

# MELT DOWN THE FRENCH CONSULATE VIVA TAHITI!



Within minutes of the French government exploding their first nuclear bomb in the south Pacific, protesters converged on the French Consulate in Edinburgh's Randolph Crescent. By 1 a.m. on 6th September, all three consulate doors were chained and padlocked shut, radiation tape and anti nuclear banners were plastered on the railings in front of the building. Daylight saw more demonstrators arriving and the demonstration continued for 24 hours.

Daylight saw more demonstrators and the action continued for 24 hours. the action had the effect of keeping the consulate closed to the public for the whole period and some courageous protesters, [anarchists from Glasgow] occupied the roof, D locking themselves to a chimney stack.

A reasonable response to an horrific act of state terrorism you might say - but shouldn't we be trying to do more? When the police cut the chains and opened one of the three doors, calls to blockade the door were rejected. There was only verbal opposition when, in the afternoon the police cut the chains on the other two doors. There were only ever a few police present at any one time and if everyone had linked arms in front of the doors they couldn't have got through.

Only macho fools actually *like* violence, but acting like we're at a New Town cocktail party isn't going to worry the state much. The most effective resistance to the nuclear tests has been the mass uprising in Tahiti, where symbols of French state power and capitalism burnt beautifully! In some countries demonstrators have occupied French embassies and consulates. Media coverage is good but *direct action* is what can really change things.

The French state aims to explode nuclear bombs at regular intervals right through until May 1996. Protest is not enough. Lets get 100's to the consulate next time and do our bit to stop them. The French consulate is at 11 Randolph Crescent, off Queensferry Street, near the west end. TEL: 0131 225 7954

Note: More anarchists from Glasgow occupied the consulate roof for a few hours on the 29th September - to show solidarity with Polynesian peoples and to protest against the French tests. although threatened with arrest for Breach of the Peace, they were cautioned and released. It seems the French do not want people arrested from their roof! So go to it folks!



## SCOTTISH ANARCHIST

Number 3, £1

Magazine of the Scottish Federation of Anarchists linking Glasgow Anarchist Group, Edinburgh anarchists (incl. A.C.E.), Dundee Anarchists & others in Scotland



The Inspiration of "Land & Freedom" depicting the Spanish Revolution 60 years ago.

Chomsky on Unions & Business  
Braveheart & igniting Nationalism in Scotland  
Local reports from around Scotland  
McLibel & Global McDonaldisation  
Women and anarchist appeal  
We aint' got no Education !  
and much, much more.....



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## editorial

Welcome to issue 3 of **Scottish Anarchist!**

Inside this issue you will find the usual mix of articles, covering a wide range of subjects. With the success of **Braveheart**, we subject the film and the issues it raises on nationalism to an anarchist analysis. We are sure Alex Salmond will disagree! Following on from last issue's article on the globalisation of capitalism, we reprint a Noam Chomsky article on the current war being waged upon our class. The development of a "third world at home", with little islands of elite privilege amidst the general decay, is the natural result of globalisation. The attack on labour is just one part of this process.

In addition, we have two articles on that icon of modern capitalism, McDonald's. The first is an update on what is happening in the McLibel trial, which has reached the issue of workers rights. This nicely flows into the second article, the experiences of someone who had the misfortune to be under the Golden Arches. As capitalism expands and develops, the McDonald's mode of production has become more and more widespread,

so other workers beware! A service industry Industrial Union could be a small step in slowing down this process, as it would in any industry. Hopefully anarchists will be at the forefront in organising the unorganised. There is a lot of potential out there if we can get our act together.

Anarcha-feminism is also highlighted in two important articles this issue. One, a new critique of pornography, places porn into its social context, something which is often ignored in the usual debates on the subject. The other calls upon anarchist women to reclaim their politics, history and their rightful place in the anarchist movement, by their own efforts. These articles are likely to generate discussion within and outwith the movement.

Finally, with the release of **Land and Freedom**, we anarchists are reminded of the passion of the Spanish Revolution and of our ideas, plus the aims of our activity. In these dark times, its good to see one of the brightest moments of the labour movement brought to passionate life on the big screen. Hopefully it will inspire us all to struggle that bit

Scottish Federation  
of Anarchists

As We See it

We encourage and assist resistance to all oppression. This includes economic and environmental exploitation and all forms of state and social oppression, such as racism and sexism.

Mass direct action is the most effective and liberating form of struggle.

Our aim is for mass struggles to develop into a revolutionary transformation, in which people seize control of the world's resources and fundamentally re-organise society.

This can only be achieved by the self-organisation of the vast majority, the working class. We oppose all hierarchies and political parties.

We want a free, stateless world, with social wealth owned and controlled by society. Production will be to meet human need and all relationships based on equality and mutual respect.

The full 2 pages plus AS WE SEE IT is reprinted in **Scottish Anarchist No.2**. Send £1 for magazine or SAE for photocopy of full text - to POB 1008, Glasgow G42 8AA.

harder and make the few sparks of freedom and revolt around today that bit stronger, maybe strong enough to start a fire which will sweep the world. Who knows?

The future can be influenced by our actions.

the editorial collective

*"History tells us that every oppressed class gained liberation from its masters through its own efforts"*

Emma Goldman

If you wish to send us articles, letters, graphics and so forth, they will be gratefully received. Once again, we apologise to everyone who send articles in which were not published.

Please send any material to :-

**Scottish Anarchist**  
c/o G.A.G.  
PO Box 1008  
Glasgow  
G42 8AA

# Braveheart

by Iain MacSaorsa

There is no denying **Braveheart's** power. It is a good film, very moving in parts, with a cracking story-line and excellent acting which makes it feel far less than its 3 hours length. The historical inaccuracies are unimportant as the message of the movie is independent of, for example, forgetting to include a bridge and river at the battle of Stirling. The film gets the basic story right and that's what is important in this context.

For those who have been hiding up a chimney for the last 6 months, **Braveheart** is about William Wallace and his fight for Scottish independence against King Edward the first of England (excellently played by Patrick McGoohan). Edward, after crushing Wales/Cymru, turned his state building vision to Scotland, where he used the in-fighting amongst the Scottish nobles to conquer Scotland. William Wallace, a very minor member of the nobility, took up arms against the invaders and led a successful peasant up-rising against them until he was betrayed by Scottish nobles and hung, drawn and quartered.

Mel Gibson, who both starred as Wallace and directed the movie, does a reasonable job of the accent and puts some fine words about freedom into Wallace's mouth, particularly at the Battle of Stirling. It is freedom, however, that the movie raises important questions about. One of the best aspects of the movie is that it clearly indicates the different class interests at play in the struggle for national independence. All through the film the Scottish "nobility" are portrayed as a gang of parasites who are happy to let Edward rule Scotland as long as they get a few more titles and a bit more land. However, as one peasant foot soldier says in the movie "I didn't come here to fight so they can get a bit more land". As such, the movie raises the complex nature of national liberation movements as (mostly) cross class alliances. Unfortunately, it then ignores the issue as Mel Gibson astride his horse makes an impassioned plea to them to fight for freedom. "They may take our lives, but they cannot take our freedom!"

But whose freedom? The movie does not address the issue. Its clear, from the end when we switch to Bannockburn, 1314, its national freedom. But since we are talking about a **monarchy**, that means freedom for the Scottish King. For the average peasant or

artisan, things would not have changed that much. So the questions that any national liberation struggle must address is, "Freedom for who? Independence for what?"

## Nationalism and Nationality

To begin to answer these questions, we must first define what we mean by nationalism. For many people, it is just the natural attachment to home, the place they grew up. These feelings, however, obviously do not exist in

*not the nation the state*" [2]. Every state is an artificial mechanism imposed upon society by some ruler in order to defend and make secure the interests of privileged minorities within society. Nationalism was created to reinforce the state by providing it with the loyalty of a people of shared linguistic, ethnic, and cultural affinities. And if these shared affinities do not exist, the state will create them by centralising education in its own hands, imposing an "official" language and attempting to crush cultural differences from the people's within its borders. This can obviously be seen in Scottish history, when English Monarchs banned the pipes, the kilt and Gaelic.

While imperialism often brings these attempts at cultural destruction into the stark light of day, the same processes go on within a seemingly "whole" nation as well, the example of Yorkshire in England springs to mind.

This is hardly surprising as the state is a centralised body, invested with power and a social monopoly of force. It preempts the autonomy of localities and peoples and in the name of "nation" crushes the living, breathing reality of a nation (its peoples and their cultures) with one law, one culture and one "official" history.

## Anarchism and National Liberation

This does not mean, however, that anarchists are indifferent to national liberation struggles. Far from it. In the words of Bakunin, "I feel myself always

*the patriot of all oppressed fatherlands... Nationality... is a historic, local fact which, like all real and harmless facts, has the right to claim general acceptance. ... Every people, like every person, is involuntarily that which it is and therefore has a right to be itself... Nationality is not a principle; it is a legitimate fact, just as individuality is. Every nationality, great or small has the incontestable right to be itself, to live according to its own nature. This right is simply the corollary of the general principle of freedom*" [3].

Unlike most nationalists, anarchists recognise that almost all "nations" are in fact not homogeneous and so consider nationality to be far wider in application than just lines on maps, created by conquest. With this in





mind, anarchists think that recreating the centralised state in a slightly smaller area cannot solve what is called the "national question". Further more, as internationalists, we hold that we "should place human, universal justice above all national interests. And we should once and for all time

about national freedom we have to take into account the people who inhabit the nation. How wealth is disrupted will have an impact on society and the distribution of freedom within it. As Noam Chomsky indicates, "in a perfectly functioning capitalist democracy... freedom will be in effect a kind of commodity... a person will have as much of it as he [or she] can buy" [6].

## It is freedom, however, that the movie raises important questions about

abandon the false principle of nationality, invented of late by the despots of France, Russia and Prussia for the purpose of crushing the sovereign principle of liberty" [4]. Therefore it goes without saying that national "liberation" movements that take on notions of racial, cultural or ethnic "superiority" or "purity" or believe that cultural differences are somehow "rooted" in biology get no support from anarchists.

Nationality is a product of social processes. Social evolution cannot be squeezed into the narrow, restricting borders of the nation state. As Bakunin noted, with respect to the Polish struggle for national liberation last century, anarchists, as "adversaries of every State... reject the rights and frontiers called historic. For us Poland only begins, only truly exists there where the labouring masses are and want to be Polish, it ends where, renouncing all particular links with Poland, the masses wish to establish other national links" [5].

Nationality, like any right, results from social life and is only to be concerned with itself when the right is denied. With this in mind, we must discuss an anarchist approach to the "national question" in Scotland, and by implication, elsewhere on our beautiful planet.

### The "Braveheart" Problem

We will not bother to prove that Scotland, like Wales and Ireland, is a colony of the English Empire and a separate country. For most thinking Scots, it does not need to be argued, our rights to self-determination are denied. We will move on to the real core of the problem, what does independence actually mean today and what should the response of anarchists be to struggles for national liberation.

When addressing the implications of independence, we must start from the obvious fact that any country has class and hierarchical divisions within it. Scotland is no exception, with 7% of the population owning 84% of the wealth. Obviously, if we are talking

the many nation-states in existence, we see the same differences in power, influence and wealth restricting self-determination for working class people, even if they are free "nationally".

These vast differences in power and freedom are just as true on the international level as it is within a country. Commenting on Clinton's plans for the devolution of welfare programmes from Federal to State government in America, Chomsky makes the important point that while "under conditions of



relative equality, this could be a move towards democracy. Under existing circumstances, devolution is intended as a further blow to the eroding democratic processes. Major corporations, investment firms, and the like, can constrain or directly control the acts of national governments and can set one national workforce against another. But the game is much easier when the only competing player that might remotely be influenced by the "great beast" is a state government, and even middle-sized enterprise can join in. The shadow cast by business [over society and politics] can thus be darker, and private power can move on to greater victories in the name of freedom" [7].

The power of global capital has increased massively over the last 30 years, something which must be taken into account when discussing the social impacts of self-deter-

mination for Scots within a world capitalist framework (these important points are discussed in greater detail in issue 2 of *Scottish Anarchist*).

The distribution of wealth, and so power, within a country has important implications for any national liberation struggle. Braveheart does make it clear that when push came to shove, most of the Scottish Nobles sided with their class brothers on the English side. In the 1707 Act of Union, the Scottish Parliament happily united Parliaments in order to get better access to the English Empire and new markets and wealth. The interests of the ruling classes then were a-national, not much has really changed.

National liberation struggles usually counterpoise the common interests of the nation and assume that class is irrelevant. It is what we will term the "Braveheart problem", namely that nationalist movements are cross-class movements, seeking to increase autonomy for certain parts of society but not for others.

This does not mean, however, that anarchists are indifferent to imperialism, whereby one nation imposes its will on another. As Murray Bookchin notes, "no left libertarian... can oppose the right of a subjugated people to establish itself as an autonomous entity - be it in a [libertarian] confederation... or as a nation-state based in hierarchical and class inequities" [8]. But saying this, we do not elevate this into a mindless article of faith, which much of the Leninist influenced left has done this century, and elevate opposition to the oppressor into calling for support for the oppressed nation without first inquiring into "what kind of society a given 'national liberation' movement would likely produce". To do so means to "support national liberation struggles for instrumental purposes, merely as a means of 'weakening' imperialism", which leads to "a condition of moral bankruptcy" [9] as socialist ideas become associated with the authoritarian and statist goals of the "anti-imperialist" dictatorships in "liberated" nations [10].

The "Braveheart problem", as Kropotkin noted in 1897, is the "failure of all nationalist movements... [which] lies in this curse of all national movements - that the economic question... remains on the side". For Kropotkin, socialists living in a country with a national movement have "a major task: to set forth the question (of nationalism) on an economic basis and carry out agitation against [economic and social] serfdom, etc., at one with the struggle against (oppression by) foreign nationality" [11]. We will now contrast the anarchist approach to national liberation struggles with that of Leninism, the approach most commonly used this century.

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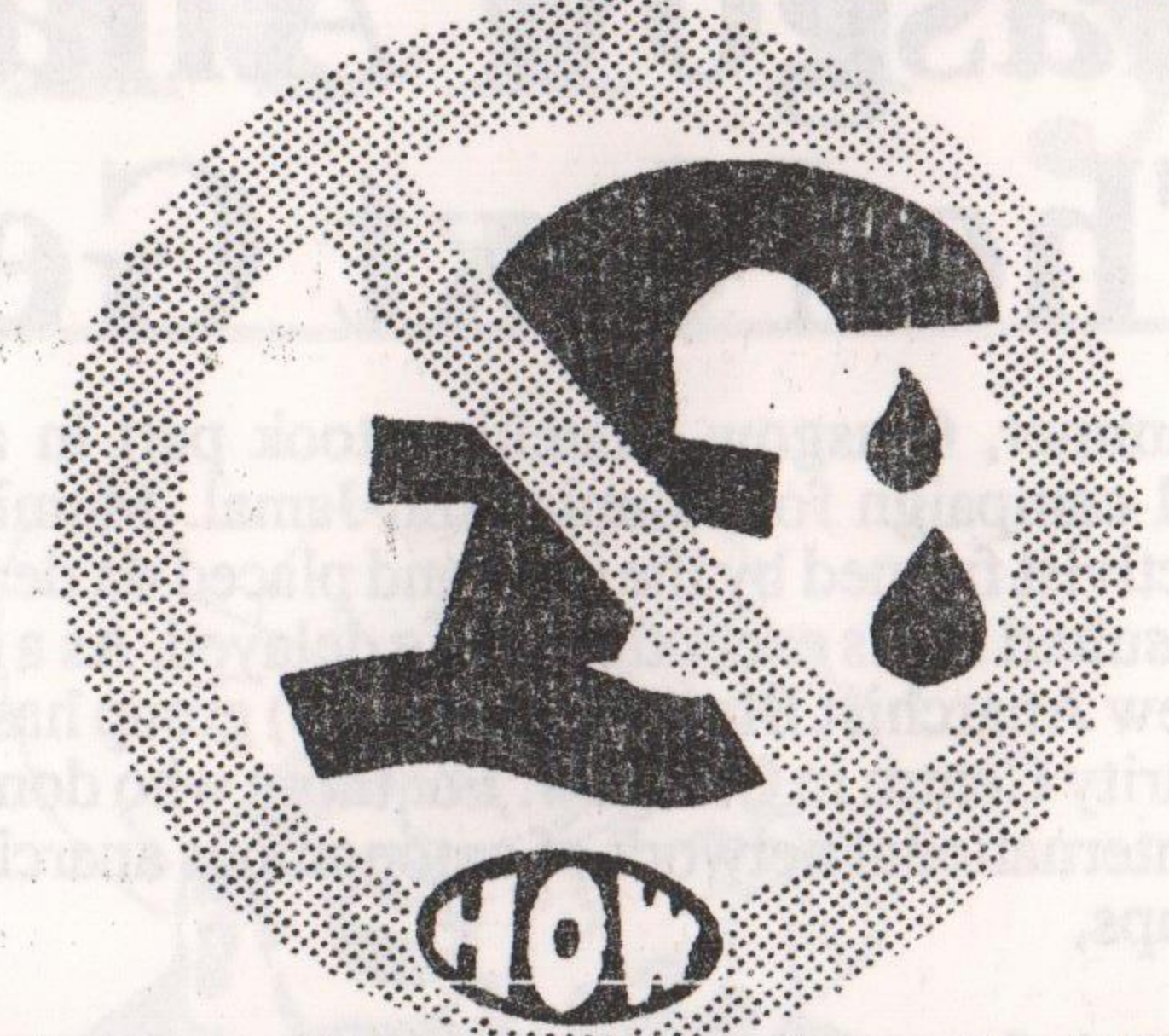
# HANDS OFF OUR WATER!

The Hands Off Our water campaign held a conference in Glasgow on 16th September to launch its next phase of action. This campaign is committed to the opposition of the removal of water and sewerage from public control by all means necessary.

A new HOW committee was elected and among its members is an anarchist from the Glasgow Anarchist group and the Solidarity Centre. Although as anarchists we are not in favour of committees and formal structures as they exist at the moment, it is essential that Anarchists are involved with this type of campaign.

It is important to remember that although these unelected quangos have no powers to disconnect water supplies for non-payment, the new unitary authorities WILL be doing their dirty work for them by issuing the water bills with other council bills. Another effect of this water privatisation will be that all the land around reservoirs and lochs used for water supply will cease to be public land and will be owned by the three quangos.

Since water privatisation in England and Wales, charges have increased drastically and the number of water disconnections increased by 170% between 1991 and 1993. The number of cases of dysentery has rose from 2756 cases in 1990 to 16960 in 1992 (The Guardian, 20th December, 1993).



To stop the same thing happening here, the HOW campaign is advocating mass non-payment of water bills as paying them would be an acceptance of these Tory appointed boards. HOW has been to the water board meetings and plans to invade Council meetings to state opposition to this privatisation.

There will be a Scottish demo on 30th March 1996 and local groups are setting up all over the country. For more information on the HOW campaign and how YOU can get involved contact :-

HOW CAMPAIGN, c/o 71 London Road, Glasgow.

## Direct Action Gets Goods NOT ONE REDUNDANCY! "All For One and One For All"

Members of the Stevenson College job branch of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) Education Workers Union 620 recently scored a partial victory against college management and despite the do nothing approach of the "official" unions.

Most of the further education colleges in Edinburgh are to lose between 2 and 4.8 per cent of funding following an announcement by the Scottish Office, the Government Department which funds them. Stevenson College is due to lose 30 jobs in the academic year 1995-6 and two other colleges a further 40 each. "The cuts are to be across the board, apart from senior management..." (Edinburgh Evening News 5 May 1995).

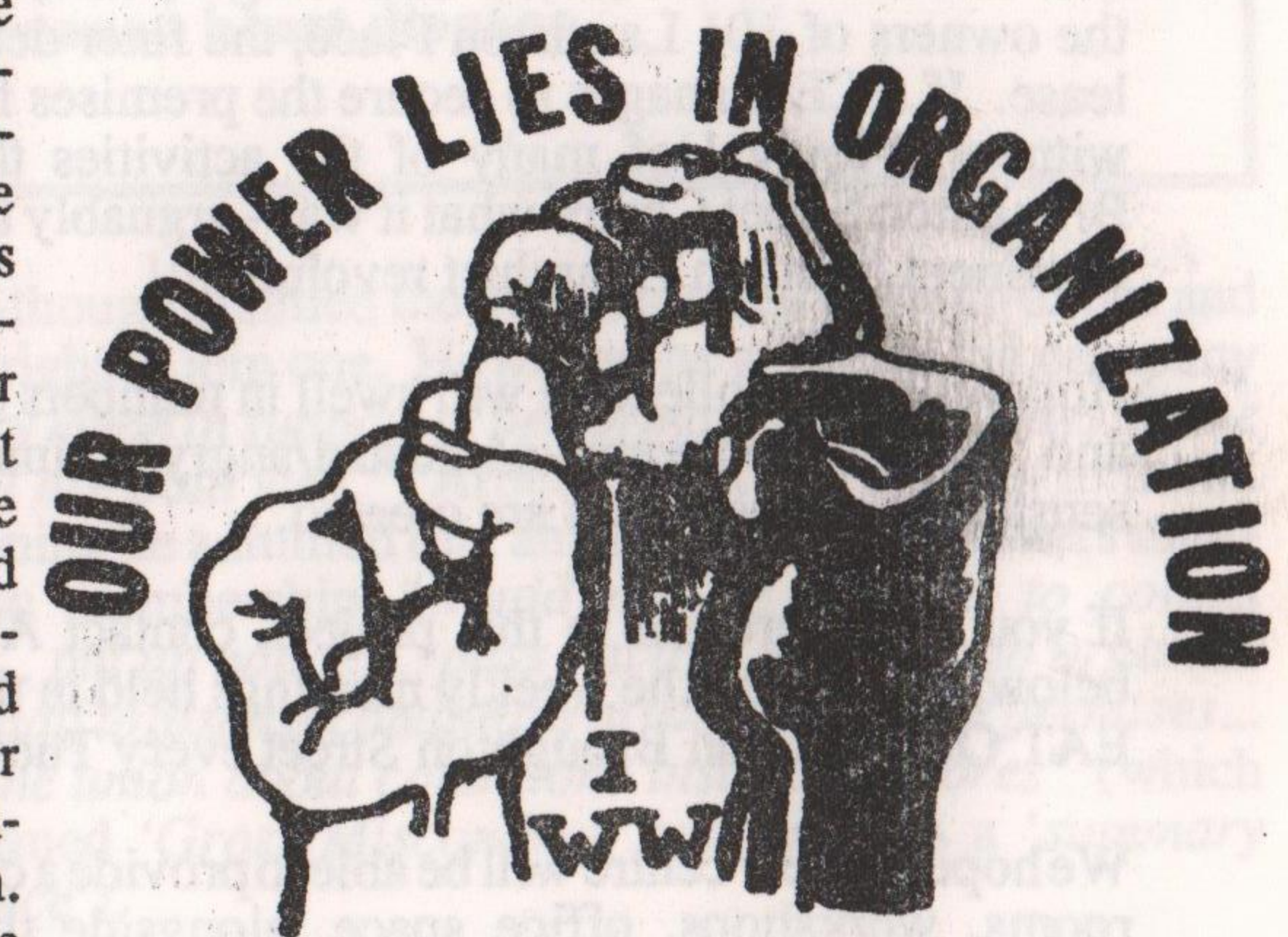
It appeared that the official unions were to lie down and accept the "hopeless" position of the college and merely negotiate away people's jobs. The small IWW branch would not accept this and adopted a different approach. A leaflet NOT ONE REDUNDANCY! "All for one and one for all" was issued. It said:

There are many things which can be done. For example:

- 1) Do absolutely nothing and while people you know are 'taken out' and deprived of their livelihood.
- 2) Be concerned, talk about it, pass supportive motions at meetings and then and then do absolutely nothing.
- 3) Take industrial action

The leaflet asked employees of the college to sign a petition, not an ordinary begging letter but a pledge P a pledge to take strike action should any employee be made redundant. Within a few days some 50 college employees had signed the pledge, headed of course by the seven IWW members. All types of worker signed, lecturers, office staff, janitors, permanent employees and temporary employees. Once the magic number had signed the petitions were placed on noticeboards around the college for all to see including management.

The process of gathering the signatures was not without incident. The son of a leading member of the trotskyist Socialist Workers Party works at the college and refused to sign the petition as did two other members of this supposedly revolutionary party. The excuse used to defend their not signing was that the IWW was pursuing an "individualist" cause which was doomed to failure. They further argued that members of the IWW should join the "official" unions and campaign for lawful (sic) industrial action. (i.e. clearing the action with the unions and the employers, giving them seven days notice).



This was exactly the type of action which the unions had vetoed over pay in 1994 which led to a collapse in union membership.

Last laugh was with the IWW. No sooner had college management seen the petitions and taken in the consequences of 10 per cent of the workforce being willing to take illegal action then they quickly contacted the official unions and miraculously found that there was no need to make any compulsory redundancies.

A victory which certainly raised the profile of the union in the college...

This article appears in the September 1995 issue of the *Industrial Worker*, the monthly newspaper of the Industrial Workers of the World. Copies are available from AK Distribution, 22 Luton Place, Edinburgh.



# Glasgow Anarchist Black Cross - The Next Generation

Over the summer, Glasgow anarchists took part in a successful international campaign for Mumia Abu-Jamal. Mumia is a black American activist framed by the cops and placed on death row. The campaign resulted in his execution being delayed. As a result of this activity, a new Anarchist Black Cross (ABC) group has been set up in the Solidarity Centre in Glasgow. For those who don't know, the ABC is an international network of autonomous anarchist prisoner support groups.

The ABC stands for practical solidarity with class struggle prisoners. We support anarchists, revolutionaries and other working class people who have been incarcerated for their resistance to the oppressions of the capitalist state and its functionaries. We also support people in prison for trying to survive and those framed by the police. We support and publicise the work of prisoners who are resisting on the inside.

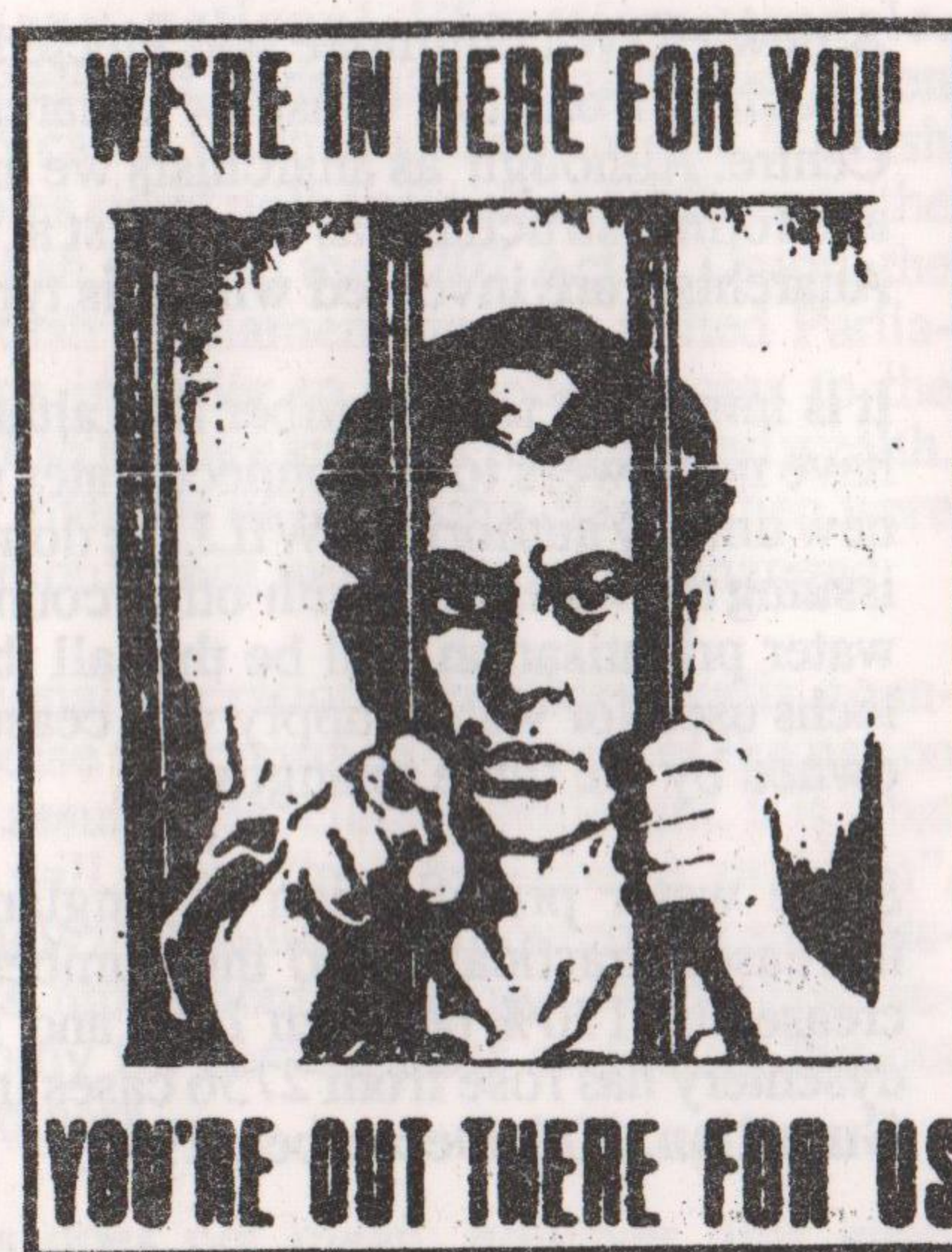
We work through letters, visits, material aid (where possible) as well as demonstrations and spreading information about prisoners, the reality of prison life and the class system which created them.

The ABC tries to create links in and out of prisons. Ultimately we are

working towards the creation of a revolutionary, working class based movement that will destroy prisons along with the rest of the capitalist system. We believe that through people working together, without exploitation or bosses, a genuine classless society can be built.

The Glasgow ABC group would welcome more involvement from anyone interested in this kind of work.

For more information, please contact the Solidarity Centre, 0141 226 5066.



## THIS COULD BE A.C.E

The Autonomous Centre of Edinburgh (ACE) is negotiating with the owners of 101 Lauriston Place, the finer details of a proposed lease. If ACE manages to secure the premises for itself, we could witness a revival of many of the activities that made the 103 Broughton Street Centre what it was - arguably the epicentre of the imminent Scottish Anarchist revolution!!

Hopefully, the collective will swell in numbers as practical outlets and inlets for subversive/unusual/angry/optimistic/political/nonsensical/whatever ideas are created.

If you are interested in this project, contact ACE at the address below, or come to the weekly meetings held in the basement of the EAT OUT cafe on Broughton Street every Tuesday at 6.30pm.

We hope the new centre will be able to provide a cheap cafe, practice rooms, workshops, office space, alongside the ever important advice contact for Poll Tax, council 'debt' collecting threats, grass roots resistance to political injustice, claimants rights etc.. Obviously the project also needs funding, so if you can spare any cash or could organise a benefit this would be much appreciated

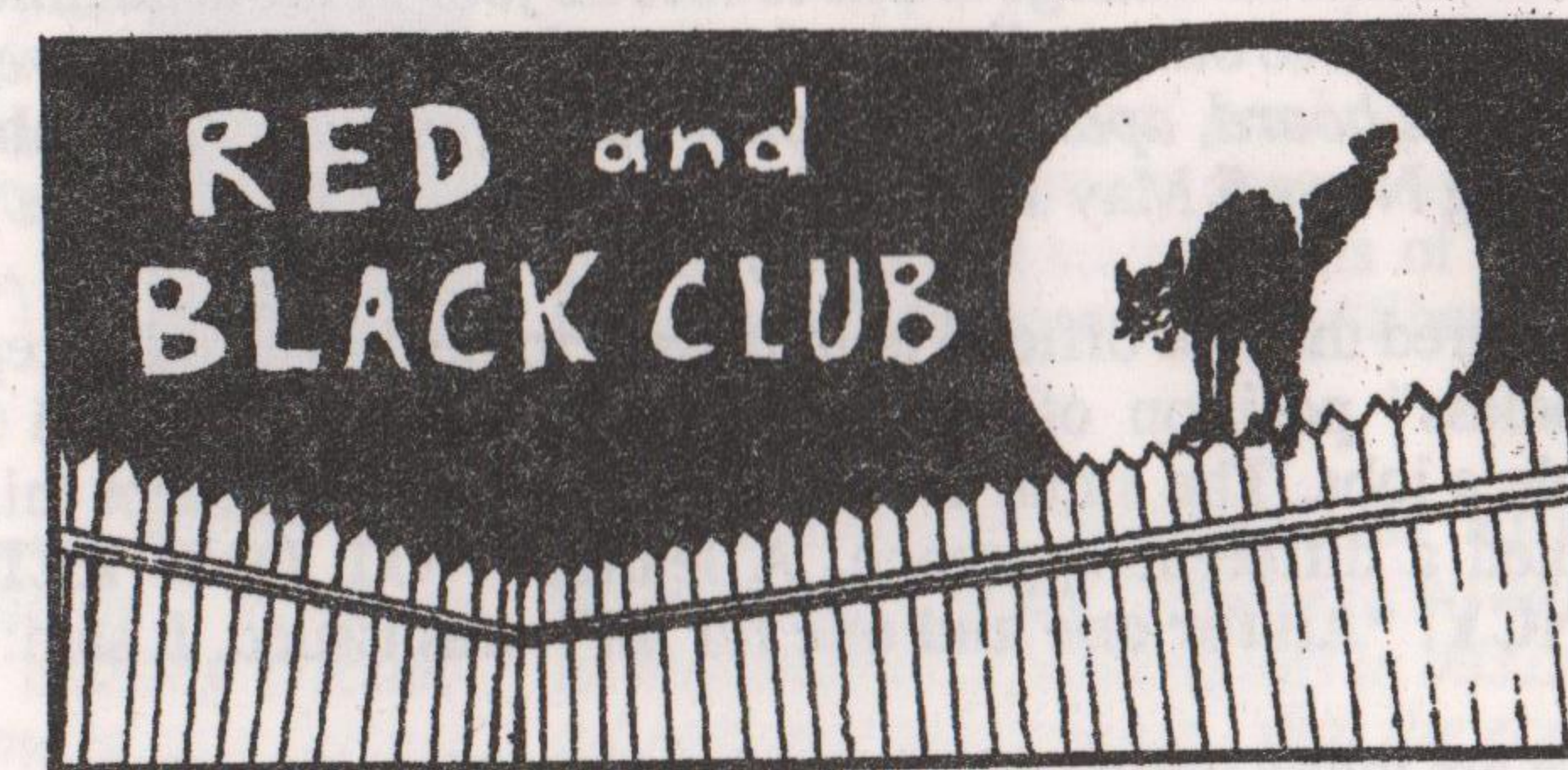
A.C.E, c/o Peace and Justice Centre, St. Johns, Prince's St, Edinburgh, EH2, (0131) 332 7547.

## Anarchism in Dundee

Anarchists in Dundee have recently been involved in industrial struggle, the fight against the Criminal Justice Act, anti-motorway protests, prisoners' support, and the campaign against cuts. And that was when there was just two of them!! A fifty percent increase in numbers in October is expected to lead to the formation of a Dundee Anarchist Group, and the holding of regular discussion meetings on lots of different topics. If you live in the Dundee area and might be interested in taking part in these, contact the Scottish Federation of Anarchists.

## The 'Black and Red' Club

This summer, the Glasgow Anarchist Group and the Solidarity Centre organised three anti-CJA festivals in Kelvingrove Park and Queen's Park. It was suggested that an indoor social club over the winter months would capitalise on all the goodwill and interest that has been generated. Thus the Black and Red club was born.



The plan is to have different events at the club, for example clubs, discos, cabaret, quizzes, fun nights, theme parties, together with information stalls to publicise whats going on at the Centre and the anarchist group. Also we plan to devote some evenings to raising awareness about specific issues, such as prisoner support, anti-roads campaigns, local community campaign, strikes and so forth.

We feel that its important for us to seize this opportunity to establish some kind of club in Glasgow. We know that anarchists in the city are crying out for a place to go regularly where they can socialise with like minded people. So, if you are interested, check it out. For details, contact the Solidarity Centre (0141 226 5066).

# Arbeit McFry!

The McLibel Trial, began when the \$26 billion a year McDonald's Corporation served libel writs on two unwaged supporters of London Greenpeace, who had been handing out leaflets informing the public of the true nature of McDonald's. The trial began on 28th June 1994 with the two, Helen Steel and Dave Morris, conducting their own defence and is now the longest running libel trial in British legal history.

Rumours of McDonald's wanting to pull out of the trial appeared on the front page of *The Independent* on 5th June but the defendants are currently unable to confirm this or divulge details of any settlement proposals by McDonald's. It is easy to see why it's in McDonald's interests to seek to pull out of this case, as it has turned out that their business practices are on trial. Their top US and UK executives have continually been forced to make embarrassing admissions (see *Scottish Anarchist No. 2* for the choicest quotes) and at a recent McDonald's Shareholders' Meeting it was said that "whether or not we win this case, we are still getting raked over the coals in the media".

The most recent weeks of the case have concentrated on McDonald's employment practices and once again, top McExecs are being made to look like clowns. Giving evidence was Sid Nicholson, McDonald's UK Vice President, former Head of Personnel and Head of Security who received his excellent people management skills as a Chief Superintendent in the Metropolitan Police, following 31 years in the police force, firstly in South Africa, and then in the Met.

Nicholson has agreed that for workers aged 21 or over the company "couldn't actually pay any lower wages without falling foul of the law". He also admitted that in 1993 McDonald's senior management levels had salaries over £75,000 p.a. plus benefits and perks. At that time the starting rate for crew members outside London was £3 per hour for over 18's and £2.65 per hour for 16 & 17 year olds.

Other facts to emerge as a result of his evidence include:

- \* Managers have the power to compulsorily cut or extend any worker's hours during a given shift. Even breaks could be cut. Though in any event, workers are not paid for meal breaks.
- \* McDonald's has never paid overtime rates, despite the Wages Council setting overtime rates for all hours worked over 39 hours in a week.
- \* McDonald's would fight any Industrial Tribunal where "an important principle was being challenged" but when an ex-worker had challenged McDonald's refusal to pay overtime, McDonald's settled out of court.
- \* Workers failing to have the right attitude "could probably be terminated". In March 1990 annualised workforce turnover at McDonald's was 196.5%.
- \* Despite working in a fast moving and hot environment, workers had to get permission to have a drink.
- \* Mr Nicholson couldn't, when asked, think of a single right that workers had except where there was statutory protection.



## What's wrong with McDonalds?

1. McDonalds contribute greatly to the continuing destruction of tropical rainforests. Every minute 100 acres of rainforest is destroyed by various companies in total.
2. McDonalds enhance Third World poverty by owning land formerly used by the indigenous population and buying food from starving countries.
3. McDonalds exploits its workers. They prevent unionisation and pay minimum wages.
4. The 'food' is unhealthy. High in fat, sugar, salt and animal products which can cause heart disease.

Mr Nicholson though claimed the company was not anti-union and all staff had a right to join one. However, he said that the company was "very, very much in support of performance related pay. Those who work well are paid well." Arbeit macht frei springs to mind. Under questioning he admitted that any McDonald's workers interested in union membership "would not be allowed to collect subscriptions... put up notices... pass out any leaflets... to organise a meeting for staff to discuss conditions at the store on the premises... or to inform the union about conditions inside the stores" (which would be deemed 'Gross Misconduct' and as such a 'summary sackable offence').

Mr Nicholson appeared confused as to the what the company would do if a majority of workers demanded union recognition, first stating "If a majority of the staff of a restaurant had an election and voted to be represented by a trade union, then they would be represented by a trade union" but later agreed that "if every single member of crew in a particular restaurant joined a union [McDonald's] would still not negotiate with the union".

Not only are McDonald's digging themselves deeper and deeper into a hole during this court case - their heavy handed attitude has made the case and the corporation a focus for wider resistance. Over a million of the leaflets which were the original subject of the case have been handed out since the trial began and it seems that everywhere in the world Ronald tries to raise his head, protesters are there. Last April McDonald's abandoned public celebrations for the 40th anniversary of their first store opening, due to protests in over 20 countries.

More recently, when McDonald's tried to shoot an advert on location in South London, Ronald's cheesy grin faded when protesters appeared behind him with a banner reading "McDonald's -



guilty of exploiting workers, destroying the environment, murdering animals". The production company's plans of filming the clown by the pond and the bandstand (painted specially for the purpose) were completely frustrated all day, at an estimated cost of £100,000.

Let's hope that other massive corporations who make money for a few out of the misery of many are taking heed of the thrashing that McDonald's is currently receiving in court, in the media and via the protests of millions around the globe who are determined to show solidarity with Helen and Dave. They should realise that if they

make the mistake of seeing themselves as some sort of Goliath and the defendants as David, they'll soon learn that David is brave, cunning and he's got loads of mates.

Further information and updates are available World Wide Web site: <http://anthfirst.san.ed.ac.uk/>

The court is open to members of the press and public, most days from 10.30am in Court 35, Royal Courts of Justice, Strand, London WC2. Ring 0171 713 1269 for details.

## Returning solidarity to Tuzla miners

ANTI-FASCIST AID TO BOSNIA is an anarchist initiative arising out of a hair-raising but uplifting journey to North-East Bosnia. They are determined to create links directly with those engaged in a daily struggle with the fascist Chetnik Serbian forces, the Police and other authorities in the rump Bosnian state, and amongst those who distrust the motives of the U.N. and aid agencies and who are aware of the motives of the Croatian State and of its fascist counterparts in Herzeg-Bosnia.

Dean of AK Press in London acted as a driver in the second (August 1995) "Workers Aid" mission to Tuzla, in north-east Bosnia, whose citizens had sent solidarity aid to the Miners Strike in 1984/5. In a talk to Glasgow Anarchist Group Discussion Forum on 4th September, he outlined what happened on the mission, the situation in Tuzla and the need to create the means for practical libertarian solidarity with the Bosnian working class.

The convoy of "aid" arrived in Split, in Croatia after negotiating the journey across the narrow road corridor from Slovenia and northern Croatia. The Croatian offensive to expel the Krajina Serbs was imminent. They were obstructed by British armed forces commanders at their camp in Split, prevented from entering Bosnia by the HVO Bosnian-Croat forces during the Croat Krajina offensive, and refused to "bribe" their way in due to a principled stand against giving aid to nationalist/fascist forces. During this delay, some Workers Aid members found the remains of a child, dead and abandoned near a mountain path.

### Running the Gauntlet

Eventually they were allowed to proceed through the devastated ethnically divided city of Mostar to central Bosnia, past "ethnically cleansed" villages, where Serbs and Bosnian Muslims had been driven out, their homes torched and looted. The convoy included "delegations" from Unions and solidarity groups. While the "delegates" from Women against Pit Closures and similar groups assisted the drivers and other volunteers, many of the Union delegates were selfish and some even foolish to the extent of being a danger to the convoy.

In one incident near Kalandj, convoys have to proceed along a stretch of road that has Chetnik snipers on both sides, and they have to drive without lights along the mountainous single track dirt road. The delegation from the Communication Workers Union lorry "bottled" it and turned their headlights & rear lights on, thus illuminating (and endangering) the whole convoy, which fortunately escaped attack. There were other incidents which showed up some Union bureaucrats in their 'true colours', not bothering to help the tired drivers with cooking, unloading & disappearing to find drink at every opportunity!

When the convoy reached Tuzla, they found that the Union leaders on the Trades Council had refused to believe that Workers Aid could

get through & a delay ensued with unloading the supplies. The drivers and other travellers had to do his themselves, amid fraught tempers as rival trot groups from Britain and France predictably fell out. They also had to deal with a near food-riot when some of the provisions were unloaded.

Thereafter, the various "delegations" went off to meet their local counterparts, and as an anarchist in a city with no known anarchist/libertarian contacts, Dean was shown around by local children and given a bed by a local family. The children explained the impact of the recent massacre of 71 citizens, mostly children in a Tuzla



market-place, the role of the despised Bosnian Police and the daily incidence of chetnik shelling, especially of mining villages outside Tuzla. The threat to children and the position of women, in such a conflict with numerous records of rape & mutilation, and as targets for sniping was also a key feature of everyday life.

They also explained how the U.N. were 'a law unto themselves' and how the aid agencies would only give relief to refugees, such as the recently displaced Srebrenica and Zepa "safe haven" inhabitants. In turn these refugees would sell surplus food on the 'black market', driving up the prices for the majority of Tuzla citizens, from working class homes, with water for 2 hours daily, with little or no pay from work such as mining and only receiving relief from solidarity initiatives such as Workers Aid. The refugees, understandably, from small rural and besieged enclaves were embittered and unable to understand that cities such as Tuzla (and Sarajevo) contain Croats and Serbs as well as Muslims, who support the pluralist (original) aims of the Bosnian state, and some of them carried out attacks against the homes of local (anti-fascist) Serbs.

### The U.N.: despised & ineffective

The U.N., and media journalists strut around the Hotel Tuzla, never targeted by the Chetnik attackers in a luxurious haven that is blatantly at odds with the suffering of the Tuzla working class. Aid convoys have also had reason to fear the U.N.: many of the trucks which have been driven off the road, into ravines etc. are directly the result of U.N. orders to their army personnel that their tanks and other vehicles have an exclusive right to the limited road space and on numerous occasions they have forced other vehicles physically out of the way.

Continued on page 23

# PORNOGRAPHY AND THE SEX INDUSTRY -

An Anarcha-Feminist perspective by Lesley Boulton

This article is intended to be part of a debate around the issues it raises and as such is not meant to be read as a 'definitive' argument. It presents a set of problems and takes a position, which I hope will generate some dialogue.

People who identify themselves as 'pro-porn' and/or 'anti-censorship' often ask, why single out porn and the sex industry from all other coercive, exploitative and oppressive industries that characterise the capitalist/patriarchal project? I say why not? All forms of oppressive practice are open for critique - this is just one of them - but more than that, I would suggest that porn and the sex industry is not exactly like all other industries that oppress people. The sex industry impinges on the lives of women, men and children and the relationships that exist between them in some of the same but also in quite different ways than for example, mining, farming, shop

industry functions and in the material it produces.

I am keen not to represent women sex workers as simply 'victims' of exploitation and abuse, for women are forced, for a whole variety of reasons to mediate and negotiate the circumstances of their lives, economically, emotionally, psychologically and practically etc., entirely from within the framework of capitalist/patriarchal value structures. It is this framework and the values that it encompasses that present the problems. It is not that sexual acts themselves, depicted in images or text need necessarily be problematic, but that representations that are informed by capitalist/patriarchal value structures and what that means for relations between men, women and children are frequently problematic. It is from this within this set of value structures that the porn/sex industry operates and it is these values that dominate and inform the practice and it is here that the problems are to be found. I would argue that in the light of current social and political conditions where relations between women, men and children are founded upon wholly unequal grounds of power, it is entirely dishonest to suggest, as so many anti-censorship/pro-porners do, that somehow this inequality is magically absent from depictions of sex acts generated by the sex industry.

I also think it's important to state that my argument against the sex industry does not imply that I am pro-censorship, for I am not. I think it's perfectly legitimate to be critical about any damn thing I like - being critical is asking people to look at things in a different way, to debate and engage in dialogue - in the hopes of taking the arguments further, in other words, it's an opening up of debate, not a closure, which is fundamentally what censorship is. I also think that accusing those of us who have serious problems with the sex industry of being in favour of censorship is a cheap way of trying to deflect attention from what are the real issues that lie at the heart of our dysfunctional social system.

It is possible to argue endlessly about what is or is not pornographic. There are probably as many definitions as there are people on the planet. This is not the argument I want to engage in. What is important however, is uncovering the politics and power relations that dominate the way the sex industry functions and how those relations work in the context of the industry's place within the capitalist project.

Pornography has been described, not simply as text on the page or as moving or still images of particular acts, but as a 'practice', - that is a practice "consisting of specific activities performed by real people" [Cole 1989]. In looking at pornography in this way, i.e. as a 'practice', the generation of pornographic material from within the sex industry can be approached from a different angle. For example, Cole argues that, "Instead of asking, does pornography cause violence?" we can ask whether the sex industry exploits/abuses women to make the materials that [male] consumers use in ways that are abusive to women? Cole goes on to argue that it does. For her, "Abuse is not caused by pornography, it is a part of what pornography is". [Cole 1989]. This abuse is firmly located in the values and practices that permeate the wider politics of capitalism and patriarchy, where the interests of women are invariably subordinated to the interests of men.

It's not necessary for me to rehearse the anarchist challenge to capitalism/patriarchy, for as anarchists acknowledge, capitalism is wholly reliant upon oppressive/repressive/coercive mechanisms in order to function. The very core of anarchist politics is not only about resisting such power relations but actively overturning them.



From Anarchy (Garden Press) - Clifford Harper

floor factory work, or the multitude of other industries that people labour in.

I think we would all agree that the sex industry is largely controlled and the material it generates is largely consumed by men. This being the case, it would not be unfair to suggest that the material generated will be informed for the most part, by notions of sexuality and sexual fantasy that are of interest to men. Women who work in the sex industry, whether voluntarily or through coercion will have to conform to a male oriented production process, that is, in the way the



As anarchists we would wish to introduce a set of relations between people and communities that significantly reduced the possibility of such oppression, mainly through the active participation of the individual in an autonomous and pro-active way in the business of organising their lives.

Returning to the issues at hand, Gayle Rubin in her book, 'Bad Girls and Dirty Pictures', critiques the analyses of feminists [in particular] and others who are critical of the sex industry and the way it functions. she says,

*"While anti porn activists often claim to want to protect women in (and from) the sex industry, much of their analysis is based on condescension and contempt towards sex workers. The notion that pornography is a documentary of sexual abuse assumes that the women who work in the sex industry... are invariably forced to do so and that such women are 'merely' victims' of pornographers..."*

Rubin goes on to say,

*"We need to support women where ever they work. We need to realise that more stigma and more legal regulation of the sex industry will merely increase the vulnerability of the women in it. Feminists who want to support sex workers should strive to decriminalize and legitimate sex work. Sex workers relieved of the threat of scandal or incarceration are in a better position to gain more control over their work and working conditions"*

Whilst Rubin is quite right when she asserts that sex workers suffer from the odium and contempt of society at large, attitudes that will inevitably make it much more difficult for them to improve or take control of their working conditions, her analysis contains one major flaw. Her critique comes from within and remains within the ideological framework that anarchists are dedicated to overthrowing. Essentially she is arguing that we should support sex workers from within the framework of the capitalist/patriarchal project, ie, all that is required is a 'reform' of that project. This position is anathema to anarchists. I would argue that Rubin's argument is typical of pro porn positions - it is an apologia by someone who is attempting to reform the essentially unreformable.

I would also argue that the driving force that underlies the sex industry and the way it functions is not one of giving value free sexual pleasure and/or relief in an equal way to men and women, but is devoted to exactly the same principles of all other multi-national industries, which is the pursuit of maximum profit. All other considerations, particularly those pertaining to sex workers and their conditions are subordinated to this one all embracing principle.

There are moves afoot amongst women to generate pornographic/erotic material that is directly informed by notions of sexuality and sexual fantasy that come from themselves and that are not exploitative or coercive, either in their mode of production or in the images they depict. However, I would argue that since all of us are enculturated within an ideological framework that is dominated by patriarchal values it is very difficult for women to develop their own material. What kind of people might we be if, for example, we were enculturated within within a system that was founded upon anarchist principles of social organisation? How would our understanding of human sexuality differ? What kind of erotic material might we be interested in? How might we organise the production of erotic material? These are good questions that take us into some uncharted territory. As far as the generation of sexually explicit material is concerned it is this new territory we need to explore and to do this we need to create a new erotic language based on anarchist principles. It could be fun!

References and Further Reading :-

S.G. Cole **Pornography & The Sex Crisis** p.18  
G. Rubin **Bad girls & dirty Pictures** p. 33/34

## Introduction

Its common knowledge that McDonalds is not particularly liked by anarchists. For many, I'm sure, this dislike seems ethical and emotional, with no "real" relevance to revolutionary ideas. Being human beings and not robots, of course our hatred of McDonalds is emotional and ethical, but it is more than that. We hate McDonalds because it represents the "cutting edge" of capitalism, of the megamachine which is slowly crushing the life out of us and our planet.

Image is increasingly replacing content. McDonald's is the classic example of this. Its slick (or is that sick) advertising attempts to hide the reality of capitalism, a capitalism which could have the golden arches as it's symbol. There is no way that this can be analysed in the space available here, so I would recommend "The McDonaldization of Society" by George Ritzer for more information. In addition, I would also suggest reading "Modern Capitalism and Revolution" by Paul Carden to understand how the process of "McDonaldization" described by Ritzer is part of the dynamic of capitalism.

Miss Senior describes vividly what it is like to work for McDonalds. The type of work, standardised, controlled, predictable, is there for a reason. The great source of trouble in any form of McDonald-like system is human uncertainty and unpredictability. In other words, human individuality! So, people have to be replaced, controlled and processed by machines. And working in such an environment soon results in massive alienation, the feeling that who become the servants of machines and of others.

This, of course, allows greater profits to be made, hence we see the McDonald's type of work spreading across the economy. In addition, the use of management selected technology de-skills the worker, allowing wages to be lowered, increasing the pool of labour, allowing each worker to be replaceable and so not treated as individuals, but as replaceable human machines. The mass worker replaces the unique individual. That this process of McDonaldisation is widespread in industry is seen from the name this type of employment is called - the McJob!

Miss Senior stood up for her humanity and individuality and left the capitalist utopia of McDonalds. A small step for freedom, one which need to be built on and expanded. We can only do that by reclaiming our individuality, organising together and changing things by our own efforts. That always goes on, that's why the "human factor" is so hated by the system. Where there is oppression, there is resistance. And resistance is the sign of humanity. It needs to be encouraged and developed to such a point that the current system can be replaced and the world renewed in the bright light of freedom, equality and solidarity.

Iain MacSaorsa

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# WHAT'S RIGHT WITH McDONALD'S?

(An account of my experience working at McDonald's, Wimbledon)

by Suzanne Senior

There can be little doubt that in the last forty years the McDonald's fast food chain has become well-established and extremely successful in this country. It also cannot be disputed that they are also efficiently run and salubrious. But what price that efficiency?

Having tramped the streets in vain looking for a summer job, I was relieved when I walked into the local McDonald's (Wimbledon Branch), and was granted an interview. That same afternoon I arrived in a state of hopeful expectancy and waited... and waited... and waited, having been told that I would only have to wait five minutes after the last prospective employee had left. As I was standing there drumming my fingers, a harassed-looking girl told me that it was common practice to keep interviewees waiting to test their patience. A good start. When I was eventually seen by the manager he told me to come back in five days time, which I did accordingly, only to be informed that I could not start work on that day as there were no more uniforms. Very well organised!

However, one fateful Friday in July I started work at McDonald's. Right from day one I began to wonder seriously if I had joined the army by mistake. I was finally given a uniform and a green badge, and told that I would be honoured with a yellow badge if my performance proved to be satisfactory after three weeks. I soon discovered that everyone took great delight in dishing out orders, whatever their rank, no more so than the mighty Training Squad. These cheery individuals had the distinction of five stars and a red badge to indicate a high level of competence. In the ensuing days I felt it was a pity that this accolade did not include such skills as tact, patience and a general ability to treat fellow employees well.

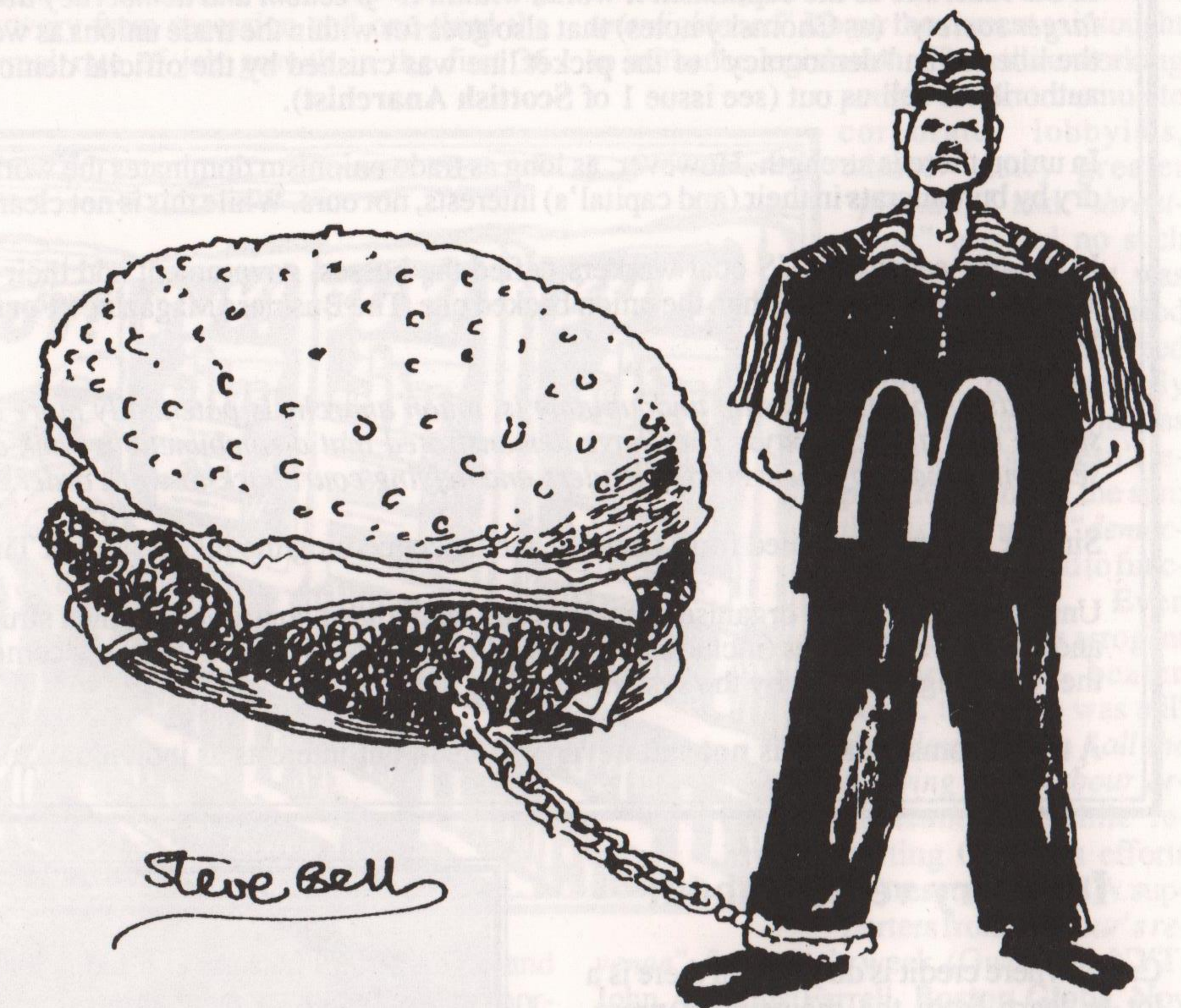
I was often made to feel less than the size of an unusually diminutive worm - witness my first attempt at certain tasks, which I did not perform with the speed and panache of better-seasoned 'crew members'. My inadequacy in the realm of Ajaxing a stainless steel fridge was exposed time and again as I was forced to clean the same surface ten times over until every conceivable speck of grease had been obliterated. It must be noted by prospective weight trainers that this is a particularly effective way of building up the arm muscles.

I soon settled into the routine - a dozen different people bellowing orders at me from all directions, extremely peeved if their particular demand took second preference. Underpaid, overworked and under the cosh, I was allowed one reprieve during the eight-

hour day, a forty-five minute break, (which I believe, incidentally, is well below the legal minimum of an hour and a half), time to collapse in the Cool Room and munch my way through soggy burgers (drowned in a deluge of mustard and tomato ketchup).

On my Fifth Day the crunch came. I was ready to be trained on the fries. I was moving up in the ranks, drawing closer to the day when I would be dealing with the all-important factor - the Customer. Obviously my dexterity was not perfect as it was my first

la school report, with a list of work areas, a psychological section and a grading system from one to five. I was first of all fascinated by the inventiveness of their descriptive powers, with such mundane tasks as emptying the bins being pompously elevated to "Waste Control". The psychological section was nothing short of sinister, including as it did, such headings as "Understands Hierarchy", which, as far as I was concerned meant "employee is a pushover", and "Uses Hierarchy", which could account for the numerous budding dictators in evi-



exposure to the skill, but the Training Squad member in charge spent the whole morning shouting at me, tossing provocative sallies in my direction and being generally unpleasant, all of which does not make for the best of tempers when standing over hot fat! At one point she pointed an accusing finger at a couple of specks of grease on the floor and yelled peremptorily: "Get down on your hands and knees and scrub every bit of that off!" Feeling decidedly wretched I wearily complied, convinced that Ivan Denisovitch was having a ball in comparison. Finally the inevitable happened, and upon her next barrage of insults, I blew a gasket and stormed out.

At home, feeling somewhat calmer, I considered the work ethic behind such American-based companies. Flicking through the McDonald's handbook, I came to a sudden halt at the page marked "Crew Member's Progress Report". It contained a report form

dence there. What disturbed me particularly was that most 'crew members' did not question this highly pressurised method of working, and, even worse, were brainwashed into thinking that they would enhance their chances of career success if they treated their fellow employees with utter contempt. On the contrary, I refuse to believe that winding employees up to breaking point necessarily produces more efficient workers.

After nine days I decided that this job would suit those with nerves of reinforced steel, but not me, so I handed in my notice, thankful that at last the ordeal was over. Fortunately I could leave, as I was not desperate for the cash. However, people still work there because they cannot afford to go on the dole, as one girl told me: "It's terrible for your pride but I can't leave because I need the money".



# Industry vs Labour

Noam Chomsky

## Introduction

The following letter/article by Noam Chomsky, one of America's leading anarchist thinkers, was published in *Lies of Our Times*, July 1994. We have decided to reprint it in *Scottish Anarchist* as it is a clear and concise analysis of the social and economic developments occurring in the world. Developments which we would be stupid to ignore.

Needless to say, the S.F.A. (like Chomsky) would recognise that the business unionism dominant in Scotland and the USA is just as bureaucratic as the capitalism it works within. If "freedom and democracy are even less tolerable in the workplace than in the larger society" (as Chomsky notes) that also goes for within the trade unions as well. The example of Timex springs to mind, where the libertarian "democracy" of the picket line was crushed by the official democracy of "elected leaders" and the "freedom" of authority to sell us out (see issue 1 of *Scottish Anarchist*).

In union there is strength. However, as long as trade unionism dominates the working class movement this strength will be sucked dry by bureaucrats in their (and capital's) interests, not ours. While this is not clearly seen yet by most of our class it is by the bosses.

In the late seventies, US coal workers defied the bosses, government and their own union and by rank and file struggle won a substantially better deal than the union backed one. The Business Magazine "Fortune" understandably viewed the miner's actions with alarm:

"Bad as union dictatorship undoubtedly is, union anarchy is potentially more destructive. Unfortunately, the miners have just shown that anarchy pays. They have demonstrated that a rambunctious rank and file... can get a better deal by spurning the settlement made by their elected leaders and defying court back-to-work orders" (*Fortune*, April 24, 1978, page 62).

Similar statements issued forth from the media concerning the picket lines at Timex or any other form of direct action.

Until such time as we organise ourselves and take direct control of our own struggles, organisations and fates ("union anarchy") and resist all authorities (including labour and "union" ones) we will never become full people, just "factors of production", playing the role assigned to us by the system.

A role Chomsky notes is not and never will be in our interests as individuals, or as part of a community, to accept.

## Industry verses labour

Credit where credit is due. Often there is a lot to learn from the mainstream press. Take the May 23 issue of *Business Week*, which features a study on "The Workplace" headed: "Why America Needs Unions, But Not The Kind It Has Now."

The article reports that "Over the past dozen years, in fact, U.S. industry has conducted one of the most successful union wars ever" with a "chilling effect". Why "chilling"? After all, "Numerous studies have confirmed that unions reduce profits" and what could be more noble than overcoming a threat to the guiding human value to which the journal, along with right-thinking people generally, is dedicated? The reason is that "the higher productivity of unionized companies offsets most of their higher costs". Thus unions may "perform a legitimate role that's not counter to social efficiency". Chicago economist Gary Becker observes. From the other end of the spectrum, fellow-Nobel laureate Paul Samuelson adds that "if unions help improve productiv-



ity..., they can justify higher wages and their existence". And as remains unstated, unions can serve as labour contractors, providing an orderly workforce and guarantees of stability over a long stretch, a matter of particular significance to capital-intensive industry. If "labour embraces cooperation with unprecedented en-

thusiasm" and unions "reinvent themselves" so that they "help employers win competitive battles", then organized labour "may win at least grudging acceptance and carve out a place in the global economy". Note the crucial term: "acceptance" -- by the rulers, as tacitly understood.

The article is frank about the purpose and nature of the bitter and one-sided class war. Management's basic goal has been to undermine the rights "guaranteed by the 1935 Wagner Act". In fact, that has been a basic goal since the tragedy occurred 60 years ago, and although the project of reversing the victory for democracy and working people was put on hold during the World War, it was taken up again when peace arrived, with great vigour and considerable success.

Nevertheless, some rights are still guaranteed by law. But this is a mere technicality, as the editors recognize without comment. The basic method of the "successful antiunion war" was "illegally firing thousands of workers for exercising their rights to organize". Thus "employers illegally fired

1 of every 36 union supporters during organizing drives in the late 1980s, vs. 1 in 110 in the late '70s and 1 in 209 in the late '60s". "Unlawful firings occurred in one-third of all representation elections in the late '80s, vs. 8% in the late '60s". "Even more significant than the numbers is the perception of risk among workers, who think they'll be fired in an organizing campaign", Harvard law professor Paul Weiler comments. The effects are rather like those of the mislabelled "free trade agreements". The threat of job transfer suffices to drive wages and working conditions down in the wealthier countries, while good behaviour is guaranteed among the most impoverished by terror and repression, and huge growth of the labour force. The latter is another welcome effect of the same economic regimen, designed to replace production for local markets by agroexport and assembly plants for transnationals that expand "free trade" by the centrally-managed and market-distorting transactions that happen to cross international borders.

Once again, the slogan "Crime doesn't Pay" is shown to be an absurdity.

To be sure, criminal behaviour is safer when state power is behind it. The principle is understood with particular clarity within Washington's international terror network: in Colombia, for example, now the leading human rights violator in the hemisphere and to the surprise of no one in touch with the real world, now also the leading recipient of U.S. military aid, increasing under Clinton amidst praises for Colombia's progress in realizing democratic values as its security forces conduct their grim work.

The same lessons apply at home: Crime pays when the state nods in approval. The precept was cherished with particular fondness by the Reaganites, who dedicated state power even beyond the norm to welfare for the rich and openly dismissed the rule of law as mere frivolity. One effect was the expanded freedom for illegal abuse of working people. Given the open contempt for domestic law, it would also be frivolous to cite the provisions of the international conventions that we hold sacred and defend with passion against backward peoples and official enemies, when some power interest is served thereby.

## Class War

The illegal destruction of unions has been a major factor in lowering wages, helping to increase the gap between rich and poor to "Depression-era dimensions", *Business*

*Week* observes (for details, see Richard Freeman, ed., *Working under Different Rules*, Russell Sage 1994). It has also reduced pension and health protection while contributing to "a 125-fold explosion in unlawful-discharge suits", union protections having been undermined. Safety regulations have also lapsed, thanks to state-employer cooperation in crime. "The Occupational Safety & Health Administration under Reagan and Bush was a hands-off agency", encouraging lawlessness, and along with the dismantling of unions, such state support for criminal behaviour has led to an increase in days lost to injury "from 58 per 100 workers in 1983 to 86 in 1991".

Some of the effects are illustrated by the current recovery. Not only is it unusually sluggish, with half the normal growth during recovery from recession and one-third the normal rate of job growth in the first 36



months, but it is unusual in that wages and fringe benefits have stagnated, the proportion of temporary jobs is unprecedented, and the average work week has reached post-World War II highs. "Labour is scared about having any job at all", Harvard labour economist James Medoff comments: "It makes employees very weak at the bargaining table". Meanwhile "1993 was a bracingly upbeat year for the FORTUNE 500", the journal exulted in its annual review of the state of the important people, who posted "dazzling" profits despite "virtually stagnant" sales growth ("Hats Off! It Was a Heck of a Year", *Fortune*, April 18; David Francis, *Christian Science Monitor*, April 22; Lucinda Harper and David Wessel, *Wall Street Journal*, May 9; John Miller, *Dollars and Sense*, May/June 1994).

Class war brings other important benefits. Unions provide one of the few means by which ordinary people can enter the political arena; their decline thus undermines the threat of democracy. This is no small matter, as was revealed quite dramatically in the last

stages of the NAFTA debate, when the attempts of organized labour to approach their representatives in Congress elicited extraordinary tantrums. The reaction provided a most revealing demonstration of the fear and hatred of democracy that prevails across the spectrum.

Liberals were particularly incensed by the "real roughshod, muscle-bound tactics" of organized labour denounced by the President, "the raw muscle, the sort of naked pressure that the labour forces have put on" as they approached their elected representatives, even sinking to "pleading... based on friendship" and "threatening... based on money and work in the campaign", an unspeakable outrage. At the dissident extreme, Anthony Lewis condemned the "crude threatening tactics" of the "backward, unenlightened" labour movement as it sought to influence legislation. How dare working

people seek to emulate corporate lobbyists, whose vastly greater "pleading" and "threatening" aroused no such reaction. Indeed it was ignored during the period when the outcome seemed in doubt, quite properly one might argue, just as the news room doesn't report the rising of the sun; that is the way "democracy" is supposed to function, after all. Even months after the arrogant upstarts were beaten down, the press was still shuddering from "all the bullying from labour organizations", while reporting Clinton's efforts to "rescue" NAFTA supporters from "labour's revenge", fortunately weak. (Gwen Ifill, *NYT*; John Aloysius Farrell, *Boston Globe*, Nov 8, 1993. Lewis, Nov. 5, 1993. Richard Berke, "Rescuing a Lawmaker From Labour's Revenge," *NYT*, March 15, 1994.)

## Wealth and Self

Also important is the psychological effect of the destruction of unions. It contributes to the privatization of aspirations. It helps eliminate a sense of solidarity and sympathy with others, the understanding that we are in it together and care for one another, not just ourselves. In the early days of the industrial revolution, the lively labour press protested the "new spirit of the age": "Gain wealth, forgetting all but self", a demeaning and degrading doctrine that had to be driven into people's heads with no little violence. Normal human sentiments had to be crushed; they are inconsistent with capitalist ideology, which celebrates private profit as the supreme human value and denies people rights beyond what they can salvage in the



labour market.

In pre-capitalist days, Adam Smith, like other founders of classical liberalism, stressed such values as sympathy and the right of creative work, offering nuanced arguments for markets on the grounds that under "perfect liberty" there should be a natural tendency towards equality, a condition for efficient market function. Such ideas had to be demolished both in practice and in the ideological sphere. It is interesting to trace the transition to the modern era, in which a very different conception of human nature has been crafted, one better suited to rule of the economy and social life by the absolutist, unaccountable, totalitarian institutions of the corporate world. For example, the conception expressed by Nobel laureate in economics James Buchanan, who instructs us that in "any person's ideal situation," "each person seeks mastery over a world of slaves" (*The Limits of Liberty*, Chicago 1975, p. 92). That is an idea that Smith would have considered pathological, as did the working people who were beaten into submission as industrial state capitalism gained power.

These are large and important questions, very much alive, indeed a major preoccupation of the huge propaganda industry that seeks to shape human beings into the desired form: separate atoms of consumption, tools of production, and docile servants of power.

The *Business Week* review advises labour "to adopt a 'we're-in-this-together' mentality instead of the 'us-vs.-them' one that has characterized both sides of the industrial divide for decades." But their notion of "we're in this together" is radically different from the sense of solidarity and cooperation that animated the labour movement, and non-pathological human relations generally. And they understand very well that "one side of the industrial divide" is to persist in an unremitting class war, "accepting" organized labour (as they nicely put it) only if unions learn to subordinate working people to proper goals of profit and efficiency.

### Thatcher's Britain

The Reaganite class war -- criminal, as *Business Week* casually mentions -- was matched in Thatcher's Britain, which achieved even more satisfactory results in crushing democracy, freedom, and elementary human rights. To cite merely one illustration of the successes attained, the charitable organization Action for Children, founded in 1869 with the Queen as patron, concludes that "the gap between rich and poor is as wide today as it

was in Victorian times", and in some ways worse. A million and a half families cannot afford to provide their children with "the diet fed to a similar child living in a Bethnal Green Workhouse in 1876", a "sad reflection on British society" (press release, Action for Children, Jan. 31; Jeremy Laurance, *London Times*, Feb. 1, 1994).

This "sad reflection" is hailed by the business world. At last, Britain "is doing something well", the *London Economist* announced approvingly, with "trade unions shackled by law and subdued", "unemployment high" and the Maastricht social chapter rejected so that employers are protected "from over-regulation and under-flexibility

Think positively -  
It'll give you more time  
to look after the kids!



of labour" (job security). "Finally, the Pay-off from Thatcher's Revolution", a headline reads in *Business Week*, which reports enthusiastically that "Britain's surprising resurgence holds some lessons for the Continent", particularly "declining labour costs", now a third less than the Western European average; lower corporate taxes; and greater "labour flexibility", as in the United States. "Credit goes largely to Margaret Thatcher, whose reforms are now bearing fruit". This "new labour market has proven a potent lure to outsiders", who are happy to use Thatcher's achievements to boost profits and to drive their own workforce down to similar levels. "When [workers] see jobs disappearing, it has a salutary effect on people's attitudes", a British manufacturing director observes in the *Wall Street Journal*, also impressed with the "payoff from Thatcher's revolution", which is leaving Britain "with a low-paid, low-skill work force". Jobs are being created thanks to the improved conditions of exploitation and the salutary attitudes they bring, but "virtually all the net new jobs have been part-time; most of them go to women and pay less than full-time jobs", and "the number of full-time British employees with weekly pay below the Council of Europe's 'decency threshold' is up to 37% from 28.3% in 1979", thanks to the new "labour flexibility" and the weakening of unions and workers' rights (*Economist*, Feb. 27, 1993. *Business Week*, Feb.

21; Dana Milbank, *WSJ*, March 28, 1994).

During this wondrous decade, Reaganites were racing Thatcher to see who could best achieve what the *Wall Street Journal* hailed as "a welcome development of transcendent importance", the reduction of U.S. labour costs (wages, in effect) from their 1985 high -- as one would expect in the richest country in the world, with unparalleled advantages -- to well below most competitors, Britain aside. For a brief period in '91-'92, the U.S. even surpassed its British rival in reducing labour costs, but "Thatcher's revolution" gave England first place again, and now the U.S. ranks only second in the competition to see who can punish the general population more efficiently (Alfred Malabre, *WSJ*, Sept. 13, 1993; *Financial Times*, Feb. 25, 1994).

Thatcher's "reforms" offer some guidelines for U.S. business. Thus in Britain, "If an employer wishes to end collective bargaining and move to personal contracts, then it is possible to offer pay rises to those willing to accept such contracts and deny pay rises to those wishing to retain union and collective bargaining rights", one of many devices used to regain Victorian standards (Keith

Harper). Another useful idea, now being applied, is to force the unions to "re-recruit" their entire membership regularly, each member required to confirm in writing, every three years, his or her agreement to have union dues checked off from pay packets. The point is to impose an extraordinary burden on "the thousands of workplace volunteers who act out of commitment rather than for reward" and who must seek out six million people wherever they may be, "tying up resources of the embattled labour movement" (John Monks, head of the TUC). A comparable demand that bank standing orders and debit arrangements must be reconfirmed regularly in writing would devastate the financial system, and "for the trade union movement, that is almost exactly what is taking place right now" (Seamus Milne) (*Guardian*, May 24, 1994).

The United States has already been censured by the International Labour Organization for allowing scabs ("permanent replacement workers") as strikebreakers, alone in the industrial world apart from South Africa at the time (1992) -- and soon, perhaps, losing its partner, though the idea is spreading elsewhere. But there is much progress yet to be made as labour is taught to justify its existence by showing a proper understanding of the "we're-in-this-together mentality" that the masters of the world prescribe.

### The future?

The U.S. and Britain are leading the industrial world towards sharply two-tiered societies on the Third World model, with islands of prosperity in the midst of a sea of misery and despair. The increasing mobility of capital and immobility of labour -- exactly the opposite of the assumptions on which classical economics is based -- draw others along in obvious ways.

All of this is part of broader tendencies in the global economy, which have, among other effects, brought about "the worst global employment crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s" the International Labour Organization reported in January, with only the Japan-based East Asia region excepted. The huge unemployment "represents an enormous waste of human resources, reflects an important amount of inefficiency in economic systems and causes a disturbing degree of social distress", OECD reported in June, speaking only of the wealthier countries; the real catastrophe is in their traditional domains (*Vancouver Sun*, March 7; *Third World Resurgence*, No. 44; *Financial Times*, June 8, 1994).

Wherever one turns there is a desperate need for work to be done, and the unemployed would be delighted to do it, if they had a chance. The work would be highly beneficial to them and their communities -- beneficial to people, not profits, and therefore no contribution to economic health, in the technical sense. It is important to master the distinction between "the health of the economy" and human welfare, notions that can be virtually uncorrelated. All of this is one part of a catastrophic failure of the economic system, which is incapable of bringing together needed work and idle hands of suffering people. Of course, this catastrophic failure is hailed as a grand success, as indeed it is for a narrow sector of privilege -- which happens to include the people who give the speeches, write the articles, and sing the odes to our magnificence.

These developments are commonly attributed to inexorable market forces -- immutable, like the principles of gravitation, as David Ricardo argued during an earlier exercise of ideological warfare. Analysts then divide over the contribution of international trade, automation, and other factors. Putting aside the absurdity of comparing human institutions, with their specific values and choices, to laws of nature, there is an element of deception in all of this. The alleged efficiencies of trade and automation are hardly attributable to the market. Huge state subsidy and intervention has always been required, and still is, to make trade appear efficient, not to speak of costs imposed on future generations who do not "vote" in the market ("externalities"). And while automation contributes to profit at some point, that point was reached by decades of protection within the state sector, as David Noble has shown. Furthermore, the specific form of automation selected was often driven by power more than profit or efficiency; it was designed to deskill workers and subordinate them to management, not because of market principles or the nature of the technology, but for reasons of domination and control (Noble, *Forces of Production*, Knopf 1984; *Progress without People*, Charles Kerr 1993).

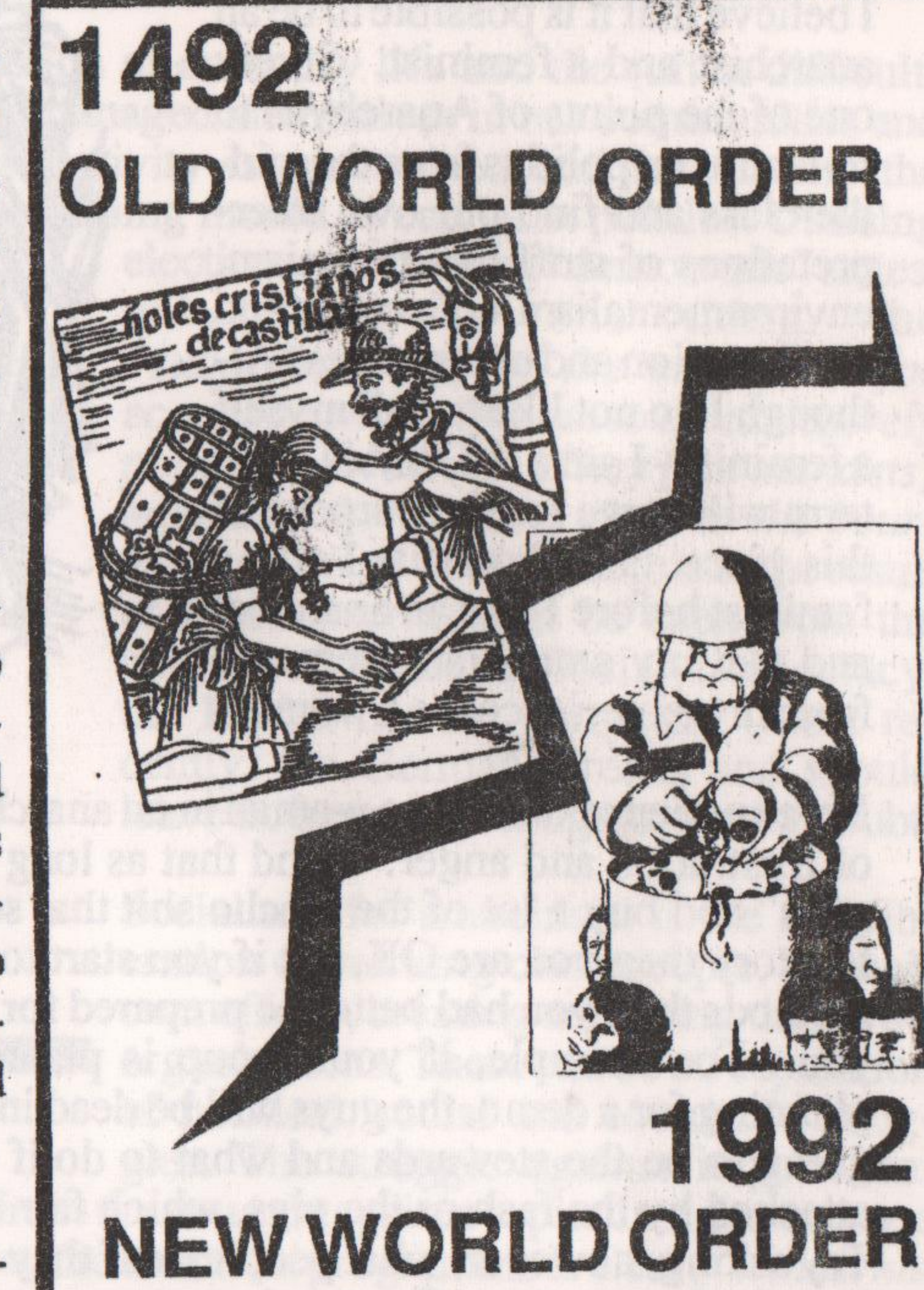
Freedom and democracy are even less tolerable in the workplace than in the larger society, under reigning values. But as John Dewey observed, echoing pre-capitalist classical liberal ideas, if workers are not "the masters of their own industrial fate" and if "the means of production, exchange, publicity, transportation and communication" are in the hands of private power, freedom and democracy remain largely illusory and politics will be "the shadow cast on society by big business". The struggle to defend these truisms -- for that is what they are -- is an unending one, with defeats and victories. The "chilling" story told by *Business Week* is one manifestation of serious defeats, which must be changed to a new dawn if still greater human catastrophes are to be averted.

June 14, 1994

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL ECOLOGY NETWORK

September, 1995. Over 40 eco-anarchists from round the world met in Scotland to discuss the formation of an international network. Titled "Democracy and Ecology", the gathering was structured around the idea of Social Ecology, with participants from Germany, Italy, Greece, England, Norway and the United States.

Activists in Athens are fighting a new military airport and forming neighbourhood assemblies; participants from New Orleans are exposing the disinformation and corruption of Freeport McMoran, the mining giant; and the Italian delegates reported their movement for autogestione [self management] with hundreds of 'social centres' [self-managed community squats]. From Scotland, the Pollok Free state attended to report on their struggle, along with representatives from Edinburgh's Autonomous centre. Participants agreed to collaborate on future political and social projects through their quarterly newsletter to which anyone interested is invited to subscribe..



Social ecology focuses on the crisis in the relationship between society and nature. Emanating from a libertarian socialist perspective through the writings of Murray Bookchin, the American political philosopher, social ecology argues that our dominion of nature stems from our hierarchical social relations. It argues for participation in the political sphere, at a local municipal level to create tension between the people and ruling elite. social ecology suggests that the radical decentralisation of society into freely associating assemblies, involved with an ecological understanding is essential for true democracy and survival.

For more information on the International Social Ecology Network, or on activities planned by the Social Ecology Project Scotland, contact: Matt Norrish, c/o Autonomous Centre of Edinburgh, Peace and Justice Centre, St. Johns, Princes St., Edinburgh, EH2 (0131 332 7547).

Worth reading on these issues: *Which Way forward For The Ecology Movement*, Murray Bookchin, AK Press, 1994.



# SO YOU WANNA BE AN ANARCHO-FEMINIST?

Or an Anarcha-feminist? Or feminist-anarchist? Or a woman anarchist? What, are you nuts?

That's how you get to feel after a while anyway, in my experience. Although there is a famous saying that Feminism practices what Anarchism preaches, there is also an unspoken opinion that since Anarchism is so wonderful, why should women need to explore politics that are of a feminist nature? A lot of the die-hard anarchist men seem to think that a feminist is someone like Germaine Greer and those middle-class nutters that appear on late night TV discussions. They like to imagine that if you start talking about women's issues then this hideous Oxford educated harpy will burst Alien-like out of your chest and bite off their balls. Don't get me wrong, I do have a large alien Queen that lives inside me that likes to burst out once in a while but she is a working-class monster who has had her teeth sharpened on the NHS.

I believe that it is possible to be an anarchist and a feminist. Surely one of the points of Anarchy is to re-claim our politics from the middle-class and find our own interpretations of stuff like feminism, environmentalism, collectives and co-operation and other issues. Although I do not like to call myself a feminist - I am a WOMAN - that term will serve for the purpose of this piece. I reckon that I was a feminist before I was an anarchist and that my anarchism stemmed from my experiences as a woman.

My experience of being a woman in an anarchist group has been one of frustration and anger. I find that as long as you are "one of the guys" and buy a lot of the macho shit that seems to come with the territory then you are OK, but if you start to question the tactics or methods then you had better be prepared for a lot of guff coming at you. For example, if your group is planning a direct action or planning for a demo, the guys will be dead into talking about who is going to be the stewards and what to do if the action or march is attacked by the fash or the pigs, which fair enough, are important. Try asking, however, what people do if they don't want to fight and how do they escape. Or even better, say you want to be a steward. I haven't done that myself but I think that would be interesting. For a touch of humour why not suggest that there is a crèche organised and then try to find volunteers to run it.

I find that political issues of specific interest to women are often met with at best, dismissal and at worst derision by anarchist men that I know. They drift off mentally if you mention something of interest to women in a meeting. Within the group here in Glasgow the women have tried to organise events and actions that are open to women and men but find that although they are supported by a number of the guys, most of them stay away because "it's women's stuff" or "I thought it was for women only", which proves my point about them not paying any attention to you. I sincerely hope that with the ongoing growth and development of the Solidarity Centre that women will be able to get together more readily and have a solid group of anarchist women in this city from which we may activate a network of women in Scotland.

I know that I have been very negative but that is how I find it. I know there will be a lot of anarchist men fizzing and going "I'm not like that". Well fellas, what do you want, a medal, or a chocolate watch? Don't send me any whinging letters telling me how wonderful you

are - I will just spit acid on them - tell the women anarchists in your group. Of course, I am assuming that there are men reading this - they've probably skipped it and gone on to the 'serious' stuff.

On a more positive note, there is a lot out there for the budding woman anarchist. You may, like me, be pig sick of your fellow [and I mean fellow] anarchists quoting or going on about old dead guys like Bakunin, Proudhon, Malatesta, et al. There are plenty of old dead gals out there for you to recover and start chucking right back at them. Women like, Emma Goldman, Voltarine de Cleyre, Lucy Parsons, Ethel McDonald, Louise Michel and Lucy Swank, there are loads of books, pamphlets and magazines that have been written and are being written by women anarchists. Try asking your anarchist bookstall organiser/s or bookshop to stock some. You might want to contact other women who are not necessarily anarchists and find out what they are up to.

Hopefully, women anarchists in Scotland will start coming out of the woodwork and feeling less isolated and begin to be a powerful force in the anarchist world. If you want to discuss things or maybe if you are getting together for a meeting, or even a conference, please get in touch with me c/o the Solidarity Centre in Glasgow.

Cheers, Jeanne



From Anarchy (Camden Press) - Clifford Harper

Groups you might want to contact:-

**Rude Girls**, c/o Glasgow Solidarity Centre

**Anarchist Women's Newsletter**, Box 51, c/o Greenleaf Bookshop, 82 Colston Street, Bristol, BS1 5BB.

**Lesbian Avengers**, c/o Glasgow Women's Library, 4th floor, 109 Trongate, Glasgow G1 5HD [please respect that they are a lesbian only direct action group - although they have stated that they wish to work with other women and groups]

RECOMMENDED READING:

Emma Goldman **Living My Life** [autobiography]  
**Red Emma Speaks** [speeches]  
**Vision On Fire** on the Spanish Civil War]

John Taylor Caldwell **Come Dungeons Dark** [about Guy Aldred - with a chapter on Ethel McDonald]

**Quiet Rumours** [an anarcha-feminist anthology]

Magazines:

**Bad Attitude**, 121 Railton road, London, SE24 OLR  
**Subversive Sister**, Dept.33, 1 Newton street, Piccadilly, Manchester, M1 1HW  
**From The Flames**, c/o 42 Mapperley Road, London SE24 5AS

These should be available from your local alternative bookshop or bookstall. If not, ask them to get them.

# Braveheart

(continued from page 4)

## Two Approaches to the Problem

Like the good Social Democrat he was, Lenin supported the right of nations to self-determination. "In so far as the bourgeois of the oppressed nation is fighting against the oppressor so far are we in all cases, more decisively than any others, in favour of it, because we are the undaunted and consistent enemies of all oppression" [12]. Ignoring the most obvious contradiction in this sentence, namely how can the "consistent enemies of all oppression" support the class who oppresses the working class, we have to wonder if Lenin is serious in suggesting that socialists support cross-class alliances against one form of oppression and ignore all others, particularly class oppression and that national liberation struggles come before the class struggle. Elsewhere, he makes this suggestion clearly by stating that "it would be utterly false to think that the fight for democracy diverts the proletariat from socialist revolution. To the contrary... the proletariat which fails to conduct an all-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy cannot prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie" [13].

Lenin's ideas still hold relevance for much of the socialist movement in Scotland. The same point, namely that independence would be a step towards creating socialism, was made by **Scottish Militant Labour (SML)** and **Liberation** members at the recent Scottish Socialist Forum, recently held in Glasgow.

## The struggle against imperialism cannot be separated from the struggle against capitalism

These ideas imply two things, firstly a "stages" approach to the social struggle, the first stage being to demand a Scottish nation-state and secondly, that such a nation-state would be "neutral" and could be used to "deliver" important reforms and even bring about socialism.

The second of these myths was demolished in issue 2 of **Scottish Anarchist**, where the power of international capital and the non-neutrality of the state was discussed in great detail [15]. Now we will deal with the first point.

To suggest that the struggle for independence is a key to socialism within Scotland implies that, in the words of Bakunin, "a political revolution should precede a social revolution... [this] is a great and fatal error, because every political revolution taking place prior to and consequently without a social revolution must necessarily be a bourgeois revolution, and a bourgeois revolution can only be instrumental in bringing about bourgeois Socialism", ie State Capitalism [15].

From the speeches by SML members at the Scottish Socialist Forum this conclusion can easily be drawn. Instead of arguing that socialism means the abolition of the wages system, the end of "jobs" by the revolution of work by self-management, the communalisation

and decentralisation of the "economy" and the creation of a confederation of communes, based on community and workplace assemblies, speaker after speaker talked about universal wage labour, "training" for young people, "minimum wages" and the "nationalisation of the banks". This is state capitalism, the creation of one big boss, the state - not socialism.

Socialism was seen by most people at the Forum as something which the party "delivers" for people, from the top down, by the actions of leaders, with working class people playing the role of passive voters. This "vision" was reinforced by the numerous mentions of the word "support" in the context of social struggles. This flows naturally from the Leninist "stages" approach to national liberation struggles.

Instead of the revolution of everyday life and the (often difficult) work of creating self-managed alternatives in our communities and workplaces, socialist activity is constrained and forced into the individualistic and atomising mould of capitalist politics. Utilising

elections and creating "democratic" states, only leads to one thing, the "subordination of the movement for economic emancipation to an exclusively political movement... They [the marxists] have tied the working class to the bourgeois towline" [16]. That this is the result of electioneering can be seen from the history of Marxian Social Democracy, the British Labour Party and (more recently) the German Greens and should leave no honest investigator in any doubt.

Socialism, for anarchists, is the self-liberation of working class people, by their own efforts, creating and using their own organisations. There can be no separation of political, social and economic struggles. The struggle against imperialism

cannot be separated from the struggle against capitalism. In response to national oppression, the anarchist programme is clear, "it must not go towards constituting an 'intermediate stage' towards the social revolution through the formation of new national States. Anarchists refuse to participate in national liberation fronts; they participate in class fronts which may or may not be involved in national liberation struggles. The struggle must spread to establish economic, political and social structures in the liberated territories, based on federalist and libertarian organisations" [17].

That this approach can be successful is indicated by the actions of Nestor Makhno in the Ukraine during the Russian Revolution, to take just one example. Makhno, as well as fighting against both Red and White dictatorship, also resisted the Ukrainian nationalists. In opposition to the call for "national self-determination", i.e. a new Ukrainian state, Makhno called for working class self-determination in the Ukraine and across the world. In the areas protected by the Makhnovist army, working class people organised their own lives, directly, based on their own ideas and needs. True, social, self-determination [18].

Until such time as a film about Makhno is made, **Braveheart** will have to do. It should be given credit for raising some important points concerning the struggle for national self-determination, although it







does not really address them. We hope that we have done so here. So, go and see *Braveheart*, it's an excellent movie. But also check out Ken Loach's new film *Land and Freedom* as well. This gives some sort of idea what social self-determination would be like as it deals with the Spanish Revolution and what the struggle for freedom must also involve if its not to prove illusionary [19].

### Free in a Free World

For anarchists, "cultural freedom and variety... should not be confused with nationalism. That specific peoples should be free to fully develop their own cultural capacities is not merely a right but a desideratum. The world would be a drab place indeed if a magnificent mosaic of different cultures does not replace the largely deculturated and homogenized world created by modern capitalism" [20].

With this in mind, the work for anarchists within national liberation movements is clear. We must raise the "awkward" questions, we must ask "independence for who?", "freedom for what?". We have to ensure that the moment when people start asking "who and what are we fighting for?" comes sooner, not later. For any cross-class national liberation movement this is the great fear and probably explains the SNP's fear of calling for mass direct action (that and the deadening effects of electioneering on the spirit of revolt). Is freedom for abstracts like "the nation" or is it for the individuals who made up the nationality and give it life? Oppression must be fought on all fronts, within nations and internationally, in order for working class people to gain the fruits of freedom. Any national liberation struggle which bases itself on nationalism is doomed to failure as a movement for extending human freedom.

And while we unmask nationalism for what it is, we should not disdain the basic struggle for identity and self-management which nationalism diverts. Nor must we passively wait for an abstract world revolution. Social struggle occurs in a given place on the surface of the planet. As we live in Scotland we want it to occur here. We must encourage direct action and the spirit of revolt against all forms of oppression - social, economic, political, racial, sexual, religious and national. And while fighting against oppression, we struggle for anarchy, a free confederation of communes based on workplace and community assemblies. A confederation which will place the nation-state, all nation-states, into the dust-bin of history where it belongs.

1. Michael Bakunin, *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin*, ed. P. Maximoff, page 325. 2. Rudolf Rocker, *Nationalism and Culture*, page 200. 3. Michael Bakunin, quoted in *Anarchism and the National Liberation Struggle*, Alfredo M. Bonanno, pages 19 to 20. 4. Michael Bakunin, *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin*, ed. P. Maximoff, page 325. 5. Michael Bakunin, quoted in *Bakunin*, Jean Caroline Cahm, in *Socialism and Nationalism*, volume 1, Eric Cahm and Vladimir Claude Fisera (editors), 1978, pages 22 to 49, page 43. 6. Noam Chomsky, *The Chomsky Reader*, ed. James Peck, page 189. 7. Noam Chomsky, *Rollback III*, Z Magazine, March, 1995. 8. Murray Bookchin, *Nationalism and the "National Question"*, Society and Nature, pages 8 to 36, No. 5, 1994, page 31. This essay is an excellent summary of the anarchist approach to nationalism and is recommended for further reading. 9. Bookchin, op. cit. pages 25 to 32. 10. Needless to say, foreign intervention (as in the case of Vietnam, Nicaragua or Cuba for example) will just re-enforce the authoritarian tendencies of the new states and so must, in general, be opposed. 11. Peter Kropotkin, quoted in *Kropotkin and the Anarchist Movement*, Jean Caroline Cahm, in *Socialism and Nationalism*, volume 1, Eric Cahm and Vladimir Claude Fisera (editors), 1978, pages 50 to 68, page 56. 12. Lenin, *The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Self-Determination of Nations*. 13. Lenin, *On the Right of Self-determination of Nations*. 14. See "Is Capitalism Losing its Barings?" by Pearl in *Scottish Anarchist*, issue 2. 15. Michael Bakunin, *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin*, page 289. 16. Michael Bakunin, *Bakunin on Anarchism*, ed Sam Dolgoff, page 290. 17. Alfredo M. Bonanno, *Anarchism and the National Liberation Struggle*, Bratach Dudh, page 12. This is also an excellent introduction to this issue. 18. For more on Makhno and the Revolutionary Insurgents of the Ukraine, see Voline, *The Unknown Revolution*, and Peter Arshinov, *History of the Makhnovist Movement*. Both are available from AK Press. 19. For more on the social revolution in Spain, see issues 1 and 2 of *Scottish Anarchist*. Issue 1 contains an extensive book list for further reading. 20. Murray Bookchin, op. cit., pages 28 to 29.

### Scotland and Capitalism

It is a fact that 47 of the world's largest 100 economies are companies rather than countries. This number has increased by 10 since 1980 and 40% of world trade is now conducted between branches of the same transnational company. The wealth of nations is dwindling, indicating the globalisation of capitalism analyzed in the last issue of *Scottish Anarchist*.

Where does Scotland stand in this brave new world? With a Gross Domestic Product of £45 billion, Scotland is smaller than BP with its annual turnover of £47.7 billion. Its half of *General Motors* (which rakes in over £90 billion) and still smaller than the sales of the big Japanese corporations like *Mitsubishi* and *Sumitomo*. The world's largest company, *Itochu*, had sales of £111.4 billion.

Makes you wonder how independent a Scottish Parliament could be in the face of such financial power.

# "Create... or be enslav'd":

William Blake - Poet and Anarchist

## "I must Create a System or be enslav'd by another Man's"

When I first read Blake, it was simple. I understood every word; it was just the sentences I had problems with. There can be no doubt, Blake is difficult to read - occulted, occluded, obscurantist and awkward... so deep it can be hard to see the bottom at times. But from the sweat of the heat of the effort comes the light of the epiphany of understanding and the prize is worth the race. For present purposes I shall only scratch the surface of his existentialist anarchism but it is a topic which itches to be scratched. And although I do not cleave to the acceptance of ideas as sanctified simply by virtue of age I do think that we all stand to learn much by a re-examination of Blake's words and works.

First of all, let me be clear quite what I mean by 'existentialist anarchism'. In his epic poem *JERUSALEM* (which is not to be confused with the hymn of the same name, the latter being in fact an

lutionary War was seriously flawed but it was sincere for all that. And despite that flawed grasp of history as it unfolded around him, his core argument remains compelling. He knew then, as we must remember now, that "Men pass on, but states remain for ever" [p. 487] [2] and, more importantly, he knew that states consumed by the ideology of perpetuating their own existence will sacrifice or see sacrificed any and all individuals for that perpetuation.

But what, if any, is the contemporary relevance of this? After all, we have already said that Blake had a limited grasp of the true facts of the politics of his own time - is he not much less likely to have anything of use to tell us today? Well, before passing judgement, consider these lines from [the 'real'] *JERUSALEM*;

"Scotland pours out his Sons to labour at the Furnaces  
Wales gives his Daughters to the Looms;  
England nursing Mothers  
Gives to the Children of Albion and to the  
Children of Jerusalem" [pp. 463/4]

True enough, much to the chagrin of the incumbent government, England is indeed still producing nursing mothers... for who's offspring its only goal seems to be gaol... but can we any longer say that "Scotland pours out his Sons to labour at the Furnaces" or "Wales... his Daughters to the Looms"? Clearly we cannot. But it is precisely this fact which makes Blake relevant. His analysis transcends specifics of economic and social circumstances and, when it is at its most powerful, speaks directly to questions of existence. Thus, it is all the more necessary now - with that the sense of self possessed by many which was so long bound up with heavy industry utterly eroded - to engage with Blake and pursue the withdrawal of personal intellectual and moral consent which is the ultimate revolution. Now this is not a peon in praise of the 'stress counsellors' being parachuted into the peripheral estates, inter-cities, erstwhile mining communities and elsewhere in an effort to persuade those living there that they can relax their way out of debt and despair - and learn how to give 120% in the 'modern business environment' in the process [3]. On the contrary, Blake himself often seems to have found that "Anger and Wrath my bosom rends" [p. 595]. Rather what I want to say is simply this. If we seek to put an end to the alienated and alienating practices of 'representative government' [sic - sick?] and to see a world where each enjoys as much freedom as is compatible with an equivalent degree for all; a world where need is understood as the basis of right and possession and where nobody's fate depends on the curves of supply and demand, then we can do far worse than following Blake's one central dictum:

"Only Believe! Believe and Try!"

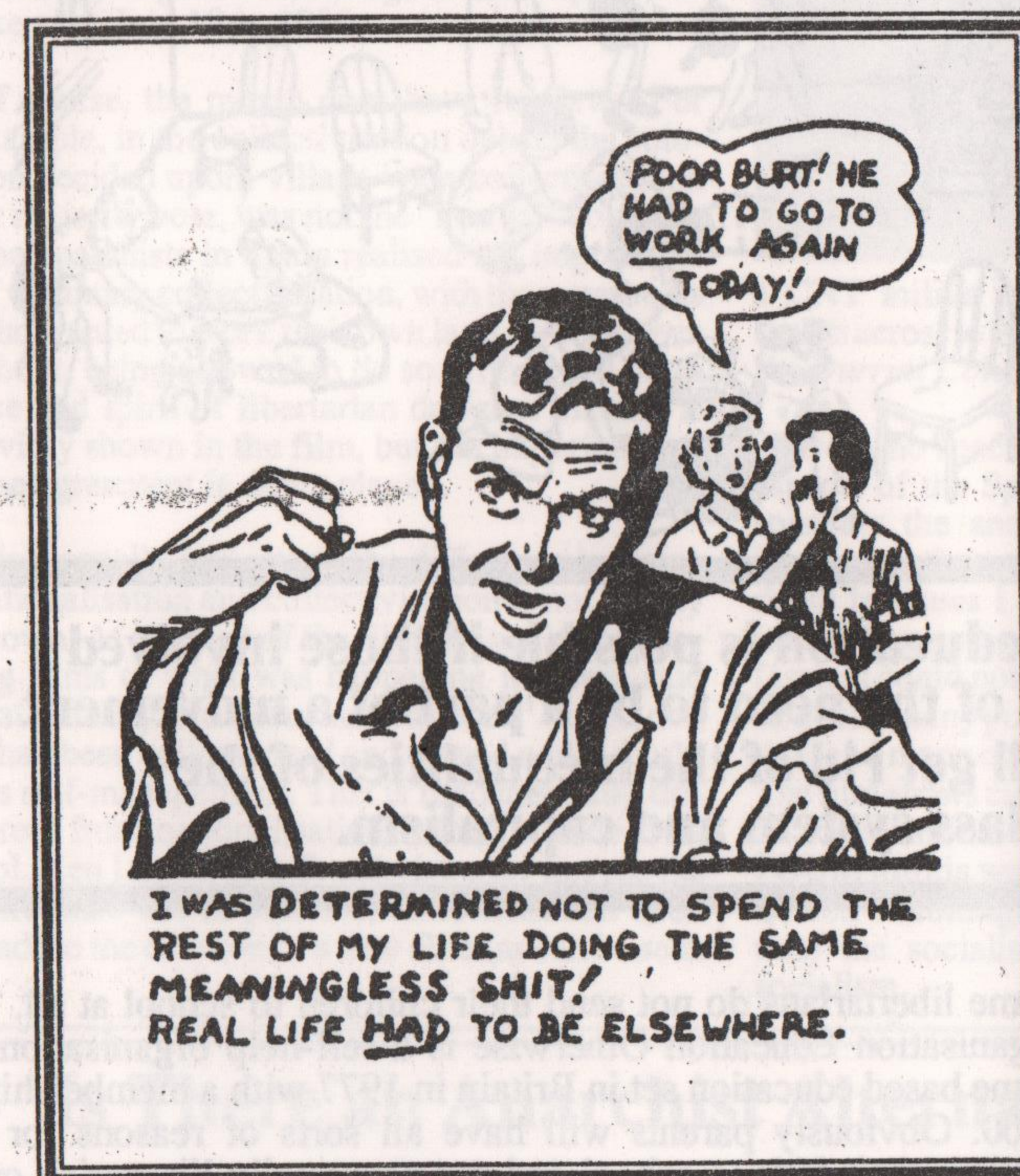
Feorag

1. The works published in many editions but I quote here from what I take to be the most easily available, *THE PENGUIN PORTABLE BLAKE*, Alfred Kazin [ed.] (London, Penguin Books, 1994). Spelling and punctuation here are as in the originals.

2. As elsewhere in his work, the language here is gender specific, but Blake's vision never was; his was always

"a land of Men  
A Land of Men and Women too" [p. 145].

3. For the record, the "dark Satanic Mills" are actually churches and not factories - but that is quite another story.



extract from his poem *MILTON*) Blake, as quoted above, tells us that he: "must Create a System or be enslav'd by another Man's" [p. 460] [1] and this seems like a good place to start.

What I take him to mean is this: institutional revolution may be necessary but it is not, of and by itself, sufficient. Individual conscience, reason and will are the only true safeguards against oppression and wrong-doing. The world in which we all act, think for ourselves but act for each other and where each of us answers always but only before the court of his/her own conscience cannot be wrought except by parallel existential and institutional revolutions by which we make ourselves and our world in tandem. This is what he imagined he saw happening when, in one of his most explicitly 'political' poems *AMERICA: A PROPHECY*, he tells us of:

"Washington, Franklin, Paine and Warren, Gates,  
Hancock and Green

Meet[ing] on the coast glowing with blood from Albion's fiery  
Prince.... Albion is sick!" [pp 302/3].

Alas, we know now that his understanding of the American Revo-



## Is There an Anarchist Alternative to the State Education System? (Part 1)

Historically the anarchist writers of a century ago like Bakunin, Kropotkin and Emma Goldman advocated ideas like co-education and no religious instruction which were revolutionary in their time. In apparently more liberal times today they don't seem so radical. It would be very easy now to take an idea like co-education for boys and girls for granted. However as we have seen after 16 years with this particular government reforms gained under capitalism can so easily be taken away again.

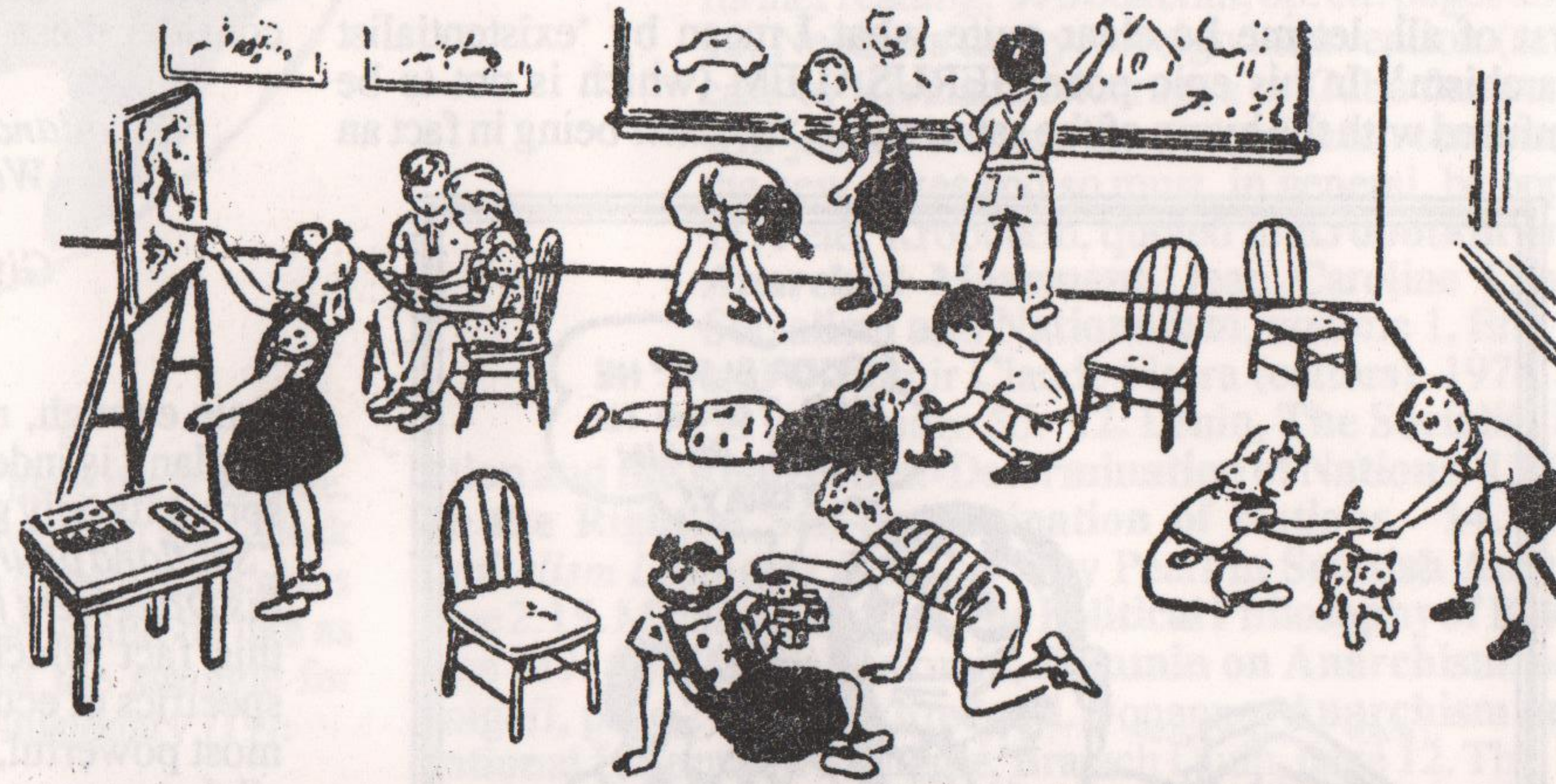
The most well-known anarchist to put libertarian ideas on education into practice was Francisco Ferrer who opened his first Modern School in Barcelona in 1901. He was executed for his troubles with the aid of the church in 1909. Modern or rationalist schools did continue with 300 of them by 1936 all over Spain. Modern Schools had no uniforms, lessons outside of the classroom, in an allotment for example, no religion, encouragement to argue with teachers and fellow pupils, science and social sciences based on observations and experiences and maths and languages taught with practical needs in mind. Boys and girls in the same school and class were introduced so that one sex will grow up without any illusions or delusions about the other sex. Sexual discrimination was discouraged and some sex education given. Pupils could make as much noise as they liked and had a say in the running of the school. They mixed with teachers at playtime and had the further link that they were working class. Collectivist organisation was introduced into the classroom as well as teaching through questions rather than answering them. There were also excursions to factories, research centres, the mountains and France. There were popular evening classes for adults as well recognising education as a life-long process not confined to children in schools. There were no punishments or rewards. There were pupils assemblies and weekly discussions. A commission of the older pupils dealt with the accounting for the school. There was no limit to the length of the lessons. There was no parrot learning. There was integral education where manual work was alternated with intellectual work. This is opposed to education under capitalism where you are taught to work with either your hands or brain to produce tomorrow's workers and managers.

A criticism of Ferrer was that he implicitly accepted the school as an institution. He had an equally implicit faith in the scientific and rational which meant in his case a corresponding lack of interest in the imaginary and fantastic. He had a dogmatic attitude to some social issues for example alcohol and make-up and he also kept notes on children's academic performance. Other Spanish libertarians who came after him were aware of these criticisms and tried to avoid his mistakes. Between 1919 and 1936 informal athenaeum schools were created which consciously rejected any concept of academic levels concentrating instead on free discussions and group work. Athenaeum's were workers' meeting places and they broke down the artificial exclusion of schools from the rest of the community.

From 1919 the Modern Schools were funded by the CNT in the most decentralised manner possible. This was through donations from individual members with the autonomy of the school respected. Teachers were paid the equivalent of skilled workers. In addition to the Modern Schools during the civil war the Republican State Schools where the anarchists had the greatest influence were also run along libertarian lines. There was also provision made for

parents who wished to teach their children at home or who wished to form co-operative groups of their own.

The most well-known Free School in Britain still in existence is Summerhill founded by A.S. Neil in 1921. Many anarchists have seen this school as an alternative as it is run in a libertarian way. Summerhill is based on the principles of pupil self-government, voluntary attendance at lessons and freedom from adult morality. The daily school is organised through direct democratic meetings of the school community on a one person/one vote/majority rule system. A timetable is set after the children pick from a list of options. This is all very nice but at around £5000 a year it is mostly just an option for the privileged few.



**libertarian education is possible if those involved are conscious of the need to be a part of a movement that will get rid of the inequalities of the class system and capitalism.**

Some libertarians do not send their children to school at all. The organisation Education Otherwise is a self-help organisation for home based education set in Britain in 1977 with a membership of 2100. Obviously parents will have all sorts of reasons for not sending their kids to school and not necessarily libertarian ones. Again as with Free Schools today this is mainly an option for the middle classes for economic reasons. It is open to debate whether home teaching desocialises children but alienating state school certainly makes children anti-social.

Michael Bakunin was against the idea that you could somehow have free schools or education in this society, on the Summerhill or Education Otherwise model, that could create self-regulated freer individuals who would go on to create a better society. As Bakunin states as well as anyone, "if one were to manage to find schools which would offer their pupils instruction and education so perfect as to defy our imagination to conceive of better, would these schools succeed in creating men who were free and moral? Again no, because when they left the school they would enter into a social environment governed by altogether contradictory principles and since society is always stronger than individuals it would soon overwhelm and demoralise them. Teachers, tutors and parents are all members of the same society and are more or less brutalised or demoralised by it. How could they impart to their charges that which they are lacking themselves? The proper way, the only proper way is to teach by example and since socialist morality is the very

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# Land and Freedom

**Land and Freedom** is the new Ken Loach film. Its the story of a Liverpool Communist Party member who goes to Spain to fight fascism during the Civil War. Once there, he joins the POUM militia and discovers the revolution at the heart of the struggle against Fascism.

The film is excellent, exciting, moving, very accurate and very political. The Stalinist betrayal of the revolution and their lies and repression against the anarchists and POUM are graphically shown. More importantly, the social revolution which swept Spain and inspired the fight against Franco is shown. When the militia liberate a village, the villagers organise a meeting to discuss what to do next. After a heated discussion, they vote to collectivise the land and work it in common. One of the "actors" at the meeting was an anarchist who was there during the revolution and the passion in his speeches is so strong and moving you get a vivid image of what Spain was like after July 19th, 1936.

Of course, the movie does have its flaws. For example, in the collectivisation debate the solution decided upon, village wide collectivisation by majority vote, was not the "normal" solution. The anarchists in Spain realised the importance of voluntary collectivisation, with those peasants who wanted to work their own land, by their own labour, being allowed to do so. The actual practice and spirit of libertarian decision making is vividly shown in the film, but the importance of free agreement is down played.

Also, equally important, the difference between nationalisation and collectivisation is not clearly shown. At the start of the film, a Spaniard showing films of what was happening in Spain said that industry had been "nationalised". It had not, it had been collectivised and placed under workers self-management. This is fundamentally different from nationalisation, which is state control. Ken Loach, as a Trotskyist, may not see the difference but in practice, nationalisation soon leads to the creation of a new elite (as can be seen

in Russia, under Lenin, or Labour Party nationalisation's).

Loach does make it clear that the anarchists played an important part in the struggle, with black and red flags and neck-ties everywhere. The anarchist nature of the revolution is subtly, but strongly, shown. The May Days are particularly well done, with the hero finally seeing Stalinism for what it is. The May Day scenes also provides one of the best lines, when



a CNT militia man defending a CNT office shouts across to the Stalinists attacking it, "we're the Durruti Column, we're the best!"

There is no space in a review to address all the aspects of the Spanish Revolution and its lessons for the anarchist movement. For those interested, these issues have been discussed in depth in issues 1 and 2 of **Scottish Anarchist**. Loach does make it clear that the struggle against fascism could not be separated from the revolution. The many political debates in the film drive this, and many other revolutionary ideas, home. The film shows clearly the importance and power of socialism, and since most members of the POUM militia were CNT members (see George Orwell's **Homage to Catalonia** for evidence of this) the socialism in question is libertarian socialism.

Of course, with the success of the film all the Trotskyites will be trying to claim the POUM into their tradition. Unfortunately for them, Trotsky did not have a good word to say about them, as did the "official" Trotskyite organisation in Spain, the Bolshevik-Leninists. The POUM was part of what Trotsky called "the second and a half" international, which also included the Independent Labour Party here in Scotland. Hardly "stern Bolshevik" material!

As for the "official" Trotskyites in Spain, their one claim to fame (beyond being the smallest political movement in Spain, their numbers being estimated at 20 maximum!) is that, like Trotskyists today, they handed out leaflets during the May Days telling working class people to do what they were already doing!

So go and see **Land and Freedom**. It truly is a filmed version of **Homage to Catalonia**.

Ken Loach must be congratulated in producing such a vivid, moving, exciting and political film. It really is amazing. Its a very moving celebration of the Spanish Revolution and the Anarchist ideas which inspired it. It is fitting that the film ends with a William Morris quote. In the same spirit I will end with a quote from Nestor Makhno, a quote which sums up the message and spirit of the film and the revolution that inspired it :-

**"We will conquer. But we will not conquer in order to repeat the errors of the past years, the error of putting our fate into the hands of new masters; we will conquer in order to take our destinies into our own hands, to conduct our lives in accordance with our own will and our own conception of the truth."**

## Is There an Anarchist Alternative to the State Education System?

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opposite of current morality the teachers who are more in the grip of the latter, would practice before their pupils the very opposite of what they would be preaching. So socialist education is impossible through the schools just as it is impossible through the family of today". Unlike the Modern Schools, Summerhill and Education Otherwise are not part of a mass working class revolutionary movement like the CNT. They are useful as social experiments where we could learn a lot from their teach-

ing methods. Free schools are not as necessary as they were in Ferrer's time when there was no teaching of reading and writing to working class children at all.



For children to develop as equals they must be able to start as equals. This means the end of class privileges and in effect the abolition of the class system. One arm of capitalism can not be tackled on its own with the rest left in place. A free and equal education can only be achieved after a social revolution.

In a revolutionary society we would completely scrap the education system. School buildings would only

be reopened as centres to be used by the whole revolutionary community. Today libertarian education is possible if those involved are conscious of the need to be a part of a movement that will get rid of the inequalities of the class system and capitalism.

Where does all this leave us with the education system we have today? And how do we organise to improve it and liberate education? These points will be discussed in part 2 of this article in the next issue of **Scottish Anarchist**.

**Mark Star**

Thanks to Black Flag from which most of the material on Francisco Ferrer was derived. Thanks also to comrades in Liverpool, Glasgow and Edinburgh for helping me with this article. If you wish to read more on libertarian education 'Freedom in Education' by Lib Ed (£3.95) is available from AK Distribution, PO Box 12766, Edinburgh.



# Letters

BM Hurricane  
London WC1N 3XX

Dear Comrades

It is always useful to overturn sacred cows, and *Black Sheep's* article on Tommy Sheridan certainly did that.

However, I feel they missed the point.

Sheridan may be an admirable activist, committed to his politics and at the forefront of many popular campaigns in Glasgow. However it is precisely *his politics* with which we disagree. Slugging anarchists off for not matching Sheridan's revolutionary zeal does not excuse his behaviour. The fact is that when the crunch came, Sheridan sided with the law. I notice you make no apologies for the uncharismatic Nally, who probably works as hard for his cause as Sheridan.

Why did they do it? The answer is enshrined in their Leninist politics, it is nothing to do with any personal failings they might have. Because their idea of democracy is one where the Party controls all, and they were the representatives of the Party, they could say what they liked and not have to worry about being held to account. This is compounded by Militant's support for their behaviour, and more recently, their lies about it.

If Militant Labour believed their representatives were wrong, then they should have apologised and taken steps to ensure it didn't happen again. If they didn't think so, then at least they would remain consistent in their anti-working class stance. However, they have been telling contacts of theirs attracted to anarchism that the whole episode was taken out of context because of the influence of anarchists in the media. It beggars belief that they think anyone will take this seriously.

Respect Sheridan's qualities by all means, but never forget he is a prisoner of Leninist politics, and will make the same mistake if put in the same situation again. The reason Sheridan has grudging respect for some anarcho-syndicalists is because of their working class orientation and willingness to get their hands dirty. Glasgow has a strong tradition of anarchist working class activity, draw on that and you can prove him wrong about Scottish anarchists and show that there is a better way than Lenin.

In solidarity

Martin  
S.E. London

In reply to *Black Sheep's* article "Have we the right to condemn"

The main thing that interested us in the article was the fact that, the writer seems to have a very low opinion on English and Welsh anarchists and their commitment to direct action. The author conversely has a high regard for Tommy Sheridan and Scottish Militant as a whole for their commitment. The article seemed to home in on a small incident that happened during our thoroughly enjoyable trek up to Glasgow for the M77/ Anti



Criminal Justice day demo in February. Some of our members shouted "grass" at Sheridan, this outburst resulted in threats of a good thrashing by some Millie security, so to avoid the demo turning into a big scrap, a begrudging apology soon followed. This incident seems to have prompted the author into a long obscure ramble on Sheridan and Scottish Militant and how great they are in Pollok.

Firstly TAG found it very offensive that it was suggested that we found Glasgow a "culture shock", we just did not understand the situation. On the contrary our experience of Glasgow showed us that as cities and as people we have very much in common. The main thrust of the article seemed to try to get around the simple fact that after the Poll Tax riot Sheridan was prepared to name names, a thing that he has never publicly apologised for. These rioters (and we would contest that it was only 200+ rioters, more like 2000+!) were not just an 'infantile rabble' of anarchos causing trouble, they were working class people - Sheridan was prepared to pass on names and addresses of people involved in the anti Poll Tax movement to the police, that is a fact, a fact that the article cannot get away from. Can you really be sure that if anything happened at the Pollok/M77 demos that overstepped the bounds of the Millies analyses of direct action, we wouldn't see a re-run of Tommy's outbursts in 1990? The article goes on to say that, "It is certainly true that few anarchists can match the Militant members from Pollok and elsewhere for their direct action"; dedicated to direct action! In 1992 (Red Action 63) Sheridan was instrumental in organising (although unsuccessful - as the BNP laughed at the idea) a public debate between Militant and the Fascists. Trying to poach VOTERS from the BNP? Also if our memory serves us right at the demo in February - the Militant stewards were as bad as the police i.e. stopping people walking on the paths at the side of the march and generally being 'in charge' of the whole event.

Also let us not forget that Militant is NOT anti state. The whole philosophy of Militant is that of the vanguard. Militant's analysis of Pollok may have led them to take the course of action that they have done, but nationally Militant by the very nature of their 'Party' disempower working class people. Scottish Militant are part of this movement, and to gloss over this misleads the reader.

As for the accusations of anarchists in England and Wales being lazy and ineffectual when it comes to direct action - this is absolute rubbish! We can't speak for other groups in England and Wales, but the majority of TAG members have been involved in direct action for many years, from hunt sabbing, our own road protest (Cradlewell Bypass) to anti fascist work. TAG has been the only group in Newcastle to physically confront fascists and have been successful in stopping them from selling their papers in Newcastle for over 2 years.

Even more damaging was the fact that it seemed to suggest that Scottish Anarchists as a whole "reserve judgement on Militant and Tommy 'Bakunin' Sheridan. On speaking to Glasgow anarchists in February we found this not to be the

case. We would hope for a GAG group response to the article.

Overall we found the article very confusing - what was the point of the article? Was the writer trying to be controversial and to get people's backs up? - If so it worked - we're fucking furious.

In Solidarity

TYNESIDE ANARCHIST GROUP

"Black Sheep" stands condemned  
(or is that shorn!)

As the writer of the controversial article about Tommy Sheridan/Militant Labour and anarchist outrage in Issue 2 of *Scottish Anarchist*, I was not surprised at the reaction it created. However, many connected to the Glasgow Anarchist Group were.

Much of the article I stand by, and perhaps in places my sense of mischief (humour) didn't go down well - for example, "He (Sheridan) doesn't drink or smoke, his reputation is intact"!! I did feel that we had let visitors down in the past, such as our "twinned" group in Tyneside, by not briefing them properly about the situation in Clydeside, the distinctive approach of Militant Labour here, and his "folk hero" status....

I do accept that my depiction of anarchists as predisposed to the "right to be lazy", mostly involving people temporarily rebelling against inevitable incorporation into the world of careers was over the top. It was *meant* to be provocative, and although it contained a grain of truth, there are many class struggle (and environmental) anarchists who display an incredible amount of commitment in terms of the work they put into campaigns, direct action, etc., and inevitably they feel "written out" of history and unappreciated by those, including me, who should know better!

There is, however, a sense that anarchist strategy does drift, is reactive, and eschews any reasonable assessment (such as goals achieved, links with long-term aims...) due to an irrational/spontaneous ethos which is often anti-theory, anti-strategy.

The comments about "culture shock" appear to have been misunderstood. For the benefit of Tyneside and other comrades, I did not mean to infer they did not understand working class existence/struggle. The "culture" I was referring to was the distinctive "Scottish" question (see "Braveheart" article elsewhere in this issue), not principally the "class" question. That said, there are anarchists whose attachment to marginal/decasse politicised crustie lifestyles have served Leaders such as Sheridan in their poly to caricature *all* English and many Scottish anarchists as drop out public school-kids turned crustie layabouts!

I also wish to retract my criticism of fellow Glasgow anarchists, since the level of activity over Summer '95 illustrates a high degree of organisation and commitment. As a libertarian communist opposed to dogmas, in favour of

being heretical, I am aware that my criticisms have incurred condemnation, and in the light of day deserve to be modified.

"Black Sheep"

## Join the Fightback

I have recently joined the Glasgow Anarchist Group and have found it very interesting. I can see what a mess the country's in and how we all need to get together to do something about it. I've become involved in fighting the poll tax and helping people out against Sheriff Officers. I've also been in actions with comrades from Scottish Militant and have supported them during court appearances.

Because of my involvement, I've seen what happens when Sheriff Officers break into peoples houses and take their belongings. So as far as I am concerned, becoming actively involved in fighting against these injustices is the best things that's ever happened to me.

I feel proud of myself for deciding to fightback and I would encourage everyone out there to start to take an interest in what is happening around them and to join us in the Glasgow Anarchist Group in trying to change things for the better.

Jim, Glasgow



## Open Eye Magazine

Open Eye has now reached its third issue. For those who have not seen this excellent magazine, it's 52 pages cover a wide range of subjects on many burning issues. This issue has Chomsky destroying "The Free Market Myth" as well as Ward Churchill documenting the FBI's attempt to blow up an American **Earth First!** activist and **Industrial Workers of the World** union organiser. Also in this issue, David Icke's astonishing links with neo-nazi and anti-semitic networks are uncovered and an up-date on the continuing war against the state and big business for privacy on the internet.

All this, plus interviews, book reviews and various strange going on's which are usually called "conspiracy" theories, make it well worth the £1.50 price. The fact they have good taste is not only indicated by the excellent articles it contains, it is confirmed when you see they list **Scottish Anarchist** in their "Alternative Press Update"!

Open Eye is available for £1.70 from Open Eye, BM Open Eye, London, WC1N 3XX, England (it's e-mail address is an74570@anon.penet.fi). Make Postal Orders/cheques payable to "Open Eye".

# Returning solidarity to Tuzla miners (ctd)

Although the Tuzla people Dean spoke to were delighted at the advances of the Croats in Krajina and the military reverses for the Chetnik forces (and after he left, would have welcomed the allied bombing/shelling of chetnik positions around Sarajevo and elsewhere in Bosnia) they were apprehensive about the coming "peace" moves which would force the Bosnian Government to accept the partition of Bosnia along ethnic lines and a map which would make the Bosnian rump state dependent of Croatian power.

The discussion which followed showed enthusiasm for the "anti-fascist aid" idea, and illustrated the distrust of the Left. Left groups such as the R.C.P. and S.W.P. have sought to identify the Bosnian territory & rump state as "muslim", and have even sought to suggest that Workers Aid (which includes the participation of the W.R.P. (Workers Press) & another trot grouplet) may be prepared to smuggle in arms - a dangerous suggestion given the route to Bosnia through Bosnian Croat territory, with the explicitly fascist 'White Power' insignia everywhere.

Although "Workers Aid" seeks to identify with the Bosnian (and Serb, Croatian, Albanian etc. working class) they do support the Bosnian State, which they identify as defenders of pluralism & a multi-ethnic society. They also oppose the "peace" settlement fostered by the U.S. Government & are pro-militarist in the sense of urging the Bosnian Govt. to reclaim the whole Bosnian territory from the 'chetniks', even in areas of



serb majorities.

### Deserting a bad cause

At least 15,000 conscripts have been taken to court in Serbia for desertion or refusal to serve in the armed forces. The Bosnian Serb authorities convicted 1,300 for desertion or non-compliance with conscription between June '92 and Autumn '94 - this despite draconian penalties of 5-20 years jail plus the confiscation of all possessions. (from *Disertori, Edizioni Alfabeta, Italy - in Counter Information* 44). As the Croat Government starts the expulsion of Bosnian refugees from Zagreb back to liberated western Bosnia, the Bosnian Government has stated it wants to conscript all of them who are of 'fighting age'.

"Anti-fascist Aid" would sharply distinguish between the interests of the Bosnian State (and other States) and that of the working class: for whom the cliché: the working class has no country has a certain meaning given the subordination of class interests to the design of any nation state and the tendency of dominant ethnic/linguistic/religious groups fostered as prime indicators of a country's identity.

Jim McFarlane.

For more information/ donations/ speaker requests contact - **BM Haven, London WC1N 3XX.**