bloody he's only doing what the voters put him there to do ... Why do people put up with very quiet about what's going on, aren't Tory toadies like Maggie and Kinnock? ... they? ... Yes, and I don't think Terry will They don't have much choice, Daisy, be very pleased with that, either. There was because nobody can get into Parliament if he in solitary confinement, fed up and far they refuse to swear allegiance to the from home, and here are the Bishops Crown ... Did you see Maggie curtsy to that tearing their hair out over women priests Arab bloke on the telly? ... Yes, the Royals and homosexuals and leaving it to a are Royals wherever they come from. German Canon from Coventry to say They're as thick as thieves. Once upon a anything critical about the Government's time they were all divine. Some still are, it role in the Middle East ... Who's that, Bert? seems ... How is it, then, that Tory group called for the abolition of the Queen's power over Parliament? ... They must have Hurd's a hypocrite too. He said the best got carried away. Anyway they got a rocket way to help the Third World countries is to from the top and withdrew that suggestion encourage democracy where small same people who run the Secret Service small businesses in this country are going and everything that's really important ... bankrupt by the thousands every month. Who's that then? ... The Joint Intelligence Bloody politicians. I'd like to see them all Council ... Who are they? ... They are a get pregnant, Maggie included. Look at mixture of top brass from the Services, that silly man Patrick Nicholls, one minute Civil Servants and Intelligence chiefs, with he's leading a campaign against abuse of links to the Crown. Their only claim to alcohol and the next minute he's pissed as democratic status is that they are officially a newt and having to resign as senior 'responsible to the Prime Minister', which environmental minister ... You don't have means that they tell the Prime Minister to drink lager to be a lout, Daisy. How what to do ... You make it sound like a about that Slough Council worker who had dictatorship, Bert ... It's the same system as to choose between his job and his seat on Germany had when Hitler was elected as the Council in High Wycombe - did you Chancellor ... But Maggie hasn't got all the see that in the local paper? ... Why did he powers to suppress Trades Unions and have to do that, Bert? ... There's a new rule outlaw political parties like Hitler did ... against doing both, Daisy. Yet Slough Not at the moment she hasn't, but she Estates boss Sir Nigel Mobbs, who make would if Parliament passed an 'Enabling regular financial contributions to the Act' ... That could never happen here, ' Conservative Party, is, among other things, surely ... If the economy got like it did in Deputy Lord Lieutenant of Bucks, the 1930s, anything could happen ... But I chairman of the Council of the University thought the British didn't like dictators ... of Buckingham and chairman of the Slough They love 'em. They invite them over and Social Fund ... Yes, and look what he's roll out the red carpet: Hirohito, done for Slough. He's helped to turn it into Ceaucescu, Sheiks. They even decorate a bloody great traffic jam surrounded by them ... Here, Bert, what's Douglas Hurd wall-to-wall housing estates. A fume up to, going on about the Israelis getting out infested round-the-houses race-track with of the West Bank? ... Playing the options, plenty of jobs and nowhere to live unless Daisy, or the Joint Intelligence Council's you can afford to buy a house in the Green options, to be more precise. They know Belt where he gets away from it all and Saddam will need a sweetener before he leaves us waiting for the bus that takes ages gets out of Kuwait ... Do you think it will getting through his traffic jams. Here it work? ... No, I reckon he will want a bit of comes ... access to the Gulf and a bit more oil before he gets out of Kuwait. Christ knows what

mess? ... Our religious leaders are keeping ... Paul Oestreicher. He said our government is hypocritical ... That Douglas . Who told them off, then, Bert? ... The businesses can flourish. And he knows

EFC

Economics of Terminal Cranial Rectosis (TCR)

et me make my position clear. Although I am prepared to comment upon various aspects in an erudite way, I do not believe that any of the current economic philosophies offer anything except global destruction.

They are all based on flow: on sucking ever-increasing amounts of the environment in and converting it to waste. The faster they suck the more successful they believe they are. (Growth and higher GNP equals success, therefore continual success equals continuous currency is not good news for those who have growth and ever more GNP.) But even those money. How do you strengthen your who believe in the Impossible Party of flow currency? Put interest rates up, of course! economics can't get their never-never land scenario right.

Take our Chancellor, Major Disaster Area. He is still worried about inflation, which he now believes is caused by people spending money and over-heating the economy. (What else do you do with money? You save it, so other people can make money out of your money.) So, to stop you being naughty and spending your money (or having so much and causing the problem in the first place), he has put interest rates up and will keep them up until you behave yourselves.

The trouble is (as everyone knows except Major Disaster Area — or perhaps he does, there is room for a classic conspiracy plot here) increased interest rates increase inflation. As I pointed out a while back in bit!) It is re-invested abroad - with those Freedom, the only way to beat inflation is to import starvation.

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(Paragraph for those with imminent TCR.) How do higher rates of interest increase inflation? Well, in two ways. First, they make lots of things, especially money, more expensive. (They also keep those aspirants to river. property ownership in the green and pleasant Add high interest rates to (relatively) high council estates quiet as they struggle with labour costs, under capitalism, boy-scout revised payment plans for new front doors and management no match for the Samurai, and a fitted kitchenettes.) Secondly, because of the cost of money, they force many businesses into bankruptcy. (Cheers, cheers, down with the bosses! But up with unemployment as well, oh dear — bur there is nothing like unemployment to stop people spending. British benefit rates are designed with this in mind.)

So, as manufacturers go bankrupt, we have to import the very essentials of life, CD players, dishwashers, FWD cars, and so on. This pushes our balance of payments up the Swannee (a very muddy river), and increases inflation because our British pounds have to go abroad to pay for the imported goodies. This makes them worth less because we have to buy them back and exchange rates work against weak currencies. Now, a weak

So far so good. Except high interest rates bring loose money into Britain to earn high interest. (Loose money comes from places like Japan, which earns it by selling us goodies in monopoly markets, and by getting their workers to save it. How they can afford to save is another story.)

Traditionally money coming into the economy would be put to use by indigenous industry to expand manufacture and produce ... but our manufacturers have all gone goods. (see above), and those that are left can't compete because the workers want wages that keep up with inflation . . . (some even try to get ahead, nasty unpatriotic brutes).

So what happens to the money attracted here to earn high interest? (This is the really clever industries which compete with ours and make don't make anymore. In making the money to pay the high interest they want to earn they increase the profit on their goods, and so push the balance of payments further up the muddy

culture of institutionalised division and deprivation, and you are not very far from the Swannee River Number One Big Job Sewage Works. If you are not actually right in it.

Eventually the British economy will just be a change shop, where only money will be able to make money. And until the actual fabric of the country has been sold, (a share flotation for



Cocialist newspapers have often a tendency to become mere Dannals of complaints about existing conditions. The exploitation of the labourers in the mine, the factory, the field is related; the misery and sufferings of the workers during strikes are told in vivid pictures; their helplessness in the struggle against employers is insisted upon; and this succession of hopeless efforts exercises a most depressing influence on the reader . . . I thought, on the contrary, that a revolutionary paper must be, above all, a record of those symptoms which everywhere announce the coming of a new era, the germination of new forms of social life, the growing revolt against antiquated institutions. These symptoms should be watched, brought together in their intimate connection, and so grouped as to show to the hesitating minds of the greater number the invisible and often unconscious support which advanced ideas find everywhere when a revival of thought takes place in society . . . It is hope, not despair, which makes successful revolutions.

Kropotkin, Memoirs of a Revolutionist (Black Rose Books, 468 pages, £10.50)

The besetting editorial problems of any periodical of a I minority movement are parochialism and sectarianism. You, as a curious outsider, pick up a magazine put out by some other minority and find that it is full of references which the uninitiated do not understand, and has a background of in-group feuding in which X is getting at Y over some historical or doctrinal difference which you can't comprehend. Anarchy has tried, not always successfully, to avoid this: to take it for granted that anarchism is in the mainstream of modern social ideas, and to address itself to the outside world rather than to the in-group. This has involved

going outside the usual circle of contributors to the anarchist press, and accepting the fact that their opinions are not always 'ideologically correct' even though the general tenor of their contributions is sympathetic. This is the policy which was followed by some of the great anarchist journals of the past — for example La Révolte in France and the Revista Blanca in Spain. It involves using the journal as a kind of anarchist shop window, displaying to the world the quality and range of goods which the anarchist approach can offer. Looked at in this light, I think that readers will agree that an extraordinary range of anarchist insights and applications have appeared in the course of our hundred issues. The raw material for the individual propagandist is there, waiting for

use.

Colin Ward, A Decade of Anarchy (Freedom Press, 280 pages, £5.00)

revery socialist newspaper — and there are hundreds of L them in Europe alone — has the same history of years of sacrifice without any hope of reward, and, in the overwhelming majority of cases, even without any personal ambition. I have seen families living without knowing what would be their food tomorrow, the husband boycotted all round in his little town for his part in the paper, and the wife supporting the family by sewing, and such a situation lasting for years, until the family would retire, without a word of reproach, simply saying: 'Continue; we can hold on no more!' I have seen men, dying from consumption, and knowing it, and yet knocking about in snow and fog to prepare meetings, speaking at meetings within a few weeks from death, and only then retiring to the hospital with the words: 'Now, friends, I am done; the doctors say I have but a few weeks to live. Tell

THE ROLE OF AN ANARCHIST PAPER

'Royalty Enterprises plc', a former subsidised But that is the nature of the economics of Far East allies, those fortunate enough to have they stick their heads up their arses, the better some money will still be able to invest, at high things look. It seems to make more sense to interest rates of course, because inflation will them. be even worse by then. Then perhaps enough will starve inflation out of the system. But by dismal science. then, as usual, their sacrifice will be too late.

family business, could be an indicator of the terminal cranial rectosis. The trouble with end), to pay trade debts to Oil Sheiks and our those in charge of our affairs is that the further

Screens, nurse! I can stand no more of this

Colin Johnson

Role of the Revolutionary Organisation

If I understand him correctly, T. Jennings (20th October) supposes that the danger of popular anarchist sentiments being "hijacked or overcome by authoritarian or compromise political structures" is an argument for mass organisation, and against organisation in autonomous groups. But surely it is an argument in the opposite direction.

In Britain some prominent anarchists, authors of "big books by big names" came to support patriotic wars (Kropotkin) or accept knighthoods (Herbert Read), and were promptly disowned by the movement. Since it is organised in autonomous groups, the British anarchist movement owes no personal loyalty to anyone, however big their books.

In Spain some prominent anarchists accepted ministries in the provisional government, and the movement did not loose money by selling us the goodies we disown them. Spanish anarchists had a mass organisation. Their leaders joined the government on behalf of the organisation, and the rank and file were loyal to the organisation. I agree, it sounds like self-contradiction to speak of a rank and file and a leadership among anarchists, but the evidence is that such things existed in Spain, and not just as a 'rank-and-file' members who give standing wartime aberration. According to Murray ovations. Except that I could not think of how Bookchin's The Spanish Anarchists: the to say it, without seeming to question the heroic years 1868-1936, the FAI convened conferences "to allow the full expression of rank and file views", and "dissidents were permitted a considerable degree of freedom in voicing and publishing material against the leadership".

Imagine the anarchist movement in this country with half a million members (like the Spanish movement in the 1920s). If it consisted of a large number of autonomous groups, then it would be anarchist both in objectives and in structure.

If on the other hand it was a single organisation, then it would be anarchist in objectives only. It would need delegate conferences (you could not collect all the members together), it would probably need majority decisions (it is unlikely that the delegates would be unanimous), and it would need executive officers to conduct day-to-day business according to conference decisions. The emergence of leaders would be practically inevitable, and 'hijacking' by popular leaders who changed their opinions would not be impossible

In my letter to the ACF, commenting on The role of the revolutionary organisation, I suggested that organising the paraphenalia of a political party was a waste of time and energy. I would have remarked that party organisations of any size always divide into 'platform' members who make speeches, and motives of those comrades who advocate a party-style organisation.

I am grateful to T. Jennings for the opportunity to put this point without giving offence. My aim is a comradely discussion, not a slanging match.

Donald Rooum

An Anarchist Newspaper

the comrades that I shall be happy if they come to see me'. I have seen facts which would be described as 'idealisation' if I told them in this place; and the very names of these men, hardly known outside a narrow circle of friends, will soon be forgotten when the friends, too, have passed away. In fact, I don't know myself which most to admire, the unbounded devotion of these few, or the sum total of petty acts of devotion by the great number. Every quire of a penny paper sold, every meeting, every hundred votes which are won at a socialist election, represent an amount of energy and sacrifices of which no outsider has the faintest idea. And what is now done by socialists has been done in every popular and advanced party, political and religious, in the past. All past progress has been promoted by like men and by a like devotion.

Kropotkin, Mutual Aid (Freedom Press, 278 pages, £5.00)

If the freeing of the body of the worker through his own efforts does not involve also a freeing of his mind and spirit, it leaves his essential self to be controlled by somebody else. This, well disguised, is one of the secret weapons of the Marxists, and all authoritarians, who preach economic salvations, but are careful to keep their own thought police well rehearsed. We all know impatient workers who demand, 'What have art, sex, to do with the working class revolution?', or, 'Stuff your dreams, mate, we want a ten per cent rise!' Philip Sansom, from The Raven number 3 (Freedom Press, £2.50)

[The Raven number 12 out shortly is 'On Communicating', 96 pages, £2.50 post free inland (please add 50p overseas)]

A Movement or a Party

The September conference at Boulder will also be important as a focus of debate about the Green Party Organising Committee (GPOC) and Green Parties generally. It is crucial for the Green movement to clarify and make distinctions about what constitutes electoral activity that is in harmony with our principles as Greens. Our task is to engage in a constant process of defining what we mean when we speak of participatory democracy or a 'new politics', how that differs fundamentally from the state, and through what political means we should pursue our objectives. The Greens have been able to etch out of the muck and confusion of modern society a principled and coherent alternative to the reformist, environmentalist tendency. The Greens have staked out a distinctive position of being the radical alternative to these collaborationist tendencies within the environmental spectrum but we have accomplished this only by making a clear break with liberal reformism, managerial environmentalism, and Social Democracy. It is our courage in confronting institutional structures of power, the real source of our social and ecological problems, which makes us strong.

Green politics has never stood for transforming the state into a more benevolent institution, we have always been for abolishing the state and building up confederal forms of self-government that will express the rational and creative capacities of all peoples. The rejection of political parties is not simply a matter of 'correct timing', it is a matter of principle. Historically, a political party has always been a nascent state in the making. Political parties, despite all the garbage coming out of Germany and elsewhere, about 'anti-party parties', have always been hierarchically structured organisations that have reproduced the relations between leaders and the led. Parties, by the very nature, cannot foster the consciousness nor bring about the

changes necessary for self-government free of hierarchy and domination.

Democracy is either direct and anti-statist or it is not democracy at all, but some form of representative government. Such a system could more properly be termed republicanism rather than democracy. Greens who are moving toward the creation of party would do well to remember this distinction which is as far reaching as that between an ancient Greek polis on one hand, and the Roman Empire on the other. Beyond mere semantics, this is a the citizen assemblies for whom they speak realm of face-to-face democracy, which the distinction which if overlooked or ignored, will certainly undermine and destroy Green's claims to being a liberatory movement.

If a confederation of free cities is ever to be established Greens must reject the notion of political 'representation'. As Rousseau noted

Green politics has never stood for transforming the state into a more benevolent institution, we have always been for abolishing the state and building up confederal forms of self-government that will express the rational and creative capacities of all peoples.

long ago, "Sovereignty, for the same reason as it makes it inalienable, cannot be represented. It lies essentially in the general will; it is either the same, or other; there is no intermediate possibility. The deputies of the people, therefore, are not and cannot be its representatives: they are merely its stewards, and can carry through no definitive acts. Every law the people has not ratified in person is null and void — is in fact, not a law. The people of England regards itself as free: but it is grossly mistaken: it is free only during the election of members of parliament. As soon as they are elected slavery overtakes it, and it is nothing." In order for Greens to avoid the inevitable

Remember, remember...

The anarchist joke 'Guy Fawkes, the only man who went to Parliament with honest intentions', should not lead any anarchist to identify with Guy Fawkes, except on a jokey level.

There are doubts among historians as to whether anyone could have smuggled enough gunpowder into the cellars of the Houses of Parliament to blow the place up. The balance of probabilities is that Fawkes and his fellow conspirators were framed. However, there is no doubt about their opinions. They were in favour of the most unpleasant and unpopular regime that England has ever endured. They Most of the 'Guy Fawkes' conspirators were were like Romanians who seek to restore the Ceaucescu regime, or Cubans trying to get back the absentee landlords.

The monarch before last, Queen Mary I, had married King Philip II of Spain. An astute economic move (the impoverished English court got a Spanish subsidy), but a political disaster.

There was a statute in English law providing for the burning of heretics, but it had fallen early times (bonfires were needed for into disuse with the downfall of Sir Thomas agriculture, and you might as well have a More, more than a generation earlier. Mary party). Guido Fawkes was allegedly revived it and imported some enthusiastic discovered in the act of setting fuses on 5th Spanish inquisitors to decide who was for November 1605. During the following burning.

except under royal warrant. Before Mary's Pope (later Guy Fawkes) in effigy. Lord", as an Elizabethan poet was to put it. from Rome.

In fact there were only a few dozen victims, but the cases were well publicised and caused such loathing that Mary's successor Elizabeth could court popularity simply by being the enemy of Rome and Spain.

Dynastic succession meant that Elizabeth was succeeded by James VI of Scotland. He was used to (comparative) religious tolerance, but he was himself a Catholic with a lunatic obsession about witches, and he might have been persuaded to restore the custom of burning protestants, including perhaps the counsellors he had inherited from Elizabeth. high-ranking Catholics of the Burn-'em persuasion.

Guido Fawkes himself (he had a Spanish baptismal name) was wealthy, but not high-ranking enough to become a royal adviser. He was a captain in the French army, an explosives expert, brought into the conspiracy as a technician.

There had been annual fire festivals since decade, 5th November became the date for fire An older English law prohibited torture festivals, and it was the custom to burn the

time, warrants had been issued only against The fires celebrated not only the fortuitous named individuals, and only on grounds of last-minute discovery of Guy Fawkes, but also state security. Mary issued a warrant-general an accident which prevented the assassination to two Spanish investigators, authorising them of Elizabeth, and the wind which blew the to torture anyone suspected of heresy. "The Spanish Armada off course. All of these were thumbscrew and the rack for the Glory of the seen as Divine interventions to save England

M McM

GREEN MOVEMENT

distancing between a party and movement that comes when a party based on representation is created, Greens must also distinguish between policy making and administration. Policy making must always and without exception be made at the grassroots in directly democratic face-to-face citizen assemblies. The administration of policy decisions made at the grassroots must be carried out only by delegates of the people that are clearly mandated, that are held strictly accountable by ecological management, it must be a deeply ethical compact between individuals and communities.

The idea that there can be a harmonious relation between a party and popular is belied by the history of human struggles for freedom, most recently in the case of the German Greens. From the minute the German Greens moved into the electoral arena (beyond the local) at the national and state level, the distance between the party, or as the unscrupulous and more ambitious of the German Greens called it 'the anti-party party', and the movement began to grow. As a result. the grassroots of the German Greens have largely gone from community activists to

demoralised 'voters'. Activists who supported the Greens, have now become numbers to be manipulated by the party leadership, or pawns to be traded-off in another deal in the Bundestag

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The rejection of electoral politics at the state or nation-state level by no means leaves the Greens in a purely abstentionist mode of electoral non-activity. Where a strong local exists, running a candidate for a municipal office, such as a neighbourhood or city council can serve as a highly educational process both for the Greens and for the public. But we can conscientiously enter into such community-based positions only because the neighbourhood, town or city is potentially a and to whom they return, and they must be state is not. It is this type of electoral activity recallable at any time if they violate their that Greens can accept and advocate because responsibility to those for whom they speak. it strengthens our practice in self-government. Such a relationship must be more than an With the creation of.an alternative, instrumental arrangement for social or democratic, participatory public life communities have an arena — the public sphere — to develop political ideas and struggles. At this level of local politics victories are gained through people learning that they don't have to be dependent on either grassroots movement is a naive delusion that capital or the state. As a result of the growing involvement at the community level, challenges to hierarchy can be brought forth and self-management learned. This is the basis for grassroots democracy.

> A revolutionary movement must organise itself along lines opposite to that of the State. It must prefigure the liberated society that we envision by structuring itself and operating according to principles of decentralised confederation rather than centralisation, and (continued on page 7)

Rambling Notes

The problems you meet walking in you can. there is no other way round or, rather more mischievously, when barbed wire is stapled to the underside of the wooden top hand board with just enough showing to do real damage. Occasionally, however, they farmers. can be quite bizarre.

There is a particular piece of woodland in Surrey, nothing special, even a little scruffy, which is apparently managed in a half-hearted way for the wood it yields and possibly used for the occasional shoot. At one entrance a handsome lodge stands guard over a padlocked gate whilst at another there is only a sign to let you know that this is not common land you are entering. You can walk through it but you have to get permission first.

To get permission you have to write to the Queen, well, not exactly the Queen because royalty does not directly handle such menial administrative matters, so you write to the crown estates office. Even they will not answer your letter themselves, but in a less well-known example of privatisation, walk through this wood; how many of you Here is a map, please mark out your precise route and return it to us, we will then consider your request.

Permission was granted with a promise to unlock the gate but of course there were conditions. No responsibility would be accepted for any misfortune that might befall any member of the party, and on the other hand the party would be held strictly liable for any damage that might be caused, however inadvertently. Get out of that if

Surrey differ sharply from those of the We did walk the mile or so across this high open moors, as sharply as the scenery partly culled woodland and, except for a itself. They are mostly small-scale irritants cheery chap sitting in his makeshift shelter such as having to deal with a yard-high load eating his sandwiches who gave us a of manure dumped in front of a stile when friendly wave, we saw no-one. We left the wood through the gate which had been left unlocked as promised, although it wouldhave been easier to climb over it than over some of the stiles thoughtfully provided by

> We don't think the helicopter which passed overhead was there to keep an eye on this small group of elderly ramblers but you never can tell. Neither do we think we had crossed a potential site of monarchial government by decree should opposition to the poll tax cause a breakdown in the bureaucratic fabric of society. So why did we bother to walk this particular path? Because it links two established Rights of Way but you cannot have a right of way across crown land. It probably was once, but would it be again should ownership change?

There was apparently a plan to sell the land (times can be hard even for the rich). This involved a proposal to develop the site with a five-star hotel and conference centre and some houses, shops and offices. But or should it be commonisation, they will surely you cannot do that in green belt pass it to a firm of chartered surveyors who Surrey? Yes, you can because that was only will write to you asking for more the small print and the large print described information. Not as far as I know how you a plan to build a massive sports and leisure voted or didn't vote at the last election, but centre; and that's all right in a green belt why, what day, what time do you wish to even if most of us would not be able to afford to use it. That was two years ago and will there be and which paths will you take? the plan fell through for lack of sufficient capital

> However, rumour has it that someone is going to try again. So, if anyone comes round wanting to borrow an odd million, don't let them have it — even for a good cause like a sports and leisure centre in Prince's Coverts. A mass trespass might stop the plan, but who wants to be locked up in the Tower of London for High Treason?

> > HS

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21 STAINLESS HARDENED 2

Corporate Crime and Punishment

(continued from page 4)

Knowing that bloodshed is bad for business, courts may be reluctant to convict a company of criminal guilt, even when the numbers of and legitimate crime. dead exceed 200. Some are now calling for Ernest Saunders and his colleagues involved work, like most bosses.

To a syndicalist there would seem to be a legitimate crime. case here for more trade union pressure and involvement by workers to force managements to keep up standards of safety. But judging by the struggle for safety going on between the North Sea Oil workers and their bosses, this doesn't look like an easy solution.

Money rules the world

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When we consider what keeps a man alive we have to look at the serious business of money. This has been the source of some trouble in the

international business community lately because people don't seem to be able to distinguish clearly between illegitimate crime

exemplary damages against companies at civil in the Guinness share swindle appreciate this. law - millions of pounds have been They didn't, they claimed, see that to secretly mentioned. But the Sheen inquiry shows that set-up a scheme to buy shares in their own the P&O management were warned, but company to push-up the share price to swing "turned a deaf ear", being more concerned a take-over deal was an illegitimate crime. But with speedy departures than safety, more the US lawyer who advised Saunders, and got anxious about quantity than the quality of paid more money for the job than most of us will in a lifetime, was simply conducting a

Last month, Mr Ronald Li, chairman of the Hong Kong Stock Exchange, was found guilty. of asking for reward (bribes) when he solicited for shares. Mr Li's defence was "I was just and that his private operations as a dealer and speculator in shares could be separated, as if by a Chinese wall, from his public role as chairman of the Hong Kong Stock Exchange and its listing committee. Interestingly, Mr Li played the now fashionable racial persecution bought.



(continued from page 6)

through direct democracy from below instead of a hierarchical control from above. A revolutionary society would have to be brought about by a popular movement abolishing the state and replacing it with confederal arrangements of free association, not by a political party.

must, if they are to avoid the reproduction of hierarchy and domination, create an The above is an unsigned editorial from organisational structure that will preserve and foster the sovereignty of individuals as Left Green Network - USA rational and creative beings capable of September/October 1990 (from PO Box co-operative self-management of their own 5566, Burlington, Vermont, 05402 USA).

communities without the constraint of coercive external authority. The domain of such individuals is the municipality, and the confederation of municipalities is the one social form that stands out as having the potential to replace the nation-state. While uniting individuals together in co-operation and mutual aid, the municipality serves as a Community activists, ecologists and radicals dual power to challenge the state.

Left Green Notes: Organising Bulletin of the

Book Review

The Last War George Barrett Sheffield: Pirate Press. £1.70

George Ballard, who was a leading more sustained writing, and these examples member of the British anarchist movement for are full of simplistic arguments, superficial a few years before the First World War. From references and clumsy writing. The Last War 1907 he was very active as a lecturer and is a rhetorical attack on the First World War journalist in Bristol, the London area and which may have served its purpose then but Scotland; he nearly became the editor of a serves little purpose now; The Anarchist weekly Freedom in 1911, and was editor of a Revolution is a clear exposition of libertarian weekly Anarchist in Edinburgh in 1912-1913; populism and syndicalism which evades most he died of tuberculosis in 1917. He earned of the real difficulties of putting them into much affection and admiration from his practice; Objections to Anarchism attempts to comrades, and his memory was preserved in a face some of these difficulties and includes few pamphlets published by the Freedom Press soon before and after his death.

S.E. Parker edited a collection of his writings hardly ever worth reprinting, and certainly not as The First Person (Freedom Press, 1963). like this. Now the pirates who infest libertarian publishing have produced another collection as The Last War.

This 72-page booklet contains three pamphlets — The Last War (1915), The Raven that the next issue (no. 12) 'On Anarchist Revolution (1915) and Objections Communicating' includes George Barrett's to Anarchism (1921) - with the addition of Objections to Anarchism. The decision to do an anonymous introduction. The text consists so was taken some months ago and we were of badly reproduced facsimiles of the original quite unaware of Pirate Press' intention to Freedom Press pamphlets, with no indication publish it as well since they did not contact us. of the dates and with the publisher's name But then presumably that's why they call deleted. The introduction is brief and inaccurate. It begins by saying that he was NW, Colin Ward who writes an introduction "born in Hertfordshire around 1888" and "was to Objections to Anarchism in The Raven is first active in the British Socialist Society"; he full of enthusiasm for it and we share his was born in Ledbury, Herefordshire, in 1883 enthusiasmas well as finding most of Barrett's and was first active in the Bristol Socialist Society. And so on.

All this is sad but not surprising. What is more important is the quality of the pamphlets themselves, and it must be said that this is not high. Barrett may have been a good speaker Peorge Barrett was the pseudonym of and journalist, but he wasn't much good at some good points, but finally fails to convince. The hard fact is that anarchist journalism is

> Editors' Note: We should warn Freedom readers who are also subscribers to The themselves Pirate Press. Unlike our reviewer answer convincing. But then we don't have to be convinced about anarchism!

NW

NORTHERN IRELAND

card claiming that 'white faces' were bullying impressed, believing that Mr Li gave out exchange for shares.

In the United States, another man who didn't know the rules — honour among thieves — Mr Michael Milken, is also facing bribery charges to go with the six fraud and conspiracy charges he confessed to earlier. Mr Milken, who was described by The Financial Times earlier this year as something of a financial wizard in his junk bond dealings, helped bring the US company, Drexel Burnham, to grief. He is now charged with secretly buying equity favourite fund managers. Milken's lawyer described the offences as over- enthusiasm on behalf of Drexel and its clients.

Nor can we in the UK be sure what lies beneath the tip of the iceberg of corporate crime we know about. Sir Derek Alan-Jones, then chairman of Ferranti, observed last year that the general ability to rely on audited accounts was fundamental to the conduct of business in the UK. Ferranti, it may be recalled, came close to collapse when it was fed misleading accounts of a company, ISC, it

The undetected fraud had serious him, trying to get control of the Hong Kong consequences for Ferranti, but an unqualified exchange. The all- Chinese jury was not audit report helped ruin British and Commonwealth. In this context a Financial listings on the Hong Kong exchange in Times editorial last month asked who will audit the auditors?

The problem is that directors have the responsibility of preparing true and fair accounts for their company. These are then checked by the auditors who are hired and paid-off by the directors. Surely it would be an unwise auditor who bit the hand that feeds him, so as to stand up for the owners of the company with whom he has no direct contact.

The Financial Times says: "This conflict of interest helps explain countless questionable sweeteners, then distributing them to his judgements made by auditors over the past two decades — though not, of course, those of determined fraudsters against whom no system can be foolproof."

> Crime doesn't pay, they say. But corporate crime, well that is perhaps another matter! Paul Thompson, the rapist who led the Strangeways prison riot, we are told wanted to be a small businessman. Clearly he didn't aim high enough — why rob a bank, when you can found a bank? Why be a pimp, when you can be a company director? Why be a shop-lifter, when you can be a company auditor?

Brian Bamford

News from Northern Ireland

Utakeovers' by IRA service units has with it. come into the news again in Derry recently. As anarchists we will be concerned about For operational reasons the IRA has had to the whole issue of 'house takeovers', resort to effectively 'raiding' houses, seeing in them too many similarities with holding people captive and stealing cars in the British Army practice of raiding order to mount their missions. This is in houses. And yet when the State resorts to contrast to times past when cars and other obvious 'shoot to kill' practices as in the resources were more freely offered to the two incidents in Loughgall, and in the republican movement by members of the murder of the men who robbed the bookies nationalist working class. In Galliagh, a in the Falls Road (it now seems unlikely housing estate on the edge of Derry, one such takeover came to a controversial end when the RUC, discovering it was in progress, asked a local Catholic priest to talk to the IRA members inside the house, which enabled them to get away and subsequently allowed the RUC and the British Army to move in to defuse the bomb that was being prepared. This has been called "sensitive policing to ensure there was no loss of life" by the RUC and has been welcomed by the SDLP. Unionists have been up in arms, demanding a full enquiry into why the security forces didn't go in 'all guns blazing'. This incident echoes in some ways the longest single saga to come out of a 'house takeover' incident. Michael Williams, an Englishman living in Creggan, another working class estate in Derry, with his wife and family for a number of years, phoned the RUC when he heard screams and noises from his neighbour's house. An IRA takeover was in progress and Michael Williams claimed he did not know this was the case. IRA members were arrested because of his phone call and will get long prison sentences. The IRA also lost arms and equipment, and say that Williams did know what was going on, in effect 'touted' on them and because of this have passed a death sentence on him. He is now in Rushdie-esque hiding somewhere in England. The Williams case is a very complex one with at least two conflicting versions of the events. Williams himself is adamant that he was simply acting as a 'good Samaritan'. And of course the finds it very hard to come clean. Bishop and the SDLP have taken up the

In the war front the practice of 'house case, chastising the republican movement

that the DPP will call for the prosecution of the soldiers who murdered those men), we cannot be surprised that anti-state violence, in particular involving 'house takeovers' seems to do more to oppress rather than to liberate the nationalist working class.

On the economic front, privatisation is coming earlier than planned to Derry City Council. Despite denials by the Chief Financial Officer it seems certain that £800,000 worth of cuts will occur in public services next year in advance of compulsory competitive tendering due here in about two years time. The bosses call it streamlining. The workers involved know it simply as redundancies. And the unemployed and low-waged will see it in the loss of leisure facilities, while private gymnasia, bowling alleys and other facilities arrive and thrive.

As yet there has been no word from the Northern Ireland Office (NIO) that it will be overturning its decision reported in this column recently to withdraw grant aid from the Irish language group Glor na nGael. The NIO's embarrassment deepens with the news that the RUC had given the organisation permission to hold a flag day in Belfast. Somebody somewhere has fouled up the political vetting machinery. And we still have not heard from the DPP in London on the case of the Birmingham Six, despite amazing evidence by a syntax expert commissioned by The Scotsman newspaper which showed that police confessions were fabrications.

It is clear that when the British Establishment gets egg on its face, particularly with an Irish flavour to it, it

Dave Duggan

READERS' LETTERS



Dear Comrades,

'Remember, Remember the Fifth of and Plot!'

In 1605 a group of anti-government activists, led by Guy Fawkes, planned to strike a mortal blow to the make a small extra contribution by deplored anti-feminist articles. British ruling class. On 5th having a little 'box' expressing its Keep up the good work by holding you have got a lot of readers. sycophants.

eventually hung.

liberate them from their oppressors, sexuality, deeper than the craving for stuff. Every 5th November the name of social power, deeper even than the It may have been coincidental. Guy Fawkes is on everybody's lips desire for possessions, there is still that Saturday the stall wasn't there, and the skies of Britain are lit by more generalised and universal so there was no opportunity to test bonfires and fireworks symbolising craving in the human make-up. It is out their admission. what might have been!

The only people to enter Parliament right direction - for orientation " with honest intentions.

> Gordon Japan

P.S. I know their motives were suspect but their intentions certainly weren't!

Mankind's Real Dreams

Dear Sirs,

In his interesting letter in your 6th October issue, World War Two Fighter Pilot asks: "What would be the reaction of those unfortunate ones of 'The Few' who 'bought it', as we used to say, to the world today?"

The lesson of World War Two was that, for the present, might is not right - wealth is. Accordingly, the vanquished, Germany and Japan, always quick to take a hint if it is driven home by unconditional surrender, learned this lesson. Today, they are among the world's richest countries.

misunderstanding cleared up

Dear Editors

Action an article by Marie Louise delighted to see one of Marie Louise with the following message on the Which surely should encourage acknowledge his donations. Berneri from War Commentary reproduced with cuts but with approval — the editors "make no apologies for digging up a 50 year old not of this world when the change article that so brilliantly cuts through from War Commentary to Freedom the crap of the ruling class. propaganda".

War Commentary as "the immediate for their enlightenment - Editors]

It seems a small lesson for millions of lives, but human evolution, unlike industrial development, is far from

An organic 'creature', who has to Dear comrades, millennia.

the craving for knowledge of the

BOOK BARGAIN To Freedom subscribers only until 30th November 1990 six Pluto Press volumes for £12 (plus £3 p&p UK only) **Emma Goldman**

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Bart de Ligt The Conquest of Violence P-J Proudhon

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Revolution

Orders to FREEDOM PRESS 84b Whitechapel High Street London E17QX

forerunner of Direct Action". thought that it was the immediate forerunner of Freedom. Am I mistaken?

JG

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 55 56 57 58 59 60

Berneri's articles reproduced and reverse side acclaimed in Direct Action. We "All together now: imagine that the present editors were took place. We reproduce below the Why don't the lot of you good pseuds announcement from the front page of led by A.K. Brown take a running I notice however that they refer to War Commentary of 28th July 1945 jump into the North Sea and head for of literature was sold.



With the approach of a nominal bore the name of FREEDOM, and for state of peace, the title WAR COM- nearly sixty years the Freedom Press MENTARY becomes obsolete, and it has been the main group publishing has been decided to change it to anarchist litercture in England. N FREEDOM, with the sub-title of has the name been limited only to the THROUGH ANARCHISM. The English anarchist movement. Among name FREEDOM is one which has others, there was the German anar been associated with the Anarchist chist paper, FREIHEIT, which was movement in this country ever since edited by Johann Most. its early days of propaganda. For The change in the title will come forty years, from 1886 until 1926, the into operation with the next issue but anarchist periodical in this country one, dated the 25th August.

Freedom damned by Norwich DAM

last about 70 years and make moral Whilst in Norwich the chappie from I am very grateful to you for the decisions and keep to them, has the the DAM said they wouldn't have issues of Freedom I have already Dear Editors hardest task on earth. So real Freedom on their stall. Didn't like received, no. 13 of 30th June 1990 Vernon Richards contends that

November they hid a huge amount of aims in each issue. Freedom for up everything for discussion, that gunpowder in the cellar of the what? Freedom, like money, can be needs discussing that is. No taboos! Houses of Parliament and tried to a blessing or a curse, according to Here in Dover the Militants don't blow up King James I and his how it is used. How should it be want the paper on the Anti Poll Tax used? Are we going anywhere stall, or rather that they wouldn't be Unfortunately they were betrayed socially and is there anywhere to go? 'at all happy with it'. They would like and arrested before they could set off According to American to examine the material first. They the gunpowder. Needless to say they psychiatrist William Sheldon: had to agree the stall was an APTU psychological practice lead almost appearance of being a Militant stall However, the British people still inevitably to the conclusion that — and they couldn't prevent me celebrate this heroic attempt to deeper and more fundamental than from putting Freedom on it, or other

Similarly I was told by the Militant organisers, that my request to put AB Freedom or 3D or anything else on Bexhill-on-Sea the stall was an attempt to 'stir up

The other week I spent hours working on a newsletter with this Militant — the finished article appearing days later had scrubbed every line I contributed, even to the simple rearrangement of words. We had agreed on the original draft. Totally altered with emphasis on 'Peoples March', etc. Boring isn't it!

Patrick [We are not surprised about the Militants. All we can say to the Norwich DAM (Direct Action Movement) and the APTU (Anti-Poll Tax Union) is that we at Freedom Press Bookshop have all their literature on sale. We believe in the freedom of the press, presumably they do not. Incidentally, the East London DAM even enjoy Freedom Press 'hospitality' for their mail! Editors]

You can't please everyone

Two letters both written on 28th September:

From the killing fields of Korea To the bloodbath of Biaffra 'United Nations' Uber Alles! the rising sun? Above all keep a good Whitewash!"

S.H. sending a literature order and a donation to our funds opens his letter

"Dear friends, Firstly as a new subscriber to Freedom and The Wolverhampton?), Cardiff, Brighton, Raven I wish to thank you for the Glasgow, Bristol, to name a few that good and high quality work you are come to mind immediately. Any doing (this is high quality in offers? production as well as contents)."

Not only were these two views _____advertising the five Pluto Press penned on 28th September. Both titles in their Libertarian Classics list writers live in Cardiff!

A Freedom reader in the Ukraine

Dear Editors,

copies of some articles to them, and and therefore unarmed violence. they say it is very interesting.

first place!

Unarmed Violence

November - Gunpowder, Treason improvements in mass behaviour are some article, felt that Brian Bamford being the last. In fact I have got a anarchist/pacifists "... fail to make bound to take centuries or even was 'iffy', didn't like the 'forum' feeling that the whole KGB staff is a distinction between violence which approach using anarchist label, said reading every issue of your is used as a means for imposing the In this respect, Freedom could 'another' should be found. Others fortnightly before it makes its way to will of a group or class, and that me. But if it is so, then it is great! For violence which is purely defensive". Not true. It would be truer to say that we are denied space in Freedom to But leaving jokes aside, I must say explain the distinction. Vernon also that I receive Freedom with three says "The fallacy [of the pacifist months delay. It is not you to blame position] is that of making but the Soviet post instead. non-violence a principle, when in Nevertheless, I am very glad to see fact it is no more than a tactic" every new issue of Freedom in my which could imply that it is valid to were then cruelly tortured and "Continued observations in clinical stall — even though it gives the post box. It is excellent. I enjoy use violence as a tactic also. Thus he reading it very much. Besides, I have is giving the green light to already received The Raven number premeditated violence, which 8 and number 10. Thank you very presumably would involve the use of much. That is the very information I arms, because tactics are premeditated actions. The only kind It is a pity my friends were called up of violence that can be excused in the for military service in June, but I send pacifist agenda is unpremeditated, Pacifism, far from being a tactic, is part and parcel of anarchism.

Now one can read Kropotkin whose L. Gambone, thankfully, has been Memoirs of a Revolutionist were given a chance to show how violence recently published in Russian in this has failed historically: give me the country. Surely, I have bought a copy chance to explain what pacifism of it, and read it with pleasure. But really means on the personal level. I still Freedom and The Raven hold the have been waiting for the opportunity for twenty five years. Ernie Crosswell

Ukraine [Why not? - Editors]

News from **Angel Alley**

the cause of anarchy!

Freedom Press Distributors stand £3.95 plus postage. had record sales of £900 in a matter of eight hours, all of anarchist were selling Freedom Press titles. Considering that the Freedom Press Bookshop is open six days of the comrades in the provinces to organise their own mini- Book Fairs. In Hadleigh (Suffolk) they have organised theirs for Saturday 15th December at the meeting room over the Public Library for a fee of £20. This is the third Fair in Hadleigh. At the last one in February £286 worth FREEDOM FORTNIGHTLY

provide the literature and at least one £20, Dossenheim RS £5.30. comrade with experience of running literature stalls. But initiative must come from your end. We are thinking of Manchester, Birmingham (what about our good comrade JL of

Elsewhere in this issue we are which we have now taken over and

21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

are offering at half the published price. At the Anarchist Book Fair we made a special of the six volumes (the Emma Goldman memoirs are in The Anarchist Book Fair was a two volumes) which at published tonic for us. We met many old price cost £48 for only £12. We want friends and made new ones. We even our subscribers who could not come tried to make conversation with one to the Book Fair to have the same or two old comrades for whom opportunity to secure these valuable Freedom Press long ago betrayed titles at the same 'knock-down' price, but we must add postage and Betrayers or otherwise - the letters packing amounting to £3. This offer column in this issue goes to show that expires at the end of November. We you can't please everyone - the are selling individual volumes at

reedom is now printed on literature. And at least two other stalls recycled paper. Readers may be surprised to learn that it costs more than the ordinary paper. So please week (and is also breaking records of recycle some of your cash in sales of anarchist literature) we can Freedom's direction. Meanwhile only imagine that those friends who thanks to all contributors to our funds. bought our literature at the Book Fair A special thank you to JRB of Bristol I read in the current issue of Direct [You are not mistaken. We are S.T.R. returned his subscription form included many from outside London. as he didn't give an address for us to

DONATIONS 9th - 25th October 1990

FIGHTING FUND

We think successful mini-Book Leeds SH £2, London N5 MR £1.50, grip on your buckets of UN Fairs could be held all over the Sydney SC £10, Hadleigh AH £5, country and Freedom Press will Wolverhampton JL £2, Bristol JRB

> Total = £45.801990 total to date = £986.85

FREEDOM PRESS

Church Stretton KG £1, Stoke on Trent PS £2.50, Simonstone TV £1, Sydney SC £10, Wolverhampton JL

OVERHEADS FUND £2, Bristol JRB £20. Total = £36.50 1990 total to date = £743.85