

# anarchist fortnightly **Freedom**

Vol. 55 No. 22

12 NOVEMBER 1994

FIFTY PENCE

**"Money is like muck,  
not good except it be  
spread."**

**Francis Bacon**  
(1561-1626)  
*Of Sedition and Troubles*

## **Only small-time 'sleaze' gets the headlines in A WORLD STEW'D IN CORRUPTION**

**T**he media are having a grand time exposing the frailty of our rulers when money and other perks are dangled under their noses and the general public are lapping it up and enjoying every new 'revelation'. What, in their hypocritical editorials they dare not conclude is that corruption is an endemic disease of capitalism and long before, throughout history, societies based on a minority with power and/or wealth have all been cruel and corrupt.

**T**he media are no exception. After all, our millionaire press is more influenced in forming so-called 'public opinion' than either our schools, churches (mostly empty!) or our parliamentarians. (As Colin Ward points out elsewhere, the media keep the public in ignorance as to what goes on in Parliament.) To imagine that the multi-millionaire proprietors believe in a free press (that is a press that tells the truth irrespective of how it affects the interests of the

proprietors and/or their friends and associates in big business) is just wishful thinking. Again, since national newspapers depend on the advertising revenue from the Big Boys (the car industry, the banks, the insurance companies and not least the government - double-page spreads launching the National Lottery for instance) can they afford to really spill the beans?

And so far as the journalists are concerned in this business, apart from a few notable exceptions, why should they be immune from the recognised perks, entertainment and hand-outs (in the case of book reviewing it saves the reviewer having to read the book - and today 'time is money'!).

In his youth this writer was led to accept Humbert Wolfe's (1886-1940) definition:

"You cannot hope to bribe or twist  
thank God the British journalist  
But seeing what the man will do  
unbribed there's no occasion to."

That was a long time ago!

**P**ress moguls like Murdoch, who controls most of the British daily readership, can afford to invite Tony Blair to write a column in the *News of the World* as well as Martin Jacques, the former editor of *Marxism Today* (incidentally this is an illustration of what Humbert Wolfe had to say but, as we concluded, that was a long time ago and it would be interesting to know what 'comrade' Jacques is paid for his column). But the renegade former Labour MP Woodrow Wyatt (Lord Wyatt, boss of the gambling TOTE - who was responsible?) has his weekly anti-Labour, anti-foreigner column (last week it was DEPORT THE FAYEDS and paeons of praise for Major who "kept his head" over the bribes-for-MPs 'hysteria'). However, David Jenkins, ex-Bishop of Durham, contributes an interesting piece on the 'sleaze' controversy. To what extent the sub-editors or the boss have 'massaged' his article is a matter of conjecture, but he too limits the sleaze to the fact that "ever since there have been politicians, power

*(continued on page 2)*

### **The votes of twelve right-wing Tories save the Post Office**

**A**s we write it appears that Mr Heseltine's compromise proposals for the privatisation of the Post Office have also been turned down. What as anarchists we feel should be emphasised is that whereas the minister was able to ignore one of the largest petitions - nearly two million signatories - against privatisation, it was the threatened rebellion of a dozen right-wing Tories which ensured that the privatisation would not go through.

Democracy is supposed to be government of the people by the people for the people. Yet here was a minister prepared to bulldoze his way in spite of privatisation being opposed by all of those in the postal services who actually provide a good service - by the public in general and by two million actual protesters.

Only twelve right-wing Tories prevented it happening (or so it seems). Perhaps they have a personal motive for joining the opposition. Why else?

## **News of the Money Lovers**

**M**oney is NOT 'the root of all evil'. It's 'the love' of same, as Margaret Thatcher, our church-going former Prime Minister, was at pains to make clear at one of her £20,000 fee lectures (and she and her family, all millionaires in their own right, should know after all!). So one can assume that the rich who spend their time getting richer are 'in love with money'? A few of these lovers have been in the news recently.

**T**he most notorious is surely the former chief executive of BCCI, described by a former Bank of England governor as "the brains behind the fraud". Not only was he sentenced by an American court to eight years, but on his release he faces a further eight years in Abu Dhabi on separate charges. Compared with him, Swaleh Nagri, a 61 year old British citizen, the Hamiltons, Aitkens et alia are amateurs. He didn't fiddle with hotel

bills and air tickets, he was involved in what has been described as the "biggest fraud in history" with "at least £6,400 million going astray". On top of the prison sentence our Guinness-Book-record-holder for fraud was fined £163 million. Surely another record. He declares that he is penniless, though the *Independent* (20th October) points out that nevertheless he employed "an expensive firm of lawyers to defend him" and lawyers are not suckers where money is concerned!

**T**he perfect example of a lover of money is surely Graham Doughty, 43 years old and, until he got caught, a Trustee Savings Bank executive. He stole more than £500,000 before he was caught out, in order to live it up with two mistresses and to "send his local football club on overseas tours".

*(continued on page 2)*



## A World Stew'd in Corruption

(continued from page 1)

has been used for patronage" and that all pressure groups, "trade unions as well as those in business, all lobby Parliament". And, he asks, "how else are they to try to influence public policy?"

However, the ex-Bishop (who to his credit believes that God only exists in the mind) gets closer to some of the problems of today when he writes:

"The spirit of competition and enterprise we were all told to develop in the '80s has set more and more of us against one another. Everything depends on money.

Everyone needs more money. But the impression today is that money is in increasingly short supply for too many of us, while a small class of people just seem to dish it out to their own kind.

When the going gets rough you have to look after Number One. We may know in our heart of hearts that money is not everything and always going for Number One is not the best way of living together - but what can you do? So we feel a bit mixed up in sleaziness ourselves."

He adds that "committees of the great and the good" tend to be in favour of change but he qualifies this with a shrewd "as long as it does not make a great deal of difference". This is the whole problem of the political parties of today. And David Jenkins, who we are sure has never read an anarchist pamphlet, declares that:

"In any case the trouble goes far deeper than Parliament. The challenge is to all of us. We have to remember that it is no good expecting other people to be good for us. A good society will never be produced out of the efforts of leaders from whom we expect standards of goodness to which we are not committed ourselves.

The issue is how we can forge a decent society together.

How can each of us renew our common personal and local will to be good neighbours ourselves and build up decency?"

All good stuff. But does he denounce the capitalist system which worships profit and the greed he denounces? Not at all! He feels that "the churches have a great opportunity here" and "God provides resources to overcome what goes wrong" ... with Mammon! Hasn't the ex-Bishop realised that for the past two thousand years Mammon has been the God for mankind!

One economics journalist who has taken the words out of our mouths on the 'sleaze' topic is Victor Keegan (*Guardian*) when he writes:

"If I were John Major, I would be rather pleased at the way the sleaze is dominating newspaper headlines. While the media floodlights were directed at the small sleaze - £2,000 here, Fr8,010.90 there - the serious stuff was barely noticed."

And our list of the 'serious stuff', most of which coincides with his, is listed on another column.

We would like to conclude with an observation that none of the 'serious' broadsheet media thought of mentioning as they wallowed in the 'sleaze'. Surely what was obscene for most readers of the *Guardian* who were presented with the

facsimile of the invoice of the Paris Ritz hotel was that a room for the night cost £315 and that 'Room Service' for one day was £80, so it's not surprising that for two nights and all the servicing - pressing, laundry, mini-bar and telephone - it all came to 8,000 francs, about £1,000.

And apparently when the Aitkens had their weekend at the Paris Ritz more than 80% of the rooms were occupied. There are nearly twenty million unemployed in prosperous Western Europe but there's plenty of money around to fill the Ritz's of Europe.

## News of the Money Lovers

(continued from page 1)

His counsel told the court that as a result of his "love of money" and what it can buy he had lost his job, his pension, his house. But his wife "wanted to stand by him" - for goodness sake, why didn't she kick him in the balls! Anyway, he is our tenant for 4½ years less discount.

Passing from the domestic to the national, and possibly the most crooked enterprise for which the government is directly responsible, is the campaign for personal pensions which persuaded hundreds of thousands of working people to transfer their occupational pensions to the private sector with the assurance that they would benefit by so doing. They were conned, so much so that it is estimated that the total bill for compensating policyholders who have been cheated could be more than £3,000 million. Who will pay this? And what of the people who sold this crooked option?

Back to millions and not billions! Labour claims that tax write-offs worth £1.3 billion in lost revenue to the Treasury during the crisis at Lloyds include £9 million used to ease losses among 51 Conservative MPs who are Lloyd's names. Since these Tory MPs can officially offset their insurance losses against other income they are privileged as compared with other investors who don't get this relief.

The *Independent* (25th October) gives an idea as to how you can increase sales by a shortcut.

David Potter, chief executive of Guinness Mahon the merchant bank, keen to beef up his private banking business:

"... has appointed a non-executive director whose filofax is a directory of the wealthy and influential. Step forward Giles Shepard, until recently managing director at the Savoy.

Regular Savoy guests can now expect copious junk mail from Guinness Mahon inviting them to open accounts."

This is not unusual. As we write, after sixty years in business the Milk Marketing Board has been privatised - or has it? Nearly 70% of milk production will be handled by Milk Marke, a cooperative (so they say) of producers.

Guess what, the boss of the Milk Marketing Board has moved: he's now boss of Milk Marke! Plus ça change ...

## NEWS IN BRIEF

A pretty-pretty painting by the Victorian painter James Tissot of his beautiful mistress playing with three delightful angelic children on a fur covered sofa in the middle of a garden in full bloom was sold for £572,000 in 1983 to an American oil millionaire. It was up for sale at Sotheby's last month when the auctioneers reckoned it would now fetch £1 million plus. Not at all. It apparently "sparked a long drawn-out bidding battle" according to the *Independent's* Geraldine Norman (31st October) and finally went for £3,300,000! The eventual buyer, according to rumours in the trade, is Sir Andrew Lloyd Webber the impresario and composer.

Times have certainly changed when one thinks of composers of great music such as Schubert or Mozart (and it is great when you consider it lives on 200 years later) were buried in paupers' graves, and there's Andrew Lloyd Webber already a multi-millionaire and its pouring in at a vertiginous rate. According to Labour Research, his Really Useful Group (whatever that may be) paid him dividends last year of £13.3 million. And that was "after a dividend cut" but on top of a salary of more than £11 million from his three companies. So what's £3,300,000 for a Tissot for a Lloyd Webber. He can't know what to do with all this lolly, surely? But it's obscene when one learns that there are women doing three jobs in order to make ends meet because their labour is being priced at even less than £1 an hour.

## Aide Memoire for our God-fearing Politicians

The *Guardian* (31st October) has on its front page a four-column photograph of the smiling Aitkens emerging from St Clements, Sandwich, arm in arm after morning service. Mrs Aitken's free hand is gripped by the vicar.

In case he didn't give them some helpful counselling we offer them (and the vicar) some home truths from the *First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to Timothy*, Chapter 6:

- "7 For we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out.
- 8 And having food and raiment let us be therewith content.
- 9 But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare and into many foolish and hurtful lusts which drown men in destruction and perdition.
- 10 For the love of money is the root of all evil; which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith and pierced themselves through with many sorrows."

P.S. Paragraph 8 is okay, but what about shelter?

What would currency speculators do if the single currency were to be seriously introduced. In the past month dealers and speculators (are they the same thing?) have been pouring dollars into the money markets with the result that now the dollar is quoted 1.63 to the pound when only a month ago it was 1.50. Suddenly American goods, at least in theory, cost 8½% less in the export markets than they did, not because of the magic word 'productivity' but simply thanks to the currency racket. We have no doubt that at a certain stage more speculators will buy dollars, and so up goes the dollar vis a vis the other currencies and the speculators will be laughing at the public's expense!

In *Freedom* ('Clobbering the Poor as Usual', 1st October) we concluded the article:

"The Fraud Squad are gunning for the *Big Issue* vendors. We anticipate that their next target will be the LETS movement to which we will return in the next issue."

We didn't but will in due course. In the meantime the much advertised monthly *Red Pepper* in its November issue has some four pages on LETS and confirms our hunch that the tax collector and the Fraud Squad are of the opinion that whether LETS' currencies are in acorns, spindles or kisses, those involved are trading and, to quote *Red Pepper*:

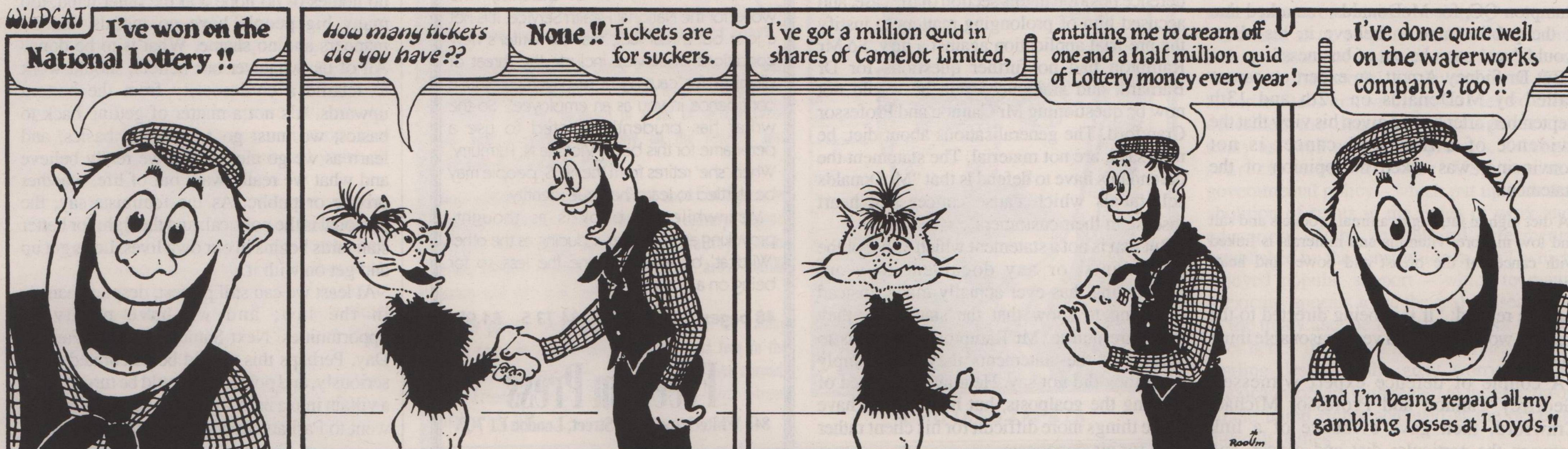
"... the Inland Revenue and Social Security Departments officially say that LETS income will be treated as if it were cash. Those in business must pay tax on it, employed people should notify their tax inspector so they can be assessed for tax and those on social security may lose benefit."

But the writer, Paul Gosling, points out that "unofficially the signs are that departments intend to take little notice of breaches of these rules". But he is not so sure of the attitude of the tax people if LETS really takes off in a big way. A book *LETS Work: rebuilding the local economy* by Peter Long has recently been published and we intend to review it in some detail soon.

The Americans are more obsessed with law and order than our blue-rinsed Tory ladies are. Their ever-grinning spokesman Home Secretary Michael Howard goes on imagining that the solution is to lock-em-up and make conditions in prison so tough that the criminals once released will never risk going back.

Well, the Americans have beaten all records, as usual, with for the first time a prison population of ONE MILLION plus, and according to the *Independent's* Washington correspondent it continues to rise by about 250 a day.

Obviously the population is much higher than here, but even so the US incarceration rate is five times that of Britain. And of course there are thousands on Death Row and in addition to the million there are some 450,000 in local prisons. And the tough Howard approach has not reduced the crime rate. These people haven't the intelligence to ask themselves whether it's the capitalist system that breeds the 'criminals'!





## Food for Thought ... and Action

**Bypass:** cross currents in under the counter culture #3. The latest issue of this review magazine is very much influenced by the review 'zine from the USA *Factsheet 5*. The proliferation of self-published and 'underground' magazines over the past decade or so means that there is plenty of material – from the great and the good to the piss-poor and worse! – for such a review magazine. Although containing far fewer reviews than its counterpart from the USA, this 'review and listings service for the self-published and small press' zines, comics, pamphlets, books ... connects you to a whole chunk of the independent, alternative and dissident 'underground,' with short, intelligent reviews of all sorts of weird and wonderful stuff. Well produced, interesting and useful. Improves with each issue. A4 magazine, 34 pages, £1.20.

**The Great British Mistake:** *Vague 1977-92\** edited by Tom Vague, published by AK Press. An anthology of the legendary (maga)zine of post-punk, post-situationist burnout. "A fourteen and a half years struggle against lies, stupidity and cowardice: a reckoning with the destroyers of the punk rock movement." Originating as a punk fanzine in the late '70s, *Vague* evolved into an excellent and original mag featuring everything from the Red Army Faction and conspiracy theory to situationism and Cyber-Punk. The first two-thirds of this anthology mainly contains writings on the punk/post-punk music scene; the last third contains excerpts from such gems as 'The 20th Century and How to Leave It (Punk before Punk/Situationism and all that)', including A Boy Scouts Guide to Situationism, the Angry Brigade, etc. As Stewart Home writes in his introduction: "To get in the right frame of mind to read this book, think about a bus load of Tory MPs being burnt alive in a riot. Yeah, really gloat over it. You've got it, *Vague* is the ultimate in hip reading

for armchair terrorists ..." Profusely illustrated A4 book, 114 pages, £7.95

**The Nature of the State\*** by Derrick A. Pike, self published. This large pamphlet, written by an author well known for his writings on anarcho-pacifism, attempts to "explain the nature of capitalism and the state. It shows the real causes of inflation, booms, slumps, unemployment, poverty, crime, revolution and war. It does this by making and proving these original assertions: 1) Governments have only one ultimate purpose which is to divide wealth unequally, 2) Money is a means of power and only by using it can governments enforce their laws and serve this purpose, 3) People cannot be governed or controlled unless they remain poor, 4) For capitalism and the state to survive, wealth must be destroyed, and 5) During most wars, the main concern is the destruction of wealth, not the killing of people or even victory." If this pamphlet fails to live up to many of these claims, it is none the less an ambitious and interesting work. A4 indexed pamphlet, 96 pages, £4.15.

**Anarchism in Turkey:** a short history of anarchism in Turkey by Mine Ege, Karambol Publications. This short work, written by an anarchist activist from Turkey, gives a useful history of activities by anarchists in that country. "Why has nearly every kind of Western originated revolutionary movement taken its place in the political arena of Turkey, and not anarchism?" The author attempts to answer this question. A5 pamphlet, 12 pages, 80p.

JC

Titles distributed by Freedom Press Distributors (marked\*) are post free inland (add 15% for overseas orders). For other titles please add 10% towards postage and packing inland, 20% overseas. Cheques in sterling payable to FREEDOM PRESS please.

## A Shaken World ...

Unfortunately, I didn't have the time to get to London for the 'Ten Days That Shook the World' celebrations – I only made it to the book fair. It was good to get a note from the bookshop however, halfway through the week, from the 'gleaner' (or was it 'cleaner'?) to say "Bookfair very successful – what a jolly time we had – the phone here never stops ringing and the shop is full. Do you think anarchism is becoming too common?" It's good to see all the hard work is paying off. We all owe a big thank you to Ian Bone and the others who have made it happen.

In fact it proved to be a success before it even started. Even the *New Statesman* carried a two-page article pointing to Ian's "sense of humour, his populist instincts and his unerring ability to provoke outrage" as the driving force that has made the festival, "such a size that no one on the anarchist scene will risk missing it" and indeed, grumbling and moaning, we were there.

But it's been a big success abroad as well, again before it even started. Militants the world over have been talking about it, getting ready and getting out their thermals for our wintry climate. The October issue of *CNT* expressed the concern many of its readers had with their stomachs: "You won't starve although you'll have to eat English style", it griped, along with other concerns about accommodation and transport but being very complimentary about organisation and communication. Seemingly there is a cultural divide though, as it commented that throughout the ten days there would be a women only site. Puzzled, it said: "This may seem strange to those of us here in the peninsular but in other countries this is common practice and they've been doing it for quite some time". Clearly sexual apartheid is not of Iberian origin.

Italy also has been well aware of the *Dieci Giorni che Sconvolgono il Mondo* and all the

events have been well publicised over a period of time. Australia has been a little more down to earth though with various appeals for money appearing in journals like the *New Age Monthly Review*.

Of course not all are so supportive. We've already seen one Scandinavian response on these pages but even the French have got a little hot under the collar, keeping their support firmly on the critical side. The latest issue of *Le Monde Libertaire* carries a notice about the event but with a clear health warning: "We announce this festival with some reservations, certain themes to us seem to have little to do with anarchism". Fair enough.

Reservations or not there were plenty of overseas visitors around in London last weekend when I was at the book fair. Struggling somewhat with the language barrier they were having a good time, with the happy bunch of Swedes I talked to having less of a language problem than some of the Brits sinking a few in the pub next to Conway Hall.

But it wasn't just the pub that was seething with humanity. I would guess some three thousand probably made the journey to Conway Hall. Perhaps the main point about the whole thing was made by the Venezuelans in *Correo A* when they said that the festival "... can only confirm the powerful renaissance of libertarian activities in that country". Let's hope we don't lose the momentum.

Neil Birrell

## Guy Fawkes

Nicolas Walter gave the Comment on the Radio 4 Sunday programme on 30th October.

The media debate about standards in public life is curiously unreal, like so much in the media and in public life. The media don't just report but create events which seem more real than real events. And public life isn't just ordinary life in public, but a different kind of life which seems more real than private life. Mix the two together, and reality disappears.

What is the reality? The most obvious problems may not be solved, at least in the short term, but they must be faced. On one hand, the present government is too powerful and has been in power too long. A great advantage of parliamentary democracy is the chance to vote the scoundrels out from time to time, whoever they are, and fifteen years is too long for anyone. On the other hand, many owners and employees of popular newspapers and broadcasting channels are just as bad as the people they build up and knock down, and are part of the problem rather than the solution.

People in power and people in the media use each other to create spectacles which are fun to watch but don't have much bearing on the true situation. What is the situation? On one hand, too many little people have no work or no homes or no hope. On the other hand, too many big people have no morals and no manners and no shame. What is to be done? All of us, whatever our beliefs, should work to rebuild a civil society from the bottom upwards. It's not a matter of getting back to basics; we must go forward to basics, and learn as we go along what we really believe and what we really want out of life, whether private or public. As the feminists say, the personal is the political; and the fight for better standards begins in our own lives. Let's get up and get on with it.

At least we can still protest, despite changes in the law; and we have plenty of opportunities. Next Saturday is Guy Fawkes Day. Perhaps this should be celebrated more seriously, and poor Guy should be turned from a villain into a hero – the only person who ever went to Parliament with honest intentions!

Nicolas Walter

## McLibel plaintiffs concede a point

The leaflet 'What's Wrong with McDonalds?', which is the subject of the libel suit by the McDonalds fast food chain against our comrades Dave Morris and Helen Steel, says in part:

"McDonalds promote their food as 'healthy', but the reality is that it is high in fat, sugar and salt, and low in fibre and vitamins. A diet of this type is linked with a greater risk of heart disease, cancer, diabetes and other diseases."

McDonalds lawyers conceded before the case started that a diet of the type described is associated with obesity, high blood pressure and heart disease, but denied any link with cancer and made this allegation the core of their case. It was the basis of their successful argument in February that the case must be heard by a judge alone because the scientific evidence would be too complicated for a jury and, in his opening address in June, Richard Rampton QC, for McDonalds, remarked that if the public came to believe it, his client would "very soon be out of business".

But Dr Sidney Arnott, an expert on cancer called by McDonalds on 12th and 13th September, after he had given his view that the evidence of a link with cancer is not convincing, was asked his opinion of the statement:

"A diet high in fat, sugar, animal products and salt and low in fibre, vitamins and minerals is linked with cancer of the breast and bowel and heart disease."

And he replied: "If it is being directed to the public I would say it is a very reasonable thing to say".

A couple of defence expert witnesses, Geoffrey Cannon and Professor Michael Crawford, then gave evidence of a link between the particular diet and cancer, and

were due to be cross-questioned on this last week.

Meanwhile another defence witness, Dr Neal Barnard of the United States Physician's Committee for Responsible Medicine, mostly talking about the way McDonalds advertising misled people into eating a poor diet, also mentioned in passing that 30% of cancers are linked with food.

It was in cross-questioning Dr Barnard that Mr Rampton made his concession. "We would all agree", he said, that there is a link between a high fat, low fibre diet and cancer of the breast and colon. His job as an advocate is to present the facts in the light most favourable to his client, so he made "we would all agree" sound like "we have always agreed", but he fooled nobody.

The defendants complained to the judge that McDonalds had now conceded the entire defence position in this section of the case, and accused him of prolonging matters to justify the pre-trial application against a jury. So Mr Rampton had no further questions for Dr Barnard, and announced that he would not now be questioning Mr Cannon and Professor Crawford. The generalisations about diet, he now says, are not material. The statement the defendants have to defend is that "McDonalds sell meals which cause cancer and heart disease in their customers".

But that is not a statement which either of the defendants, or any document they are distributing, has ever actually made. Instead of trying to show that the statements they made are untrue, Mr Rampton now elects to show that the statements they made imply what they did not say. He may be accused of moving the goalposts, but he seems to have made things more difficult for his client rather than for his opponents.

The case continues. Court 35 at the Royal Courts of Justice, Strand, London WC2, 10.30am daily, open to the public, admission free.

### NEW FROM FREEDOM PRESS Health Service Wildcat

As it says on the front cover, "this book is dedicated to the daft doctrine that people trained in making profits can run a better health service than people trained in caring for the sick". It is the fourth book of Donald Room's 'Wildcat' cartoons to be published by Freedom Press, but the first in which Donald has worked with a collaborator.

Most of the hilarious scripts are by a well-known writer, not an anarchist, who works for the National Health Service. It is not a joke but a real fact, that the writer's new conditions of service include the threat of dismissal for "causing the management to lose confidence in you as an employee". So the writer has prudently elected to use a pen-name for this book, Victoria N. Furnmury. When 'she' retires from the NHS, people may be startled to learn 'her' true identity.

Meanwhile the book is as thought-provoking and laughter-inducing as the other 'Wildcat' books, and none the less so for being on a single topic.

48 pages ISBN 0 900384 73 5 £1.95

Freedom Press

84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX



In recent years the mass media have developed a stereotype image of the 'anarchist' as a person, usually young and scruffy, who goes into political demonstrations with the object of inciting riots and battling police. As with the older stereotype of the 'anarchist' as a malevolent bomb-thrower, it is accepted as truth by those who use the mass media as their only source of information.

Like the 'anarchist bomb-thrower', the 'anarchist rioter' has some slight foundation in fact. There are a few anarchists who riot, just as there were a few who put bombs about, and a few others advocate such activities without risking participation themselves. The majority of rioters are not anarchists and the majority of anarchists are not rioters, but such niceties do not concern the media, who know that simple stories of violence produce better sales and audience figures than discussions of ideas.

Among the ignoramuses who believe that 'anarchist equals rioter' are some of the police, including some high-ranking officers. Literature for the 'Anarchy in the UK' festival included a call for anarchists to participate in a march and rally organised by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament on Saturday 29th October: "In view of the impossibility of getting police permission for a specifically anarchist march bring the red and black flags and let's turn this into the biggest anarchist

# Anarchy in the UK

## Ten days of anarchist festival

### 21st to 30th October 1994

street presence ever", and some ignorant police twit interpreted this as 'Let's have a riot'.

A spokeswoman for CND, who positively welcomed an anarchist contingent, told the *Guardian*: "Police seem to think all anarchists are intent on violence. We met senior officers and asked for evidence of a threat, but they could provide nothing".

Many of the most active anarchists were not available for the CND march because they were running stalls at the London Greenpeace Fayre in Conway Hall, which had been booked a year in advance. Conway Hall is miles away from the site of the CND demo, but the police got it into their heads that it was being used as a rallying point for would-be hijackers. A bus-load of police in riot gear was stationed in a street near Conway Hall, and four policemen in street uniform stood at the door questioning people going in and out.

Their aggressive questions included "Who owns Conway Hall?", indicating that they were not of the local manor.

An astonishing 2,000 police watched the assembly of the CND march, whose participants numbered only some 8,000 or, as the police put it, only 3,500 – comparison of Metropolitan Police news briefs, with what they say to each other on their police radios, indicated that they report two-fifths of the number of demonstrators they count. Then as the march moved off the police moved in and arrested people carrying anarchist flags or wearing anarchist insignia.

Less obvious anarchists immediately left the march and hurried the information to Conway hall, where an emergency meeting was held. Reports of the numbers arrested rose as high as 250, but it appears that the real total was about 30. This is borne out by the police report that they had arrested 12. All those arrested were released after the demo, two on police bail charged with minor offences and the rest unconditionally but without a word of apology.

Ian Bone is to be credited with the idea of turning the week of the Anarchist Bookfair and the London Greenpeace Fayre into an anarchist festival, but much of the credit for its success is due to a few hard-working comrades meeting at the 121 Centre in Brixton, especially those who organised a squat near Conway Hall to accommodate hundreds of overseas visitors. Good timing. The Criminal Justice Bill will now make squatting illegal, after 650 years.

Freedom Press's contribution was to keep the shop open for a welcome stream of visitors and to answer constant telephone enquiries about the whereabouts of events, some of which were moved and others which did not even take place (see below). The week of the Anarchist Bookfair and the London Greenpeace Fayre is always the busiest week of the year for Freedom Press, and this year we also had an advertisement in the *New Statesman* inviting people to write in for a short subscription to *Freedom*. So we did not have time to do much else, or even to attend many of the events.

However two of us, Donald and Silvie, were invited to make the speeches of welcome at the opening ceremony on Friday 21st October. Donald represented the veteran anarchists (notice being too short to find a proper veteran) and Silvie represented women. We shared the platform with the comedian Mr Social Control, the singer Steve Cope, and Roz who impersonated the Queen.

The Anarchist Bookfair on 22nd October was the best ever, with not a policeman in sight and every table doing well. The welcome volume of sales indicated an enormous number of visitors. The associated meetings were a great success as well, especially the one addressed by Colin Ward on 'Fundamentalism', whose text will appear in the next *Raven*.

The launch of *Visions of Poesy*, with readings by poets including Bernard Kops, Christopher Logue, Adrian Mitchell and Monica Sjöö (with vocal interruptions from a dog) was very enjoyable once it got started. Clifford Harper was there selling the book and packs of his portrait cards.

The Festival of Smut organised by members of Feminists Against Censorship was enjoyable, no less so for being presented by amateurs, and the debate on pornography and censorship was excellent.

The big grumble must be about events which

were announced but did not take place. Someone apparently thought anarchists, even anarchists who are tired out from a thousand-mile trek, would rather organise themselves than have things organised for them. So someone put times and dates of meetings in the programme and then did nothing about them, not even turning up. This worked at the International Anarchist Rally, where after two hours wait for the organisers a Colombian comrade mounted the platform and talked about events on Colombia. But at most such ghost meetings, people just got fed up.

The chief achievement of the festival is that it brought anarchist groups together, frustrating those who have been trying for years, often with some success, to drive wedges between us. Wedges are at last being replaced by bridges.

And as a small but worthwhile achievement, Freedom Press tables at the Anarchist Bookfair, the poetry launch and the London Greenpeace Fayre, took about £2,000 in addition to what was sold in the shop and by mail order.

## The Anarchist Federation of Britain

One of the most useful sessions of the 'Ten Days That Shook the World' conference was a session led by John Rety on the possibility and practicality of setting up another Anarchist Federation of Britain.

The participants looked at the background to the '60s and early '70s AFB and why the then AFB collapsed. This AFB had been largely drawn from groups and individuals whose political background had an origin mainly from within the peace movement rather than anarchism – and I stress here a peace movement rather than a pacifist movement although there were a number of pacifists involved.

Now, as in the past, other groups exist, or have existed until recently: the Anarchist Communist Federation, Class War, the London Anarchist Forum, Freedom Press, 121 and so on. Others also might exist but their failure to communicate with others means one may almost mislay their existence. At the same time factors such as the demise of Soviet Communism, opposition to an increasingly right-wing government, the rejection of principle by the Labour Party and a general feeling that no moral movement exists, has led more and more people to question existing political ideologies and develop an interest in alternatives, of which anarchism is one.

People up and down the country are forming autonomous groupings with both general and specific aims, action-based rather than ideologically-based. Some are members of existing bodies, some are not. Some are keenly interested in developing their ideas, especially those who have recently come into contact with and been dismayed by the dogmatism of other socialist groupings. Others are less interested in ideas but in actions, preferring to develop an ideology related to practical experience. All lack one thing: a focus, a sense of coordination with individuals and localities. These feel some body, such as an Anarchist Federation of Britain, might be an (or the) answer.

The next meeting will be at 8pm on Wednesday 7th December in the Small Hall at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1R 4RL, and I have offered to be the contact person. Any suggestions for an agenda or letters indicating support or opposition to: 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex, TW7 4AW. My telephone number is 081-847 0203.

Peter Neville

## Shaken and stirred: a tide of poesy at the Conway Hall

Mid scenes of amiable confusion the first ever anthology of anarchist poetry was launched during the Ten Days That Shook the World Festival. Whether it added to the shock, time will be the test, but the poetry reading in the booming and cavernous Conway Hall was a properly anarchic event which ended in angry confusion when poets not in the book felt slighted and betrayed by the compère (yours untruly). For the editors of *Visions of Poesy* (Clifford Harper, Dennis Gould and myself) the inaugural reading was a fraught affair. I didn't even know the book had been printed when I arrived breathless by bicycle, and nor did Dennis who arrived later by BR from Gloucestershire. In fact the drive and determination of Clifford, the dauntless energy of typesetter Jayne and the experience and know-how of Aldgate Press had ensured that advance copies had been available at the Anarchist Bookfair earlier.

Our first look at the book was a revelation and we believe it is worthy of the movement it celebrates. Clifford's design and cryptic alphabetical drawings enhance the text and we the long-suffering Freedom Press, which has nobly endured our stalls and stutters on the journey to completion, feels the wait has been worthwhile.

To our collective editorial delight twelve of the included poets (70 in all – living and dead) arrived to push the ship of anarchist poetry out into the troubled seas of taste and style. On what must be recorded as an historic night, the following may one day be proud to say 'I was there': Tom Earley who came from Bloomsbury via Wales, Penny Rimbaud via Crass, Oliver Mahler via Da Da, John Rety via 'the world', Patricia West via Bristol, Monica Sjöö from Sweden via Bristol, Terence Walpole via the Oxford University of Life, John Gallas danced down from Leicester, Christopher Logue and Adrian Mitchell blew in from their lightly-worn havens of celebrity, Bernard Kops leapt from the boxing ring of life and Dennis Gould, as ever, seemed ever-present.

Collectively and individually they served up their visions to an ever-changing audience which drifted in and out and was alternately bewitched, bothered and bewildered by the wit, compassion, rage and inspired ravings on offer. There were two past editors of *Freedom*

at the reading too: the cartoonist/artist/writer Philip Sansom was in the audience, while poet/novelist/publisher John Rety managed to both promote and organise the reading and perform as a poet.

The poets who read were very representative of those in the book, but their presence at the reading was the consequence of geography and chance. The editors hope there may be more (regional) *Visions of Poesy* readings and if you fancy organising one in your region we'll try to round up contributors who can make the journey and read their own poems – and those of others in the book (contact us via Freedom Press).

Anarchists are egoists and there was a fair amount of free ego flying about during the reading. By the time John Rety read I was knackered and many of the audience had left. There is only so much poetry that anyone can take in one go. Whatever has happened to them and wherever they've travelled since, the Sex Pistols managed to state the paradoxical essence of anarchism as concisely as anyone in the book:

"I is the best / I is the rest / I is the enemy / I is anarchy!"

Jeff Cloves

New from Freedom Press

## Visions of Poesy

An anarchist poetry book including over two hundred poems by seventy poets

with 26 illustrations by Clifford Harper

Includes introduction, biographical notes on the contributors, bibliography and index.

317 pages ISBN 0 900384 75 1 £8.00

Freedom Press

84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1



One, almost anyone, could write a book on the hypocrisy which oozes continually from each part of the British political machine. Hypocrisy is, after all, the essential lubricant which has evolved through history to keep the parts apart whilst retaining their relative motion. Its value is that it spreads illusions of honest action and beneficial change, while, of course, leaving things the same at best, or more likely making them worse. *Plus ça change ...* except the more they have, the more they grab.

Anarchists are not surprised that MPs take cash for asking questions, nor that Shirley Tesco Porter behaved like a feudal baroness in Westminster, driving out the poor and homeless from their doors and yuppifying their hearths. Mark Thatcher being paid roughly a million pounds an hour simply for remaining conscious for twelve hours while being his mother's son, is par for their course. Hypocrisy is a form of corruption and sleaze its natural by-product.

Bambi Blair's brothers and quota sisters run in the same oil. Having failed, on the few occasions they had the chance, to impose their interpretation of Clause 4, they have now thrown it back into the *nouveau socialiste* melting pot. The dreary old Fabian Webbs who landed them with it in 1918 were not *socialists* – they were middle class *bureaucrats* whose agenda was order and control not freedom and choice. Bambi must know this. Only if the new interpretation turns out to be for workers' cooperatives, autonomous groups who control their own means of production, etc., can the brothers and sisters escape from their grade of hypocritical goo. Don't hold your breath. If you can't impose order and control, you can't impose your version of social justice, can you Bambi?

One could continue. Suffice it to say that hypocrisy, corruption and sleaze are the unavoidable natural media of politics as practised under the claim of sovereignty over others. But with the vast, apparently endless Sleaze-O-Rama of British politics before us, I would like to consider their reaction to drugs.

First, I am obliged to offer a public health warning. Caution, the British government is suffering terminal irrelevance. As it becomes more irrelevant, falling into the void left by the EU, regional federalism and downtown subsidiarity, it will thrash about with increasing irrationality (the Criminal Justice Bill being a symptom of this process).

Presently, in its search for a role, the British government is setting out to worry children about drugs. Not all drugs, not the most

# Hypocrites, Damned Hypocrites and Politicians

addictive and fatal drugs, but the drugs they don't like or can't tax. And, of course, they will avoid at all costs confronting the real issue raised by their pharmacophobia.

Michael Slime-Mould Howard (a.k.a. The Home Office Kid), the ineffectual Sheriff of Drugsville, has got four ministerial deputies and a posse of no fewer than ten government departments to ride with him in his latest attempt to round up the druggies. No doubt they will meet in the saloon and have a few swift halves before trying to find the sunset.

And therein lay the seeds of their failure. Young people have the unbeatable advantage of open-mindedness or, put another way, they are not yet contaminated with the hypocrisy of their elders. They tend to know that 300,000 deaths per annum are due to smoking tobacco; that 120,000 die from alcohol related problems; and that millions are addicted to these nice little revenue earners. On the other hand they may know, for objective information is constantly corrupted, that cannabis is non-fatal. That, in comparison to nicotine, it is barely addictive. Many will have observed parents in a far better state on joints than on drink. The same, with the exception of some few deaths and addiction still less than that to alcohol or nicotine, is true of heroin, cocaine, etc.

When it comes to medicinal and manufactured drugs, the youth of today is aware of the cultivated addiction to tranquillisers, sleeping pills and any other product the manufacturers of 'ethical' pharmaceuticals can persuade gullible doctors to push on their behalf. Youth would probably ask what, as far as Sheriff Slime-Mould is concerned, is the difference between mummy bombing out on tranxs and them steaming on with E?

The answer may lie in the definition of a drug. The best I have been able to come up with is this: a drug is a substance which alters the state of being in a way which would not normally be experienced. The beauty of this is that it is bullet-proof, the problem is that it is relative. However, that relativity reflects both the nature of drugs and the reasons why they are used.

Relativity, as Einstein showed, produces false perspectives and an infinity of perceptions. From the perspective of Sheriff Slime-Mould and his drunken nicotine-stained gang of lager louts, there is nothing wrong with the behaviour they support, nay encourage, because it is 'normal'. Their perception of some long-haired group of weirdos meditating to strange music in aromatic smoke-filled rooms, is that it requires the full weight, majesty and expense of the law to be deployed against it, simply because it is not 'normal'. Oh dear, I will leave readers to decide which group will be most successful in *Tackling Drugs Together*.<sup>1</sup>

With this understanding it is obvious that the driving force behind Howard's latest brainstorm is nothing more than hypocrisy generated by the historic prejudices and unquestioned habits of those who presume to rule. On the same basis, it is obvious that it will fail.

And that raises the real issue which they will not confront. Who owns, or has property in, your body? In recent order from the past to the present, you belonged to God, the King and the State. Now, as a citizen of the EU with rights, you belong to the courts, although all previous owners maintain a residual claim

over you. Be that as it may, the hypocritical Tory tangle is hard to beat. You are economically free, their ethos of greed depends upon it. You may destroy the world in the name of economic liberty, but you may not alter your metabolic state beyond normally accepted limits. Sounds like nonsense to me, but such nonsense is characteristic of politicians, is it not?

Yet many people prefer nonsense to making the effort to make sense of their own lives and choices of behaviour. Far easier to obey the rules, live within the law, than be responsible and think for yourself. The law imposes

conformity; it also inhibits progress. Those outside the law have continually to make fundamental decisions, to re-invent right and wrong, to exercise judgement in different circumstances, to evolve codes of mutual behaviour which suit their needs. Sounds like chaos to me. But isn't what appears as chaos simply a system which you don't yet understand?

In parallel with their 'concern' over drugs, politicians have recently been perturbed by a decline in moral standards among the young. A recent Mori Poll, conducted for Radio One's alternative religious (?) programme 'The Big Holy One', showed them to be largely beyond salvation. They thought the Tories did not have high moral standards (nothing new there) but Bambi's big bright eyes still give him a relative advantage. Church and State were found to be sinking to a gratifyingly low position in the ethical swamp.

What the jolly pollsters overlooked in their interpretation of the poll, because of *their* relative perspective, was its real message. It is not that the young reject morality, but that they reject dogmatic morality. They do not believe the fairy stories of church, state, politicians and teachers in the way that these authoritarians would wish. Not surprising when much of this dogma is as fixed and inappropriate as the conviction displayed by its disciples today. These inheritors of the tradition which used to burn heretics for proving them wrong, who still incarcerate people for the 'wrong' choice of substance, are as far out of touch as their ancestors who believed, nay *knew*, that the earth was at the centre of the universe and man at the centre of creation.

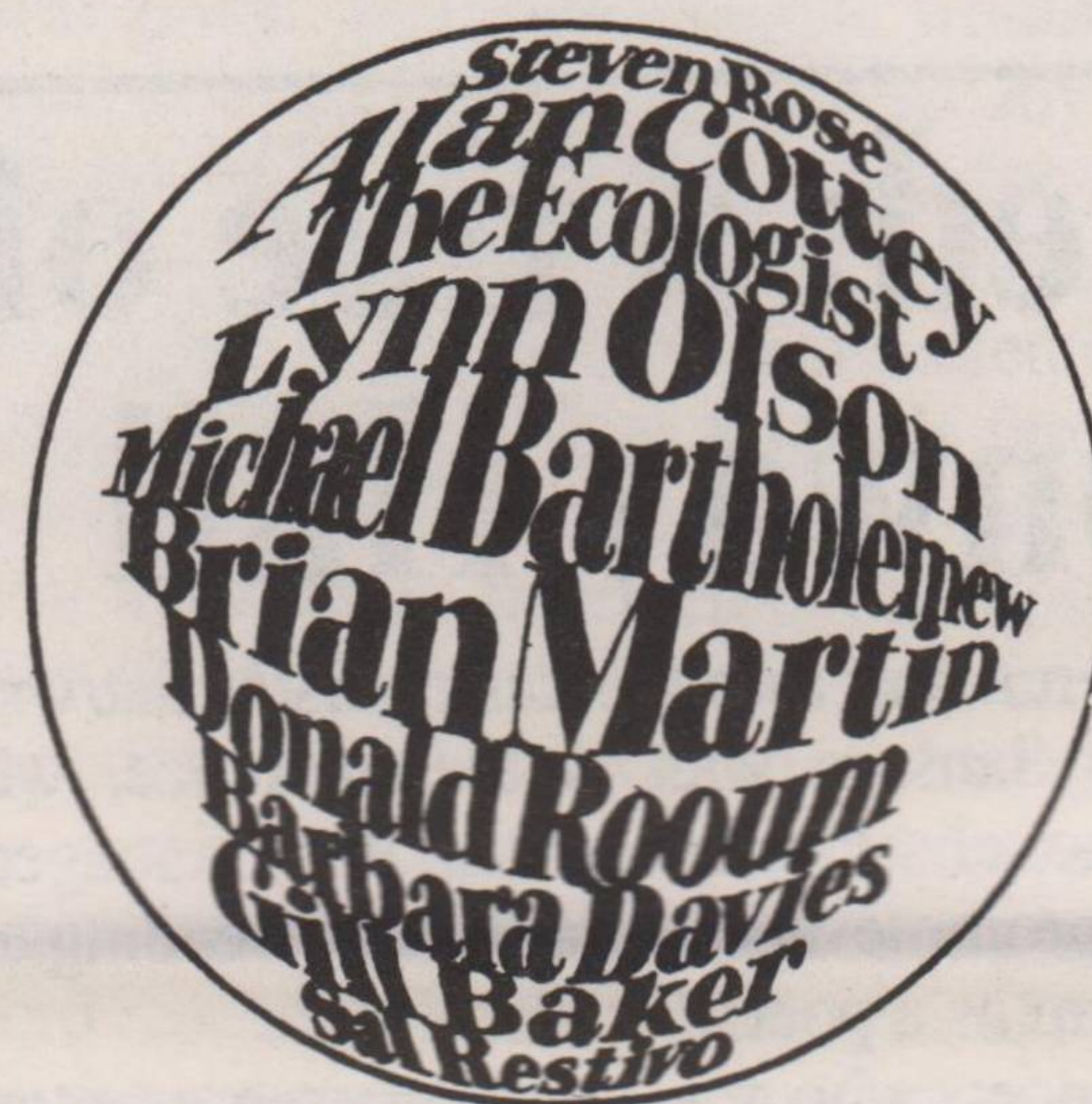
So people are creating their own morality, making choices about their metabolisms and its modified state, rejecting the mythologies of religion and the authority of the state and courts, creating instead their own codes of behaviour and responsibility. Sounds like anarchy to me. But if that's true it's certain we don't need the Sheriff any more. Slide off, Slime-Mould, it's your sunset now.

Colin Johnson

## Raven 26

on

### Science – 2



100 pages

£3.00 (post free anywhere)

## VISIONS OF FREEDOM

### AUSTRALIAN ANARCHIST CONFERENCE AND FESTIVAL

Sydney, 20th - 22nd January 1995 at UTS Haymarket campus

After a few months of trying to confirm some dates, find a venue and network with other groups and individuals, we have now confirmed the dates and probably the venue. The organising collective is asking for people to become involved by running workshops, organising meetings and discussions, showing films or videos, performances, music and more. We hope to attract people both anarchist and not, from throughout Oz and overseas, who believe in freedom, equality and solidarity and wish to explore their visions of freedom!

#### SATURDAY MORNING

*Looking at life and society, how did we get here, where do we want to go?*

General plenary meeting with probably four to six speakers and general open discussion, critical appraisal of anarchy, possibilities for change in Australia. Parallel session on anarcho-syndicalism and the idea of class.

#### SATURDAY AFTERNOON

*How do we get where we want to go? Ideas for changing the world and cultivating anarchy.*

Parallel sessions including discussion on intellectuality and free speech; workshop on anarchy and feminism; workshop and discussion on anarchy and ecology; discussion on workplace, community, lifestyle and alternative structures; talk on anarchism or barbarism: structure, hierarchy and chaos; panel and discussion on

self-determination and anti-imperialism; anarcho-syndicalism and privatisation, a talk and discussion about privatisation in Australia Post.

#### SATURDAY EVENING

Talk by guest speaker Noam Chomsky on anarchy and visions of freedom, followed by questions and discussion.

#### SUNDAY

*Working together, organisation, growing our culture and defending it*

Parallel sessions including workshop on anarchist organisation; workshop on anarchist bookshops/stalls/info distribution; discussion on anarchy and social control; anarcho-syndicalism in Australia, strategy and organisation; workshop on networking, creating sustainable cultures; videos on Victorian tram dispute 1990 and Vic nurses strike 1986; workshop on confederation of anarchist groups; workshops on building networks and contacts for common campaigns; workshop on anarchy and technology; workshop on anarchist media, magazines, radio, television, computer networks, etc; discussion about HEMP campaign; plenary session.

The organising collective will meet every second Thursday at 6.30pm at 110 Crystal St Petersham 2049, Australia, telephone (02) 550 9931. Correspondence can be sent to this address. We hope to hear from you soon.

### New titles now available

#### AGAINST POWER AND DEATH The Anarchist Articles and Pamphlets of Alex Comfort

edited and with an introduction by David Goodway

Articles published between 1943 and 1986 in the journals *War Commentary*, *Freedom*, *Now*, *Peace News* and elsewhere, together with the pamphlet *Peace and Disobedience* (1946).

168 pages ISBN 0 900384 71 9 £5.00

#### HERBERT READ A One-Man Manifesto and other writings for Freedom Press

edited and with an introduction by David Goodway

The complete texts of all the articles, broadcasts, reviews, poems and speeches of Herbert Read published in the anarchist journal *Spain & the World* and its successors *Revolt!*, *War Commentary* and *Freedom*, from 1938 to 1953, together with the pamphlets *The Education of Free Men* (1944) and *Art and the Evolution of Man* (1951).

208 pages ISBN 0 900384 72 7 £6.00

### FREEDOM PRESS

84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

1. *Tackling Drugs Together*, HMSO, Green Paper, 114 pages. Contrary to rumours circulating in some circles, free drug samples are not included.



## Through the Anarchist Press

My belated visit to Spain has put a lot of things into focus which I should have understood better at about the time in the '60s when I was an editor of *Freedom*. It seems to me now that there is nothing like a first-hand experience. All editors of *Freedom* should take a sabbatical every now and then and visit Spain and see for themselves. Of course, one can come away with some strange ideas after only one short visit.

Spain is the home of anarchism and as such has provided a model for the rest of the world. Anarchist politics in this country in the '60s, when our movement began to grow, always held up the Spanish anarchist ideal. Today the need for an anarchist movement has never been stronger and we can still learn a lot from our Spanish comrades. There is still a huge following of anarchism in Spain. Every district, from the smallest to the largest towns, has an anarchist group. It is without question that the dictates of its geography have quite a lot to do with it, the varying climate of Spain practically spells out the need for autonomous communities. Each district has a very strong social cohesion, necessarily different in the harsh climate of the Asturias to the torpid heat of Andalucia. Whatever the government tried to do, it can't stop the siesta. The weather dictates the behaviour pattern of the population. When the sun is at its zenith, the population of the south reassert themselves and shut the door on the crazy outside world. At night they sit out under the canopy of stars and settle all scores in a kind of unofficial parliament, open and unashamed.

If comrades want anarchism here, they



Spanish street scene, photograph by John Rety

should consider, as good Kropotkinians all, the weather. We can always get rid of this government, or any government, but we cannot change the climate. This being anarchist poetry year, the following lines by Louis MacNeice will reinforce the sentiment:

"The glass is falling hour by hour, / The glass will fall forever, / But if you break the bloody glass / You won't hold up the weather."

So the government (the corrupt body of men and women dedicated to killing off, poisoning and otherwise disposing of by wars, pestilence and any other means at hand, the entire population including their own granny if need be) has published another binding law,

which Major's favourite author Lombroso had written out painstakingly only a hundred years ago: how to criminalise the entire population. Here we have the corporate state, timidly respectful trade unions, unctuous press and pulpit, a nicely combed opposition and the voice of Edwina Curry is heard all over the land.

It has to be said by somebody, though, that the anarchist movement will not be intimidated. The authoritarians have tried before and they have failed. They can pass as many stupid laws as they wish. Anarchism had a mass following in Spain. It is no longer a minority movement here. An injury to one is an injury to all. We must give clear warning

## — REVIEW —

### Anarchist Year Book

Anarchist Year Book 1995

published by Phoenix Press, £1.50

Once more this *Anarchist Year Book* appears giving details of a selection of new titles, periodicals, publishers, organisations and Phoenix Press. And once more no mention is made of the London Anarchist Forum, the only anarchist organisation which publishes details of regular weekly meetings in central London. So if you are a solitary individual who does not wish to meet any other comrades and keep the world at arms length, this is the book for you. If you actually want to meet other comrades in the flesh, then the London Anarchist Forum meetings, held at 8pm each Friday at Conway Hall, offer you a welcome. But from the *Anarchist Year Book* one might get the impression that we do not exist.

Peter Neville

that the anarchist movement will not tolerate the harassment of a single individual by the state. Everyone who is victimised for one reason or another should know that there is an anarchist group nearby who will do their utmost to avert private or communal catastrophe.

As for Anarchy in the UK – following the ten days of festivities the response from all concerned was very positive and it looks like we are going to have an even bigger and better one in 1995. For those who wish to help contact Ian Bone at PO Box 1096, Bristol, BS99.

John Rety

## — ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

### Watching the CJB and trying to watch Parliament

Our local library can no longer afford copies and referred me to the County Library twelve miles away. So I resolved to buy that day's debate at Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

There I found that I must pay £7.50 for that day's debate where the Water (Domestic Disconnections) Bill, not worth reporting in the papers, took up nineteen informative columns. No, there was no reduction for OAPs, so, needing the facts, I had to pay up. There are interesting issues here, beyond the obvious one that the newspapers no longer report the news, but so far as the price of *Hansard* is concerned, enlightenment comes from Ian Aitken (in *New Statesman and Society*, 28th October 1994). He too remembers that in the '60s and '70s the "serious" papers "genuinely tried to provide an adequate account of each day's proceedings" but that these have been replaced by "interpretive pieces by the lobby correspondents and funny send-ups of debates by the sketch-writers", while "even the BBC, whose radio and television reports have become almost the only reliable source of parliamentary news, is rumoured to be planning to cut back on the time it devotes to parliament".

He was reporting a pamphlet published by the Hansard Society (*What Price Hansard?*), confirming my discovery that one day's record of proceedings in the Commons now costs £7.50, with another £4.50 if you want the Lords *Hansard* too.

"MPs get free copies; but in obedience to the laws of the market, sales outside Westminster have fallen so precipitately that they can now be counted in hundreds rather than thousands. At such a grotesque price, even public libraries must find it hard to justify continuing a service that cost them

as little as a shilling a day thirty years ago, and was still only £1 in 1982 ...

How did this come about? The answer can be given in a single word: Thatcherism. For it was Thatcher who, in single-minded pursuit of her free-market ideology, first turned Her Majesty's Stationery Office (which prints *Hansard*) into a profit-making quango, and then decreed that every penny of subsidy should be withdrawn from the public sales of *Hansard*.

As the Hansard Society pamphlet reveals, the latter decision was taken in 1983 without a shred of consultation or even a public announcement, let alone a parliamentary debate. The result has been to price *Hansard* out of the market. For all practical purposes, it has returned the Mother of Parliaments to the status of a semi-secret legislature, just as it used to be before the great press-freedom battles of the nineteenth century."

Aitken goes on to describe the Hansard Society proposals, which are that *Hansard* should be distributed free to libraries and sold to the public at the marginal cost of each extra copy after the official demand has been met. At a stroke this would slash the price to just over £1 a copy.

Now of course anarchists are not the kind of people who take parliament seriously or who worry about the news of what goes on there. But for the propagandist, addressing the outside world, an immense amount of information is contained in ministerial statements, opposition contributions to debates and answers to parliamentary questions (no, not the ritual slanging match we hear on the radio between the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition, but small questions and answers on topics which the papers don't bother to report).

The information that Aitken gathered from the Hansard Society is itself useful ammunition as it illustrates the contempt that

our rulers have for the ruled. As he says, referring to the changes proposed by the Society, "if MPs are serious about creating an informed democracy, this is something they could do almost overnight".

But it isn't only a matter of the official record. Many London newspapers began life as reports of parliamentary debates in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The encyclopaedia tells me that because of their inaccuracies, Luke Hansard was licensed to produce his report in 1774 and it became an official report when published by William Cobbett in 1803, who when sent to prison in 1810 sold the business to his printer, Hansard's son Tom, and that business stayed in the family until 1889. But meanwhile the daily papers had set up their own staffs. As Aitken reminds us, until twenty years ago "both the *Times* and the *Telegraph* still retained large reporting teams at Westminster, while the harder-up *Guardian* published solid chunks of agency reports".

I well remember those detailed accounts, ending "The House rose at 1.45am", with a Stop Press column for use if it sat longer. That was in the days of typesetting with hot metal. Today, with computerised instant photosetting, papers are 'put to bed' so early that Westminster reports "are written so early in the afternoon that very little happens after question time is covered".

How did such unanimity arise in the posh papers that readers didn't want parliamentary reporting? Did the Newspaper Publishers' Association decide that the public rejected it? What, apart from universal trivia, has taken its place? If it wasn't for their price wars and differences of typography, none of us could tell which paper we are reading. They may have been seduced by anarchist propaganda telling them that parliament is irrelevant, but what is more likely is that they all hire public relations consultants who give them the same message that they give to the popular press: consumerist triviality sells advertising and advertising pays for papers.

Colin Ward

The Criminal Justice Bill (CJB), one of the most vindictive pieces of legislation for 150 years, has at last become law as the Criminal Justice Act. Unless you listen to the BBC's parliamentary reporting, you've no way of knowing this as the posh papers (*Times*, *Telegraph*, *Independent*, *Guardian*, etc.) have long ceased to report the ordinary business of the Houses of Parliament, so as to concentrate on ministerial scandals and front bench confrontations.

None of them told us that the CJB had its third reading last month, that the House of Lords which delayed the Bill by rejecting certain clauses had now passed it (with those clauses intact) and that it had received the Royal Assent.

Maybe this doesn't matter to more active anarchists than me, but I feel a need to know the facts used as evidence in the slanging match between government and opposition on the narrow range of topics that interest me, like housing or water supply. After all, and unlike me, both sides have paid researchers digging out the ammunition.

This issue struck me a few months ago when I learned from radio 4 that an MP, Stan Orme, had managed to get a second reading for a Bill to make it illegal for a water supplier to cut off any household's water for non-payment of accounts (this already applies to Scotland and Northern Ireland).

Needless to say his attempt had been 'talked out' by the government, but I wanted to know what facts had been produced. My *Guardian* had no report, and I checked with people all around to find that the other posh papers had none either.

Now there's a publication called *Hansard*, named after the printer who was licensed to produce a truthful report because the newspapers tended to lie. Every library, including school libraries, used to buy it (so did the editors of *Freedom* – when *Freedom* Bookshop moved from Red Lion Street to Fulham in 1960, I remember throwing away mountains of mouldering bundles).

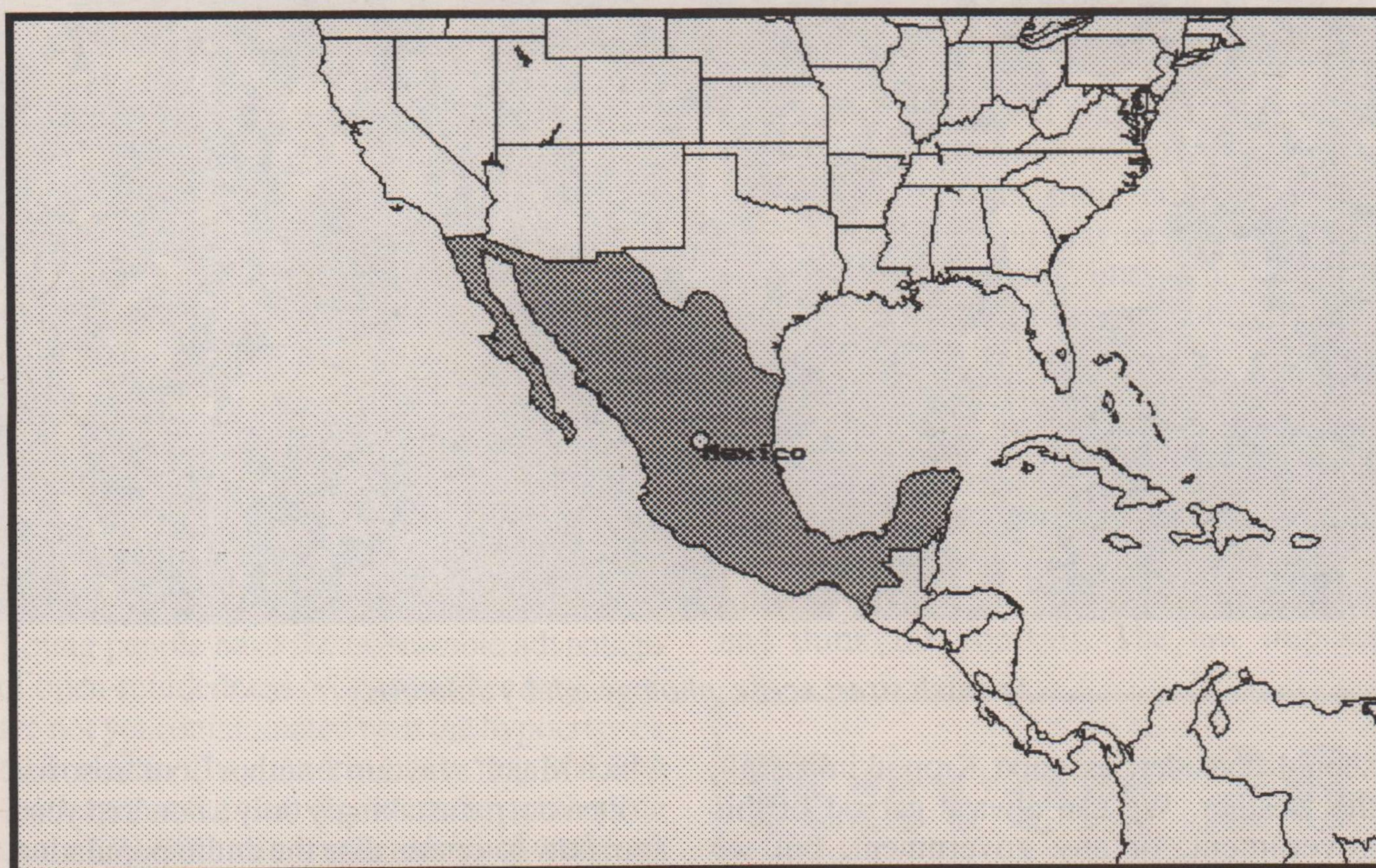


Mr Salinas needed to hand the Americans a Mexico-on-a-plate as he left office so that they could continue to make progress in their attempts to mirror the EU, with its progressive colonisation of Eastern Europe, by means of the NAFTA. And of course if Mr Salinas behaved himself there was the real possibility of that nice job at the new World Trade Organisation which will be with us next year. Nothing could be left to chance. Never mind for the moment the election fraud which accompanied the farce of 21st August: dirtier tricks were also on the cards as the Mexican political establishment sought to ensure the continuation of the status quo so beneficial to them and those who guarantee the continuation of their economic, social and political privileges ... who else but the USA.

And indeed it's a very nice set-up they've put together for themselves. The French daily *Liberation* brings us some background on the Mexican economy (16th July '94). Whilst a quarter of the population lives in extreme poverty the fourth richest man in the world is Mexican and 24 of the 358 biggest business fortunes in the world are here. During 1984 the fortunes of these billionaires grew 100 times quicker than the countries' GNP. Their total wealth is thirteen times the budget of the last six years to combat extreme poverty which affects between 18 and 24 million Mexicans. Carlos Slim, boss of *Telefonos de Mexico* and an intimate friend of Salinas, has 6.6 billion dollars only just beaten by Bill Gates of Microsoft. They are the winners of Salinas' liberal reforms which are now set to continue. Even were the left to have achieved electoral success much of the wealth is speculative. Gustavo Lomelin of *El Financiero*: If the confidence disappears, and if the *nouveaux riches* decide to pull in their capital, the country will go under. He continues, "the rapid enrichment of these entrepreneurs presents another danger. The pressures they can exert on the political powers could put off indefinitely the aggressive social policy the country needs to finally bring millions of Mexicans out of their misery". As usual the

## Focus on ... Mexico

Many of our readers will have followed the news reports which accompanied the elections of 21st August. Here we bring our own reaction somewhat retrospectively but see the article *Chiapas Solidarity* for a more up-to-date report on the situation in Mexico.



election was a pointless show for the rest of the world.

But as we say Salinas would take no chances. Sabotaging the electoral process was only part two of the campaign which included the attempted assassination of the one politician who looked in a position to upset the party.

We are of course referring to Amado Avendaño of the PRD, seriously injured in a road 'accident' which left three of his fellow passengers dead, when a lorry driving on the wrong side of the road without number plates smashed into his car. A kind of Mexican Aristide, Mr Avendaño, the editor of a local paper in San Cristobal de las Casas had already been attacked by local landowners because of his good relations with the Zapatistas.

Of course we are not seeking to lend support for a candidate who with the 'help' of the World Bank, IMF and the US would have proved as dead a political duck as any other politician in so far as any hopes for social progress attended the political campaign he was leading - we simply draw attention to another aspect of the 21st August's farce.

And so it was. 'MEXICAN POLL OFFICIALS VOICE CONCERN' trumpeted the *Financial Times* (21st August '94) by which time 237 complaints of electoral violations had already been received and it had been observed that the government had failed to comply with an accord reached with the other political parties. Why the surprise? If you're willing to attempt assassination it can't be hard to rip up electoral agreements.

Of course it didn't take long for the

opposition to forget their high sounding electoral idealism after the event and turning to inter-party squabbling as the temptation to come to terms with the ruling elite began to make their mouths water. A senior advisor to the 'left' candidate Mr Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas was soon saying, "There is a dilemma, which may not be reconcilable. Do we push hard for democracy, or seek to be moderate and widen our electoral appeal?" Mr Cárdenas should have a chat with Tony Blair on reconciling the irreconcilable.

## Chiapas Solidarity

As part of the response to the bulletin we sent out this summer we received the following from the *Collectiu de Solidaritat amb la Rebellio Zapatista* which is based in Spain. Here they explain what they are doing and what the current situation is in Mexico. We let them speak for themselves.

Our solidarity collective for the Zapatista rebellion meets once a week in Barcelona and seeks to co-ordinate activities in support of the Zapatista movement. We've put together postcards, photos, texts, a video and we've recently started selling on the street a book *Zapata Vive* written by our comrade Guimar Roira. In addition we organise talks accompanied by an exhibition explaining the situation and bringing news as and when it is received. Money is raised at concerts and through public activities which is then forwarded to contacts in the region. We also organise demonstrations and protest activities to counter the misinformation which is being put out. We have also set up an archive centre along with the possibility of viewing a video produced by our comrades who have been in the region this summer and who were able to observe the elections and make contact and observe the National Democratic Convention (CND). All this information is available for those who wish to receive it.

The current situation in Mexico is that of an impasse. As you know the PRI won the elections that were held on 21st August, although in a fraudulent manner, despite all that has been said in the Western press. In a more concrete fashion Chiapas is seeing the reorganisation of civil society so as to consolidate any progress that has been made and avoid victory being snatched away. What may seem something of a paradox (but such is the reality) is that those who are quite uninterested in the electoral process went to vote as another means of struggle and they did it in an orderly way without irregularities in the conflict zone which is controlled by the EZLF. However, in the zones controlled by the security forces and the federal army all kinds of malpractices took place to such an extreme that in some villages violent incidents took place and the people took to burning the ballot boxes in Tuxtla, and Vellahermosa as you can read in our bulletin.

With regard to the CND which as you know represents the type of social organisation hoped for by the EZLF the situation is one of paralysis in so far as it has difficulties in its relations with the ruling PRD, the latter only being interested in the political question. What is very interesting is the huge effort in trying to reorganise society from bottom up and it would be a tragedy were it to fail. For those involved it represents the historic possibility to bring into being a form of organisation which up until now may have seemed utopian but now carries the real promise of proving achievable. In one state of the Republic some measure of achievement is being seen, this is the situation in Quertaro where people are discussing political questions in a positive manner, forming new social relations and putting forward their own solutions to social problems. Unfortunately such is not the norm in the rest of the country. Let us hope that they will overcome their difficulties. Time will tell and say what it has to say. Let's hope it will be something good.

In our next 'Focus on ...' we move North to look at 'The Richest Nation on Earth'.

## Anarchist Activities in Sweden

The Anarchist A-Infos group based in Sweden has recently sent us information about anarchist activity over there during the past few months:

- **March 5th/6th:** An anarchist convention was held in the forests of Sättila outside of Gothenburg. About 500 participants attended the well-planned event that was the victim of chilly and rainy weather. The event had an overall positive character resulting in the development of working relations between similar groups. However, disagreements highlighted the different strategies inside the movement. One of the main topics of discussion was the increasing consciousness, or lack thereof, of the anarchy-feminist movement.
- **May 21st:** A demonstration held in Stockholm under the banner of 'Black and White together against the Rich' turned into the biggest homogenous anarchist demonstration in the Swedish capital since March 1992 with some 200 participants. The route passed through the rich quarter of the city, Östermalm, taking in as it did so an exclusive shopping centre. Short speeches were given at various strategic points - the Turkish travel agency, a sex shop, a large bank, Östermalm's main square and finally at the end of the march in front of Stockholm's Chamber of Commerce. Police kept their distance but made an identity check on three out of the six speakers. Two fascists from the organisation Riksförbundet were identified while following the demo and dealt with in the appropriate manner.
- **June 13th:** Syndikalistisk Ungdomsförbundet, SUF (Syndicalist Youth Organisation). This group squatted a house in Örebro at the end of May. The house was named Victoria and was intended to be an all-activity centre. On June 13th it was stormed by police and the house was immediately torn down.

## Inside India

In recent months issues surrounding Islam have moved to the centre of the political and cultural stage in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. There are many factors which account for this: the rise of Hindu Fundamentalism, the need for the west to have a 'new' force of evil in the world in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, Taslima Nasreen et al. Here, and in subsequent weeks, I want to try and get behind the simple coverage of these issues that has been a hallmark of western media reporting.

I want to start with a little-reported event but one which presents a picture of Muslim politics that is even more representative of debates and movements inside Islamic circles than the typical western one which sees nothing but fundamentalism.

When Ibrahim Suleiman Sait, former president of the Indian Union Muslim League (IUML) broke away recently from the present organisation, his new organisation made three separate and interconnected declarations. These declarations and the whole move to form a new organisation offer a massive insight into the way in which the discussion of Islam in the western press is shallow in the extreme, restricted to the rather simple conflict of free expression versus religious fundamentalism. For Muslims worldwide there is a massive debate going on about the development of Islam and its role in the modern world. It is a debate that goes a long way beyond that with which we are familiar.

Sait's new organisation does not represent the Muslim community alone, hence the

deletion of the word 'Muslim' from the name of the new organisation, the Indian National League (INL), in place of the Indian Muslim League. The new party has declared itself committed to representing all the weaker sections of society - scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, religious minorities.

The INL has also declared itself committed to secularism, which alone indicates a determination to try and unite Muslim and Hindu. Thirdly the INL has aligned itself with the forces of the non-parliamentary left in India.

These 'new departures' differ enormously from the outlook and policies of the Jinnah-led League of pre-independence years. The then League had committed itself to the theory that India is not a single nation but that Hindu and Muslim constituted two distinct nations. They also differ considerably from the fundamentalist polemic that emanates from the Mullahs of Bangladesh and Iran.

Almost a century has elapsed since the All-India Muslim League was organised with a set of separatist demands. Although that organisation succeeded in getting a separate Muslim state (Pakistan) formed it has not helped Muslims as a whole in the Indian sub-continent and beyond. The threat to Muslims from fundamentalism, both Islamic and otherwise, is becoming clear to many inside Islam and this is an issue that the western media ought to really try and tap into.

John Shotton



## Clause 4 and Libertarianism

Dear *Freedom*,

The question of Clause 4 is important not just to the Labour Party but to social democracy generally. The dilemma Labour faces is as good an example of *The Impossibility of Social Democracy* as one could wish. They are trapped by the contradictions of their authoritarian and centralist ideology. Labour cannot retain Clause 4 since 'public ownership', to 99% of the population, means *state ownership*. More statism is the last thing people want and hence the retention of this doctrinal point would only make it more difficult for the party to be elected.

Labour obviously can't stay where it is, but it can't go ahead either. Due to their essential elitism and love of centralised power they cannot adopt genuine public ownership – co-operative and worker-owned production – even though a minority within the party might be in favour of this. The only way out for them, the only way they can see themselves getting elected, is to waffle – to be the kinder face of neo-liberalism. This is what social democracy is doing everywhere right now.

The crisis of Labour and social democracy is not only the result of parliamentary fetishism. Indeed, from the standpoint of their own doctrine, they were highly successful. At the turn of the century the state counted for about 10% of the economy. Today, ever after fifteen years of Thatcherism, it is 45%. There were all the social reforms which we took for granted until the government started taking them away. If only we anarchists had been as successful in promoting our world view. (Consider if 45% of the present economy was in the hands of worker co-ops.) The real problem with

social democracy was its belief that public ownership could only mean state ownership. Talk about *hubris*. For the past hundred years they have been chanting praises of the state and now this phoney socialism has been unable to produce the kind of society people wish to live in, they are left without an ideology distinct from that of corporate capitalism.

Rather than wishing got a return of the left, we should be pleased with this situation. These are the people

responsible for corrupting the best idea humanity ever had. Leftists, most particularly the far left, are also the greatest liars and hypocrites that ever lived. These are the people who covered up for, apologised for or glorified the bloodiest tyrants in history. And they are still at it, as we see with the cretins who cuddle up to Saddam Hussein. The real political difference today is the same as it was a century ago – not 'left' versus 'right', but authoritarian versus libertarian. If social democracy, if leftism is down, all the more reason to kick it out of the way and build a libertarian movement!

Larry Gambone

## Moyse's War

Dear Editors,

Why does Arthur Moyse think that "the Second World War was a war that had to be fought" ('Every picture ...', *Freedom*, 15th October)?

If our dead comrades-in-arms could be contacted and informed of the present state of affairs, I doubt if they would agree. If Arthur "know[s]" that there is a flaw in [his] position" should be not, as an anarchist, examine his attitude instead of leaving it to "the historians and moralists"?

Ernie Crosswell

## Red Rambles

A programme of free guided walks in the White Peak for Greens, Socialists, Libertarians and Anarchists.

**Sunday 4th December:** Blackbrook and environs, Belper. Meet 11.00am at Long Walls Lane on Belper to Ashbourne Road.

— 1995 —

**Sunday 15th January:** Derbyshire Edges walk. Meet 11.00am for 11.15 start at National Car Park next to Robin Hood Pub on A619 Baslow to Chesterfield Road. Length of walk 7 miles.

**Sunday 12th February:** The Roaches and Ludd's Church, Staffordshire. Meet 11.00am for 11.15 start at roadside near to 'Windygates Farm'. Length 5 miles.

**Sunday 5th March:** Edale and Kinder Scout. Meet 11.00am at Edale Railway Station Café. Bring waterproofs, walking boots, food and hot drink. Length 8 miles.

**Sunday 9th April:** Brassington and Harborough Rocks. Meet at Brassington Village Hall at 11.00am. Length 5 miles.

**Sunday 7th May:** 'Mayday' walk and picnic. Blackbrook Reservoir near junction 23 on M1. Meet at roadside near Mount Bernard Abbey at 11.00am. Length approx. 6 miles.

**Sunday 4th June:** Ladybower Reservoir and Lost Lad walk. Meet 11.00am at Ladybower picnic site car park. Map reference 173 894. Bring strong boots, etc. Length 8 miles.

Telephone for further details  
0773-827513

## Anarchism and Science

Dear Editors,

I had not intended to intervene in any controversies stemming from *The Raven* 'Science 2' as ill health prevented my completing my work on that particular issue. However I was responsible for commissioning most of the articles and am thus able to answer Tony Gibson's query (*Freedom*, 29th October 1994) as to why Brian Martin was invited to contribute to both science issues "alongside contributors like Alan Cotter". It's all quite simple really. It was Alan Cotter, so admired by Tony Gibson, who recommended him. He told me "I have come across Brian Martin's work in several scientific journals and been quite impressed with it". Only later did I discover that *Strip the Experts* was written by the same person. However Tony's misrepresentation of that book has been adequately demonstrated by my new friend Amorey Gethin, so I don't need to enter that particular fray.

It is not Brian Martin who is making a fool of himself. It is those who maintain the nineteenth century heroic vision of science without apparently understanding that the Weberian vision of "science as a vocation" can no longer be credibly maintained. Personally I wish it was otherwise, but there is little point in letting wish fulfilment interfere with analysis.

The philosophy of science has moved a long way since Thomas Kuhn set the cat among the pigeons with *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, admirable though that work was. Tony Gibson should familiarise himself with some of it before misrepresenting other people's work by knee-jerk reactions to people he dislikes. Even in the scientific model he uses prejudice is not a substitute for careful reading, analysis and reasoned argument.

John Pilgrim

## Levitation of Parliament

Dear Comrades,

Whadaya mean "the Houses of Parliament did not actually rise into the sky ..." ('Anarchy in the UK starts well', *Freedom*, 29th October 1994)? I'll admit that it was fairly brief, but it certainly HAPPENED! Perhaps you were looking the other way? I suppose you missed the flying saucers circling around the Cooltan Centre last Tuesday as well?

John Eden

Please keep  
sending in your  
letters and  
donations

## Noam Chomsky on the Zapatistas

This is an extract from an article rejected by the *Washington Post* after having been commissioned by that very 'newspaper'. It has been circulating around Europe for the last few months. We have not seen the original version which appeared in *In These Times* but bring you a translation from the version which appeared in the Spanish journal *CNT* in May of this year. It provides a useful background for those who have been unable to follow developments since the beginning of the year.

The end of year rebellion by the Indian peasants in Chiapas coincided with the implementation of the NAFTA agreement which the Zapatistas called 'a death sentence' for the Indians, a prize for the rich which would deepen the division between the well being of the few and the misery of the rest and which would destroy what remained of the indigenous population.

The relation to NAFTA is in part symbolic but the problems go deeper. "We are", proclaims the declaration of war, "the product of 500 years of struggle". The struggle today is for, "work, land, housing, food, health, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice and peace". "The real motives," added the army representative from Chiapas, "are the total marginalisation, the poverty and frustration of years and years of seeking to improve our situation."

The Indian peasants are the biggest victims of state policy but opposition has been more widespread for a long time. "Anyone who has had any connection with the millions of Mexicans who live in conditions of extreme poverty know that we are sitting on a time bomb" observed the Mexican journalist Pilar Valdés.

Over the past ten years of economic reform, the number of people living in extreme poverty has gone up by nearly a third. Half the total population lack the necessary provisions

to satisfy elementary needs - a situation which has grown increasingly worse since 1980. According to data from the IMF and the World Bank agricultural production is geared to exportation and animal feed to the benefit of agribusiness, foreign consumers and the stronger sectors of the Mexican economy, whilst malnutrition has become one of the most pressing problems – agricultural unemployment is on the increase, productive land is being abandoned and Mexico has started to import enormous quantities of food. Real wages in manufacturing sectors are plummeting. The percentage of work in the GDP which had climbed until the mid '70s has since fallen by more than a third. This is the standard outcome of neo-liberal reforms. Studies from the IMF show "a strong and consistent tendency for work to be a diminishing part of the whole," due to the impact of 'stabilisation programmes' in Latin

America, according to the economist Manuel Pastor.

The Mexican Trade secretary greeted the fall in wages as an incentive for foreign investment. And from this comes repression of the workforce and the reinforcement of social restrictions and the general orientation of social policy to the wishes of the privileged minority. Such policies are of course welcomed by manufacturing and financial concerns who, assisted by treaties falsely defined as 'free trade', are extending their control over the global economy.

NAFTA, it is hoped, will move away from the land a greater number of workers in the agricultural sector, contributing to rural poverty and a glut in the labour market. The manufacturing sector, already in decline under the reforms, should have an ulterior sharper inflexion. One study carried out by the main Mexican economic journal *El Financiero*,

predicts that Mexico will lose a least a quarter of its manufacturing industry and 4% of jobs in the first two years of NAFTA. "The economists predict that several million Mexicans will probably be put out of work in the first five years of the treaty" writes the *New York Times* correspondent Tim Golden. These processes should encourage a further fall in salaries and benefits to the rich with similar effects in the USA and Canada. Much of the interest in NAFTA as its proponents have constantly underlined is that it will 'lock in' the neo-liberal reforms which have erased years of progress in the economic role and the rights of labour, favouring the impoverishment and suffering of the masses to pay for the enrichment of the few and the foreign investors. For the Mexican economy in its totality this "economic virtue" has brought "little compensation", observes the *Financial Times* examining "eight years of free market politics" which produced some modest growth, largely due to the unprecedented help given by the World Bank and the USA. High rates of interest have partially blocked the outflow of indigenous capital which was one of the causes of the painful Mexican crisis, although the deficit of this exercise is an increasing burden represented by the increasing debt towards the richer sectors of Mexican society.

It comes as no surprise therefore that there was a substantial opposition to this plan to 'lock in' this model of development. The historian Steh Fein, writing from Mexico City, described the demonstrations against the treaty as "well articulated protests, although scarcely noted in the US, against governmental policy – which put up with the abolition of rights in the fields of work and education, of the agricultural agreements established by the constitution in 1917, which enjoyed popular support – which to many Mexicans appears to be the real consequence of the treaty and the foreign policy of the US over here." In the *Los Angeles Times* Juanita Darling described the great worries of the Mexican workers with regard to the erosion of "trade union rights achieved at the price of difficult battles".

**Emiliano Zapata**, 1879 to 1919, was a poor peasant of mixed Spanish and native American descent, who became the best respected agrarian leader of the Mexican revolution. He led an army of insurgent peasants

and fought for an egalitarian society, inspired by a distrust of politics and contempt of personal gain, insisting that the people had to themselves fight "to reconquer the true freedom and to shake off once and forever the yoke of mayors and hacendados, who have always been the worse enemies and the worst tyrants."

The portrait, right, is a black and white copy of one of 36 portraits of anarchists drawn in three-colour line by Clifford Harper, included in a set of picture cards each with a potted biography on the reverse, just published by Freedom Press.

Other portraits include such varied anarchist figures as Kropotkin, Bakunin, the seventeenth century 'Digger' Gerrard Winstanley, Lucy Parsons, Tolstoy, Louise Michel, Stirner, the author B. Traven, the artist Camille Pissarro and our own Colin Ward.

The 36 picture cards (known to collectors as trading cards) come in a neat box, price £5 (post free in the UK, or £5.45 if ordering direct by mail from abroad) from Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.



EMILIANO ZAPATA



# London Anarchist Forum

Meets Fridays at about 8pm at  
Conway Hall, 25 Red Lion Square,  
London WC1R 4RL.

**- 1994-95 PROGRAMME -**

**11th November** General discussion  
**18th November** The Belief in Politics (speaker  
Eve Seguin)  
**25th November** General discussion  
**2nd December** An Anarchist Federation of  
Britain? (general discussion led by Peter  
Neville)  
**9th December** Sanctuaries (speaker Adrian  
Williams)  
**16th December** CHRISTMAS PARTY  
**7th January** Employment, Unemployment,  
Further Education and the State (speaker Peter  
Neville)  
**14th January** General discussion  
**21st January** Cities and Libertarian Social  
Movements (discussion led by Dave Dane)  
**28th January** All slots are vacant to the end  
of July, although a number of invitations have  
gone out.

If anyone would like to give a talk or lead a  
discussion, overseas or out-of-town speakers  
especially, please contact either Dave Dane of  
Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville  
at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road,  
Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW (telephone  
number 081-847 0203, not too early in the day  
please) giving subject and prospective dates  
and we will do our best to accommodate.  
These could be instead of a general discussion  
but the latter are not merely unfilled slots but  
popular occasions in their own right so we are  
unwilling to relinquish too many.

**Peter Neville / Dave Dane**  
**London Anarchist Forum**

**FREEDOM**  
fortnightly

**ISSN 0016 0504**

Published by Freedom Press  
84b Whitechapel High Street  
London E1 7QX  
Printed by Aldgate Press, London E1

# The Raven

**Anarchist Quarterly**  
**number 26**  
**on**  
**'Science - 2'**  
*out now*

Back issues still available:

- 25 - Religion (1)
- 24 - Science (1)
- 23 - Spain / Emma Goldman
- 22 - Crime
- 21 - Feminism
- 20 - Kropotkin's 150th Anniversary
- 19 - Sociology
- 18 - Anthropology
- 17 - Use of Land
- 16 - Education (2)
- 15 - Health
- 14 - Voting
- 13 - Anarchism in Eastern Europe
- 12 - Communication
- 11 - Class
- 10 - Libertarian Education
- 9 - Bakunin and Nationalism
- 8 - Revolution
- 7 - Emma Goldman
- 6 - Tradition and Revolution
- 5 - Spies for Peace
- 4 - Computers and Anarchism
- 3 - Surrealism (part 2)
- 2 - Surrealism (part 1)
- 1 - History of Freedom Press

**£3.00 each (post-free anywhere)**  
from  
**FREEDOM PRESS**  
**84b Whitechapel High Street**  
**London E1 7QX**

**EAST MIDLANDS ANARCHISTS**  
**— CONFERENCE —**  
**Saturday 12th November**  
**10am - 4pm**  
at  
**Derby Rainbow Centre**  
**88 Abbey Street, Derby**

**— AGENDA —**

- Street Campaigning
- The Arms Trade
- Alternative Technologies

**Enquiries to:**  
**Box EMAS, 88 Abbey Street, Derby**

**Criminal  
Injustice Act**  
**A WEEK OF ACTION**  
**12th - 20th November 1994**

**Saturday 12th** CND at Sellafield, Student  
Guerrilla Theatre and No Hawks to  
Indonesia;  
**Saturday 19th** Women's Anti-Military Mass  
Trespass, meet Trafalgar Square at 2pm;  
**Sunday 20th** trespassing excursion to a  
secret location.

**Recorded details on 071-501 9253**  
**Contact Freedom Network on 071-738 6721**  
**or No M11 Link Campaign on 081-558 2638**

**The London Group of the**  
**ANARCHIST**  
**COMMUNIST**  
**FEDERATION**  
**meets weekly for**  
**activities and**  
**discussion**

**Contact:**  
**ACF, c/o 84b Whitechapel**  
**High Street, London E1 7QX**

**ANARCHIST**  
**DISCUSSION FORUM**  
**(formerly Northern Anarchist**  
**Research Group)**

**— NEXT MEETING —**  
**Saturday**  
**26th November 1994**

**David Morland**  
**'Anarchism and Human**  
**Nature: where do we go**  
**from here?'**  
**2.00pm to 5.00pm**  
at  
**The Ruins, 32a Dale Street,**  
**Nunnery Lane, York**  
*(5 mins from railway station, follow*  
*city walls to south side of centre)*

**ALL WELCOME**  
**For further information**  
**contact Jon on 0484 847366**

**SUBSCRIPTION FORM**  
**To Freedom Press in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street,**  
**London E1 7QX**

☐ I am a subscriber, please renew my sub to *Freedom* for ..... issues

☐ Please renew my joint subscription to *Freedom* and *The Raven*

☐ Make my sub to *Freedom* into a joint sub starting with number 26 of *The Raven*

☐ I am not yet a subscriber, please enter my sub to *Freedom* for ..... issues  
and *The Raven* for ..... issues starting with number 26

☐ I would like the following back numbers of *The Raven* at £3 per copy post free  
..... (numbers 1 to 25 are available)

☐ I enclose a donation to Freedom Fortnightly Fighting / Freedom Press Overheads /  
Raven Deficit Fund (delete as applicable)

I enclose £..... payment

Name .....

Address .....

.....Postcode .....

**FREEDOM AND THE RAVEN**  
**SUBSCRIPTION**  
**RATES 1994**

	inland	abroad surface	outside Europe airmail	Europe airmail
<b>Freedom (24 issues) half price for 12 issues</b>				
Claimants	10.00	—	—	—
Regular	14.00	22.00	34.00	28.00
Institutions	22.00	30.00	40.00	40.00
<b>The Raven (4 issues)</b>				
Claimants	10.00	—	—	—
Regular	12.00	14.00	18.00	16.00
Institutions	18.00	22.00	27.00	27.00
<b>Joint sub (24 x Freedom &amp; 4 x The Raven)</b>				
Claimants	18.00	—	—	—
Regular	24.00	34.00	50.00	40.00
<b>Bundle subs for Freedom (12 issues)</b>				
	inland	abroad surface	abroad airmail	
2 copies x 12	12.00	13.00	22.00	
5 copies x 12	26.00	32.00	44.00	
10 copies x 12	50.00	60.00	84.00	
Other bundle sizes on application				
Giro account number 58 294 6905				
All prices in £ sterling				