For the benefit of readers who haven't their Labour Party bible at hand, Clause 4 reads:

"To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service."

In this writer's opinion Clause 4 could only be considered 'outdated' if all the objectives contained therein had been achieved, and if we were ready to proclaim the classless society, the abolition of the money system and every form of privilege based on private property.

Instead not one of the objectives of the 1918 constitution has so far been achieved. We challenge the God-fearing Tony Blair* to declare what is outdated in the objectives of Clause 4 if he is speaking as a socialist and not just as a vulgar politician seeking votes to get him and his mates into Downing Street next time.

What is really outdated is the idea that the objectives of Clause 4 can ever be achieved via the ballot box. Not a new question, indeed one which has divided anarchists and social democrats (as well as authoritarian socialists) for a very long time.

George Bernard Shaw summarised with conviction more than 100 years ago what anarchists dismissed with contempt: the role of the 'right' people in Parliament.

"... a House consisting of 660 gentlemen and 10 women will order the soldier to take money from the people for the landlords. A House of Commons consisting of 660 workmen and 10 gentlemen will probably, unless the 660 are fools, order the soldier to take money from the landlords for the people. With that hint I leave the matter in the full conviction that the State, in spite of the Anarchists, will continue to be used against the people by the classes until it is used by the people against the classes with equal ability and equal resolution."

The comment of the writer quoting Shaw's apologia was "Yes, by the people but the 660 politicians in the House of Commons are not the people but their rulers whether they be ex-workmen or gentlemen".** And of course when the people really take over the state that's the end of the state.

We are constantly being reminded by our critics that anarchism is not making much headway, thereby indicating that they miss the whole point about anarchism. So long as most people are prepared (not content) to be wage-slaves, are prepared to leave it to others literally to run their lives (politicians with their laws, taxes, etc.) in return for putting a cross to a name or a party, then obviously anarchism will not be a mass influence.

"But don't blame the anarchists, such as those of us at Freedom Press, for having failed to make the revolution, on the grounds that we have been propagating anarchist ideas all these years and have got 'nowhere'."

If you say this as a non-anarchist critic from the left that's understandable, especially if your branch of the 'left' has made headway, which we doubt! But if you

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THE BALTIC FERRY DISASTER
CROCODILE TEARS FOR THE VICTIMS OF CAPITALIST GREED

By the time these lines appear in print the ferry disaster in the Baltic will have disappeared from the front pages of the media. As it is, royal scandal-mongering did it successfully. All the statistics the spokesmen for the ferry industry can produce convince us neither of their veracity nor of the 100% safety that should be expected from public services.

Ferries of 12,000 tons, such as the 'Estonia', should be seaworthy in any Baltic sea. The whole question is the stability of these ferry boats designed to carry a maximum number of cars and lorries but to ensure the swiftest possible turnaround at the ports by retaining open car/lorry decks running the whole length of the ship.

Already some years ago in Freedom we quoted naval architects who

(continued on page 2)
THE NEED FOR A REAL ALTERNATIVE

By the time this issue of Freedom appears the political circuses, sideshows (fringe meetings) and socialising (food and ‘bubbly’) will have come to an end, and though we write before either Brighton or Blackpool have been ‘set alight’ one can safely assume that a good time will have been had by all the delegates and nothing will change basically. Of course, the party ‘impeiros’ will hope that the political stage shows will have won votes the party ‘impresarios’ will hope that the meetings and socialising (food and “bubbly’ MP the political circuses, sideshows (fringe may have done Mr Smith: either in design or operation with these...)

And concludes that whatever good Brighton to show more boldness in addressing policy issues from which Labour finds it all too easy to shy the party’s effectiveness. To achieve that, he needs Party’s annual conference]. He has yet to improve image in the past week [a reference to the Labour “John Smith has done much to improve Labour’s “...the main outcome had little obvious relevance to the real concerns of the public ... The time has come for it to move much more resolutely towards the formulation of a credible alternative set of policies which will stand in clear and positive contrast to the government.”

 Needless to say, one searched in vain in that editorial for a real alternative. All the Observer (by then the Guardian’s Sunday voice) could offer were measures such as devaluation and ‘solutions’ to growing unemployment such as spending more on education (presumably education geared to producing more efficient wage-slaves).

Much closer to the capitalist knuckle, in our opinion, is the Guardian’s economic editor Will Hutton (8th August 1994) in a half-page contribution with the provocative title “Why the rich must be forced to hand over their vast inheritance”. The subhead summarises Will Hutton’s thesis: “Death duties seem to have become almost voluntary, but the case against them is a cloak for the wealthy to escape their obligations to society”.

As anarchists we are opposed to the wealthy (and Hutton is referring to those we frequently describe in these columns as the ‘stinking rich’) and therefore cannot share his view that they have “an obligation to society’. They must be expropriated or nothing will change.

Nothing, in fact, has changed so far as land ownership is concerned over the centuries. Again thanks to the Guardian (13th August 1994) in a devastating full-page exposure of the materially unequal society we live in, with the title “Keep out: this land is their land”. To the question ‘Who owns Britain?’ there is no answer. The authors, Richard Norton-Taylor and Kevin Cahill point out that we know who owns the largest companies which trade in Britain, even the stockmarket is “relatively transparent”, just as one can also “identify the owner of a house or an office block”. But “...try to discern who owns a field, a hedgerow or a wood and you’ll be greeted with ignorance or defensive hostility. Ownership of land is surrounded by secrecy for it to move much more resolutely towards the formulation of a credible alternative set of policies which will stand in clear and positive contrast to the government.”

And the authors conclude that in a country: “... where many aspects of government are conducted in secret and many of those governing are they jointly spent £560 million in 1992-93!”

W ill Hutton exposes all the loopholes whereby the ‘stinking rich’ preserve or increase their ill-gotten gains. It is useless to talk of ‘inheritance taxes’ or increasing income tax on top earners after the stable door has been left open for the past fifteen years. Again as Freedom goes on pointing out: the first financial measure taken by the Thatcher government in 1979 was to release the export of capital. Will Hutton laments the fact and

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THE BALTIC FERRY DISASTER

(continued from page 1)

A t the same time as the government in its desperate attempts to balance the books (which it will never do) directs all its venom against the small-time cheats — unemployed, on the dole doing a bit of moonlighting — as we pointed out in Freedom (‘Clobbering the Poor’, 1st October) public funds are dissipated by the million.

According to an “efficiency unit report” (Guardian, 5th August) the government wastes about £40 million a year by failing to properly use outside consultants. Over four years “departments and agencies” could “specifically identify only £50 million of savings from the use of consultants on whom they jointly spent £560 million in 1992-93!”

A National Audit Office report claims that the Ministry of Defence has wasted more than £800 million building facilities for the Trident so-called ‘nuclear deterrent’ in Scotland. Be that as it may, what interests us here is that the original consultant’s fee was £122 million! But wait, it has now risen to £360 million!

A nother National Audit Office report reveals that nearly £50 million has been lost on “speculation developments by the Crown Estate” which is described as “the Queen’s property portfolio”. According to the Guardian, Parliament’s financial watchdog says £270 million has been invested by the estate in development schemes now worth only £224 million. Since any profits from this portfolio apparently go to the Treasury, so presumably do the losses — and that’s the taxpayers. Who is the expert allowed to engage in such speculations? And has he/she had the sack? We doubt it!

A Guardian article with the headline “Little and Heseltine top the league in...”

B ut rest assured the money lobby will in the end prevail and we shall in due course have more lurid details of ferries capsizing within five minutes with huge...
A new era of prosperity" Wibbie J. Hn Major hails which has meant lower decks running was designed for passengers and perhaps achieve these kinds of car and lorry services the ferry boats have been worldwide in the capitalist world. After all, And concludes that whatever good Brighton may have done Mr Smith:

THE BALTIC FERRY DISASTER

either in design or operation with these ferries. Yet this is exactly what has happened worldwide in the capitalist world. After all, heavy seas have at all times swept over the ships negotiating them and they haven't been swallowed up. And we are talking of ships of 2,000 tons or less and not 12,000 tons such as the 'Estonia'. The difference is that the smaller boat was designed for passengers and perhaps a few cars would be lowered by crane on the top deck. The massive ferries of today are designed for lorries and cars and their passengers. So-called 'foot passengers' are an afterthought (certainly on the British cross-Channel services). As timetables illustrate, there are dozens of cross-Channel ferries in a day with perhaps only three train services. To achieve these kinds of car and lorry services, the ferry boats have been designed to accommodate and clear vehicles in the shortest possible time, which has meant lower decks running from one end of the ship to the other, thus making it possible to take on vehicles at one end on departure and discharge them on arrival at the other.

WHAT'S SO 'OUTDATED' ABOUT CLAUSE 4?

are an anarchist and a critic, tell us, help us to communicate more effectively. In our humble opinion, if there is no revival of the left and a greater militancy among the rank-and-file of the unions, the future, especially for the young, is bleak. The Labour Party 'New Look' may win the next elections. The struggle even for the objectives of Clause 4 has yet to be launched. And it will not be from the padded front benches in the House of Commons but in the streets in every town and village, among people who have at last decided to run their own lives and in so doing challenging our society based on privilege and injustice.

World recession, etc, etc... !
Family breakdown and that!!
Why don't you take account of all the problems?

And the authors conclude that in a country: "... many aspects of government are conducted in secret and many of those governing are there by hereditary privilege, perhaps this is unsurprising."

Another National Audit Office report reveals that nearly £50 million has been lost on "speculation developments by the Crown Estate" which is described as "the Queen's property portfolio". According to the Guardian, Parliament's financial watchdog says £270 million has been invested by the estate in development schemes now worth only £242 million. Since any profits from this portfolio apparently go to the Treasury, so presumably do the losses – and that's the taxpayers. Who is the expert allowed to engage in such speculations? And has he/she had the sack? We doubt it!

A Guardian article with the headline "Lilley and Heseltine top the league in payouts to market-test advisers", makes the point that they share the worst records for government targets to privatise Whitehall, and "are providing the most work for private management consultants". The fees, amounting to more than half the £15 million spent since 1992 on consultants to advise Whitehall, have gone to the Ministries of Social Security and Trade & Industry.

Last but not least in this particular racket, Price Waterhouse, the accountants who are involved in 'sorting out' the Maxwell Communications Corporation funds, have announced that creditors can expect at least $1.5 billion. The report making the announcement also informs us that Price Waterhouse's professional fees "have so far reached a massive $60 million!"
THE BALTIC FERRY DISASTER (continued from page 1) either in design or operation with these ferries.

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But rest assured the money lobby will in the end prevail and we shall in due course have more lurid details of ferries capsizing within five minutes with huge losses of life. Society, our corrupt society, mourns the victims with crocodile tears and everything goes on as before.

WHAT’S SO ‘OUTDATED’ ABOUT CLAUSE 4? (continued from page 1)

are an anarchist and a critic, tell us, help us to communicate more effectively. In our humble opinion, if there is no revival of the left and a greater militancy among the rank-and-file of the unions, the future, especially for the young, is bleak. The Labour Party ‘New Look’ may win the next elections. The struggle even for the objectives of Clause 4 has yet to be launched. And it will not be from the padded front benches in the House of Commons but in the streets in every town and village, among people who have at last decided to run their own lives and in so doing challenging our society based on privilege and injustice.
The World of Books

Under the enormous financial clout of the big boys, without it, many small presses and booksellers would certainly collapse and radical literature would be almost unobtainable in commercial bookshops - as if the situation weren’t bad enough already!

Sharks and cowboys

In the world of radical bookselling and publishing itself, however, there have been some dubious manoeuvrings. Cavalier operators, acting as if the NBA were already dead, have arrived on the scene with impressive looking catalogues describing themselves as ‘radicals’, ‘marxists’ or ‘anarchists’ but operating as purely money-making businesses and proceeding to charge over the odds for anything they can get away with to both individuals and booksellers in the anarchist movement. We have had complaints of numerous instances of sharp practice and Freedom Press has itself been on the receiving end of some of it. But the main losers are the book-buying public, many of whom are getting very upset. We know of publishers who have handed over stock for distribution but where no distribution has taken place, and/or no payment has been received; mail order customers receiving neither books nor credit notes months after paying; misrepresentation and hyperbole being used to sell publications of very doubtful value; certain people buying up publishers’ remaindered stocks at knock-down prices and putting them back on sale at the full price, and other rip-offs.

At this point we won’t name names, but if they don’t know who they are they must be even more thick-skinned than we thought. Just some words of friendly advice: a lot of people are getting increasingly pissed off with this cowboy attitude (apologies to any genuine cowboys out there) and words such as sharks, parasites and leeches have been used. We call it rampant capitalism, and would like to know why they are trying to milk the anarchist movement in this way. We suggest if ‘competition not cooperation’ is their creed, that they go off and play in the big pool with the real sharks where their talents will be more appreciated. If they consider themselves part of the anarchist movement, they should act accordingly.

Meanwhile, anyone who has been caught out by, or is thinking of doing so should be invited to check out the situation with other anarchist booksellers first. Freedom Press Bookshop itself stocks the vast majority of the relevant titles, often at much cheaper prices, and with a fast mail-order service - much of which is post free. And we don’t rip you off. Check out our bookshop in person, or ask for our booklist if you’re not a subscriber to Freedom or The Raven. If you’re in London for the Anarchist Bookfair, why not come and see us at our stall there?

For a good read at cheaper prices.

KM for Freedom Press Bookshop volunteers

McLibel avoided by McDonalds publicity

The first McDonalds hamburger shop in Britain opened in Woolwich on 30th September 1974, and for many years of the other food processors, McDonalds uses additives to preserve and stabilise the food components. However, in recent years, the use of additives in the food industry has come under increased scrutiny, and there has been a growing trend towards developing more natural and healthier food options.

Why we won’t be there!

To ‘Anarchy in the UK’

IFA (the International of the Federations of Anarchists) has received an invitation to something called ‘Anarchy in the UK – ten days that shook the world’ from 21st to 30th October 1994.

Thank you for the invitation, we will however not participate nor recognise it. On the contrary, the IFA and FICEDL fully denounced this project, with reference to the Oslo Convention of 1990:

Anarchism versus Authoritarian Tendencies Resolution unanimously decided upon by the first combined IFA and FICEDL Congress in Oslo 1990

- Authoritarian, notoriously: win anarchy
Freedom occasionally state that they are available from the bookshop. Whilst we are of course willing to obtain them, it does help if we know about them first! So if you are going to write a review of something not on our list, please check with the bookshop first that we’ve got it or give us details of where we can get it, otherwise we can get bombarded with orders for titles we know nothing about, which can cause long delays while we hunt around for the supplier. Incidentally, do include the price in your review - not many people order books without that information!

**Big fish and small fry**

A few words on the subject of bookselling and publishing. There have been, and continue to be, some big changes in this field. Among the mainstream publishers there have been takeovers, mergers, bankruptcies and increasing monopolies. It’s becoming hard to keep track. As for the big bookshop chains, they’re becoming more conservative in the stuff they sell, and one - the notorious Pentos group, which controls Dillons, Hatchards, Claude Gill, Athena, Rymans and Uncle Tom Cobbley and all - has been trying to get the NBA (Net Book Agreement) abolished in its pursuit of higher profits. Without going into detail, this agreement between publishers basically ensures that most publications are sold at the same price by all booksellers, thus helping to protect the small authors, publishers and bookshops from being driven money-making businesses and proceeding to charge over the odds for anything they can get away with to both individuals and booksellers in the anarchist movement. We have had complaints of numerous instances of sharp practice and Freedom Press has itself been on the receiving end of some of it. But the main losers are the book-buying public, many of whom are getting very upset. We know of publishers who have handed over stock for distribution but where no distribution has taken place, and/or no payment has been received; mail order customers receiving neither books nor credit notes months after paying; misrepresentation and hyperbole being used to sell publications of very little value.

**THE NEED FOR A REAL ALTERNATIVE**

(continued from page 2) provides one with an excellent example of yet another ‘patriotic’ Englishman, the Duke of Marlborough, who:

"... could not hold his Blenheim estates in a Laissez-faire manner because they were not for the capacity to move income freely in and out of the country with the trust minimising any inheritance tax that might be paid by his heirs."

Hutton points out that when the case for exchange control relaxation was made "nobody mentioned how much it would benefit Britain’s landowners". Of course not!

**McLibel avoided by McDonalds publicity**

The first McDonalds hamburger shop in Britain opened in Woolwich on 30th September 1974, and few readers of the national press will have missed the massive PR campaign about twenty years of successful trading. The Times of 29th September gave up eight pages to a McDonalds advertising supplement, which includes a couple of paragraphs about the McLibel case, in the middle of an article by William Kay about "the UK’s Mr Big Mac", i.e. Paul Preston, McDonalds’ chief executive in Britain:

"The company is currently embroiled in a lengthy High Court case against two activists who are alleged to have published a leaflet which makes damaging attacks on McDonalds and how it is run. The case, which began in June, is expected to cost about £1 million. McDonalds is not seeking damages, but merely wants to clear its name."

The accusations came as a blow to an organisation which feels it has hit on a formula that has proved highly successful in the UK’s trading. The Times of 29th September gave up eight pages to a McDonalds advertising supplement, which includes a couple of paragraphs about the McLibel case, in the middle of an article by William Kay about "the UK’s Mr Big Mac", i.e. Paul Preston, McDonalds’ chief executive in Britain:

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**Anarchism versus Authoritarian Tendencies**

Resolution unanimously decided upon by the first combined IFA and FICEDL Congress in Oslo 1990

1. Authoritarians notoriously mix up anarch, anarchist and anarchism with authoritarian tendencies: Chaos, disorder, mob rule, lawlessness, the law of the jungle, criminality, riots, theft, corruption, drugs, mafia, terrorism, autocratic rule, the right to the strongest, anti-social tyrannical behaviour, etc., i.e. different types of superiors and subordinates.

2. The word anarchist originates from Greek. The prefix ‘an’ means ‘negation of’ as in anaerobe versus aerobic, and ‘arch’ meaning ‘superior, i.e. in contrast to subordinates’, as in archbishop, archangel, archduke, arch villain, etc. Thus anarch, anarchist, a.s.o. mean coordination on equal footing, without superiors and subordinates, i.e. horizontal organisation and cooperation without coercion. This is the opposite of the above mentioned authoritarian tendencies, i.e. different types of superiors and subordinates.

3. The above mentioned mixtures of anarch and authoritarian tendencies are principal contradictions similar to the Newspeak slogan ‘peace is war’ in Orwell’s 1984, and have correspondent repressive functions. Anarchists won’t have any of that! For obvious reasons significant mixtures of anarchist and authoritarian tendencies should be denounced, i.e. as a general anarchist opinion, now and in the future. These actions may be taken on individual, municipal, national or international level, dependent on the situation.

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The accusations came as a blow to an organisation which feels it has hit on a formula that has proved popular wherever in the world it has opened for business.”

Another article in the advertising supplement, “Prescription for healthy food: why McDonalds fare has been stealthily altered in recent years”, tells us:

“McDonalds is not ... a health food company – but it is fully committed to a healthy eating policy. No one pretends that eating nothing but a McDonalds diet would be good for customers ...”

Without mentioning that a few years ago they were sharply told to withdraw advertisements claiming that their food was ‘nutritious’ by three US Attorneys General.

So the McLibel case, which began in June, is expected to cost about £1 million. McDonalds is not seeking damages, but merely wants to clear its name.

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Professor Harry Keen, former chair of the World Health Organisation Expert Committee on Diabetes, was also called by McDonalds’ suppliers until 1990 but then banned after it was shown to cause cancer in laboratory animals. The point of the questioning appeared to be that McDonalds should not have used this additive before it was banned, though anti-vivisectionists would presumably object to the ban on the grounds that animal experiments are valueless for predicting effects on humans. Professor Keen also agreed that styrene can migrate from styrene packaging into food and that styrene is potentially harmful. But styrene gets into the body from the atmosphere. “100% of subjects studied in the USA had detectable levels of styrene in their body fat.”

Professor Ronald Walker was called by McDonalds to talk about additives. Like all other food processors, McDonalds uses additives to preserve and stabilise the food during transport and storage and to restore vitamins and colours lost during processing. The defendants cited nine additives as detrimental to health. Professor Walker agreed that many people are allergic to two of the additives, and that there is ‘anecdotal’ evidence that four of the additives provoke ‘hyperactivity’ in children. The Hyperactivity in Children Support Group recommends that they be avoided, but their effect has not been shown experimentally because there is no animal model of the syndrome.

One additive, the flour bleaching agent potassium bromate, was used by McDonalds’ suppliers until 1990 but then banned after it was shown to cause cancer in laboratory animals. The point of the questioning appeared to be that McDonalds should not have used this additive before it was banned, though anti-vivisectionists would presumably object to the ban on the ground that animal experiments are valueless for predicting effects on humans. Professor Walker also agreed that styrene can migrate from styrene packaging into food and that styrene is potentially harmful. But styrene gets into the body from the atmosphere. “100% of subjects studied in the USA had detectable levels of styrene in their body fat.”

Meanwhile in court, the arguments were laboured, without anyone suggesting that the diets discussed were exclusive to McDonalds.

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DAY ONE

Friday 21st October

Freedom Bookshop open 10am to 6pm.

Stop the Criminal Justice Bill Rally, Conway Hall, 6pm-8pm. On the day the CJB finishes its final stage in Parliament. This starts the immediate fightback and lays strategies for the week of action ahead. We stopped the poll tax and we'll stop the CJB. Speakers: Mark Chadwick (The Levellers), Shane Collins (Green Party), Dave Douglas (Hatfield Main NUM), Advance Party, Freedom Network, SQUASH, HSA and many more. This is the big one - don't miss it! Admission £1.

Behold a Pale Horse, Gregory Peck, London Film makers Co-op, 8pm, admission £3 and £4.

Smash at the Venue, New Cross, 8pm.

Anarchy in the UK, Conway Hall, all day - information, flyers, help, stall. Discussion led by John Rey in the evening.

DAY TWO

Saturday 22nd October

Freedom Bookshop closed as we'll be at the Anarchist Bookfair.

Anarchist Bookfair, Conway Hall, 10am-8pm - Books, pamphlets, posters, badges, t-shirts, meetings, videos, creche and food.

Day gathering for non-violent anarchists and anarchist pacifists, 12-6pm. Venue to be announced. And ... Music and poetry by and for non-violent anarchists.

Anarchist Research Group at Conway Hall, at 12 noon "Class Struggle - past or future?", an open discussion with John Qual and Martyn Everett. At 2pm a talk on "Fundamentalism" by Colin Ward.

DAY THREE

Sunday 23rd October

Levitation of Parliament - gather at Jubilee Gardens, 2pm, for the levitation to proceed to Parliament. Heathrow has been warned to cancel all flights, the necessary levitation permits have been obtained! The historic moment has come! Witness Parliament hurdle like a rocket into the sky (or ascend slowly heavenwards depending on the volume of incantations) never to return. Bring music, drums, magic, fire, water. Witness the first levitation since the Pentagon in 1968. All our troubles will soon be over.

Anarchy and Sexuality, 2pm-6pm, Conway Hall. Discussion organised by the Lesbian and Gay Freedom Group meeting, Green Party get together, Ecology and Non-Violence Project at Quaker International Centre, 5.30-7.00pm. Liberation's Meetings, presentation and discussion organised by Jigsaw Non-Violence Project at Quaker International Centre, 5.30-7.30pm. 'Levitation of Parliament' by Colin Ward.

DAY FOUR

Tuesday 24th October

Freedom Bookshop open 10am to 6pm.

Women Only Space at Conway Hall in daytime.

Women's Night: 5.30-10pm with Rita Lynch solo performance plus singing, dancing and drumming. Women only.

Football Gig with Chelsea + Anhrenf + Intensive Care + Blasphemy Squad at George Robey, 8pm-2am.

Autogeddon by Heathcote Williams performed by Roy Hutchings + performance of 'Aint Necessarily Solo' with Sharon Lux and Tony Allen + photo exhibition 'Road' by Nigel Dickerson at Union Chapel, 8pm, admission £5, £4 concessions. Proceeds to 'No M1 Link' campaign.

Music and Revolution debate with Captain Sensible, Colin Gerwood, Oi Polloi and many more at SE8 Club, 2pm-6pm.

Consensus decision making workshop run by Jigsaw Non-Violence Project at Quaker International Centre, 5.30-7.30pm.

Mutiny + Oi Polloi + Cuckooland + AOS3 benefit for ALF Supporters Group, Earth Liberation Prisoners and the Anarchist Black Cross at SE8 Club, 8pm-2am, admission £3.

DAY FIVE

Tuesday 25th October

Freedom Bookshop open 10am to 6pm.

Women Only Space at Conway Hall in daytime.

Women's Night: 5.30-10pm with Rita Lynch solo performance plus singing, dancing and drumming. Women only.

Football Gig with Chelsea + Anhrenf + Intensive Care + Blasphemy Squad at George Robey, 8pm-2am.

Autogeddon by Heathcote Williams performed by Roy Hutchings + performance of 'Aint Necessarily Solo' with Sharon Lux and Tony Allen + photo exhibition 'Road' by Nigel Dickerson at Union Chapel, 8pm, admission £5, £4 concessions. Proceeds to 'No M1 Link' campaign.

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DAY SIX

Wednesday 26th October

Freedom Bookshop open 10am to 6pm.


Music and poetry by and for non-violent anarchists. Anarchist Research Group at Conway Hall, at 12 noon "Class Struggle - past or future?", an open discussion with John Qual and Martyn Everett. At 2pm a talk on "Fundamentalism" by Colin Ward.

DAY SEVEN

Thursday 27th October

Freedom Bookshop open 10am to 6pm.

Levellers + Schwartznegger + Co-creators at Brixton Academy, 8pm, admission £3.50.

Experience + Nose Bleed + Rita Lynch + Junction 13 + Kubrick + Autonomous + Motherbus + Brain of Morbeus at George Robey, all-dayer from 1pm-2am. International Anarchist Rally with worldwide speakers, the latest on the Zapastika uprising, stalls, information exchange, at Conway Hall, 5.30-10pm.

Fame on 'Being Yourself' at Conway Hall, 5.30-6pm.

Why we should attack pornography, by Cambridge Anarchists at Conway Hall, 7.30-10pm.

Smurf Festival (see Day Three: Sunday October 23rd) at Underworld, 8pm-2am.

Liberating our Meetings, presentation and discussion organised by Jigsaw Non-Violence Project at Quaker International Centre, 5.30-7.30pm.

‘Levelling From Every Orifice’ written and performed by Claire Dowie at Union Chapel, 8pm.

London Pagans Forum: Pagans Meet Anarchists at Black Lion Pub, 7.30pm.

Poetry Event at Conway Hall, 5.30-10pm, with Patricia V.T. West, Monica Sjöö, John Rey, Dennis Gould, Jeff Cloves, Spot, with readings to launch Visions of Poesy, the new anthology of anarchist poetry.

Underground Power, Conway Hall 5.30-7pm and Libertarian Education, Conway Hall, 7.8-30pm.

DAY EIGHT

Friday 28th October

Freedom Bookshop open 10am to 6pm.

The International Swords into Ploughshares Movement presentation and discussion organised by Jigsaw Non-Violence Project and the Ploughshares Support Network at Quaker International Centre, 5-7pm.

London Anarchist Forum at Conway Hall, 8pm, with Peter Lumsden on "Talking at Marble Arch".

International Anarchist Rally, 5.30-10pm.

Lodro Dowa on 'Hallucinogens' at Approach Tavern, 2pm.

John Moore and Leigh Starcross on Anarchist Primitivism: the politics of Freddie Perelman and John Zerzan at Approach Tavern, 7.30-11pm.

Late Night Cabaret at the Hackney Empire with Paka, Pee Wee, Mr Nasty, Sky Trap, Tony Allen, Chris Lynam, Rory Motion, Lol Coshill, Sharon Landau, Pop Corn Club, Penny Rimbaud, Steve Ignorants. Tickets £6 on the door. £5 in advance from box office (081-985 2424). Proceeds to Squill magazine for squatters, travellers and assorted itinerants.

Critical Mass Cycle Ride, South Bank, 5.45pm.

Earth Day Rainbow Gatherings at the Rainbow Centre from 10am, including International Anti-Roads gathering, International Forests gathering.

If + Zero de Conduit at London Film Makers Co-op, 8pm, admission £3 and £4.

DAY NINE

Saturday 29th October

Freedom Bookshop closed as we'll be at the London Greenpeace Fayre.

CND Rally and March - assemble 12 noon at Temple tube station, march to Trafalgar Square for 2pm rally.

London Greenpeace Fayre '94 - "a day for a world without industrial exploitation or pollution, without money, borders, governments or armies. Without oppression of peoples or animals, without the destruction of nature." Stalls, videos, vegan food, creche, discussions, McLibel. Admission free but donations welcome and needed.

Conflict + Citizen Fish + Dirt + Schwartznegger at The Astoria, 4.30-10pm.

Tribal Energy all-nighter at the Rocket.

Christian Anarchist and Libertarian Fellowship discussion led by Michael C. Elliot at Friends Meeting House, 2.30pm.

The Milky Way by Luis Bunuel at London Film Makers Co-op, 8pm, 10am.

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**Anarchist Bookfair**, Conway Hall, 10am-8pm – Books, pamphlets, posters, badges, t-shirts, meetings, videos, creche and food.

*Day gathering for non-violent anarchists and anarchist pacificists*, 12-6pm. Venue to be announced. And... **Music and poetry** by and for non-violent anarchists.

**Anarchist Research Group** at Conway Hall, at 12 noon "Class Struggle – past or future?", an open discussion with John Quall and Mary Everett. At 2pm a talk on 'Fundamentalism' by Colin Ward.

**DAY THREE**
**Sunday 23rd October**

*Leviation of Parliament* – gather at Jubilee Gardens, 2pm, for the levitory procession to Parliament. Heartbeast has warned to cancel all flights, the necessary levitation permits have been obtained! The historic moment has come! Witness Parliament hurdle like a rocket into the sky (or ascend slowly heavenwards depending on the volume of incantations) never to return. Bring music, drums, magic, fire, water. Witness the first levitation since the Pentang in 1968. All our troubles will soon be over.

*Anarchy and Sexuality*, 2pm-6pm, Conway Hall. Discussion organised by the Lesbian and Gay Freedom Movement. All welcome.

*Reclaiming the Game: supporters power*, Approach Tavern, 7.30pm. Football discussion with Roy Chapman talked sense about one thing he doesn't: *football*. The only cure is a proper education, which may well be an academic education, which may well be an

*Autogeddon* by Heathcoate Williams performed by Roy Hutchings *plus performance of 'Aunt Necessarily Solo' with Sharon Landau and Tony Allen* + photo exhibition 'Road' by Nigel Dickerson at Union Chapel, 8pm, admission £5. **4 concessions**. Proceeds to 'No M11 Link' campaign.

*Music and Revolution* debate with John Sensible, Colin Gerwood, Oi Polloi and many more at SE8 Club, 2pm-6pm.

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*Eco-Bards evening* at SE8 Club, 8pm-2am with host Oi Lynch + Tofu Love Frogs + Joe Bloggs and His Invisible Wives, Utopia + Jake Laver + Monica Sipco + Davey Garland + Graham Lewis, with open mike session.

*Oi Polloi + Sad Society + Citizen Fish + RDF* at George Robey, 8pm-2am. 

*Never Mind the Danger, FC St Pauli*. "Fundamentalism" by Colin Ward.

*Experiment + Nose Bleed + Rita Lynch + Junction 13 + Kubrick + Autonomicus + Motherbrain + Brain Morbus* at George Robey, all-dayer from 1pm-9pm.

*International Anarchist Rally* with worldwide speakers, the latest on the Zapatista uprising, stalls, information exchange, at Conway Hall, 5.30-10pm.

*Fame on 'Being Yourself' at Conway Hall, 5.30-6pm.* Why we should attack pornography, by Cambridge Anarchists at Conway Hall, 7.30-10pm.

*Racism in Football*, discussion at Approach Tavern, 7.30pm.

*Contra Flow / 56a Info Shop Benefit* with Irresistible Cloves, Spot, with readings to launch Visions of Poesy, the new anthology of anarchist poetry.

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*Conflict + Citizen Fish + Dirt + Schwartznegger at Thetisia, 4:30-10pm.

*Tribal Energy* all-nighter at the Rocket.

*Christian Anarchist and Libertarian Fellowship* discussion led by Michael C. Elliot at Friends Meeting House, 2.30pm.

*The Milky Way* by Luis Bunuel at London Film Makers Co-op, 8pm, admission £3 and £4.

**DAY TEN**
**Sunday 30th October**

All Day International Football Tournament with teams from the 1 in 12 Club (Bradford), the 121 Centre (Brixton), London Class War, Riff Raff Poets, London Cardiff City Supporters Club, Wolves Against Racism and many more. Staged at the Britannia Leisure Centre.

*Anarchist Picnic and Sports Day with Soap Box Speakers* at Hyde Park, 1-5pm.

*Robb Johnson + Roy Bailey + Pip Collings + Jay Turner* at George Robey, 8-12pm.

*Smut Festival* at Underworld, 8-12pm (see Day Three: Sunday 23rd October).

*The Great Rock 'n Roll Swindle* at London Film Makers Co-op, 8pm, admission £3 and £4.

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**SCHOOLS HARM YOUTH**

**Nicolas Walter** gave the Comment on the Radio 4 Sunday Programme on 25th September.

Everyone who's been to school knows that teachers can talk a lot of nonsense, but the chairman of the Headmasters' Conference talked even more than usual last week. Roy Chapman may know about teaching his subject and running his school, but he doesn't seem to know much about the place of the education system in this country today.

It's nonsense to say that independent schools can give a moral lead to society, when they are based on privilege over and isolation from the general community. Most of my family went to independent schools, but it wasn't a moral choice – it was a matter of getting a better academic education, which may well be an

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**TO BE PUBLISHED ON 26TH OCTOBER**

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**Venues**

*Approach Tavern*, 47 Approach Road, London E2

*The Astoria*, Charing Cross Road, W1

*The Black Lion*, Rathbone Place, W1

*Britisha Leisure Centre*, 40 Hyde Road, N1

*Brixton Academy*, 211 Stockwell Road, SW9

*Canterbury Arms*, 20 Fish Street Hill, EC1

*Colander Arts Centre*, Coldharbour Lane, SE5

*Conway Hall*, Red Lion Square, Holborn, WC1

*London Greenpeace Fayre* – "a day for a world without industrial exploitation or pollution, without money, borders, governments or armies. Without oppression of peoples or animals, without the destruction of nature." Stalls, videos, vegan food, creche, discussions, McLibem. Admission free but donations welcome and needed.

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It's nonsense to say that independent schools can give a moral code to their pupils, when their ethos is so artificial and irrelevant, and when most people get morality from parents and friends, anyway, rather than from teachers. I wouldn't care to describe in public the moral lessons I learned at my independent schools.

And it's nonsense to say that religion is the basis of morality, when there is no necessary connection between the two and a frequent contradiction between them. The churches can't give a moral lead, whatever the Bishop of Wakefield may think, because churchmen aren't any more moral than anyone else. Every study shows that non-religious people are just as moral as religious people, and the latest study shows that more than a third of the population have no religion.

There is a moral vacuum, but there are many complex reasons for it. One is that people in authority try to fill it with hot air. The other is a proper education, which tries to tell the truth about religion and morality as about everything else, and a real shift in social thought and behaviour.

Roy Chapman talked sense about one thing – the rotten-role-models offered to young people. But the fault lies not so much with the models themselves as with the media who set them up and knock them down, and with the whole cultural and political system which demands that we need leaders and idols and heroes and villains. Churches and schools are just as harmful here as any other institution. Children should be taught not to need to be taught, but to think for themselves, and should learn that our only reliable models are our own best selves.

TO BE PUBLISHED ON 26TH OCTOBER

**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 all the contributors, bibliography and index.

317 pages ISBN 0 900384 751 £8.00

Freedom Press
84 Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX
The centenary of the birth of the playwright and novelist J.B. Priestley has been celebrated in the theatre, the press, radio and television, and characteristically, his importance is measured by the fact that one of his plays, An Inspector Calls, has been seen by 260,000 people in London, "taking £3.2 million at the box office" while on Broadway, where it is the only English play running "it is clearing nearly $250,000 a week." His son, one of his beneficiaries, told the press that it is a tired old play, "but I don't believe that a tired old play could run for two years. There's an idealistic streak at the heart of it that has always appealed to young people."

Others have pointed out that the literary intelligentsia and the academics of literary criticism never had a good word for Priestley's novels and plays. But plenty of other readers had a great many good words for the account of his wanderings around the country in his 1934 book English Journey, an opinion reinforced by its radio serialisation last month.

Beryl Bainbridge, who was one of several writers commissioned to repeat that annual lament that those props of working class culture that were once a defence against alienation had not been left us their money but they've certainly left us their punk. It is as if the country had devoted a hundred years of its life to keeping gigantic sooty pigs — and the people, choked by the reek of the sties, did not get the bacon."

The England that Gosling, like Priestley, regrets is the country of the Co-op, local brass bands in the public parks, some education and an allotment, and what he calls "WEA civilisation. It's a world that's gone ...

Priestley, of course, was a Labour Party supporter. His wartime role was in giving morale-boosting radio talks about the bright future that was ahead of us:

"We shouldn't rest until every wrong done to the lovely face of this country is put right ... A nobler framework of life must be constructed. And the vistas of mean little streets, and ruined landscapes, the humiliation of bad housing, the heartbeat of long unemployment must vanish like an evil dream."

When the war was over he was naturally a supporter of the post-war Labour government and its policies of bringing basic industries into public ownership and of rationing goods and services in the name of fair shares for all. Then other issues, like the Cold War, intervened. Priestley's late years were involved with support for bodies like the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament as well as in issuing warnings about what he called Admas, the manipulation of mass culture by the advertising industry.

By this time in his political evolution, Priestley considered himself a gentle anarchist. He explained this in two radio talks in November 1954. He began by explaining his use of the word. "I have called us anarchists because we distrust and dislike the danger, standardised mass production. We are not members of an organised group, but simply a number of people who are beginning to think along certain lines." His first concern was with the state as the war-making machine. Some people might argue that wars happen because man is "still the most ferocious and bloodthirsty of earth's creatures" but this argument had become hopelessly out of date:

"In no country have the people in general ever demanded atomic warfare, biological and chemical warfare, and all the other horrors; their opinion has never been asked. It is governments and not people that have created these nightmares ... And the state is not only a war-planning but also a war-risking organisation ... the state is the war-making instrument, the machine that automatically creates dangerous situations. If everywhere in the world were busy weakening this instrument, cutting down the machine, then we could be moving away from war. But in fact we are always elaborating the instrument, strengthening the machine, giving the state more and more power, offering it precious wealth. And if power is not to serve people, then we must weaken, cut down and, if necessary, destroy its instrument.""
The centenary of the birth of the playwright and novelist J.B. Priestley has been celebrated in the theatre, the press, and radio on television, and characteristically, his importance is measured by the fact that one of his plays, An Inspector Calls, has been seen by 260,000 people in London, "taking £32 million at the box office" while on Broadway, where it is the only English play running "it is clearing nearly £250,000 a week." His son, one of his beneficiaries, told the press that it is seen as a tired old play, "but I don't believe that a tired old play could run for two years. There's an idealistic streak at the heart of it that has always appealed to young people."

Others have pointed out that the literary intelligentsia and the academics of literary criticism never had a good word for Priestley's novels and plays. But plenty of other readers had a great many good words for the account of his wanderings around the country in his 1934 book English Journey, an opinion reinforced by its radio serialization last month. Beryl Bainbridge, who was one of several writers commissioned to repeat that exploration on its fiftieth anniversary in 1984, the year of Priestley's death, remarked in The Guardian on 10th September how in that book: "... he warned of the danger that lay in people thinking of government as a mysterious business with which they had no real concern. He sensed apathy and disillusionment, yet was hopeful of gradual change. He lived to see that slow process accelerate to an extent not experienced since the Industrial Revolution, and to see that the results of such momentous changes amounted to the end to no more than a modern version of that other bleak North of England, with shopping precincts in place of Co-op stores, dole offices called by another name and the grandchildren of that earlier penniless generation supported by the state."

In the same paper, Ray Gosling voiced a similar lament that those props of working class culture that were once a defence against exploitation in the days when Britain was the workshop of the world, have collapsed, just as the industry that supported them had evaporated, leaving a landscape of squallor and hopelessness. He cites a passage from Priestley's book:

"Who gave them leave to turn this island into an

ashpit – Victorian individualists – they may or may not have left us their money but they've certainly left us their muck. It is as if the country had devoted a hundred years of its life to keeping gigantic sooty pigs – and the people, choked by the reek of the sties, did not get the bacon."

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By this time in his political evolution, Priestley considered himself a gentle anarchist. He explained this in his radio talks in November 1954. He began by explaining his use of the word. "I have called us anarchists because we distrust and dislike the power systems, the immense machinery of authority, believing that men would do better to rely on mutual help and voluntary associations. I have called us the gentle anarchists because we have no desire to use violence and have no intention of throwing bombs. We are not members of an organised group, but simply a number of people who are beginning to think along certain lines." His first concern was with the state as the war-making machine. Some people might argue that wars happen because men are "still the most ferocious and bloodthirsty of earth's creatures" but this argument had become hopelessly out of date:

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He blamed a supine public, including himself, for allowing the machinery of power to elaborate and strengthen itself. But "people do not exist to serve power. And if power will not serve people, then we must weaken, cut down and, if necessary, destroy its instruments."

In his second talk he tried to identify the reasons for the defeat of the individual. "The first is the sacrifice of individual liberty and responsibility to the interests of power, especially the state. The second is the rapid development of what are called mass communications. This was, of course, a familiar argument in those days and one which has gathered in intensity ever since. His case against the mass media was that:

"... they are too big, too noisy, too costly, too complicated in their elaborate techniques and machinery, too impersonal. And at their worst, when deliberately exploited for an ignoble purpose, they subordinate genuine personality to the mass mind and mass values, producing more and more regimentation in political, social and cultural life. Wrongly used, to serve power, political or financial, and catching and holding, as they do, vast numbers of the young, they tend to create a passive-minded public unwillingness to make the slightest effort... A society might offer a wonderland of mechanical marvels and yet fail disastrously because it consists of people who are losing their zest, imagination, joy and awe and are filled with boredom and melancholy and begin to think and act more like slaves than like free men."

Here, in the development of all these instruments of power which threaten personality itself, is the danger. We must face it while we still have the wits to recognize that it is a danger."

Re-reading the Priestley of 1934 we feel a pang of regret that the places whose deprivation assaulted his conscience then are still deprived in 1994, while the countervailing culture of working class self-help that sustained people then has withered today. Re-reading the gentle anarchist of 1954, having heard the same criticism of the mass media all through the forty years since them it is hard to imagine what else a commercial culture could be expected to produce. At that time we had only one television channel. Now we have four, and satellites, and video. His broadcasts were on what was called the BBC Home Service, and in those days there were only two others. Today we can hear dozens. It's perfectly true that the more we have the more alike they all become, but I'm inclined to think that our superior disdain for the popular media rests on the assumption that while other people are sleepwalking sheep, we are the discerning pickers and choosers.

Poor old Priestley didn't understand what was happening to what he conceived to be the popular culture of the English. The literary trendsetters despised him for his bluff pomposity, but 'the people' didn't like it either. Ray Gosling put it aptly in The Guardian when he reflected that "What J.B. Priestley stood for is, I'd say, so needed today, but not wanted, and now the want of it may (tragically) have passed, perhaps irrevocably. I don't think he understood what was happening. But looking back, did any of us?"
exploitation in the days when Britain was the
workshop of the world, have collapsed, just as
the industry that supported them had
evaporated, leaving a landscape of squalor and
hopelessness. He cites a passage from
Priestley's book:

"Who gave them leave to turn this island into an
anarchists because we have no desire to use
their representation in written symbols ordered in a linear

Reason and rationality

The three dictionaries I could find around Botch-Up Farm
made no attempt to distinguish between reason and
rationality. In everyday usage the words are more or less
interchangeable. History suggests reason is more ecletic,
precedes rationality, that thinking rationally is an important
tool of reason but subservient to it. Politics in the dictionary?
Closer examination is called for.

Reason prevails when we progress our affairs by
observation, thought, discussion and argument on the
experience of all our senses. Reason draws on history,
imagination and intuition too. A variety of tools may enhance
our reasoning capacities but the reasoner remains the measure
of all things. Reason is firmly rooted in oral traditions, yet a
central role is claimed for it in industrialisation.

In advanced industrial cultures we allow experts to advance
the cause of reason, to define, for example, intelligence and
academic prowess. Experts deem intelligence and academic
achievement to be expediently gauged by intelligence tests
and written examinations. Both place much emphasis on the
individual's visual/literary/mumerical acuity. Both are based
on the assumption that the critical information relevant to
reason, rational thinking, authority over the facility of reason.

Industrial man places great store on artefacts like the
mechanical device, writing, measurement, the print,
bureaucracy and the computer to order his affairs and solve
his problems. Our complaint devotion to such tools also
signals our commitment to rational thinking as the way to
solve problems. To the extent that our thinking is shaped and
imprisoned by such devices so it is technically driven.

Another important distinction between reason and
rationality is reflected in the deployment of assumptions.
Pragmatic reasoners regard assumptions as neither true nor
false but in terms of whether they work or don't. The simple
equation — work = employment = the creation of wealth —
keeps capitalists in power and preserves the authority of the
mechanical device, writing, measurement, the print,
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We can be deeply suspicious of the authoritative certainties others
attribute to computer print-outs, the pronouncements of
forecasters, scientific research and the apparatchiks office.

Rational thinking and intractable problems

The time is long overdue for us to recognise that the way we
think is central to the crises of western civilisation and
therefore to many of our apparently intractable problems, like
employment, cancer, pollution, transportation, the culture of
poverty, state power, rampant capitalism and mortality.

The continuing authority of science in our lives, particularly
medical science, is bolstered by its implicit promise to deliver
immortality. Industrial man’s obsession with the known, and
hence control, reveals itself in the way we hive off death from
the rest of life. Death may be our greatest taboo. When
Stephen Hawking tells us “the essential goal of science is to
provide a single theory that describes the whole universe” he
is both explicitly proclaiming the authority of science and
implicitly stoking the dream of immortality. Personally I look
forward to Dennis Potter’s views in this subject in his last
television dramas.

Our dominant way of thinking, sometimes against
overwhelming contrary evidence, holds to the conquest of
reality by increasingly precise abstract concepts. This is the
thinking of the bureaucrat in us all. When Nixon wanted to
We are of those generations that have fed
too long and too well off human
carnage. Wars and revolutions, civil or
polite, supplement our egg on toast as the
images of the dying and the dead flicker across
our television screens for our information
and our amusement. We plant our mass
produced banner protesting the evils of
organised violence on our high moral ground,
yet seek out that violence that we protest for
about for our vicarious amusement. As one
who was invited by the British War office to
take part in the invasion of Europe, the failed
relief of Arnhem, the crossing of the Rhine
and all 'that jazz', I do not recall killing
anyone demonstrating that while one can
willingly participate of the military glory one
did not have to draw blood. I know that
and all 'that jazz', I do not recall killing
War. Here was to be the work of artists
chest beatings for within that concrete hell that
were still being fought and just wars demand
agonies and here is the meaningless cruelty of
war. But we are still primitive and tribal wars
are still being fought and just wars demand
that we must resist mass genocide.
Of my stupidity I hold that the Second World
War was a war that had to be fought and it is
curious that one finds the clammy feel of it
within the 'Romantic Spirit in German Art
1790-1990', and this only in the section given
over to contemporary German art. Within this
exhibition one can view, for the first time for
most of us, paintings of the Hitler Nazi period
that other major British art galleries have
shyly ignored, and they are no more than the
social photographic realism of the Stalin
period, harmless and charmless but if you
have a secure job and a right-wing government
and a censored press then this is what you want
and what you got, and get. But as one moved
on into the German '20s then German political
art became exciting for it was as all art should
be, a matter of involved protest and the gang's
all there including Marc, Wassily, Kandinsky,
Klee, Schubert, Ernst, Sehle, and found
slashing colours but, as with Jaeckel's 1915
horse in its death agonies enframed within the
Barbican Gallery, there is one small group of
four paintings within the twin concrete hell of
the Hayward that as anarchists, card-carrying
or nay, concern us all in that they are four
small A4 size abstracts. With a style of science
fiction mysticism, they are abstracts of a take
it or leave it importance, but they were painted
by Fritz Winter in Germany during 1944 at a
time when the whole of Europe was overrun
by fighting armies and the inmates of
concentration camps were being killed off in
'destroy the evidence' house cleaning, and
Winter's art was of a style listed as degenerate
pornography by the German Nazi State and
here they are, four mild little abstracts that
refuse to come to terms with the cultural
dictates of the state. Secret art but they were
painted in the silent world of the secret protest.
It was indeed the dark night of the soul,
whatever that means, because in the war
period 1939-45 (see Winter's 1944) 30,000
German deserters were sentenced to death.
The German Greens and the German Social
Democrats moved that the 20,000 German
deserters executed by firing squad and the
10,000 who died in concentration camps
should be exonerated but Chancellor Kohl and
the CDU state 'no way man, no way' and the
1935 Nazi law is still being used to refuse to
exonerate the 30,000 dead German deserters.
Hitler, who was never short of a one-liner
Christmas cracker party piece, stated that "the
soldier may die but the deserter must die", and
this from a stand-up comedian who sent ten
year old German boys into the front line and
committed suicide when the Russian guns
shook his window panes.
Of the British figure, comrades? 30,000 men
in the British army were court martialled for
desertion during the war, but the short straw
for the one night stand for the hanging party
was for treason, so! Big wars are now history,
and purely medieval for two new generations,
and small wars are fillers for the media
television and newspapers and the television
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in the coloured dead and the screaming
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among the statesmen like politicians of both
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and mummy land and when the wounded have
died off and the dead are buried and forgotten,
then the Muses' hired hacks will immortalise
them, but for myself and the Town and his
fan-wielding Frau it is with a slight turn of the
dial.

As the Great War became bogged down in the
mud and the barbed wire and the daily
slaughter and the lists of the daily dead
became longer, so the mood of the populace
on both sides became one of hopeless despair
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Every picture ...

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Of the British figure, comrade? 30,000 men in the British army were court martialled for desertion during the war, but the short straw for the one might stand for the hanging party was for treason, so! Big wars are now history, and purely medieval for two new generations, and small wars are fillers for the media television and newspapers and the television camera has taken over from the artist and his lying brush. Television can lie, comrade, but in the coloured dead and the screaming wounded war is no longer popular except among the statesmen like politicians of both genders and the psychopathic killers killing for the cause, the people, the party or the daddy and mummy land and when the wounded have died off and the dead are buried and forgotten, then the Muses' hired hacks will immortalise them, but for myself and the Town and his fan-wielding Frau it is with a slight turn of the ankle to the ton of the day to take wine within the Royal Academy. To view the stagnant waters of old Venice and the marvellous little palaces, fully booked for the summer, and wonder why Piranesi's huge stone prisons could be accounted part of the Glory of Venice, but another glass of white wine and another turn of the ankle and who are we to inquire.

Arthur Moyse
determine what went wrong in Vietnam he charged Elsberg with finding the answer in the Pentagon files! Shades of Chamberlain returning from Munich and waving 'Peace in our Time' on a piece of paper. Our thinking is trapped in dualities and the problem of opposites — life or death, success or failure, rational or emotional. It involves us in trying to order all experience in linear, sequential ways. It expresses itself in the obsession with defining, dividing, classifying, standardising, programming and organising ourselves into oblivion.

The tools we use to advance this madness we deploy as though human judgement held no sway. We cannot blame our tools, only our uncritical dependence on them and the now unworkable assumption that reason and rationality are synonymous.

Anarchists who continue to believe in rational thinking as the way to their Mecca ought to ask themselves why a government that has on every occasion in the past fifteen years put capital (and consumer) before people, should also be so preoccupied with raising educational standard in the three Rs while shoving drama, music, arts and crafts into even more distant backwaters. Of course they know the answer. You may this crisis prevail until it precipitates more hopeful ways of thinking and action.

**Rationality as bad faith**

Rationality has become man-the-employee’s one-best-way to frame reason, order experience and bury his problems. It has consumed reason and reasoner to form the church of reason. The authority of this church is woven by managers and experts using informing devices which exaggerate the influence and place of the known and knowable in human affairs. Man can only hope to understand fully his own inventions, the source of which — his brain — remains a mystery to him. By variously using inventions like the clock, hydraulic system, telephone exchange and most recently the digital computer as analogies of the human brain, we strive also to know and control its functioning. But our obsessions are in another direction, this predisposition for the known and the knowable requires us to diminish the mysteries of life, nature, ourselves.

As a result the employed world of the scientist, academic, expert and educator is awash with the flotsam and jetsam of our rational propositions unhitched from existential reality. Barring Islam, we can forget old religions, rationality is the problematic religion of industrial man and its principle beneficiaries are the state and capitalism.

Most significant public rituals are now underpinned by rational processes which we must endure, expert, administrator and citizen alike. Unfortunately we continue to dismiss this slag-heap of inauthentic ritual as just the excesses of administration, legislation, standardisation and control. But these are rites advanced in the name of progress, efficiency and profitability which fail to articulate meaning, add to social dislocation, lack aesthetic worth and bring little joy either to participant or consumer, no matter how hard the media try to convince us otherwise.

**Bitter prospects**

Of course freethinkers, oddballs and wise folk have long recognised the limitations inherent in rational thinking, e.g. Rousseau’s “when we distinguish between men we begin also a process which eventually allows one party to hound down and destroy another” or Marcuse’s critique of our smooth, reasonable, democratic unfreedom or Jo Campbell’s “personal survival is only the second law of life, the first is that we are all one” or E.M. Forster’s plea to “only connect” or McLuhan’s aphorism “classify something and you kill it”. Isaiah Berlin, in his *Against the Current*, tells us that when Descartes, after the Greeks, was laying the philosophical foundations for industrial man’s way of thinking, an obscure Italian religious humanist, one Giambattista Vico, was extending Descartes’s knowing through rule determined disciplines into a realm of knowing from within which is neither deductive nor inductive but identified by examples. In Vico’s view the laws of physics could not be applied to the mind. His intuitive knowing comes from what people think, do and suffer as participants in life. It is this experience which enables us to share in common what it means to be happy and depressed, fight for a cause, share a joke, belong to a community, be fearful of death. Such intuitive knowing comes to us through three sources. Firstly personal experience, secondly the experience of others. Vico believed that through the study of language, myth and rites we could learn from others. As Berlin points out, to understand history we must learn from others. As Berlin points out, to understand history is to understand what men made of the world in which they found themselves. Thirdly Vico valued imagination, like William Blake, as a way into minds differing from our own. His view of knowing gives play to intuitive sympathy. Vico’s knowing is that knowing enlarged to encompass experience and human communication — neither of which figure much in industrial man’s judgements.

So we need to remind ourselves constantly that rationality, science and ‘reason’, in the context of employment, provide a powerful cover for collusive and corrupt games to which each one of us is party.

No manager, scientist, academic, teacher as an employee of the state or business can claim immunity or exemption from these nasty, debilitating games.

Denis Pym
Being Maori, identifying with Mana Maori and believing in the principles of anarchism is a seemingly huge paradox, full of insurmountable contradiction.

Maori who are part of the struggle for Tino Rangatiratanga (Maori Sovereignty) see their political and social ideal in the return of Mana Whenua, the control over their own physical (fisheries, land, forests, seas) and intangible (Te Reo Maori, health, justice, beliefs) resources and the working in partnership with the colonial government on issues affecting the nation.

How can this reconcile with the political and social ideal of anarchism, where every person is free to organize themselves and their lifestyle as they please, in cooperation with others and the environment; without oppressive hierarchical or discriminatory structures, especially as the traditional Maori structure of society is hierarchical, patriarchal, oppressive and sexist?

Hapu and iwi were ordered into rangatira (ruling class), tutua (commoners) and taurekareka (slaves). Power was handed down from the chief to his eldest son, although if he was a bad or inadequate leader he could be usurped by one of his younger brothers.

Women, if a member of the chief’s family (sister, daughter) were accorded the mana of the ruling class, but did not become chiefs. They were used as bartering objects to build stronger alliances with other hapu and iwi. This enforced marriage/slavery often led women to choose suicide as their only option.

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Women, if a member of the chief’s family (sister, daughter) were accorded the mana of the ruling class, but did not become chiefs. They were used as bartering objects to build stronger alliances with other hapu and iwi. This enforced marriage/slavery often led women to choose suicide as their only option.
and stealing their possessions.

Killing, brutalising and enslaving the culture which work contrary to basic anarchist group had a particular role to play, and each their common existence. Each generational who worked and lived together for the good of building, cooking, making clothes, fishing, usually made up of three or more generations, to a common ancestor. The whanau was with a leader (chief) and iwi were related hapu cooperation — the concept of whanaunatanga, which are living examples of anarchist respect for the environment's need of time and thing — plants, trees, animals and even menstruation, which was considered unclean and capable of rotting vegetable crops and spoiling food.

Yet there are some aspects of Maori culture which are living examples of anarchist cooperation — the concept of whanaunatanga, the extended family, and the basis of all Maori society. The hapu was simply a larger whanau with a leader (chief) and iwi were related hapu to a common ancestor. The whanau was usually made up of three or more generations, who worked and lived together for the good of their common existence. Each generational group had a particular role to play, and each role was recognised as equal in value for the good of the whanau.

There are many aspects of traditional Maori culture which work contrary to basic anarchist principles: Maori were a warrior race, who actively sought to invade other communities, killing, brutalising and enslaving the inhabitants, destroying their homes and crops and stealing their possessions.

Adults made up the regular labour force of working the gardens, maintaining the buildings, cooking, making clothes, fishing, hunting and any other heavy labour work, including war parties. Having and raising children was considered the primary function of women. They were also prevented from being involved in some tasks because of menstruation, which was considered unclean and capable of rotting vegetable crops and spoiling food.

SLAVE LABOUR

POUR LA PATRIE

References

Manu Wahine Maori by Ngahuia Te Awekotuku
Ka Whaiwhai Tona Matou by Ranginui Walker
Maori Sovereignty by Donna Awaare
Women on the Edge of Time by Marge Piercy
Challenges to Maori Feminists by Kathie Irwin

Multinational Dinosaurs?

The transnational corporations certainly rule the world of trade (see Freedom, 17th September). This is also quite understandable, for who but a big corporation has the wherewithal to go global. The world market is definitely a big-boys game. But there are other things happening in the economy. At the home base (or perhaps what once was the home base) the big corporations are losing some of their importance, most particularly in terms of innovation and employment creation. In 1979 the 500 largest American companies employed 16.2 million workers, last year the figure was 11.5 million, a reduction of 30%. Employment creation is now in the hands of the small-to-medium enterprises — in Europe 70% of new employment is generated by industries with 50 or less workers. In Canada the figure is even more remarkable, with 80% of new jobs generated by industries with 50 workers or less.

One of the reasons for this is the big fish going global they are leaving market niches open for the small fry. Then there is the question of innovation. The transnationals innovate for a global product, say an automobile or television, but they are most unlikely to be interested in a new kind of bicycle or compost shredder.

What is of interest in this development for anarchists is that the small-to-medium enterprises

NEWS FROM AOTEAROA —

The Committee for the Establishment of Civilisation

The Anarchist Alliance of Aotearoa is a loose network of small activist groups around the country, who have agreed to a brief statement of aims and objectives. At present there are 12 groups in Wellington, Auckland, Hamilton, Christchurch and Motueka and individuals in other centres. Several of the groups are comprised of Anarchist women, who also network separately as the Anarchist-Feminist Federation of Aotearoa.
the sons of the growing number of unemployed feel Jils-de-papa will not be called up and presumably joining the army of the unemployed. The unemployment figures and help reduce the meals a day and a roof over their heads is better than 'defence' budget!

Mark you, the well-heeled families have all the cost per head a fifteenth of that of a professional soldier! Makes it quite clear that the miserable conscripts make it quite clear that the miserable conscripts...
Northern Ireland: the Challenge to Anarchists

Dear Freedom,

I was very dismayed to read the piece entitled ‘Notes on the Tribes of Northern Ireland’ in the issue of 17th September. Coming at a time of major military and political change in Britain and Ireland, this piece of pseudo-analysis, written in narrow ethno-religious language, seemed particularly weak and offensive.

Offensive because a reading of the paragraph that begins “It might be argued ...” while substituting the word ‘black’ for the word ‘Catholic’ will illustrate the smugly racist coloniser’s mind at work here. A similar substitution for the word ‘Protestant’ elsewhere in the piece would serve the same purpose.

Offensive because nowhere in the piece is there any attempt to contextualise religious differences in colonial and imperialist history. That such an omission should occur in an anarchist publication from London is alarming and which is full of historically-centred, imperialist history. That such an

Dear Freedom,

It seems to me that there are two types of anarchist – the easy lay and the puritan. In the same way as there are woman-chasers, in politics there are comrade-chasers, and I would roughly represent myself in that category. Consequently, I would regard Laurens Otter, the author of the pamphlet I reviewed 6th August (Anarchists and the Peace Movement), a comrade in the same way I would consider Nick Heath, as an anachist, my comrade. Nick Heath, as a rather more puritanical type, I suspect more choosy in his selection of political

English Tory Radicalism

Dear Freedom,

Consider two authors: the first became known for a flashy cleverness as a ’60s satirist, campaigned against the left in his union, promoted the cultist guru Bhagwan Rajneesh, heralded the mystical nationalist Solzhenitsyn as a prophet; the other a theoretician of Trotskyism, writer of major works on the nature of modern capitalism, marxist political economy and on World War Two, someone who argued in an honest and rational way for Trotsky’s (in my view, wrong) theory of the USSR. Now which of these would someone concerned with human emancipation regard as being more important and take more seriously? I would have thought the latter, whether one was an anarchist, marxist, greenie or feminist. But not Arthur Moyse.

His article of 17th September refers to works by Bernard Levin and by Ernst Mandel, dismisses the latter and – for no clear reason – recruits Levin to anarchism. The article is presented as a book review as it has publication details set off from the main text. But Moyse tells us almost nothing about either book. Instead he drives on about the Bloomsbury circle and passing Levin in the street. All he seems to say about Mandel’s book is that he doesn’t understand it; his article shows no signs of having actually read either of the books.

It is a feature of our age that one political project will express itself in the rhetoric of another: Labourism used the rhetoric of socialism to express the project of New Liberalism, Stalinism that of (a kind of) marxism for Fabian managerialism. Moyse’s article shows an ’anarchist’ sensibility which uses the rhetoric of anarchism to express a kind of English Tory radicalism which is apparently scornful of power yet scorns those theoretical resources which can comprehend power.

David Murray

Loose Comrades and Puritans

Dear Freedom,

It seems to me that there are two types of anarchist – the easy lay and the puritan. In the same way as there are woman-chasers, in politics there are comrade-chasers, and I would roughly represent myself in that category. Consequently, I would regard Laurens Otter, the author of the pamphlet I reviewed 6th August (Anarchists and the Peace Movement), a comrade in the same way I would consider Nick Heath, as an anachist, my comrade. Nick Heath, as a rather more puritanical type, is I suspect more choosy in his selection of political

British Anarchist Movement. Nick Heath’s theory, applied to animals, is that it is the host that hijacks the parasite. In this way it would be possible to argue that the small anarcho-syndicalist Solidarity Federation (formerly the Direct Action Movement) were being abducted by the trade union movement simply because their members join trade unions in order to influence trade unionism.

This is sheer topsy-turvy land! The upside down thinking involved can only be sustained by arguing that the big social movements, like the 1960s peace movement and the labour movement, who left the SWF and later joined the ASA had allowed ourselves to drift into areas with our contributions. In this way the ASA became a kind of debtor’s retreat – how many comrades do you know who seem to be stuck by neo-moritstics when it comes to their turn to make their way to the bar to buy a round?

Many of these people regard themselves as working class heroes, but fail to recognise that it is a cardinal sin among proper workers to duck when it comes to buying rounds.

Nick Heath was a member of the ASA, and the foreign policy of the ASA in 1970 was critical support for the Viet-Cong. Hence we were both members of an organisation which at

Party Political Circuses

Dear Freedom,

Your article on ‘The Party Political Circuses’ (1st October) covered some very familiar ground. Politicians and their parties have always aimed to buy votes by promising material gain, a promise that rarely materialises. Pursuing power for power’s sake is common to all parties and the wider political and social elite serve: bribing the electorate is just one way of achieving this.

Paul Petard
Loose Comrades and Puritans

Dear Freedom,

It seems to me that there are two types of anarchist — the easy lay and the puritan. In the same way as there are woman-chasers, in politics there are comrade-chasers, and I would roughly represent myself in that category. Consequently, I would regard Laurens Am at present affiliated is the British Goat Syndicate. I am more choosy in my selection of political bedfellows.

In his complaining letter to Freedom (1st October), Mr Heath demonstrates a clear grasp of the minutia. But he is wrong in his assumption that I am a member of the Syndicalist Bulletin Group. The only organisation to which I am at present affiliated is the British Goat Society. Though I was a member of the anarcho-syndicalist Solidarity Union when I was living in Spain.

His obssesive eye for detail does allow him to ignore the main thrust of Laurens Am's argument. He is a class struggle anarchist in name, but what has he done about extending the principles of anarchism to the scientific enterprise. It is perfectly true that the Manchester Syndicalist Alliance (which he chose to join) began in Manchester as a pro-Viet-Cong. Hence we were both determined proponents of the position that anarchists should support the NLF. Nick Heath was a member of the ASA, and the foreign policy of the ASA in 1970 was critical support for the Viet-Cong. Hence we were both members of an organisation which at least gave comfort to the North Vietnamese regime, though I would be reluctant to echo Laurens Otter's use of the term 'traitor' in this context. Most members of the ASA later went on to join the SWF.

Brian Bamford

Dear Comrades,

Methinks Nick Heath doth protest too much; apparently it is perfectly alright for him to tell outright lies about me but when I publicly state the fact that the Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance (which he chose to join) began in Manchester as a pro-Viet-Cong, Nick Heath avoids the risks of social contamination and relevance run by members of the Solidarity Federation and the Syndicalist Bulletin Group by wrapping himself in a realm of unreality and irrelevance. He is a class struggle anarchist in name, but what has he done for the class struggle?

The Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance, set up around the end of the 1960s, was made up of mainly lapsed members of the Syndicalists Workers' Federation. Joseph Conrad identified a tight-arsed tendency on the left, and I suspect that most of us

Anarchism and Science

Dear Freedom,

My article 'Anarchist Science Policy' in The Raven no. 26 is about the goal of self-management in science, which means popular participation in doing science, and deciding directions for scientific research and applications. In other words, it is about extending the principles of anarchism to the scientific enterprise.

Tony Gibson's comment on The Raven no. 26 is intended for the service of Ireland when I visited the Freedom Bookshop in July. This is a reprint of a short pamphlet distributed among soldiers "on the eve of Cromwell's re-conquest of Ireland in 1649." This document was suppressed, because its ideas challenged the right of the state to use imperialist adventures as a way of maintaining order among its own subjects. A reading of this pamphlet

The manner in which the Manchester Syndicalist Alliance remained part of the AFB, and so in that sense Nick Heath is telling the truth when he says the National ASA arose from the AFB. But Nick must be aware that the Manchester ASA were determined proponents of the position that anarchists should support the NLF. John Reyt, Mark Sandell, Mike Mallet, Gary Waid, John Rety, Mark Sandell, Mike Mallet, Paul Petard, it is a shame that Arthur Moyse reject the notion of an anarchist society and see anarchism as essentially an isolated individual thing. But if Arthur is such a Stirnerite, why does he engage in such social anarchistic activity as sharing his thoughts and ideas with other anarchists over collectively purchased pints of beer in the White Hart pub? And does not such an activity in itself amount to a temporary form of anarchist society in miniature in the here and now? I shall explore this matter further next time I wander up Angel Alley. Forward to the next drink!

Paul Petard

Party Political Circus

Dear Freedom,

Your article on 'The Party Political Circus' (1st October) covered some very familiar ground. Politicians and their parties have always aimed to buy votes by promising material gain, a promise that rarely materialises. Pursuing power for power's sake is common to all parties and the wider political and social elite they serve; bribing the electorate is just one way of achieving this.

What was refreshing in the article was the emphasis on an individual's way of life. For those who can see through the propaganda the true face of politics is blatantly clear. The essence of anarchism is a belief that the individual may choose the life they wish to lead. Some achieve this in the existing social order. The individual cannot however negotiate the lives of others who suffer from gross injustices. An individual cannot be free if all around them are in chains.

A statement from the '60s read: "Your politics is not your rhetoric or your position on issues, it is the way you live your life". This is true but that way of life entails a commitment to inform others about the truth of the sham under which they live. Without that commitment the people will never act to change the corrupt nature of politics.

Fortunately the cross policies and discredited politicians of recent years have helped in the process of uncovering the truth. I'm sure they will continue to aid our cause.

Adam

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Dear Freedom

My article 'Anarchist Science Policy' in The Raven no. 26 (Freedom, 17th September) gives no hint that this is the subject of my article. Instead, he implies that my article is mainly about fluoridation of water supplies and that my concern is to oppose it. Instead, he implies that my article was about extending the principles of anarchism to the scientific community — could be different. Present day science is largely created by and serves the purposes of political, economic and scientific elites. An anarchist science would be designed by the people to serve their own interests. The conflict between present science and varieties of anarchist science, just as there are some economic and political systems that many anarchists would like to retain. Tony Gibson rejects this perspective of the constructedness of science. He believes that there is a single scientific truth. Anyone who disagrees with the scientific ideas to which he subscribes he categorises as 'anti-science', thus assuming that current scientific orthodoxy is the only way to understand the world.

Gibson also attacks my booklet Strip the Experts. Actually, he seems to have adopted some of the less savoury techniques described in it, such as judging an argument by its author rather than its content, making fun of those with whom he disagrees and pursuing irrelevancies at the expense of the main issue.

Brian Martin

Anarchism and Science

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My article 'Anarchist Science Policy' in The Raven no. 26 is about the goal of self-management in science, which means popular participation in doing science and in deciding directions for scientific research and applications. In other words, it is about extending the principles of anarchism to the scientific enterprise.

Tony Gibson's comment on The Raven no. 26 (Freedom, 17th September) gives no hint that this is the subject of my article. Instead, he implies that my article is mainly about fluoridation of water supplies and that my concern is to oppose it, neither of which is correct. My aim in discussing fluoridation is to illustrate some of the dilemmas in decision-making in areas where scientific knowledge is contested and is obviously linked to value judgements about society.

The foundation of my analysis is the idea that scientific knowledge is similar to religion or politics in being a way of understanding the world that is constructed by humans. This means that there is no single scientific truth, just as there is no single correct religion or political ideology. In other words, science — including scientific knowledge, scientific method and scientific community — could be different. Present day science is largely created by and serves the purposes of political, economic and scientific elites. An anarchist science would be designed by the people to serve their own interests. The conflict between present science and varieties of anarchist science, just as there are some economic and political systems that many anarchists would like to retain.

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Brian Martin
Anarchist Bookfair
Saturday 22 October
10am - 8pm
at Conway Hall
Red Lion Square, London WC1
(nearest tube: Holborn)

Anarchist Research Group
Saturday 22nd October
— John Quail & Martyn Everett 'Class Struggle – past or future?' 12.00 noon —
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at Conway Hall (jointly with the Anarchist Bookfair)

Anarchist Communist Federation
— PUBLIC MEETING —
22nd October 4-6pm
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(to coincide with the Anarchist Bookfair)
Preparing for the Millennium – a vision of a new society, an autopsy of the rotting corpse of the old society
by French Libertarian Communist militant gives eye-witness accounts of May '68 in France
further info from:
ACF c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX
we are also preparing drafts of a Manifesto of Anarchist Communism

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