

anarchist fortnightly **Freedom**

Vol. 55 No. 20

15 OCTOBER 1994

FIFTY PENCE

**Anarchy in
the UK '94**

**'Ten days that
shook the world'**

Programme on page 4

The Labour Party at Prayer WHAT'S SO 'OUTDATED' ABOUT CLAUSE 4?

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In this writer's opinion Clause 4 could only be considered 'outdated' if all the objectives contained therein had been achieved, and if we were ready to proclaim the classless society, the abolition of the money system and every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 We challenge the God-fearing Tony Blair* to declare what is outdated in the objectives of Clause 4 if he is speaking as a *socialist* and not just as a vulgar politician seeking votes to get him and his mates into Downing Street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What is really *outdated* is the idea that the objectives of Clause 4 can ever be achieved via the ballot box.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 workmen 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

** From *The Impossibilities of Social Democracy*, published by Freedom Press, £2.00 (post free inland).

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 then that's understandable, especially if your branch of the 'left' has made headway, which we doubt! But if you

(continued on page 2)

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 not only 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

were pointing out that these boats were *unstable*. A criticism of their colleagues who were prepared to design dangerous ships, and also of governments taking no account of these strictures.

Far from ferry disasters being just that of the 'Herald of Free Enterprise' in 1987 and now the much more sensational 'Estonia' with the loss of 900 lives within five minutes, the fact is that since 1980 more than 100 ferries worldwide have disappeared with heavy loss of life.

Anarchists, unlike the 'experts' and the general public, do not believe that man is the master of nature. For that very reason, and knowing what one can expect, a non-capitalist society would never challenge 'the mighty ocean' by cutting corners
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THE ANARCHIST BOOKFAIR

Freedom Editors will be there!

Saturday 22nd October

10am - 8pm

at

Conway Hall

Red Lion Square, London WC1
(nearest tube Holborn)

We shall also have a stand at the

London Greenpeace Fayre

Saturday 29th October

11am - 8pm

also at Conway Hall

Free admission

After the Political Circus

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 'impresarios' will hope that the media – especially television – coverage of their political stage shows will have won votes when the time to decide which bunch of political con-men/women will occupy the government benches.

For the *basic* problems require solutions so far-reaching – and which in the affluent western world would so affect the living standards and status of a majority – that none of the political parties will even dream of tackling them.

Just a year ago the *Observer's* editorial (3rd October 1993) with the provocative title "The Need for a Real Alternative" opened with:

"John Smith has done much to improve Labour's image in the past week [a reference to the Labour Party's annual conference]. He has yet to improve the party's effectiveness. To achieve that, he needs to show more boldness in addressing policy issues from which Labour finds it all too easy to shy away."

And concludes that whatever good Brighton may have done Mr Smith:

"... 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 in Britain."

And the authors conclude that in a country:

"... where many aspects of government are conducted in secret and many of those governing are there by hereditary privilege, perhaps this is unsurprising."

Will 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

(continued on page 3)

The Real Fraudsters

At 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!

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 £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!

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THE BALTIC FERRY DISASTER

(continued from page 1)

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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.

If for any reason, including negligence (such as forgetting to close the bow doors (as apparently was the case with the 'Free Enterprise'), the sea pours in and since the first car deck is just above the engine room (in order to facilitate the drive-on drive-off clearance at the ports) it only needs two inches of water slopping across the deck to add to the already basic unstable design of the vessel. The Estonian carriers have said they will weld the bows of their ferries. The much larger British operators have made it clear they won't, and in a sense they are right for the *inexorable fault is that these vessels are unstable in their very design*. They also know that the car decks should be partitioned off with bulwarks to prevent heavy seas from simply pouring in from bow to stern without any chance of getting rid of it. Such safety measures would limit the number of vehicles that could be accommodated on board as well as increasing the time required for driving on and off the ferry, thus reducing the operators' profits or requiring increased charges to passengers which would, with a worldwide recession, mean fewer passengers and less profits.

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.

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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"!

Solicitors, lawyers and accountants are the growing industry in the capitalist world. And what do they produce of any use for our well being?

WILDCAT "John Major hails a new era of prosperity"

He's been hailing it for years. Where is it ???

And I see Michael Howard is cracking down on crime.

And causing crime to rise, like when he cracked down on crime last year.

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

Why don't you take Major's advice, to condemn more and understand less ???

(continued from page 1)

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This autumn sees the publication of Freedom Press Bookshop's new booklist, bedecked with many new titles as well as some perennial favourites. Subscribers to *Freedom* or *The Raven* get theirs automatically. Both the content and layout have been greatly revamped and we have made space for more titles and better descriptions of existing titles where possible. Of course, the bookshop carries much more stock, but the list represents those titles which we consider most relevant and which we try to keep in stock regularly.

Naturally we can also obtain titles which are not on the list or in the shop, but please give us as much information as possible about what you want – at least title and author (and preferably publisher and distributor too) or it can take quite a while to trace.

Reviews of books, pamphlets, etc., in *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

The World of Books

under by 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 dealing with such people, is cordially 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**

Raven 26 on Science – 2



100 pages

£3.00 (post free anywhere)

McLibel avoided by McDonalds publicity

The first McDonalds hamburger shop in Britain opened in Woolwich on 30th September 1974, and few readers of the

other food processors, McDonalds uses additives to preserve and stabilise the food

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 denounce 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

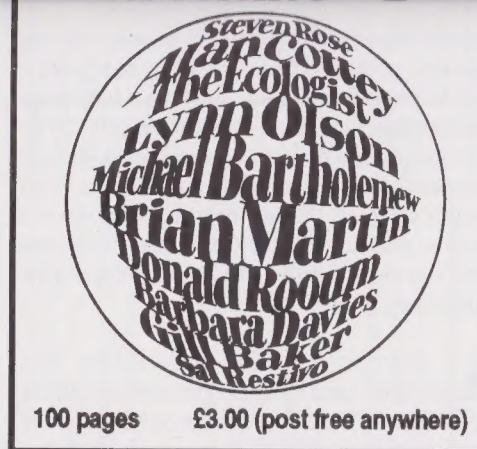
1. Authoritarians notoriously mix up anarchy

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!

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1. Authoritarians notoriously mix up anarchy, 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 anarchy originates from Greek. The prefix 'an' means 'negation of' as in anaerobe versus aerobe, and 'arch' meaning 'superior, i.e. in contrast to subordinates', as in archbishop, archangel, archduke, arch villain, etc. Thus anarchy, anarchism, 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 anarchist 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.

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 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 ..."

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 bleach 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-divisionists 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."

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 Lausanne-based trust were it 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!

stuff they sell, and one – the notorious Penguin 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

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What Hutton and the conventional critics of the economy will not recognise is that the problem no government – 'left' or 'right' – will tackle is the *unequal society*. Years ago the Labour Party only went as far as proposing that all should have the right to reach the top of the ladder and as we then pointed out: so long as there is a social/economic ladder there will be those remaining at the bottom.

Far from the new-look Labour Party proposing a genuine redistribution of wealth, their whole propaganda is to win the votes of 'Middle England' and to hell with the poor, the homeless and the underprivileged in general. More reason than ever for the underprivileged of the world to join forces and forget about the politicians!

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 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.

On 1st October the *Guardian* and the *Independent* actually mentioned the names of the two defendants – our comrades Dave Morris and Helen Steel – but most of the reports made no mention of the case, just following the press hand-outs about what a great firm McDonalds was.

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

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 bleach 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."

Professor Harry Keen, former chair of the World Health Organisation Expert Committee on Diabetes, was also called by McDonalds. He testified that obesity is clearly linked with non-insulin-dependent diabetes and that the UK population is becoming more obese. "Dietary factors are now known to be associated with a whole range of chronic diseases."

Several witnesses were then called by the defence to amplify the points about diet and disease made by McDonalds' own witnesses.

The trial is open to the public at Court 35, Royal Courts of Justice, The Strand, London WC2. And don't forget the support march on Saturday 15th October starting from Euston Station at 12 noon.

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

1. Authoritarians notoriously mix up anarchy, 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 anarchy 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 anarchy, anarchism, 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 anarchist 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.

According to the invitation, the so-called 'Anarchy in the UK' (AITUK) is a typical mixture of anarchist and authoritarian tendencies, as mentioned in the Oslo Convention. AITUK in general gives a negative and wrong description of anarchy and anarchism, advocating authoritarian roles and mixing up authoritarian and anarchist ideas. Thus, according to the above mentioned resolution about the general anarchist opinion in such matters, the AITUK is denounced. Please forward this message to all it may concern.

After mandate:

L. Hagen, Information Secretary
Anarkistenes Informasjonstjeneste
c/o F.b. P.b. 4777, Sofienberg N-0506,
Oslo, Norway

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 Rety 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 Quail 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 levitatory procession 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, magick, 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

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD Anarchy in the UK '94 21st - 30th October

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 + Anhrefn + Intensive Care + Blasphemy Squad** at George Robey, 8pm-2am.

Autogeddon by **Heathcote Williams** performed by **Roy Hutchings** + performance of 'Ain't 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 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 SIX Wednesday 26th October

Freedom Bookshop open 10am to 6pm.

Earth Day Gatherings, all at SE8 Club 10am-6pm: International Earth First! gathering, International Hunt Saboteurs gathering, Animal Liberation International Group meeting, Green Party get together, Ecology and Revolution gathering, Anti-Nuclear and Toxics Forum, Housing and Squatting Forum, Eco-Feminist Forum. All day bar, vegan catering by Veggies, plus creche.

Eco-Bards Evening at SE8 Club, 8pm-2am with host Rita Lynch + Tofu Love Frogs + Joe Bloggs and His Invisible Navvies of Utopia + Jake Laver + Monica Sjöo + Davey Garland + Graham Lewis, with open mike session.

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

Smut 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.

'Leaking 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 Sjöo, John Rety, 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 SEVEN Thursday 27th October

Freedom Bookshop open 10am to 6pm.

Levellers + Schwartznegger + Co-creators at Brixton Academy, 8pm, admission £8.50.

Experiment + Nose Bleed + Rita Lynch + Junction 13 + Kubrick + Autonomicus + Motherbus + Brain of Morbo at George Robey, all-day from 1pm-2am.

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 Urges, Michelle B and more! Canterbury Arms, 9pm-1am.

Rainbow Conference Party, Megatripolis at Heaven launching the leisure party, 9pm-3am – Party, Party, Party!

To Die in Madrid + The Free Voice of Labour: the Jewish Anarchists at London Film Makers Co-op, 8pm, admission £3 and £4.

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 Perlman and John Zerzan** at Approach Tavern, 7.30-11pm.

Late Night Cabaret at the Hackney Empire with Paka, Pee Wee, Mr Nasty, Sky Trapt, Tony Allen, Chris Lynam, Rory Motion, Lol Coxhill, Sharon Landau, Pop Corn Club, Penny Rimbaud, Steve Ignorant. Tickets £6 on the day, £5 in advance from box office (081-985 2424). Proceeds to *Squall* 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.

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Ninth Symposium of Thelemic Magick including Enochian Magick, Austin Spare, Sexual Magick, Greek Kabbalah and Liber Samekh. Speakers and workshops and evening social. Phone Mogg (0865 243671) for more details or contact Oxford Golden Dawn Occult Society, PO Box 250, Oxford OX1 1AP.

Siege of Sydney Street + The Angry Brigade, 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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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.

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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, Foxes 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.

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The Astoria, Charing Cross Road, W1

The Black Lion, Rathbone Place, W1

Britannia Leisure Centre, 40 Hyde Road, N1

Brixton Academy, 211 Stockwell Road, SW9

Canterbury Arms, 20 Fish Street Hill, EC3

Coalton Arts Centre, Coldharbour Lane, SE24

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn, WC1

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Anarchist-Feminist Non-Violent Direct Action Day targeting militarism.

Anarchism, Violence and Non-Violence, a workshop to explore differences. Quaker International Centre, 1 Byng Place, London WC1, 5.30-7.30pm.

Penny Rimbaud reads from *Reality Asylum* at Union Chapel, 8pm, admission £5 or £4 concessions.

Dread Messiah + Screamer + Ugly Beat at George Robey, 8pm-2am.

Doo the Moog + Rita Lynd Band + Scum of Toytown + The Passion Grand at SE8 Club, 8pm-2am.

The Wobblies + The Miners Film at London Film Makers Co-op, 8pm, admission £3 and £4.

Underground Power on Children's Rights at Conway Hall, 5.30-7.00pm.

Discussion organised by **Libertarian Education** at Conway Hall, 7.00-8.30pm.

Should we revive the Anarchist Federation of Britain? A major discussion introduced by John Rety, a former editor of *Freedom* and still secretary of the AFB. Conway Hall, 8.30-10pm.

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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 immoral choice.

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.

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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 75 1 £8.00

Freedom Press

84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

DAY TEN

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Freedom Bookshop, (in Angel Alley, alongside Whitechapel Art Gallery) 84b Whitechapel High Street, E1

Friends Meeting House, 173 Euston Road, NW1

George Robey, 240 Seven Sisters Road, N4

Hackney Empire, 291 Mare Street, E8

Heaven, The Arches, Villiers Street, WC2

London Film Makers Co-op, 42 Gloucester Avenue, NW1

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— ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

Priestley's belated anarchism

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 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 serialisation 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 in 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

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."

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 heartbreak 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 and 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 Admass, 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 power systems, the immense machinery of

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 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 civic liberties that our forefathers had to fight for."

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 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 recognise 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 then 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 populism, but 'the people' didn't like it either. Ray Gosling put it mordantly 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)

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— PART TWO —

YUPPIEDOM AND THE LIMITS OF RATIONALITY

It is time we looked more closely at the national basis on which managers and experts operate. I concluded the first part of this article with the assertion that our rational propositions have become unhitched from reality and are therefore without existential reason. In existential thinking, so Satre asserts, existence comes before the essence and we are talking, ultimately, about survival.

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 eclectic, 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/numerical acuity. Both are based on the assumption that the critical information relevant to intelligence and academic achievement is the property of one sense (the visual) abstracted, that serious problems, those worthy of consideration, are identified and solved through their representation in written symbols ordered in a linear

sequential way. In practice these devices give to a tool of 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 state, but in western society it delivers the essentials of life to a declining number of people.

In my own enquiries amongst professionals, none compare with economists and experts in finance when it comes to skill in rational thinking and argument. But it would be difficult to find any other group of professionals less prepared to question assumptions, still less to contemplate alternatives when the familiar don't work.

Peasants, seafarers, nomads, craftsmen and the self-employed in western societies are among the people likely to hold a broader view of reason, if only because they have to. These find their chances of survival enhanced by

being ready to change their assumptions. People who are strongly guided by instinct and experience are also found to 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 hivel off death from the rest of life. Death may be our greatest taboo. When Stephen Hawkins 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

Every picture ...

We are of those generations that have fed too long and too well off human carnage. Wars and revolutions, civil or impolite, 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 somehow there is a flaw in that position, but let the historians and the moralists analyse the matter.

It is a good season for the art lovers and the chest beatings for within that concrete hell that lost travellers call the Barbican Art Gallery is on display what one hoped was a major exhibition of avant-garde art and the Great War. Here was to be the work of artists weeping into their paint pots as they turned their backs on the posed photo-realism and the quaint flowery impressionists to record in flat prime colours the artist's soul-screaming protest against the horrors and the futile brutality of that Great War, but it was, nay is, not so for the painters, the poets and the writers as always followed the fashion of the hour. The Great War was the last of the great romantic tribal wars that was to be fought to the music of the drum and fife, sunshine and flying flags and bright uniforms, and with the anti-climax within the Barbican Art Gallery the artists rushed out their acceptance of the mood of the mob. It was always so.

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 of a situation for which they saw no ending, and the artists bashed out, in their journalistic fashionable painting style, their agreement of their hindsight mood of the day.

It is a sad and large exhibition that portrays the Great War as some painless ballet choreographed against a backcloth of primary coloured dry mud while the dead fill space groundwards like unto minor characters in a John Wayne bang-bang war film. Out of all this sorry exhibition there is no Goya 'Horrors of War' to excite the uncommitted mind, and for me only one single A4 size lithograph by Willy Jaeckel during 1915 captures the misery of war. It is of a wounded horse in its death 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, Schwitters, Ernst, Schlemmer etc. and

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 kultural 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, comrade? 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 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 and a short bow 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



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ARTHUR MOYSE

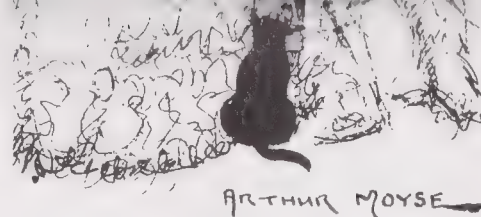
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Of the British figure, comrade? 30,000 men in the British army were court martialled for desertion during the war, but the short straw for the one night stand for the hanging party was for treason, so! Big wars are now history, and purely medieval for two new generations, and small wars are fillers for the media television and newspapers and the television 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 and a short bow 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

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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, Schwitters, Ernst, Schlemmer, etc., and they alone are worth your price of admission. My pleasure was my first introduction to 'modern' art via a reproduction of Franz Marc's 'Small Yellow Horses' with its great



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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 can't easily get people to behave like machines and consume every bit of poison that is thrown at them until they are versed in and committed to 'the one-best-way' to do things.

I must confess I get a perverse kick out of reading those highly articulate letters in *Freedom* from old industrial school men who consider themselves guardians of the 'anarchist movement', whatever that is. These wizards in dualistic thinking, champions of the either/or game, think they have the truth like it was their own property. If another contributor to the Readers' Letters raises doubts within a context both despise – about our dependencies on rational thinking, science or even, God forbid, reason – he is reckoned to be proclaiming the irrational and therefore contributing to fascism and the next holocaust. But the highly emotional tones of the 'let's be rational' brigade are a dead giveaway. Like Robert Pirsig of *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* fame before them, they are most surely experiencing a crisis of faith. Well, long

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 when we might sometimes be better employed exalting its mysteries. 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".

Isiah 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 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 ideals of anarchism, where every person is free to organise 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.

Women 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.

Yet there are some aspects of Maori culture which are living examples of anarchist cooperation – the concept of whanaunatanga, the extended family, was 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

Anarchy – a Maori Perspective

The following article appeared in *The State Adversary* #22. It seeks in an even-handed way to look at the ways anarchism and Maori culture compliment and contradict each other.

of the whanau and their care was left mainly to the elders, who were greatly esteemed for their knowledge and life experience.

Everybody took responsibility for the children regardless of who the parents were. This collective responsibility is demonstrated through the language where matua applies to mother, father, aunt and uncle, and tuakana, teina, tungane and tuahine applies to brothers, sisters and cousins.

Overall the whanau and the hapu worked collectively for the benefit of everyone; crops were collectively worked and produce shared amongst everyone. Fishing and hunting successes were also shared. Each hapu worked for themselves, and traded with neighbouring communities if necessary or desirable.

One of the most important and significant aspects of Maori culture is the relationship of people to the land. Maori cosmology forms the basic premise of the creation of the world and its people and prescribes the way people must behave and relate to the earth and its resources. Many stories and myths describe exactly how to fish, plant and catch birds while still respecting the environment's need of time and space to recover.

People's relationship with the earth is one of child to parent, where Paptuanuku is revered as the giver of sustenance, provider of life, as well as the receiver of a person's body for protection and comfort at death. Every living thing – plants, trees, animals and even inanimate things, e.g. rivers, mountains, waka, wharenui – have a mauri, an essential life-force which is respected and valued. Any

This principle of respect and value of the earth is still an essential part of Maori identity and many practices are still maintained, especially with fishing and the collecting of flax and other natural resources for making cloaks, kete, etc. This area is one maintained predominantly by Maori women.

Working with our natural resources rather than against them is a basic premise of a successful anarchist society.

A culture is not a static institution but a living, growing response by a self-identified people to their changing environment. But a people whose culture is threatened by imminent absorption (destruction) will hold steadfastly to its remaining ideals and practices in an effort to protect and preserve itself.

Maori culture was nearly wiped out by colonial invasion. Maori people were decimated by a combination of introduced disease and government sponsored genocide – the Maori population declined by 60% in only twenty years.

The assault against our culture forced Maori who had the knowledge of our cultural ways into staunchly keeping them alive through rigid practice and rejection of change. This 'cultural freeze' is a self-protective response to a threat of destruction and the very real fear of being 'pakehified'.

Maori feminists have struggled for years against a barrage of accusations of 'having gone the Pakeha way' or that feminism is a Pakeha thing and anti-Maori. Yet Maori

harnessed and the sexism of society, including Maori society, challenged, the successful attainment of the goals of Maori development will elude Maoridom".

A society under siege had no room for development, only self-preservation. There is no way Maori culture will change or grow unless guaranteed by white society security from interference or integration.

So, how can this contribute to anarchism's movement towards free, non-hierarchical collective communities? I have already given a few examples of some aspects of Maori culture which relate directly to many anarchist's ideas of anarchist society. There are many more, such as holistic healing and real justice and rehabilitation for victims and offenders.

Many ways of doing things inherent in our culture and which were suppressed by the colonial government and its institutions correspond with many anarchist principles.

But only through the restoration of Tino Rangatiratanga to Maori people will our culture have the freedom to grow. And only through cultural growth will Maori society be able to discard the oppressive and hierarchical structures of the past and develop into a free and egalitarian society.

Metiria Turei

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- Mana Wahine Maori* by Ngahua Te Awetokutu
- Ka Whaiwhai Tonu Matou* by Ranginui Walker
- Maori Sovereignty* by Donna Awatere
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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

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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 with businesses of less than 500 employees. 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 as the big fish go 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. These groups formed after the 1990 conference, when it became obvious that women were not attracted to the Anarchist

from around the country are held from time to time, the last major conference, held in Wellington, attracted about 120 people, another conference is planned for Easter '95.

In addition to activities in strictly anarchist groups, many anarchists are involved in other political movements, working on specific issues, especially the Peace Movement, the Unemployed and Beneficiaries Unions, environmental groups, Community Radio and in international solidarity groups such as East Timor Action and Friends of Tibet.

GENERALLY SPEAKING

SLAVE LABOUR POUR LA PATRIE

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SLAVE LABOUR POUR LA PATRIE

France's military services still depend on a large number of conscripts. With a total force of 300,000, some 108,000 are mostly unwilling conscripts. According to *Le Monde* (28th September) the latest details of the defence budget makes it quite clear that the miserable conscripts cost per head a *fifteenth* of that of a professional soldier!

As far as one can ascertain, French youth are not up in arms against their treatment as slave labour. Mark you, the well-heeled families have all the necessary means and connections to ensure that *les fils-de-papa* will not be called up and presumably the sons of the growing number of unemployed feel that the alternative to shouldering arms (and no ammunition) for *la patrie* and getting two square meals a day and a roof over their heads is better than joining the army of the unemployed.

Watch out for Aitken, Lilley and Portillo suddenly seeing that conscription could improve the unemployment figures and help reduce the 'defence' budget!

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We are engaged in a number of activities in our attempts to spread anarchist ideas, and encourage people to organise in an anarchist manner. The Auckland group runs a bookshop 'Books from the Black Lagoon' and also operates a mail order book service. Anarcha-Fem theatre groups exist in Auckland and Wellington. A group of people in Takaka are experimenting with a rural collective. Magazines are produced by both the Anarcha-Fem Federation ('Sekhmet') and the Anarchist Alliance who are hoping to revive their journal ('The State Adversary') this year. Conferences and meetings of people

from around the country are held from time to time, the last major conference, held in Wellington, attracted about 120 people, another conference is planned for Easter '95.

In addition to activities in strictly anarchist groups, many anarchists are involved in other political movements, working on specific issues, especially the Peace Movement, the Unemployed and Beneficiaries Unions, environmental groups, Community Radio and in international solidarity groups such as East Timor Action and Friends of Tibet.

GENERALLY SPEAKING...

The movement has been through a process of reorganisation recently as it evolves from its roots in the Punk sub-culture into a wider more 'political' movement. It is now a varied mix of young punks, old punks ('punks' includes a number of people who have left the urban sub-culture and headed off for rural alternative lifestyles, who would probably once have been termed 'hippies'), people who have come in from other leftist movements (mostly the peace movement which we have quite a bit to do with), a few academic types and an increasing number of older people whose existence we are slowly discovering, or who have stumbled, often much to their amazement, across us. Yes, we're a happy little bunch of non-conformists down here, in fact the movement's so small we haven't even had a split yet, and all the various tendencies are on speaking terms with each other!

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 with businesses of less than 500 employees. 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 as the big fish go 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 do not have to take a purely capitalistic form. There is no reason why they cannot be worker co-operatives since less than 50 employees is a perfect size for such work democracy and the start-up capital need not be that large a sum.

Another factor is the interest that the credit-union movement has in the 'small is beautiful' business. The recent congress of the International Confederation of Credit Unions held in Montreal came out in favour of fully supporting the development of the small-to-medium enterprise. They do so for special reasons – the credit unions consider the TNCs to be 'dinosaurs'. They wish to increase co-operation and encourage regional revitalisation – something which the TNCs obviously cannot do, and feel that small local operations will be successful in this endeavour. Such support is not to be sniffed at, since the fourteen members (mainly European) are worth some \$1400 billion, about 50% greater than the entire British GNP, or about 40% of the value of the top one hundred TNCs.

Larry Gambone

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 distressing. All the more so when we read the trenchant 'Focus on ... Irian Jaya' which is full of historically-centred,

internationalist analysis linking Indonesian imperialism with changes in the social order of Irian Jaya. Another substitution of words in this piece: for the paragraph that opens "In the eyes of the Indonesians ..." substitute 'British' for 'Indonesians' and 'Irish' for 'Papuan' and wonder is it perhaps the proximity of the two islands and the complicated histories that join the peoples here that prevents an anarchist from applying the same sort of analysis to the same sort of analysis to this situation as to Irian Jaya.

I picked up a very fine pamphlet entitled *Certain queries propounded to the Consideration of such as were 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

would, I feel, be useful for anyone interested in the tradition of freedom in England in the face of colonial and post-colonial history. After reading the 'Notes on ...' piece I am left wondering if this tradition still exists or is it the case that anarchists (in the *Freedom* circle at least) have internalised the coloniser's mind-set so thoroughly that what passes for analysis of the situation would be to more at home in a right-wing tabloid?

The challenge to anarchists in Britain and Ireland remains to affirm freedom and oppose authority in the context of contending nationalisms linked through colonial history. I wrote a number of pieces for *Freedom* hoping to promote a debate on such themes. No such debate happened and yet it seems to me that the 'Notes on ...' piece, and the related piece 'What is permanent in Northern Ireland?' (there is no such place, by the way, as "the whole island of Northern Ireland") indicate that such a debate is essential.

By all means let anarchists continue to make "propaganda for freedom and against political and religious obscurantism", but in Ireland, Britain, Irian Jaya and everywhere else, there's a hell of a lot more going on.

Dave Duggan

who left the SWF and later joined the ASA had allowed ourselves to drift into arrears 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 struck by rigor mortis 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

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 Rajnesh, 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 Ernest 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 drivels 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

Dear Freedom,

It is a shame that Arthur Moyse reject the notion of an anarchist society and sees 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

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 anarchist, 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 unionists.

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,

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 they serve; bribing the electorate is just one way of achieving this.

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 neglect 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

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 distressing. All the more so when we read the trenchant 'Focus on ... Irian Jaya' which is full of historically-centred,

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

way, as "the whole island of Northern Ireland") indicate that such a debate is essential.

By all means let anarchists continue to make "propaganda for freedom and against political and religious obscurantism", but in Ireland, Britain, Irian Jaya and everywhere else, there's a hell of a lot more going on.

Dave Duggan

who left the SWF and later joined the ASA had allowed ourselves to drift into arrears 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 struck by rigor mortis 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 least gave comfort to the North Vietnamese regime, though I would be reluctant to echo Laurens Otter's use of the term 'Stalinist' in this context. Most members of the ASA later went on to rejoin the SWF.

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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-Vietnamese NLF breakaway from the Syndicalist Workers' Federation, then there are calls for the production of documentary proof. (As the documentary proof would have been contained in the SWF minutes and no syndicalist has had access to these since 1969, Nick is obviously safe with that challenge.)

For the record, though Celia and I once called a house Tolstoi (in order to have a name which, without declaring our politics too publicly in a Tory village, would nevertheless mark us out to passing anarchists) I have never been a Tolstoian and I lost all illusions I may ever have had in Gandhi long before I became an

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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 CNT when I was living in Spain.

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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, inevitably influence the activities of any politically aware organisations. 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 Syndicalist Workers' Federation. Joseph Conrad identified a tight-arsed tendency on the left, and I suspect that most of us

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. There could, of course, be commonalities between present science and varieties of anarchist science, just as there are some

Anarchism and Science

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Tony Gibson's comment on *The Raven*

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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 neglect 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 crass 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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August-September 1994

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund

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Nick Heath tries to limit the discussion to when the ASA began a national organisation in the early '70s. I made it quite plain when I talked about the ASA as a breakaway from the SWF that I was talking about the '60s, when there was very considerable pressure throughout the left to rally behind one or other of the Vietnam Solidarity movements.

I mentioned in an earlier letter how groups of the AFB, a large section of the London Committee of 100 and members of *Solidarity* (despite the fact that the paper had published a magnificent critique of the Vietnamese stalinists) supported the NLF and that such 'anarchists' were to be seen carrying banners with portraits of Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.

Brian Martin

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It was in that climate of opinion (I forget whether it was in '65 or '66) that a Conference of the SWF held in Manchester debated a motion from me pointing out that it was inconsistent with the basic statement of the SWF for anyone to support the NLF. The then executive were perhaps out of touch with the wider anarchist movement, and so while they said "it is obviously inconsistent with the SWF statement that anyone support a stalinist movement" they also said that they saw no reason for the motion to be put and so abstained. Consequently the motion was only narrowly won.

It is perfectly true that the Manchester ASA 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 Rety, Mark Sandell, Mike Mallett, Neil Collins and I (to combat this) had published *Neither Washington nor Hanoi but Libertarian Communism* and we were organising separate anarchist demos at the time of the Vietnam Solidarity ones.

The ASA change from being a local Manchester federation, which had also functioned as the centre for that part of the AFB which supported the NLF, into being a national organisation came when a comrade who had taken on (from Colin Ward) the editorship of *Anarchy* broke with *Freedom* and joined with Manchester.

As the majority of ASA members were formerly members of the Manchester ASA, there can have been no doubt that this was an organisation whose pre-history was bound up with its support for stalinism.

Laurens

injustices. An individual cannot be free if all around them are in chains.

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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 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. There could, of course, be commonalities between present science and varieties of anarchist science, just as there are some principles in today's 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.

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28th October Talking at Marble Arch
(speaker Peter Lumsden)

4th November Play Gives a Meaning to
Existence (speaker J. Taylor)

11th November General discussion

18th November The Belief in Politics (speaker
Eve Seguin)

25th November General discussion

2nd December to be announced

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 Vacant to the end of July

If anyone would like to give a talk or lead a
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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
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and we will do our best to accommodate.

FREEDOM fortnightly

ISSN 0016 0504

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

Printed by Aldgate Press, London E1

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10am - 8pm

at

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Anarchist Research Group

Saturday 22nd October

John Quail & Martyn Everett
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12.00 noon

Colin Ward
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2.00pm

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Anarchist Communist Federation

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Loughborough). Walk leader Mike
Hamilton.

Telephone for further details
0773-827513



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— CONFERENCE —

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10am - 4pm

at

Derby Rainbow Centre
88 Abbey Street, Derby

— AGENDA —

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number 26

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