

anarchist fortnightly **Freedom**

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FIFTY PENCE

"Whoever is a complete person does not need to be in authority."

Max Stirner
in *The False Principle of Our Education*

ANARCHY ON THE WATERFRONT

Dozens of Anarchists affiliated to mainstream anarchist groups across Britain took part in the dockers' and Reclaim the Streets actions in Liverpool on the weekend of 28th and 29th September. Hundreds, possibly more, of unaffiliated anarchists with small 'a' took part in some of the more militant actions over the weekend.

On the march, on the Saturday, there was only one Labour Party banner. The contrast between Liverpool that weekend and Blackpool and the Labour Party Conference of the following week could not have been greater. As one Labour Party member remarked afterwards: "These young people are not interested in the Labour Party, they are more interested in the anarchists and that lot."

After the trouble and arrests on the Monday, a docker told us that Bill Morris of the Transport & General Workers Union had threatened to withdraw his union's support for the dockers if they didn't stop associating

with the anarchists. The dockers replied, I understand, that the union hasn't been giving much support as it is.

After the arrests on the Monday during the mass picket, *The Daily Telegraph* reported that: "Police blamed anarchists for the majority of the trouble". But as one correspondent said on television news: "The Reclaim the Streets demonstrators were welcomed, and indeed invited, by the dockers."

Since the weekend of action dockers have told us that everyone has been uplifted by the action. At Rochdale Labour Club two dockers told a support group meeting that they had nothing but praise for the anarchists' action. The result was a massive cost of £150,000 to the police, who failed to stop the Reclaim the Streets activists getting on top of the roof of the Mersey Docks & Harbour Co. headquarters and on the cranes, or the mainstream
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AS IF WE DIDN'T KNOW ... 'POLITICS IS A DIRTY BUSINESS'

It was the old Marquis of Salisbury (1830-1903) who described politics as 'a dirty business'. He obviously knew what he was talking about, having filled the major offices of state: Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary and even for a time he was Leader of the Opposition!

But he added that his son was doing very well in this 'dirty business'. Things haven't changed apart from the fact that there are a lot more people directly and indirectly engaged in the 'dirty business'.

We suspect that most people no longer share the simplistic optimism of Bernard Shaw arguing in the 1890s that:

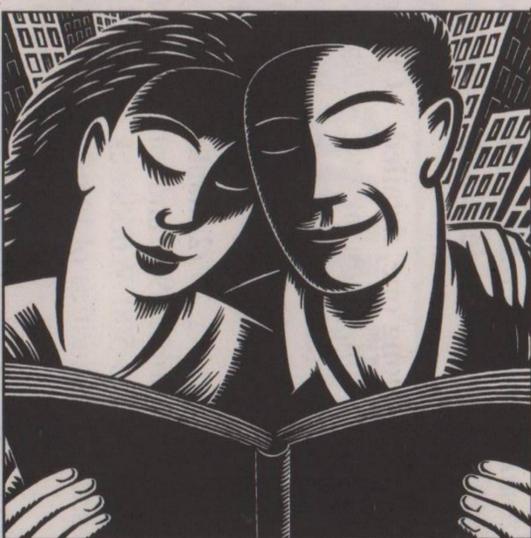
"... a House [of Commons] consisting of 660 gentlemen and 10 workmen will order the soldier to take money from the people for the landlords. A House of Commons consisting of 660 workmen and 10 gentlemen will probably, unless the 660 are fools, order the soldier to take money from the landlords for the people."¹

The idea that 'workmen' transferred from the building site, the mine, the railways, the land, to the well-padded benches of the House of Commons would be the champions of the underdog is not only romantic nonsense but dangerous too because it presupposes that Members of Parliament, and would-be Ministers, are not influenced (let alone not agree) that the 660 elected MPs can tell you and me (and another 50-odd

million citizens) how to run our lives, and the more so if we happen to be in the bottom 40% (the homeless and unemployed teenagers, the exploited part-time women workers, the unemployed men and, last but not least, the growing army of OAPs).

Anarchists have been saying this for more than a hundred years: *don't trust anybody who proposes to run your life for you better than you can.* More and more people who are not party politically minded and who probably have never heard of anarchism, are realising that mutual aid, the small community and solidarity are *their* strength and happiness.
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FIFTEENTH ANNUAL ANARCHIST BOOKFAIR



**SATURDAY 19 OCTOBER
10am - 8pm**

**CONWAY HALL, RED LION
SQUARE, LONDON WC1**

NEAREST TUBE HOLBORN

IN THIS ISSUE

**Latest Anti-JSA News
plus 'Workfare'**

**More on the Liverpool
Dockers' Dispute**

**Colin Ward's 'An
Anarchist Blast in the
Education Factory'**

... and much more

**AS IF WE DIDN'T KNOW ...
'POLITICS IS A DIRTY BUSINESS'**



Compared with the Labour Party platform (in the 1960s) what a miserable platform it now is, with the leader isolated and just a handful of speakers to follow him on the platform. The rest of the Shadow Cabinet is in the auditorium with the television cameras focusing on them as they applaud by rote. In this 1962 photograph by Vernon Richards of the Labour Party Conference held in Brighton, the speaker is George Brown and to his left are Harold Wilson, Gaitskell in sunglasses, Joan Lester *et alia*. Far right is Ian Mikado in sunglasses.

(continued from page 1)

As we write we are coming to the end of a three-week jamboree of the political parties. Major has yet to appear on the screen, but we did see Tony Blair and the *mise en scene* which contrasted significantly with that of the early '60s. Then, as our picture of one such occasion illustrates, virtually the whole NEC Shadow Cabinet were on the platform and below them an army of journalists and photographers. And lots of flowers lining the platform. This year the platform consisted of half a dozen or so Shadow-Ministers who would be addressing the party representative clique and the speaker on a dais all on his own ... and the background was bleak. We had to concentrate on the 'leader'. He was good. Some hacks have compared him to Oswald Mosley, but they were probably not born when Mosley was not only a leading Labour Party 'socialist' but also one of their best speakers.² Blair, as the last part of his hour-long appeal to the faithful indicated, has got a bit of the religious bug, and our advice to him is that he shouldn't try to mix Mammon and Heaven.

The Liberals and the Scottish Nationalists can offer everything to the voter-punters but won't get the votes. As mentioned earlier, we go to press before the Tories praise their past 'achievements' and make their promises. The Labour lot can't promise anything for the simple reason that although they are joining forces with the Tories in cutting down 'public spending' – not of MPs who have given themselves a 26% increase in their £33,000 salaries – but spending that matters to all of us ordinary people. And there is no escaping the reason for their reticence. Far from relying on the votes of the

bottom 40% – though they expect to get most of them (on, in our opinion, the mistaken grounds that in office they will not be as bad as the Tories) – their obvious target is the middle 30%. But they are not alone. Tories, Liberals and the Labour lot are aiming their lollipops at that middle 30%.

In a capitalist system what can these political parties that are not proposing to abolish capitalism, let alone controlling it, do to curb its power? One expects nothing from the Tories and the Liberals, who believe that capitalism and free enterprise are the 'health of the nation'. But what have the New Labour (the new socialists?) to offer? Nothing! For there is no way of 'reforming' capitalism. The alternative to production for profit is production for need: that's socialism – and anarchism!

And once you remove the profit motive from everything we do, you remove all the temptations to cheat and to beggar your neighbour. The anarchist *motive* is satisfaction in the things you do because not only do they give you satisfaction but also they contribute to the commonweal.

Footnotes

1. Quoted at greater length in the introduction to *The Impossibilities of Social Democracy* (Freedom Press, 142 pages, ISBN 0 900384 16 6, £2.00 post free inland).
2. Oswald Mosley's career in the 'dirty business' is surely worth a footnote for any young reader who might still have illusions about politicians. Sir Oswald Ernald Mosley, 6th baronet (1896-1980) was successively Conservative, Independent and Labour MP and a member of the 1929 Labour government. He later resigned and became leader of the British Union of Fascists

WHOSE VIOLENCE?

By the time these words are printed Guinness may have sent their bailiffs to the occupied site at Wandsworth, London (see *Freedom* 18th May and 3rd August).

A telephone call was received at the offices of Land is Ours in Oxford giving a 'tip-off' that Guinness were intending to pounce in the early daylight of Tuesday 15th October. The caller gave no name. Rumours like this have spread before, but this one is taken seriously. Should the warning be deemed to be true, a very vast telephone tree will be activated and people will come from all over the place to see out the eviction attempt.

The thirteen acres have been occupied since 5th May and have been held in common by a basic core of eighty people with a massive support from all sections of the surrounding population. It is remarkable that the occupation has lasted so long and for anarchists it is of exceptional importance and interest. Here is an embryonic anarchist society in the making, although it would be difficult to say how much of its anarchism would remain in its natural evolution. The community has dealt with its external problems very well and (continued on page 8)

ANARCHY ON THE WATERFRONT

(continued from page 1)

anarchists from breaking through the fences. Other actions included a tug-boat strike in the Port of Liverpool in solidarity with the dockers' action.

INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

In Sweden there was a 24-hour strike at three ports involving a refusal to touch all ACL containers. ACL is an American company which uses the Mersey port and has suffered as a result.

In Denmark there was a one-day strike at one port and in Odense a three-hour stoppage. At the Australian ports there was a go-slow on ANL containers. Two containers were filled instead of twelve.

In Spain the Co-ordinadora unions plan a one-hour strike on 28th October, which will be backed by the anarcho-syndicalist CGT. The LAB, the Basque nationalist trade union, took action on 30th September at Bilbao. In the ports of Barcelona, Vigo and Valencia the CGT (anarcho-syndicalist) refused to move anything on 30th September.

LOCAL SUPPORT

In the North West of England support activity for the dockers is accelerating. On Thursday 10th October Bury Unemployed Workers' Association is holding a public meeting. The following Thursday, 17th October, the Manchester Dockers Support Group is holding a public meeting at the Town Hall.

While on Friday 18th October Rochdale's Liverpool Dockers Support Group is having an evening of solidarity with the Liverpool Dockers at the Hungarian Club.

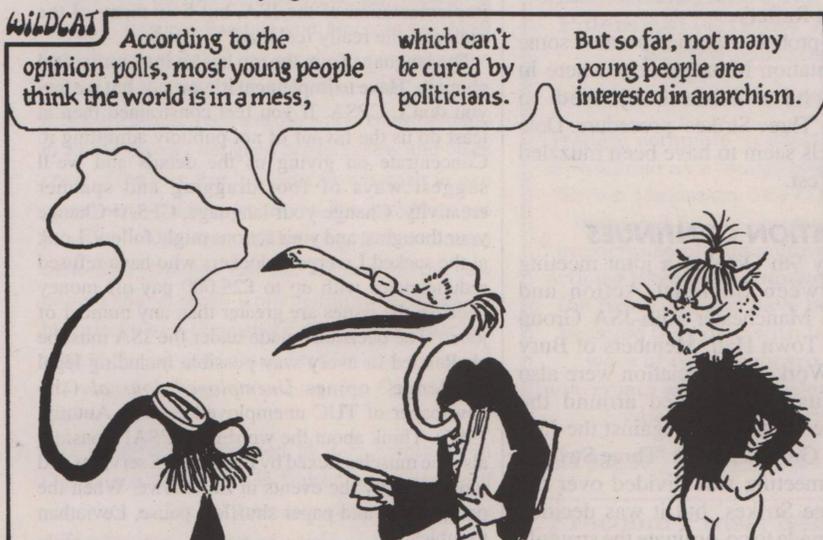
No wonder the Mersey Docks share price is near to rock bottom – down to 355p after being at 456p earlier in the year, the share value being almost 500p in September 1995 when the lock-out started.

Marlon

NORTHERN IRELAND: WHO PLANTED THE BOMBS?

While not having sympathy for the Republican aims, the religion of the IRA and their supporters, we doubt whether the two car bombs which damaged the military barracks in Northern Ireland were the work of the IRA. As we write, neither the IRA nor the Loyalists have accepted responsibility.

As we see it, and as very amateur observers of the crazy Loyalist/Republican set-ups, we would suggest that the only group to benefit was the Loyalists and to that end they did so knowing that the obvious conclusion was that it was an IRA bomb plant. It doesn't really matter in the long term. There will be no solution to the Irish problem until the British withdraw their troops, just as in Israel (Palestine, that is) the Americans stop Clinton's waffling on about a peace agreement yet continue to pour dollars into the territory to finance the most powerful military machine in terms of population worldwide.



WORKFARE: KICKING THE POOR HARDER

Degradation ceremonies for those out of work are on the way! Both the main political parties are in favour of forced labour, now the Tory Party is planning to put Workfare into their election manifesto.

The English, it seems, are susceptible to everything coming out of the USA. Not only McDonald's beefburgers, but, as a delegate at last month's North West Against the JSA conference in Bury said: "British politics is being dominated by the language and concepts of the United States - such as 'Workfare', 'Time Limited Benefits', 'Culture of Dependency', etc."

The Tory Workfare plan is Peter Lilley's baby, and is set to rival Gordon Brown's forced labour project for the Labour Party. It is Lilley's latest gimmick following on the heels of his 'Cheat-Line' scheme.

'WORKFARE IS UNWORKABLE'

Much will depend on the success, or otherwise, of the Project Work pilot schemes for Workfare operating in Hull and Maidstone. On these Project Work schemes people between 18 and 50 who have been unemployed for more than two years are put under intense pressure to get them to accept a low-paid job or go on a training scheme.

After thirteen weeks, if they are still unemployed, they are shoved onto a community project for three months. These are run by charities, and for this the jobless will get normal unemployment benefit plus £10 a week. All paid for by the government.

Guy Cheverton, the anarcho-syndicalist international secretary of Hull Trades Council, told me last month that Hull City Council has boycotted the scheme, and that they were having success discouraging other providers from participating. He also told me that there had been several occupations of the Job Centre in Hull as part of the campaign against the Job Seekers Act.

All this is confirmed in a letter to *The Independent* last month from Martin Cock, vice-chair of Medway Towns Trades Union

Council: "Hull City, Rochester City and Kent County Councils have all boycotted any work connected with the scheme. The voluntary sector has also been unwilling to participate because the work is forced."

It also seems likely that any attempt to extend Project Work into Workfare is bound to meet with opposition nationally. The kind of opposition now being mounted against the JSA - pickets, demonstrations, occupations, 'dole bully hotlines', you name it.

Neither the anarchists, Groundswell or the trade unions are likely to take Workfare, or forced labour, lying down.

Mr Cock tells us that Project Work is already dubbed "the Chain Gang" by many of its participants". He warns: "If 'Conservative strategists' are 'hopeful that [the] pilots ... will highlight the positive aspects of the scheme', they are either being told fibs by civil servants on the ground or are deliberately ignoring the evidence from Kent and Hull. Workfare is unworkable."

It is clear that any government in this country will, on present evidence, have a hard time bringing in a US-style Workfare scheme.

STAFF CELEBRATE AS CLAIMANTS DEMONSTRATE

There is a suggestion of worry about Workfare in the voluntary sector. Peter R. Shirley, director of community affairs at the Wildlife Trust, says: "Menial forced labour is not attractive to anyone".

Such worries will not deter senior Tories, who see what they are calling 'Contract to Work' as a vote-winner. Both the Downing Street Policy Unit and Conservative Central Office are looking forward to including this forced labour scheme in their programme. They hope to jump the queue on Labour by being seen to kick the poor harder.

In this country cock-fighting and hare coursing is illegal, bull-fighting is frowned upon, but kicking the poor ... that is a middle-class pastime here. Worthy of votes for the hardest kicker.

The miserable existence of 'Lucky' in *Waiting for Godot* seems to be increasingly a more illuminating depiction of the life of the lower class Englishman today than any sociological tract.

The editor of *The Independent* (26th September) declares: "The critical question is how much we can reasonably demand of the unemployed in return for their weekly benefit". How much right does the state have to tamper with our lives and regulate our comings and goings for a weekly stipend of £47.90 for signing-on?

Certainly it seems that the state will be expecting a lot if the build-up to the JSA and the huffing and puffing about Workfare is anything to go by.

The economist Yvette Cooper, in an article entitled "Tories' workfare may turn out to be a work farce", says: "In the absence of direct job placement or good quality training and work experience, the alternative looks ominous ... Making benefits conditional on

placements such as Project Work without providing anything more constructive, cost-effective alternatives will not be good for the unemployed or the taxpayer. *If the only purpose of this kind of workfare is to force the unemployed into menial, meaningless schemes just to prove to the rest of us that they are not lazy, then it will be unethical as well.*"

I can't help but feel that both Workfare and the Job Seekers Act are devised to punish the poor. If we can't win at football, and we're no good at cricket, and we're too civilised for cock-fighting or bull-fighting, then let's kick the poor! Let's bully, blast and bamboozle claimants off benefits.

As I write this on the eve of the birth of the Job Seekers Allowance, it has just come over on the radio that Liz Lynn, the Liberal Democrat MP, has got a leaked government document which shows that some Employment or Benefit Service staff have had a bonus this weekend to celebrate the introduction of the JSA.

All right for some. But not for the long-term unemployed who, from 6th October 1996 onwards, will be kicked from pillar to post. Their prospects are poor. And as Yvette Cooper says: "Of the very long-term unemployed, more than 40% have no qualifications".

Unemployed Activist

NORTH WEST AGAINST THE JSA

Job Centres in the North West were picketed by unemployed activists on Monday 7th October, as the JSA was introduced. This followed demonstrations over the weekend when hundreds rallied in protest at the Job Seekers Act in Sheffield, Cardiff and Newcastle.

Bury Unemployed Workers Association mounted a day-long picket outside the town centre dole office. This was covered by *The Bury Times* which photographed the participants. For the first time Bury Job Centre was employing a security guard, but this didn't stop the occupation by unemployed activists to the applause of some of the claimants.

A dozen or so protesters turned up at Ashton Job Centre as part of the Tameside Unemployed Workers Alliance campaign. They were supported by members of the Campaign Against the Child Support Act. The local press were also present.

against the Job Seekers Act in Manchester and the North West. The Socialist Alliance will send representatives to the next regional conference of the North West Against the JSA at Bury Unemployed Centre to be held at 12 noon on Wednesday 23rd October.

A large meeting of the Manchester Anti-JSA Campaign Group followed the biggest picket in the North West at Cheetham Hill Job Centre. The Manchester group is planning to strike at Stretford Job Centre next.

'THREE STRIKES' DISCUSSED

Action, the monthly paper of the Welfare State Network carried in September a supplement on the Job Seekers Act. It opened up a debate on 'Three Strikes and You're Out' by reproducing a press release of the Edinburgh branch of Groundswell.

Direct Actionist

HUNTING THE UNEMPLOYED ACTIVISTS

In the North West it is very hard to get people from the Benefit and Employment Service unions to speak to either the centres for the unemployed or the Groundswell groups. Nobody from the Manchester section of the civil servants' union the CPSA would speak when the People's March was in Greater Manchester. A CPSA official had to be brought in from Hull - as someone said, "the Manchester officials of the CPSA have no balls!"

It is refreshing to read in the weekly *Worker* an interview on 5th September with Chris Ford, secretary of the West London CPSA union:

Worker: How are union members reacting to the trial run of the JSA in West London?

Chris Ford: The overwhelming majority is totally opposed. Management is threatening 30% job losses for our DSS members - about 30,000 nationwide, resulting from the merger of the employment and benefits departments. They will be merged in order to enforce the sanctions, coercion and harassment of claimants.

There has been tremendous support for strike action. Officially we were striking against the JSA for health and safety reasons - attacks on our members by claimants have more than doubled.

Worker: What is the significance of the JSA?

Chris Ford: It is absolutely essential for the capitalist system to enforce low wages and to discipline the working class ... The TUC has

abdicated its role, so now it's up to the activists. London Against the JSA has been most successful in that campaign.

Worker: Have you been under pressure from management?

Chris Ford: Management want to break that unity. They have started a witch-hunt against claimants alleged to be unemployed activists who have issued several leaflets aimed at persuading workers in the dole offices not to co-operate. Disgracefully, union leaders (including some Militant Labour members) have sided with management.

New Age Travellers have, to our knowledge, been targeted in the North of England by the investigators from the Employment Service and Benefit Agencies. In Groundswell at least one member has been investigated in recent months.

Dole Reporter

HARINGEY SOLIDARITY GROUP

has been disrupting JSA pilot schemes and Job Plan Workshops for over a year in Haringey. It says "thousands of leaflets informing claimants and workers about the JSA have been given out". It calls on people to get involved. For more information contact **Haringey Solidarity Group, PO Box 2474, London N8**. Haringey Solidarity Group may also be able to put you in contact with anti-JSA groups in your area.

MR RAFTERY DOES HIS DUTY

In Stockport the Socialist Labour Party, which is now active in the Manchester Anti-JSA Group, and the South Manchester campaign against the Act have written to John Raftery, a JSA Implementation Manager responsible for its implementation in the North West, inviting him to speak at their meeting at the Magnet Inn on 17th October. *Freedom* spoke to Mr Raftery last week and asked him about it: "It's not an event that I would normally involve myself in" responded Mr Raftery.

"Is it a case of won't or can't because you've been gagged by the Employment Service?" queried *Freedom*.

"My duty is to implement the law as it is laid down by Parliament, and I do not have a view on anything to do with policy matters" countered John Raftery.

Mr Raftery is probably worried because some JSA Implementation Managers elsewhere in the country have been subjected to Groundswell's 'Three Strikes' procedure. Dole staff at all levels seem to have been muzzled in the North West.

CO-ORDINATION CONTINUES

On Wednesday 9th October a joint meeting was held between Socialist Action and Groundswell's Manchester Anti-JSA Group at Manchester Town Hall. Members of Bury Unemployed Workers Association were also present. Discussion revolved around the activities of the North West Against the JSA Campaign and Groundswell's 'Three Strikes' strategy. The meeting was divided over the utility of 'Three Strikes' but it was decided that efforts be made to co-ordinate the struggle

JSA NO WAY (MAYBE)

About four hundred people marched though Sheffield on 5th October to a rally called by the Sheffield Trades Council to protest against the implementation of the Job Seeker's Allowance on 7th October. Speeches focused on the union struggle and no one from Groundswell (the loose federation of autonomous groups against the JSA) was invited to speak. From a speaker in the Civil Servants' Union (CPSA) hierarchy, we heard details of the horrors to come and regrets that the CPSA had to implement it. We were told that the two-day strike by CPSA members on the 7th and 8th October, over security screens to protect themselves, was really a tactic to disrupt implementation of the JSA, but how many of the rank and file really feel that?

The language from the top has an imperative feel about it. 'Have to implement it' you say, but we feel you don't, CPSA. If you feel constrained then at least do us the favour of not publicly admitting it. Concentrate on giving us the details and we'll suggest ways of foot dragging and spanner creativity. Change your language, CPSA! Change your thoughts, and your actions might follow. Look at the sacked Liverpool dockers who have refused redundancies with up to £25,000 pay-off money because the issues are greater than any number of jobs. "The decisions made under the JSA must be challenged in every way possible including legal challenge" opines *Unemployed Journal* (the newspaper of TUC unemployed centres, Autumn 1996). Think about the wording, CPSA! Consider also the muscles flexed by French civil servants and more recently the events in Zimbabwe. When the pen pushers and paper shufflers pause, Leviathan trembles.

Saturday 28th September

12 noon: Myrtle Parade, Liverpool, people assemble for a parade to celebrate the Dockers' one-year old struggle against casualisation. Called by the dockers as a big 'thank you' to the people of Liverpool for their support, the event was joined by hundreds of activists from Advance Party, Freedom Network, Reclaim the Streets (RTS), and other grassroots groups intending to transform the day into a mass carnival and action to *stop the clampdown and reclaim the future.*

13.00 hours: About five thousand people march in good natured and colourful array towards the city centre. Anarchists from Cardiff, London, Leeds, Huddersfield, Sheffield, Manchester, Tyneside, etc. take up a central position, banners flying, ignored by the police who concentrate on the RTS crowd behind, frightened presumably of a potential spontaneous turn to the event. The drumming of the new-age types gets into the step and into the blood.

Riot Police direct the parade away from the city via flyovers towards the docks and the Liver Building on the waterfront. There, the rally speakers reflect the diversity of dissent – striking dockers, a docker's wife, a docker's child, Andrea Needham (of the Ploughshares/Hawk trial), Arthur Scargill, a striking Detroit car worker and the fringe groups. The dockers' cause is relevant to everyone and international. The final speaker advises us to 'Party till you Puke'. Repetitive beats from a mobile sound system begin to compete and the ravers slowly move off to join in. There is an air of uncertainty as to what turn the supposed three-day event will take – the crowd has thinned out, people are feeling the cold and hunger and thinking about the journey home ... they have not the stamina and experience of those things of the new age. The only Socialist Workers left are flapping in the breeze. Many people head for home; Tyneside, Leeds and Huddersfield Anarchists decide to tough it out.

POLICE RESOURCES AT LIVERPOOL

- Fifteen police horses
- Eight police motor bikes
- Six dogs and dog handlers
- One helicopter

20.00 hours: the location of the accommodation is being discreetly disseminated and we make our way by car to the Customs and Excise building at Sandon Dock. Activists are taking various routes in dribs and drabs. A police helicopter keeps tabs overhead.

AN EVENT UNITING DISSENT

The building, a plush, newish complex of offices within a secure compound, has apparently been emptied due to 'rationalisation' and should prove ideal accommodation but for the vanloads of uninvited guests in body armour. On seeing the stand-off between squatters and police it seemed a forgone conclusion who would be the last to leave. So we left and came back sheepishly a couple of hours later to see what had happened. To our surprise we discovered a heaving and thriving community replete with kitchens, bar, toilets and running water and of course a big room for the rave. This was a legal Section 6 to squat, set up by hardened veterans. Everyone is fed and watered. For some the rave goes on till 8.00 hours. There are plenty of rooms for all the 300-odd activists.

Sunday 29th September

A day for renewing old acquaintances and making new ones. Workshops on Ploughshares, JSA, What are we doing here?, Green Party policy. But people are keyed up about the morrow. What's going to happen? We know there will be a mass picket with the dockers at Seaforth Dock. But what else? About 4.00pm. the word goes round to join one of three meetings. I go to 'Tripods' because I'm tall, but this hasn't left time for our affinity group to discuss participation, since we haven't been told what's going on. If you've experienced RTS you'll understand the need for secrecy, but there was still a sad lack of communication. Some anarchists call for a mass meeting and this is reluctantly convened. Organisers eloquently inform us of the complexity of the planned events and the security imperative (it's taken for granted the police are among us). They complain that the mass meeting could have blown the action (but that's nonsense, for nothing new was said there about arrangements which hadn't already flown around about the three meetings. These meetings would have blown any cover). It was agreed that communication was the problem, that we could trust the organisation and experience of RTS and operate on a need to know basis. Three groups of mutually confident activists would now meet to plan aspects of tomorrow's operation and report back to another mass meeting later.

At this we are not told much that is concrete. The aim will be to disrupt the operation of the dock and cause economic loss. News comes that the tugboat men are out in solidarity. Legal issues are discussed. Everyone gets an early night.

In retrospect, there would have been plenty of time then to discuss tactics such as non-violence; approaches to and retreat from the docks; facing up to police intimidation and

what to expect. Affinity groups should have been formed and those groups should have discussed their intentions. All this probably did happen one way or another, but randomly. There is obviously a lot of experience out there but the need to share and reflect on possibilities is vital – too much was left to chance.

Monday 30th September

05.00 hours: Reveille. A quick breakfast and people make their way by various means to Seaforth Docks. About 150 of us reduce a train to common property. Arriving within sight of the docks we are spurred on by the sight of activists atop the roof of the container base's management building, flags flying (red and black struck through by green lightning). We race the police to the ten-foot high spiked perimeter fence. I get pulled from the top of the fence, arrested and handcuffed, hands behind back. The Operational Support Division (OSD) are abusive. They inform me we're in for it today. I spend the next eleven and a half hours in Crosby nick, so the next bit is gleaned from comrades. Our column moves around the perimeter pursued by police. There are gaps in the fence, left there by elves and pixies, and people stream through. Others find a workmen's tent propped against the railings; someone pops in to say hello and stays; another joins them, and another, and another. The cops get suspicious and one pops in too – and gets evicted! Keystone cops!

Various actions take place inside. Chains of demonstrators block lorries on the inner dock road, cranes are climbed, office workers lock themselves in, police run around like headless chickens. Hundreds joined the pickets on the main gate. Arrests are made and de-arrests. This goes on for a few hours. Activists negotiate climb downs with police, in return for no arrests, and quit the roofs and cranes. The police renege and arrest four dockers' stewards. One demonstrator peels an orange with a penknife and is set upon by the police. Slowly the demonstrators abandon the docks and join the pickets on the main gate. News goes round that the police are stopping coachloads on the roads to Liverpool.

18.30 hours: The picketers march en masse back to the squat.

Released from Crosby nick with six others we took the train to Sandhills and emerged from the station to see the demonstration returning. We cheered and went to join it but were surprised at the anxious calls to hurry that we received. Amongst the crowd the anxiety was palpable and people were emotionally exhausted. Many had been roughed up and frightened by the manner of arrests. The behaviour of the police was different from that experienced on many road protests in the degree of nastiness shown. The OSD were trailing our column in vans, doors open and homing in like sharks attacking to snatch a victim to be made off with. They were taking their revenge, and our column was straggling out dangerously and there were instances of panic. As we neared the squat there were about a hundred OSD outside it, and many behind us. The head of our column began to veer away across the road in panic; others called it back and there was a worrying moment of indecision. It was decided to pull together and face up to the police. Approaching the squat it became apparent that dockers' families were there to help us – children, women and men. We were going in, and that's what we did.

SCORELINE

Dockers and activists won a moral and practical victory. In the face of police violence they remained active and non-violent. Many were assaulted and there were 47 arrests ranging from breaking the peace to aggravated trespass and assault. One activist, hospitalised with a broken cheekbone and nose, is now on bail. The dockers are calling

for witnesses to help document the police violence (telephone 0151-207 3388). Up to date information can be found on the World Wide Web www.gn.apc.org/labournet/docks.

Since the start of the strike the stock market index for Merseyside Docks and Harbour Company has fallen 140 points, 40 of those since the events on Monday. One point equals approximately one million pounds. Media coverage has had its effect.

Merseyside Chief Constable John Sharples, quoted in *The Liverpool Echo* on Friday 27th September, said the dispute had cost the police one and a half million pounds so far. He called for a quick resolution of the strike.

A Correspondent

IS THIS THE END OF THE SINGLE ISSUE?

Whatever happened to the single issue so beloved of the mass media? *The Observer*, 29th September, called Saturday's parade through Liverpool an unprecedented coalition of dockers, trade unionists, ravers, environmentalists and animal liberationists. Of course a week later the media have lost all interest, taken aback briefly by the unprecedented, but then reflecting that really it's all happened before. But we can welcome the three-day event in Liverpool in its bringing together different strands of dissent and in such a public fashion. *The oppression we all experience is from the same source ... so let's resist it together*, said an organiser's poster. There is no getting away from the single issue – just how many different jobs can you hold down at any one time? But anyone who has been involved in direct action can easily make the links: if you stand in the way of one of the central driving forces of the economy you are opposing capitalism *per se*; if you willingly break laws you are opposing power. You are refusing the system they are trying to force feed you with. With its connotation of selfishness and irresponsibility, the appendage 'single issue' applied to direct action is used to undermine our perception of the most effective way of achieving the real change. In Liverpool at the end of September all those issues melded into one single issue – the destruction of capitalism and power!

STOP PRESS

'INTERNATIONAL ANARCHISTS'

Jack Adams, assistant General Secretary of the Transport & General Workers Union, has accused the Liverpool dockers of associating with 'international anarchists'. It is suspected that the union may have withdrawn its relatively small contribution to the dockers' hardship fund.

SELECTIVE PROSECUTIONS

Of the more than forty arrests at Liverpool, most were released. Thirteen were charged with public order offences, and one with criminal damage. Reports suggest that dockers' leaders were being picked out for arrest, and three shop stewards were charged.

The people occupying the roof of the management headquarters of the Mersey Dock & Harbour Board and the crane were not charged. After a day-long picket a deal was done so that if the occupying force came down they would not be charged and the picket would be abandoned.

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THE DECEPTIVE REPENTANCE OF AN OLD COLD WARRIOR

Peregrine Worsthorpe, 'elder statesman of the British Right', has publicly recanted his former belief in nuclear weapons. Good news for the disarmament movement? Not entirely. One reason for misgiving is the air of nostalgia which fills Worsthorpe's essay and the commentary it has provoked. "The issue is dead", one letter writer observes, criticising Worsthorpe for not voicing earlier the doubts he now reveals he has always had about nuclear deterrence. It is a familiar syndrome. Once the troublesome activist is safely dead, the Establishment erupts in lavish praise and expressions of respect. Once the political leader has retired, he or she can voice more mellow and humane thoughts which were never heard when in power. And once the threatening political issue is safely buried, it is possible for a hawk to reveal some dovish feathers.

Surely the most immediate effect of Worsthorpe's musings is to reinforce the idea that nuclear weapons are no longer a danger to humanity. The main message of Worsthorpe's piece is that the nuclear issue was live during the 1980s, but is no longer (this is expressed more strongly in the full-length version in the *Spectator* than in the abridged version which appeared in the *Guardian* on 14th September). This is not something that advocates of immediate and unilateral disarmament should thank him for. The fact is that Russia, Britain and the United States have all announced developments in

their nuclear strategies which legitimise the more aggressive use of nuclear weapons as diplomatic tools, especially against biological and chemical weapon states. China has also been making more bellicose noises about using its nuclear muscle to gain advantage in what it regards as its sphere of influence in Asia. French military and political leaders have expressed a new determination to use nuclear weapons politically, for the 'dissuasion of the mad by the sane', a considerable change from its traditional position. All these are developments of the past five years, precisely the period when the world has been lulled into a false sense of security regarding the nuclear threat.

Worsthorpe contributes to that deception.

Another of Worsthorpe's contributions to Western propaganda lies in his assertion that nuclear deterrence was simply a bluff (until the 1980s, when he says that he grew frightened by the suicidal zeal of the New Right). He writes, "we armchair cold warriors in the West ... were saying that the whole human race, the greater part of which was neutral in the cold war, should be put at risk to preserve western liberty. How could we have believed anything so preposterous? The answer is that to begin with our leaders, the people who mattered, didn't. They only pretended to believe it so as to make the thermonuclear deterrent credible ... Mutual Assured Destruction was all a bluff, so terrible

in its nature that we were absolutely certain the Russians would never risk calling it."

Worsthorpe believes that "what started as a morally justified bluff eventually became something much more real" under Thatcher and Reagan. This is quite misleading. To take only one example from the early days of the Cold War, when according to Worsthorpe the Bomb was merely a 'bluff', we may turn to the Korean War. The use of nuclear weapons was repeatedly considered at the highest levels of the US government during the war. On 19th May 1953, the US Joint Chiefs of Staff once again suggested the use of nuclear weapons against targets in Korea. (Neither the North Koreans nor their Chinese allies had nuclear weapons, we should recall.) This time they were not simply advocating the use of tactical nuclear weapons for local advantage but as part of a larger confrontation with the Sino-Soviet bloc, including an attack on the neighbouring Chinese territory of Manchuria.

This proposal was accepted by President Eisenhower (with some caveats), and was approved by the National Security Council (NSC) as a whole. According to the minutes of this secret NSC meeting (now declassified), Eisenhower "stressed his anxiety lest the United States become involved in global war commencing in Manchuria". The answer was to move decisively and quickly to minimise the danger of Soviet intervention. Operational planning for the use of nuclear weapons began, to be activated if, as expected, negotiations to end the war failed to make headway. Unaccountably, there was a breakthrough in the peace negotiations, and the plans authorised on 19th May were never implemented.

This is evidence of a US commitment to the use of nuclear weapons. Generally speaking, British governments through the post-war period

have been less reckless in nuclear matters than their counterparts in Washington, but we should remember that Britain participated in the madness of the Cuban Missile Crisis, mobilising Thor nuclear missiles based in East Anglia to help confirm the US nuclear threat to the Russians – something not revealed until January 1993, when some documents indicating this fact were inadvertently declassified. Half of Britain's strategic nuclear strike force of V-bombers were also put on alert. Far from restraining Kennedy's brinkmanship, the British offered concrete support for his confrontational tactics.

The Korean example, documented in Michio Kaku and Daniel Axelrod's *To Win A Nuclear War*, demonstrates that the nuclear deterrent was not just a Cold War 'bluff'. There was a serious intention to use nuclear weapons for military and political advantage. This case also demonstrates that the nuclear deterrent was not only aimed at the Soviet Union – it was not only aimed at enemies with nuclear weapons – and nuclear use was not only considered when the homeland states of NATO were thought to be in danger. "Our leaders, the people who mattered" believed in using nuclear weapons in order to achieve foreign policy goals, even if this carried with it an appreciable risk of global war with the Soviet Union and the destruction that might bring. There is much that we still need to uncover about the real history of the Cold War. The first step is to put aside the illusions, fostered by Peregrine Worsthorpe in his recantation, that the nuclear deterrent was a 'bluff', and that it was aimed only at nuclear-armed enemies. We must not continue to reinforce the notion that our leaders were committed to some simple retaliatory form of 'deterrence'.

The fact that Worsthorpe has now recognised the immorality of nuclear war is to be welcomed. But the terms in which his recantation are phrased merely buttress the nuclear establishment.

Milan Rai

ANARCHIST COMMENTS IN BRIEF

SO NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE USELESS! Just as the nuclear scientists like Einstein and Rotblat all became pacifists, and Rotblat has the cheek to accept the Nobel Prize, we now have also to be insulted by the former Field Marshal Lord Carver to tell us that "we don't need nuclear bombs" (*Independent*, 16th September). And that vulgar hack Peregrine Worsthorpe has also joined the geriatric campaign of former bomb-lovers who in their dotage see the light. I won't waste space trying to analyse his new thoughts on the subject (why did he change his mind? asks *The Guardian*). In *The Guardian*'s blurb his views are summarised: "Here he looks back on his earlier faith in the bomb and derides it as a monstrous – and potentially genocidal – folly". The trouble is that these people only realise what idiots they are after having spilled the beans!

LEADING THE WAR FROM THE REAR

Freedom has been pointing out time and again that nuclear war is not on so far as the military top brass are concerned, simply because you can't control the way the wind is going to blow, and not because the top brass are leading. And the Gulf War has brought up not only the problem of thousands of soldiers, airmen, etc., who are now suffering from the effects of pesticides which were sprayed on them as well as the 'enemy', but also of the not-so-sad fate of their leaders. Needless to say at the same time as we learn of the victims, A.P. of Alabama informs readers (*Guardian*, 1st October) that:

"United States Gulf war commanders took shelter from anticipated chemical warfare in 1991 while telling troops to disregard reports of a toxic cloud, according to newly declassified military documents given to the *Birmingham News* in Alabama. The advocacy group Gulfwatch, which acquired the logs under the Freedom of Information Act, said they bolster their claim of a military cover-up of so-called Gulf war syndrome, an unexplained ailment many veterans claim their contracted."

THE FISHING SCANDAL IS HERE

Whatever the media may say, this country is more responsible for the obvious coming crisis of over-fishing than any of the other countries engaged in this fishing war. In spite of EU funds to reduce the fishing fleets, Britain has actually increased its tonnage. And we are not talking about the North Sea or the Cornish fishermen, and not about Spanish boats registered in this country and then selling their fish in Spain. The critics forgot to mention that those Spanish owners were sold British quotas by British fishermen! And then the Brits complain. What hypocrisy.

SOLVE THE PROBLEM: CASTRATE THEM!

No doubt about our vocal fellows who not only have queer ideas but even persuade editors to publicise them. A correspondent of my local daily, the *East Anglian Daily Times*, argues that whereas we deprive "prisoners who have committed crimes with a gun, knife or burglars' tools" of their weapons we "quite happily allow rapists ... out of prison intact, i.e. still able to commit those crimes at will". And you see what this monster is proposing? I'm sure he is part of the hanging lobby. Just as one asks who is to do the hanging, I would ask Mr Banks who is to do the castrating. I am proposing to write and ask him.

But it's not just in my next community that the castrators are on the rampage. In Bavaria the government has submitted "a proposal to the Bonn parliament calling for longer prison terms for child molesters and compulsory chemical castration" (*Guardian*, 26th September 1996).

LABOUR VOTES FOR TRIDENT

At the Labour Conference neither Blair nor his Shadow Ministers promised anything if they won the next elections, but one thing they did promise was to retain Trident on the grounds, to quote Shadow Defence Secretary David Clark, that "today's Labour Party is united in its strong defence for Britain". As I always ask: where is the *enemy*? **Libertarian**

ANARCHISTS AND THE LOCAL NEWSPAPER

We anarchists have our journals, our book-tables and our conferences. The message gets out to a few thousand people – if we are lucky. There are a handful of anarchists, such as Colin Ward and Nicolas Walter, who from time to time write for the mainstream media. Certainly we need more writers of this calibre, but not all of us have the abilities of Colin or Nicolas.

There is one area of the print media we seem to be overlooking, an area that is perfect for the non-professional writer. These are the local papers, the weekly, fortnightly and monthly give-aways financed by advertising. I don't know about Britain, but in North America almost every neighbourhood, small town and village has one. Interestingly enough, while the big dailies have a declining readership, the free papers have been increasing in circulation throughout the past decade.

Local journals want local writers, in fact they can never get enough copy. They especially need people who can write reasonably well – an amusing style with content that is controversial enough to stir interest, but not to the point that it drives readers away. Generally speaking, however, a writer has far more leeway in the give-aways than with the major papers.

I have been writing for a village tabloid for the past two years and found it a rewarding experience (from an anarchists perspective, not financially). The paper lacked a cooking column, so I sent in a humorously written recipe and was immediately accepted. Now cooking columns don't give much scope for libertarian themes, but it did show the editor that I could write. Having gotten to know the editor, I sent him some material on Nikola

Tesla. Not only did he publish it, but he asked me to do a regular science column.

Thus was born 'Borderline Science' dealing with such themes as alternative energy, suppressed inventions, Fortean and scientific anomalies. I now have the means to freely criticise the government, the corporations and the scientific establishment and propose libertarian alternatives. There is no attempt to muzzle me and the readership, as well as the editor and publisher, like the articles.

I would really like to see other anarchists try this route. But some points need to be considered. You have to be able to write passably. However, anyone who wants to can learn this skill. If you have a sense of humour you are in. Leftist clichés, self-righteousness and PC are definitely out. No one wants ideology pumped at them (this is the reason the leftist press has so few readers). What you have going for you is the fact that most people dislike the government, the bureaucrats and the corporations. They want more control over their lives and if you can discuss these matters without being labelled an ideologue or a crank then you can encourage people to go in a libertarian direction.

Admittedly fringe science allows a lot of leeway, but if that isn't your interest I am sure with a little imagination you can give a libertarian bent to a whole variety of subjects. Book and film reviews, local news, short stories, all of these can provide an opportunity for subtly slipping in that libertarian message.

Perhaps anarchists are already writing for these papers. However, I have not seen or heard evidence of it. If such writers do exist, hopefully they will report about their experiences in *Freedom*.

Larry Gambone

— ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

AN ANARCHIST BLAST IN THE EDUCATION FACTORY

Early this year (10th February) I wrote a Morris Gossip Column to prepare you for the endless celebrations of the William Morris centenary. And of course I got conscripted to protest, all the way from the V&A Museum to the Fitzroy Tavern, that he was more subversive than people think.

When William Morris was born Britain was the workshop of the world. British heavy engineering and manufactured goods conquered new markets all over the globe. The Indian textile industry was deliberately destroyed to create vast new markets for the products of Lancashire and Yorkshire. The British assumed that this industrial supremacy would last forever. By the time Morris was an adult the industries of other nations in Europe and the United States were already challenging the British export market, and this was attributed to the inadequacy of the education system. Not only did England need a system of universal, free and compulsory elementary education, which came very belatedly because of religious rivalries, but it needed an adequate system of technical education, as Prince Albert and a band of reformers continually insisted.

One paradox of this was that the great inventors and innovators of the industrial revolution, as opposed to its entrepreneurs, were people with very little schooling. Samuel Smiles continually drew attention to this in books like *Self-Help* and *Lives of the Engineers*, telling us, for example, that: "Among the great names identified with the invention of the steam engine are those of Newcomen, Watt and Stephenson; the first a blacksmith, the second a maker of mathematical instruments and the third an engine-fireman" and that "Richard Arkwright, like most of our great mechanics, sprang from the ranks. He was never at school: the only education he received he gave himself ..."

Morris's friend and contemporary Peter Kropotkin in his book *Fields, Factories and Workshops* linked Morris's condemnation of the division of labour in the factory system with its denial of the inventiveness of the individual wage-slave:

"At the outset of modern industry, three generations of workers have invented: now they have ceased to do so. As to the inventions of the engineers, specially trained for devising machines, they are either devoid of genius or not practical enough ... None but he who knows the machine — not in its drawings and models only, but in its breathings and throbbings — who unconsciously thinks of it while standing by it, can really improve it. Smeaton and Newcomen surely were excellent engineers; but in their engines a boy had to open the steam valve at each stroke of the piston; and it was one of those boys who once managed to connect the valve with the remainder of the machine so as to make it open automatically, while he ran away to play with the other boys."

And Kropotkin pressed this point home with the observation that:

"The worker whose task has been specialised by the permanent division of labour has lost the



William Morris reading poetry to Ned

Caricature by Edward Burne-Jones from *William Morris* by Fiona MacCarthy (published by Faber, 780 pages, £12.99 plus postage from Freedom Press).

intellectual interest in his labour, and it is especially so in the great industries: he has lost his inventive powers. Formerly he invented very much. Manual workers — not men of science nor trained engineers — have invented, or brought to perfection, the prime motors and all that mass of machinery which has revolutionised industry for the last hundred years. But since the great factory has been enthroned, the worker, depressed by the monotony of his work, invents no more. What can a weaver invent who merely supervises four looms, without knowing anything either about their complicated movements or how the machines grew to be what they are? What can a man invent who is condemned for life to bind together the ends of two threads with the greatest celerity, and knows nothing beyond making a knot?"

This is precisely the same expression of outrage that Morris felt when considering the factory system. His account of *A Factory as it Might Be* also refutes those critics who, a century after his death, still dismiss Morris as a medievalist dreamer, an anachronism in the machine age, for he argues that "machines of the most ingenious and best-approved kinds will be used when necessary, but will be used simply to save human labour". As for the tedium of repetitive work, he observes that "the machine tending ought not to require a very long apprenticeship, therefore in no case should any one person be set to run up and down after a machine through all his working hours every day" since, apart from the reduction in working time, "whatever is burdensome about the factory would be taken turn in turn about, and so distributed, would cease to be a burden — would be, in fact, a kind of rest from the more exciting or artistic work".

Morris's belief in learning by doing was similarly echoed in Kropotkin's belief that "the true principle of economy of time in teaching" should be "through the eyes and the hand to the brain". Thus Morris insisted that "to begin with, a factory will surely be a centre of education; any children who seem likely to develop gifts towards its special industry would gradually and without pain, amidst their book-learning be drawn into technical instruction which would bring them at last into a thorough apprenticeship for their craft; therefore, the bent of each child having been considered in choosing its instruction and occupation, it is not too much to expect that children so educated will look forward eagerly to the time when they will be allowed to work at turning out real useful wares; a child whose manual dexterity has been developed without undue forcing side by side with its mental

intelligence would surely be as eager to handle shuttle, hammer or what not for the first time as a real workman, and begin making, as a young gentleman now is to get hold of his first gun and begin killing."

He, of course, had experienced the life of a young gentleman, and explained that he had been "born well enough off to be sent to a school where I was taught — nothing, but learned archaeology and romance on the Wiltshire downs". Nor did he share the view of his progressive friends that the School Boards set up by the Education Act of 1870 would produce citizens able to enjoy life and think for themselves.

Whenever he visited a Board School he was "much depressed by the mechanical drill that was too obviously being applied there to all the varying capacities and moods" and was, as he put it, consoled only by the reflection that "even our mechanical school system cannot crush out a natural bent towards literature (with all the pleasures of thought and imagination which that word means) yet certainly its dull round will hardly implant such a taste in anyone's mind".

Morris was, in the language of today, a deschooler, totally rejecting the school system, defined by Ivan Illich, as the "age-specific, teacher-related process requiring full-time attendance at an obligatory curriculum". We need to ponder on this definition. For in the mid-nineteenth century the motivation for the Education Act was the feeling that the loss of overseas markets for British-made manufactured goods was due to an inadequate education system. Similarly, in the late twentieth century the collapse of the British manufacturing economy in world markets is blamed on the education system. Thus Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools declared last year that we need "less learning by doing and more teaching by telling".

Learning by doing was precisely the educational philosophy of Morris and of the people he inspired in the Arts and Crafts movement, and it belongs in an anarchist tradition of educational thinking that stretches from William Godwin in the eighteenth century down to Paul Goodman in our own time. As with so many of his deepest convictions, Morris found that the best vehicle for his concept of the way children learn was best expressed in fiction, by way of *News from Nowhere*.

His time traveller, walking across Kensington Gardens, sees groups of children

camping, and his guide explains that "they often make up parties, and come to play in the woods for weeks together in summertime, living in tents, as you see. We rather encourage them to it; they learn to do things for themselves, and get to notice the wild creatures". His guide doesn't understand the words 'school' and 'education', and rather contemptuously, the visitor explains that education means a system of teaching young people.

"Why not old people also?" said he with a twinkle in his eye. "But", he went on, "I can assure you our children learn, whether they go through a system of teaching or not. Why, you will not find one of these children about here, boy or girl, who cannot swim, and every one of them has been used to tumbling about on the little forest ponies — there's one of them now! They all of them know how to cook; the bigger lads can mow; many can thatch and do odd jobs at carpentering, or they know how to keep shop. I can tell you they know plenty of things'."

So the visitor asks about mental education or book-learning and is told that "Most children, seeing books lying about, manage to read by the time they are four years old; though I am told it has not always been so. As to writing, we do not encourage them to scrawl too early (though scrawl a little they will) because it gets them into a habit of ugly writing, and what's the use of a lot of ugly writing being done when rough printing can be done so easily?" For languages, overseas visitors bring their children "and the little ones get together and rub their speech into one another". As to history or mathematics, those who have a taste to learn do so. "Information lies ready to each one's hand when his own inclinations impel him to seek it" but it is "no use forcing people's tastes".

"Yes", said I, "but suppose the child, youth, man, never wants the information, never grows in the direction you might hope him to; suppose for instance he objects to learning arithmetic or mathematics; you can't force him when he is grown; can't you force him while he is growing, and oughtn't you to do so?" "Well", said he, "were you forced to learn arithmetic and mathematics?" "A little", said I. "And how old are you now?" "Say fifty-six", said I. "And how much arithmetic and mathematics do you know now?" quoth the old man, smiling rather mockingly. Said I "None whatever, I am sorry to say".

You can take your horse to the water, but you can't make him drink, and you oblige your children to attend school but, especially without the threat of physical violence, you cannot force them to learn. You can produce a lot of disillusioned teachers, and sullen teenagers.

But just imagine a school where children want to be, and don't want to leave. A great deal of a teacher's time is wasted, simply because the whole tone of the classroom encounter is set by that proportion of the class who would rather be somewhere else. Today, just as in Morris's day, the failings of the education factory were blamed for the decline of export markets, the collapse of British manufacturing industry is attributed, not to a failure to invest, but to the shortcomings of the schools.

For almost 20 years an endless succession of Secretaries of State for Education have denigrated teachers, and I am sorry to see that their views are reflected by their professional appointees. Thus last year, in his lecture to the Royal Society of Arts, Chris Woodhead, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools, complained that teachers were wedded to the "woolly and simplistic '60s ideology of child-centred education" and to faith in "discovery learning" in place of formal instruction, with teachers as "facilitators" rather than that of moral and intellectual authorities.

So Morris's anarchist blast in the education factory failed to ignite a permanent passion for learning and making and doing. The result is a whole culture which is profoundly anti-educational, dominated by the application of market values to selling schooling to parents with an alleged freedom of choice from a diversity of producers, all selling a standard product, a national curriculum controlled by the Secretary of State. This is precisely what Morris feared.

Colin Ward

A FACTORY AS IT MIGHT BE
by William Morris

plus

THE FACTORY WE NEVER HAD
by Colin Ward

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SOCIAL INEQUALITY IN AUSTRALIA?

Australian society was founded on inequality and has no real history of equality between people. The establishment of penal colonies; the squatocracy; the slavery experiment in the Queensland sugar industry; the gold rushes' opportunities for instant wealth or gradual starvation; the maltreatment, murder and misuse of Aboriginal people; the white Australia policy; the thousands of Australians killed in the capitalists' wars; opportunistic, amoral investors and entrepreneurs; British and American cultural imperialism; dishonest and corrupt politicians operating a duopoly of political power – all glossed over by the myth and rhetoric of 'the classless society', 'egalitarianism', 'fellow diggers' and 'multiculturalism'.

Pat O'Shane, in the article 'It's Too High a Price' in the *Herald Sun* (4th July 1996), acknowledged that Australian society is far from egalitarian. The "unbridled, all-consuming capitalism" which dominates social and political thinking is anathema and contradictory to equality. It is difficult or impossible to convince capitalists that addressing inequality is profitable.

Recent decisions on immigration numbers are symptomatic of Australian society's characteristic of inequality. Refugees are the potential immigrant source with the greatest need, and the least resources. The quota for refugees is a very small proportion of the total immigrant quota, and the proportion has again been cut. The immigration mix is increasingly shifting to the wealthy business migrant. How is measuring a person's desirability by that person's wealth better than determining desirability by race? There is also talk of requiring immigrants to pay a \$30,000 'bond', further limiting opportunity for those with less wealth.

In the other half of Australia's political duopoly, gender equality is claimed to be addressed by the policy that 35% of their parliamentary seats are to be occupied by women by the year 2002. In the same national executive meeting that sanctioned this policy, Dieder Tedmanson was moved from the first position on the South Australian ALP senate ticket to third position. Immediately the opportunity to address the under-representation of women by placing female candidates first and second on a state senate ticket was thrown aside. The clear indication was that the 35% target – not to mention supporting state branch decisions – was to be placed well behind other priorities.

Many say the 35% goal is merely a device to provide the ALP national executive with greater power to interfere in the pre-selection process. The national executive decision stated that the national executive had granted themselves the power to "determine the outcome in any public office pre-selection progressively between now and the year 2002".

Even if the 35% goal were genuine, it is an obvious question to ask why the goal should not be 51%, given that this is the fraction of the Australian population who are female. Further, why should the unemployed, low-income workers, sole parents, old age pensioners, children, people of non-English speaking background and other disadvantaged and oppressed people not have similar proportional representation?

The ALP national executive's decision, and its approval by the ALP national conference, had three elements. One was an oligarchic grab for power by the national executive. The second was a crude, blatant and ingloriously failing attempt to entice votes from the largest labelled group of swinging voters. The third, and ultimately the most significant, was an implied admission of guilt.

The decision was an admission that the ALP had been involved in creating a society which was so intractably and essentially sexist that the national executive could see no way that Australian society could effectively address this facet of inequality. Thus an artificial 35% goal was established to lay a thin veneer of greater egalitarianism over themselves. If sexism could be removed from Australian society, such a goal would not be necessary, for equal representation would be established by the law of averages.

The argument that this 35% of the ALP's, say, 45% of parliamentary representatives – less than 16% of all parliamentarians – would have sufficient influence to transform Australia into a non-sexist society is unsustainable and simply not worthy of debate.

In the economic area, the average wage for females is only around 65% of the average male wage. Wages may be an inaccurate measure of individual's or group's standing in the community, but it is worth noting that the Aboriginal people have a median wage which is about 65% of the median wage of Australian people as a whole. Perhaps it could be inferred by this that Australian society's dollar value placed on women in proportion to the value placed on men is roughly equivalent to the value placed on Aboriginal people in proportion to the value placed on other Australians.

Racist attitudes are still strong within Australian society, and particularly when expressed against Aboriginal people. Mick Vievers, at that time tourism spokesman for the National Party in Queensland, was reported in 1994 as expressing his disapproval of the choice by Aboriginal people to live in tourism areas such as the Gold Coast, saying

that they should "live by hunting echidna and kangaroo, and by food-gathering" rather than moving to built-up tourist spots in search of work. Racism has profound effects on Aboriginal housing, employment, education, health, land rights and imprisonment.

In addition to racism, the domination of Anglo-American culture, the English language and the capitalist system must greatly aggravate the marginalisation of many people whose life experiences are largely from other cultures and traditions.

Inequality in Australia is also evident in the polarisation of income groups into the very rich and the very poor. Australian society continues to move further away from the egalitarian utopia where "no child will live in poverty". During the 1980s the share of taxable income received by the lowest 20% of taxable income recipients dropped from 9.1% to 7% of the nation's total taxable income. The top 20% increased their share of the nation's income from 36% to 40%.

Further aggravating this income inequality is the general trend that Australian income is shifting from wages for labour to profit from capital. Capitalists enjoyed a boom when 10% of the national income shifted from labour to capital in the period 1983-1989.

This income as profit is even more skewed in distribution than income from wages. Financial Market Research found in 1992 that 64% of Australians had no personal financial assets whatsoever, aside from bank current accounts and superannuation. Other research found that the poorer half of Australia's population have only 1.6% of total wealth. Depending on one's definition of the term, it could be stated that the majority of Australians are 'poor' when compared to the mean average wealth of all Australians.

Below even this level of poverty is the growing 'underclass'. Whether the short-term measure of current unemployment goes slightly up or slightly down, the many years of continually high unemployment is creating a large group of people who are the long-term unemployed and their dependents. These people, along with other long-term social security recipients, constitute a virtually permanent underclass. Poorer again are the homeless and the 'illegal' immigrants, the completely disenfranchised and destitute. Perhaps they could be termed 'the classless', the harijans or 'untouchables' of Australian society.

Perhaps the question we ask should not be 'is there social inequality in Australia?' but rather 'how can Australia's social system possibly be sustained with this level of

inequality?' Marxist writers and others have argued that the Australian social system (including the economic and political sub-systems) has been maintained by vested interests created by widespread home ownership. Home purchasing has been strongly encouraged by government and by economic circumstances of the last few decades. The Reserve Bank encourages banks to grant home loans at what are effectively concessional rates of interest.

Recently, circumstances have changed. Marriage and family relationships are now recognised to be less permanent than was once thought. There is less certainty, less cause to establish permanent family homes. The long-term real growth in housing prices seems to be over. A residential property is no longer such a highly regarded investment. The federal government have reacted by encouraging more competitors into the home loan market in order to drive down interest rates.

What will happen in Australia of the polarisation of income and wealth continues? If the average wage earners can no longer afford to be 'little capitalists', can no longer see any opportunity let alone advantage in committing themselves to the 'great Australian dream' of home ownership? How many people can be added to the underclass and the 'sub-welfare class' before they contribute to revolutionary critical mass?

Evan Ling

NIKE IN INDONESIA

In 1982, Nike closed its last factory in the United States and shifted its base of production to South Korea and Taiwan. When working conditions improved in those countries, the athletic footwear giant followed a low-wage curve to Indonesia, where it now has contacts with 12 shoe factories. "By the time a country gets on the right track, Nike's off to another place," says Jeff Ballinger, labour activist with the group Press for Change.

The factories where workers – mostly young women – glue, stitch, press and box millions of shoes every year, are not owned by Nike. They are subcontracted to Indonesian, South Korean, and Taiwanese companies, all of which have a history of mistreating workers. One worker told a reporter for the *London Observer* that "we are forced to work until midnight or later if the factory has a high quota or deadline, like Christmas, to meet ... if we refuse to do overtime, we are fired." Five hundred and fifty workers at a Nike West Java factory, interviewed by the US Agency for International Development, cited as major problems mandatory overtime and the humiliation of workers for taking valid sick leaves. Fainting from overwork is not uncommon, nor is clean drinking water widely available, they testify.

In January, the Indonesian government raised the daily minimum wage from \$2.23 to \$2.59. Nike's Indonesian subcontractors, claiming they "could not afford it", secured a one-year exemption from the minimum wage increase. A pair of Pegasus running shoes, which sells for \$75, costs \$18.25 to make and ship to the United States. Just 1% of Nike's advertising budget, \$250 million in 1994, would raise ten thousand Indonesian workers above the poverty line.

Nike CEO Philip Knight maintains that subcontracting takes power out of Nike's hands. But, as labour activists charge, Nike subcontracted precisely so that it could take advantage of a climate hostile to labour. When Nike moved its operations to Indonesia, it went to a country with one of the worst human rights records in Asia.

CAMPAIGN TO FREE VANUNU AND FOR A NUCLEAR-FREE MIDDLE EAST

Despite the increase in tension in Israel the international conference 'Democracy, Human Rights and Mordechai Vanunu' is set to go ahead on 14th and 15th October. It will be chaired by Nobel Peace Laureate Professor Joseph Rotblat.*

On 30th September, setting the stage for the conference, supporters of Mordechai Vanunu held demonstrations and vigils in many countries around the world to mark the tenth anniversary of his kidnapping and the start of his solitary confinement. In America and Canada eleven cities and towns saw vigils and pickets at Israeli consulates and embassies, and in England eight cities organised some form of demonstration, as did Oslo, Brussels and Sydney, Australia.

The whistle-blower versus state secrecy is one of the major moral and political issues of our time. The conference will address this and other important subjects. And it will be the

first time such a high profile conference has been held in the country perpetrating torture, against one of its own citizens, to whom the conference speakers will be appealing for clemency.

As examples of some of the many messages to be read out at the conference Anthony Grey, who spent two years as a hostage in China, says: "The heart quails at the thought of how a man can endure *five times the period I had to*. But your support and prayers are more vital than you know. Invisibly it bears him up, as many campaigners bore me up during my time of difficulty."

Or from John Pilger, whose message declares Mordechai Vanunu as "one of the heroes of our age. Or Lord Jenkins of Putney, as a lifelong friend of Israel, who declares that "Not while Vanunu remains in jail I'm not". Or Hans A. Bethe, Nobel Laureate and one of

the most senior American nuclear scientists, who says "I join with others in appealing to you [the Israeli government] to release Mordechai Vanunu". Or Harold Pinter who says in his message "Mordechai Vanunu is a man of immense courage and dignity ... Vanunu's action was a strictly moral action. His is the true voice of conscience calling for sanity in a dark landscape. Our support for him must be constant and unwavering. He speaks for us."

These and many other eminent people around the world are calling for the release of Vanunu on humanitarian grounds.

For further information contact: Ernest Rodker on 0181-672 9698 or S. Sagall on 0171-485 6237. **Campaign to Free Vanunu, 89 Borough High Street, London SE1 1NL.**

* See 'Anarchist Comments in Brief' on page 5 of this issue of *Freedom* – Editors.

OURSELVES AND QUARRY PRESS

Freedom Press appears to be unfortunate in its relations with so-called progressive publishers in Canada. For a few years we had a successful relationship with Black Rose Books of Toronto who at one stage gratuitously congratulated us for having quadrupled their European sales. And then out of the blue we were given our marching orders and the former communist distributors took over (see 'Ourselves and Black Rose Books' in *The Raven*, number 28, £3.00 post free anywhere).

Well, in March 1992 Bob Hilderley, publisher of Quarry Press in Kingston, Ontario, called on Freedom Press and had a very pleasurable meeting with Charles Crute and myself. So much so that the opening paragraph of his letter to us dated 2nd April 1992 declares that it "it was a great pleasure to meet with you while I was in London. Doing business with you should be equally pleasurable". At that meeting we undertook to purchase 500 copies of George Woodcock's *Anarchism and Anarchists* on terms which would allow us to distribute to the trade as well as to individuals post free.

The second paragraph, a long one, detailed the conditions for distribution, payment, etc. At that stage Mr Hilderley had not decided which Freedom Press titles Quarry Press would include in their lists.

A letter dated 11th November 1992 thanks me for my letter of 26th October 1992 and for the cheque enclosed for the 500 Woodcock volumes and for smaller quantities of two or three other titles.

In view of his subsequent silence when I asked him to pay what he owed Freedom Press, I quote the second sentence of his letter: "Your generosity and sense of fair business is

greatly appreciated". But more details of the crookedness of this so-called good friend.

As a result of our meeting and good intentions on both sides (or so we thought!) Hilderley decided to distribute the Freedom Press title *What is Anarchism?* and ordered 500 copies. Because of this order we had to print a new edition. We also arranged with him that Canadian readers/customers of Freedom Press who paid us in Canadian dollars should make out their cheques in the name of Quarry Press, thereby saving them/us at least a £10 fee by Girobank on every cheque. We sent them more than five hundred Canadian dollars, all of which were accepted.

Not having heard from Quarry Press since 3rd December 1993, I addressed a letter to Hilderley on 5th May 1995, still assuming that he was an honest businessman (his term after all) and so busy that "you haven't had time to reply to my notes or to acknowledge receipt of the Canadian dollar cheques that I have been sending these past eighteen months! I think you last wrote to me and Charles on 3rd December 1993!" However that letter was conciliatory. I even suggested that "surely it is not unreasonable for us to ask you to let us have a settlement of the account" - and I enclosed a statement showing that Quarry Press owed us £755.

Complete silence from Canada. So on 6th June 1995 I referred to my "long letter" which had not had a reply and I commented that I was coming to the conclusion that "it's not the inefficient Canadian postal authorities but an unwillingness on your part to deal with the outstanding account. I am both shocked and sad."

And I concluded by saying that if we didn't receive a reply by the end of the month we would assume that he was not proposing to 'face up' to his commitments to Freedom Press "and we will give the matter maximum publicity through *Freedom* and our contacts".

Needless to say we did nothing, mainly because we are so few at Freedom Press and there is so much to be done just to keep going. However, a year later (17th July 1996) I wrote to Hilderley, having in the meantime obtained a copy of his latest catalogue which includes our title (our price £1.95, theirs £5.80, which even allowing for carriage is a bit much!) and also informed him that I had been in touch with their UK distributor.

I added: "I'm definitely proposing to expose you in Freedom as yet another capitalist crook. Because I trusted you we got our Canadian readers to pay their subscriptions to Quarry Press thereby saving them extortionate bank charges. From November 1993 to May 1995 you received \$526 in spite of the fact that you obviously never intended to honour your commitments to Freedom Press".

I concluded by declaring that "you have behaved like any common crook and I am proposing to expose you as such unless you have the decency to reply". And I added for good measure that it was Hilderley who wanted to sign a formal contract when we ordered the Woodcock volume! Unlike Hilderley, who was all for a contract when we were buying one of his titles, we said that "our word was our bond" and proved this.

Quarry Press, and for us at Freedom Press this means Bob Hilderley, are crooks.

We don't go to law, but we hope that many of our readers will write to Bob Hilderley and tell him that he is just another crook. The address is: **Bob Hilderley, Quarry Press, PO Box 1061, Kingston, Ontario, Canada K7L 4Y5.** Make an effort and write. He won't cough up, but you can make him feel that he is a shit!

Vernon Richards

TALKING TO ARCHITECTS ten lectures by Colin Ward

This book gathers together addresses to mainly architectural audiences over twenty years. They seek to persuade the observers of the built environment that beyond the adulation of architectural celebrities from Le Corbusier onward, there has been a quieter, less visible stream in the world of building, ranging from the Arts and Crafts Movement at the turn of the century, to Hassan Fathy in Egypt or Giancarlo de Carlo in Italy to Walter Segal in Britain, quietly pushing aside the assumptions of the professionals. These wide-ranging lectures, delivered in several countries, explore this alternative tradition.

112 pages ISBN 0 900384 88 3 £5.00*

THE LAST CAPITALIST a dream of a new utopia by Steve Cullen

It is over a century since William Morris's time traveller brought back the News from Nowhere, travelling through Southern England some time in the twenty-first century, and encountering the 'obstinate refusers'. Steve Cullen's narrator is Anne Riorden. If such things as fixed occupations or crime existed in her society, she would call herself a private detective, as her particular fancy from the bad old days is not the Wild West, nor the British Empire, but the crime fiction of the twentieth century. She loves those cool resourceful investigators, even though they never happened in real life, either in our day or hers. But she has other interests too ...

96 pages ISBN 0 900384 82 4 £3.50*

ORDERING BOOKS FROM FREEDOM PRESS

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

FREEDOM PRESS BOOKSHOP READERS' ROUND-UP ANARCHIST BOOKFAIR EDITION

If you're looking for a funny, political calendar for next year you could do a lot worse than the **Anarcho-Surrealist Calendar 1997**.* Designed either to hang on the wall or lie flat on a desk, it displays a month to an A4 page with generous space for entering daily events, appointments, etc., and opens out to a double-size with hilarious graphics, strip cartoons and collages on each facing page. In one, Buenaventura Durruti exchanges thoughts with Magritte during a fantasy meeting in Barcelona's Parc Guell; in another, Simone de Beauvoir discusses the personal-as-political with Jean-Paul Sartre, with help from Robert Mitchum; 'Six Things to Do With an Identity Card' makes some imaginative and ultimately painful suggestions; 'Sam the Subversive Saddlebum' is a spoof western comic strip where Sam tries to convert his partner to anarchism; and 'Rewriting History' features Bakunin and Marx at the 1869 First International in an excellent cartoon; then there's 'Why Bob Became an Anarchist' and a lot more in a similar vein, and the whole thing is bound in an attractively designed bright yellow and black cover. (The fact that 'calendar' is mis-spelt in one place merely adds to its surreal flavour!) Most are punched ready for wall-hanging, but dedicated desk-diary drongos can ask for one of the few unpunched copies. Commemorative dates of historical events throughout the anarchist year are selectively scattered around rather than crammed in - you can add more if you want to / can think of any.

The calendar is produced by two comrades in Devon and is available in limited quantities, so if you want a political calendar which is amusingly different, and anarchist, pick one up at the

Anarchist Bookfair on Saturday 19th October in London, or order one from us now by post. At £3.50 post free they won't be around for long. On the subject of the Bookfair, we hope to see as many of you there as can make it; if you haven't been before, all the more reason to make the effort this year and be present at this congenial anarchist jamboree - if only to see what you've been missing. This year Freedom Press will have a greater presence than ever before, with more titles on sale than ever before and more reduced price bargains than ever before. Plus many titles will be at ridiculously low prices specially for the Bookfair. Look out for them, marked 'Today Only!' - Come and see us and have fun. **'Four Eyes'**

THE ANARCHIST REVOLUTION Polemical Articles 1924-1931 Errico Malatesta

edited & introduced by Vernon Richards

Though complete in itself, this volume is intended as a 'supplementary' to the 'Errico Malatesta: His Life and Ideas' compiled by the same editor. The importance of this volume is that the articles have been translated in full for the first time and have been selected because they deal with issues which were of much concern amongst anarchists and are as relevant today as when they were written.

124 pages ISBN 0 900384 83 2 £3.50*

WHOSE VIOLENCE?

(continued from page 2)

Guinness have made no headway. They left the land unoccupied for seven years and their plans for the site have been rejected. It is even a possibility that the property world being what it is they do not after all own the entire site. Nevertheless, the courts have given them an eviction order and there is no guarantee they won't use it even if they have no immediate plans for the site.

It is remarkable also how well the community dealt with its internal affairs, although as can be imagined individual problems take a lot of time to sort out.

The last meeting tackled the question of violence and non-violence. Typically, the

rumour of imminent eviction was given very little time. It is difficult to come to any conclusions. Individual violence may be a terrible thing, but communal violence is a thousand times worse.

It was interesting nevertheless to listen to this open soul-searching. It is inevitable that such a random group of people with different ideas and upbringings would take some time to work out its *modus vivendi*.

Authoritarian structures are difficult to eradicate, but they are in constant conflict with spontaneous action.

Anarchists have no history of societies living together, and your definition of anarchism may well be anathema to another bunch of anarchists.

As I have written before, the most we can hope for is to be understood by people with different understandings. It is no news that different forms of anarchism give different answers to the question of violence and non-violence. In this matter I cannot take sides, except to note the difference of emphasis.

I have come to the conclusion that it is more important for me to live in an anarchist society than to insist that every cat and dog in it should be anarchist.

The threat of bailiffs will bring everybody together. The external enemy will bring solidarity within.

Whatever, here is a place where money has been reduced to a minimum, where food is free, where nobody needs for the simple necessities of life. A breath of fresh air and freedom. I urge you to visit Pure Genius while the going is good. It is a rare and safe zone for those with a zest for life.

John Rety

Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

ACF DISCUSSION MEETINGS

Discussion meetings open to the public are convened by the London group of the Anarchist Communist Federation on the first Thursday of every month. They start at 8.00pm at the Marchmont Community Centre, Marchmont Street, London WC1 (nearest tube Russell Square). Disabled access. Free entrance.

**Thursday 6th November at 8pm
REMEMBERING REVOLUTION!**

This year marks the 60th anniversary of the Spanish Revolution and the 40th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution against Stalinism, as well as the 70th anniversary of the British General Strike. We look at the experiences of these events and the lessons to be drawn from them, both in terms of what revolutionaries should do, and how the left and the trade unions have been a major obstacle to the successful carrying out of the revolutionary task. But we do not intend to dwell on the past. We very much feel that far from being at the end of history, revolutionary movements, and indeed revolutions, will re-emerge in the coming decades.

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Conference of the North West Against the JSA

23rd October at 12 noon

**Bury Unemployed Centre
Tithebarn Street (off the Rock)
Bury, Lancashire**

**The Galdalf Six Defence
Campaign will be holding a
meeting at the Anarchist
Bookfair on 19th October at
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square,
London WC1**

London Anarchist Forum

Meets Fridays at about 8pm at Conway Hall, 25 Red Lion Square, London WC1R 4RL. Admission is free but a collection is made to cover the cost of the room.

- 1996 PROGRAMME -

18th October General discussion

Saturday 19th October (at Bookfair) Early evening symposium: Phases of Anarchism

25th October Literary Anarchy: A Reading of Anarchist Short Fiction (by John Moore)

1st November Food Not Bombs (illustrated talk by Keith McHenry of San Francisco Food Not Bombs Group including a video)

8th November General discussion

Thereafter vacant slots are available, except on:

20th December Christmas Party

10th January Towards a Stateless Economics: the Case Against Anarchist Communism (speaker Dave Dane)

31st January Speakers from *Green Anarchist* talking about their court action and showing the video *Exit Stage Right*.

Anyone interested in giving a talk or leading a discussion, please contact Peter Neville at the meetings, or at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW (tel: 0181-847 0203, not too early in the day please) giving subject and prospective dates and we will do our best to accommodate.

Peter Neville
London Anarchist Forum

MANCHESTER ANTI-JSA GROUP

will be meeting on

**Wednesday 23rd October
at 8.00pm**

to be held at
**The Vine Inn
Kennedy Street
(off Fountain Street)
Central Manchester**

Red Rambles

A programme of free guided walks in the Midlands for Greens, Socialists, Libertarians and Anarchists. All walks are on a Sunday unless otherwise stated. Bring walking boots, waterproofs, food and drink.

November 3rd: Walk leader Malcolm. Whatstandwell canal, quarry and woodland. Meet 11am at Whatstandwell railway station car park, Derbyshire, for a 4-5 mile circular walk.

1st December: Walk leader John. Wirksworth Market to Alport Hill. Meet 11am at Market Place, Wirksworth, Derbyshire, for a 4 mile circular walk to Alport Hill.

Telephone for further details
01773-827513

Dales Red Rambles

A series of free guided walks in the Yorkshire Dales for Anarchists, Greens, Socialists and Libertarians. All walks are on a Sunday unless otherwise stated.

17th November - Ribblesdale: Attermire Scar and Caves. Meet car park before viaduct, Settle, at 10.45am. Length approx 7 miles.

15th December - Airedale: Kildwick to Farnhill. Meet outside White Lion Inn, Kildwick, at 10.45am. Length approx 5 miles.

On all walks bring walking boots, waterproofs, food and drink.

Telephone for further details
01756-799002

STOP SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAQ

Women meet outside the entrance to the
**House of Commons at 2pm
Thursday 31st October**

to protest about the genocide of people in Iraq. Five years after the end of the Gulf War people are still dying due to sanctions against Iraq. A UNICEF report last year said that half a million children in Iraq have died from starvation because of these sanctions.

For more information contact:
Yellow Gate Women's Peace Camp,
Greenham Common, Newbury,
Berkshire RG19 6HN.

mobile telephone: 0374 136728
(between 7.00pm and 9.30pm please)

ANARCHIST RESEARCH GROUP

Saturday 19th October at 2.30pm

**ANARCHISM AND ANTHROPOLOGY
speaker Brian Morris**

To be held at the Institute for Historical
Research, Senate House, Malet Street,
University of London, WC1

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- I am not yet a subscriber, please enter my sub to *Freedom* for issues and *The Raven* for issues starting with number 33
- I would like the following back numbers of *The Raven* at £3 per copy post free (numbers 1 to 32 are available)
- I enclose a donation to Freedom Fortnightly Fighting / Freedom Press Overheads / Raven Deficit Fund (delete as applicable)

I enclose £..... payment

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