

# McDonalds, McProfits, McLibel

Conceived 40 years ago, trash food giant McDonalds has achieved a notoriety previously reserved for international tobacco, oil, mining, pharmaceutical and weapons manufacturers.

As annual turnover exceeds \$28 million, the corporation ruthlessly maximises profits despite widespread concern about the effects of the company's advertising and the impact of its operating practices and food products on the environment, on millions of farmed animals, on human health, on the Third World and on the burger chain's own staff.

With this corporate culture it will come as no surprise that Mrs Thatcher chose to open McDonald's British Headquarters. Not that her former election agent is on charge of the Communications Department and that her former press secretary, Sir Bernard Ingham, is a non-executive Director.

McDonald's have claimed that the wide-ranging criticisms of their operations contained in a leaflet produced by London Greenpeace have defamed them. So they launched a libel action against two people involved in this group, Dave Morris and Helen Steel.

Just before the start of the case, McDonald's issued a leaflet calling their critics liars. Helen and Dave took out a counter claim for libel against McDonald's and this will run concurrently with McDonald's libel action.

Helen and Dave have denied a jury trial, at McDonald's request who claimed that the issues were "too complex" for the public. They also have no right to Legal Aid and so are forced to conduct their own defense against the corporation's team of expert libel lawyers.

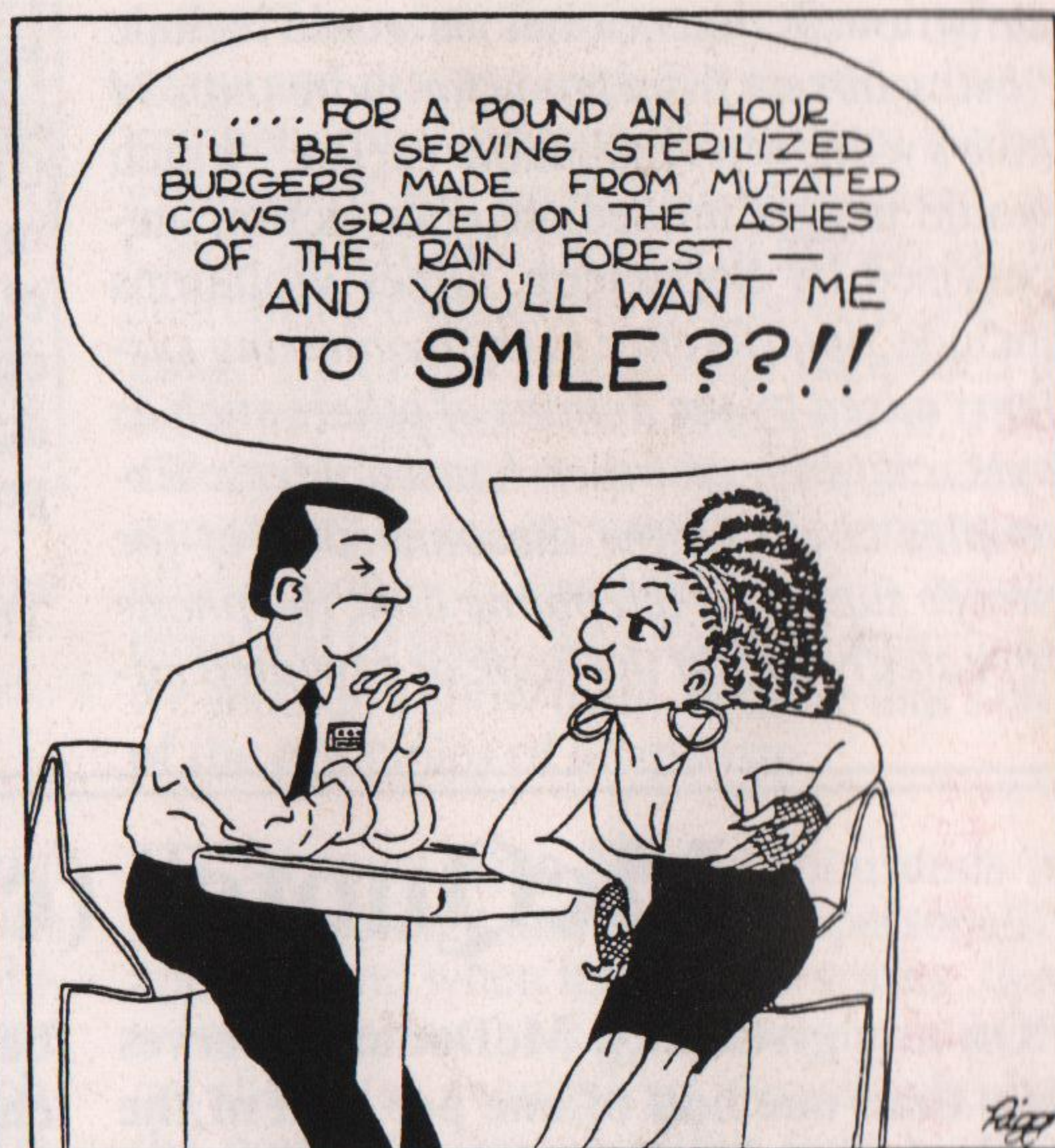
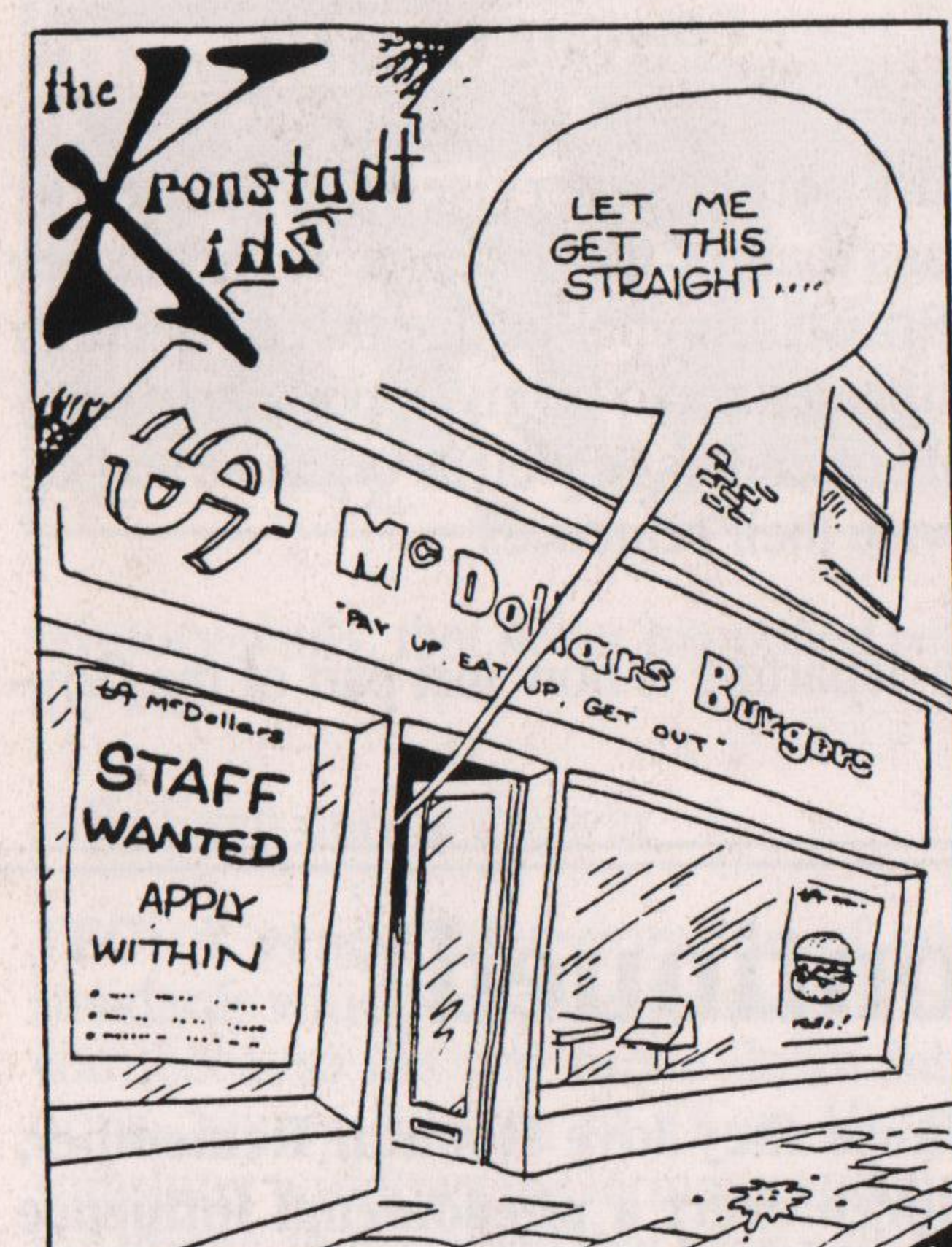
## McQuotes

The following quotes, most from the McLibel trial transcripts, indicate the ex-

tent of the cynical deception practised at McDonalds.

"I can see [the dumping of waste] to be an environmental benefit, otherwise you will end up with lots of vast, empty gravel pits all over the country" - Edward Oakley, Chief Purchasing Officer and Senior Vice President of McDonalds UK and Ireland.

"Foods that contain nutrients", Edward Oakley when asked what "nutritious" meant in the "nutrition guides" he is responsible for and which are currently available in McDonald stores.



"Provides nutrients and can be part of a healthy balanced diet" Mr David Green, the corporation's Senior Vice President of Marketing when asked the same question. He admitted this could also apply to a "a packet of sweets".

"McDonald's line that their food can be eaten as part of a balanced diet is meaningless. You can eat a roll of sellotape as part of a balanced diet." Dr. Tim Lobstein, co-director of the Food Commission.

"McDonald's should attempt to deflect the basic negative thrust of our critics... How do we do this? By talking 'modera-

tion and balance'. We can't really address or defend nutrition. We can't sell nutrition and people don't come to McDonalds for nutrition." Internal Company Memo, March 1986.

"A diet high in fat, sugar, animal products, salt, and low in fibre, vitamins, and minerals, is linked with cancer of the breast and bowel and heart disease." McLibel defendants quoting the London Greenpeace Fact Sheet on McDonald's.

"If it is being directed to the public than I would say it is a very reasonable state-

ment." Dr. Sydney Arnott, McDonalds Expert witness on cancer.

"When you see the Golden Arches, you're probably on the road to the Pearly Gates." Dr. William Castelli, director of a major work on heart disease.

"It is our objective to dominate the communications area... because we are competing for a share of the customers mind." Alistair Fairgrieve, McDonald's UK Marketing Services Manager.

McQuotes continued on page 31

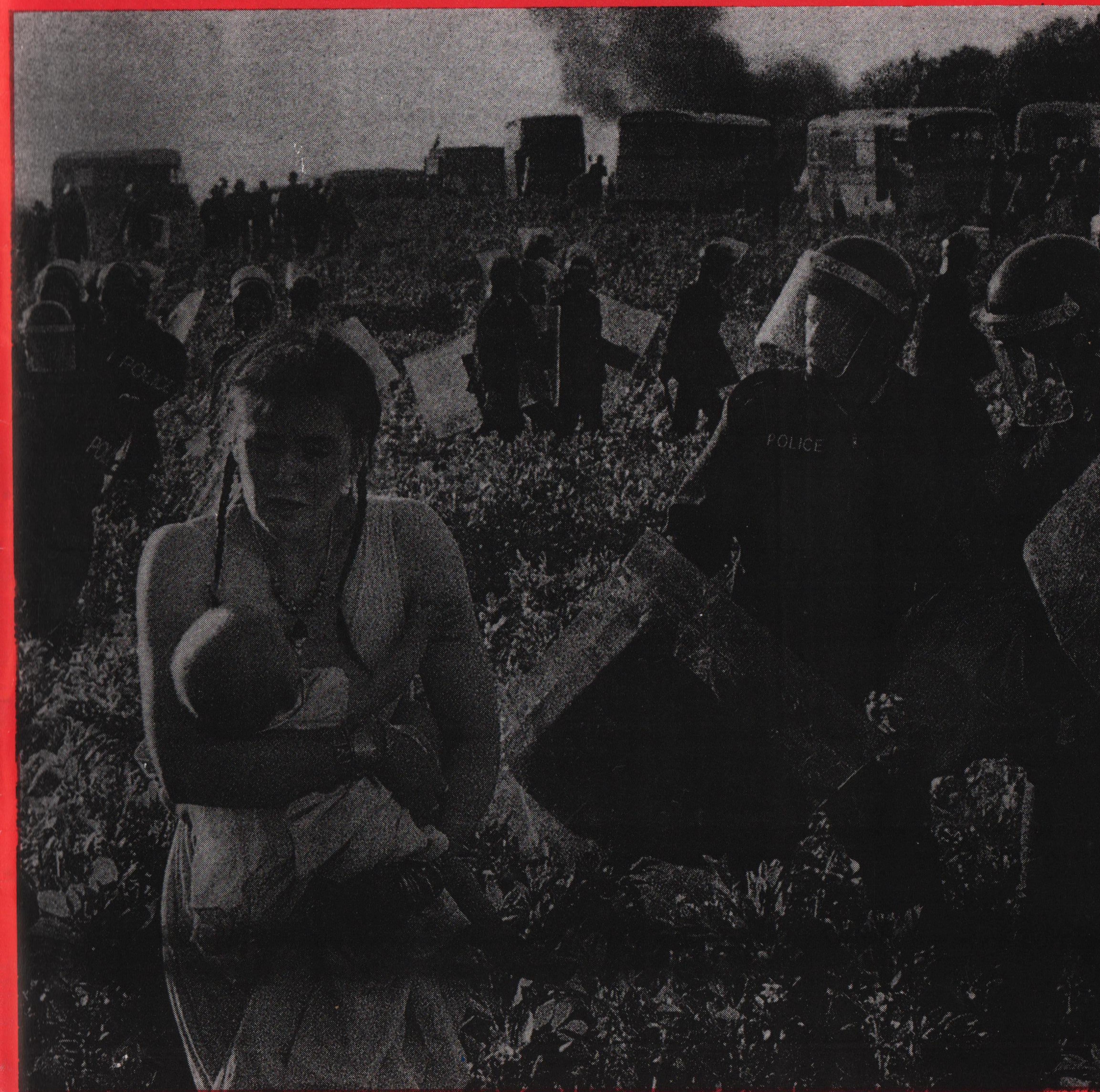
# SCOTTISH ANARCHIST

Number 2

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**INSIDE THIS ISSUE:**  
**EDINBURGH:** The beat goes on... ● **POLLOK:** Wild and free ● **ANARCHY** in the INTERNET ● and much more

# IT COULD BE YOU





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## editorial

"How are you going to construct something new, if you do the same old things?"  
- Major Moises (EZLN) To the Democratic National Convention,  
Chiapas, Mexico, October 1994

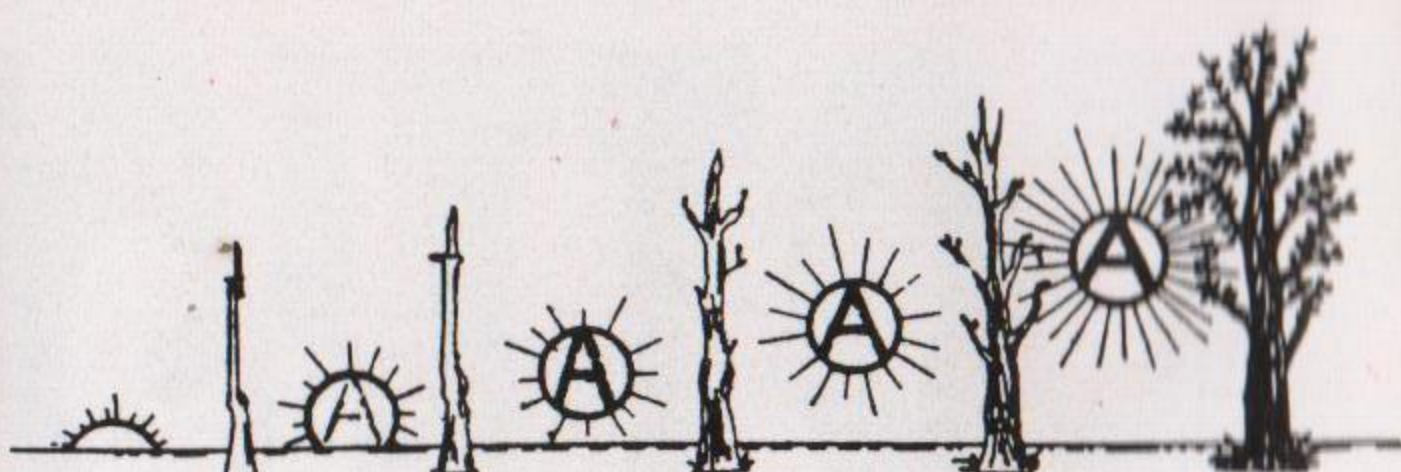
All across the globe, working class people are rediscovering the relevance of anarchist ideas to their everyday lives and struggles. From the uprising in the Chiapas, to the anti-roads campaign in Glasgow, more and more people are seeing the need for direct action, decentralised organisations and solidarity from the bottom up.

The first issue of Scottish Anarchist helped to put analysis and facts behind the anger against the system. This issue continues that tradition with an analysis of the globalisation of capitalism, the other side of DNA testing and how the use of networks and the internet by activists is causing social elites great worry. In addition, we have reports on struggles across Scotland as well as the concluding parts of our articles on the history of anarchism in Glasgow and Spain.

It is only by reclaiming our history, the history of social struggle and working class revolt, can we place any analysis of current events into context and, more importantly, remind us that a better society is possible.

Tom Paine once wrote, "a long habit of not thinking a thing *wrong*, gives it a superficial appearance of being *right*". Today these words take on a meaning which Paine could never have imagined.

Its hard to believe sometimes that capitalism has not been the only social system on this planet. Its presence is so widespread. It gets into every space of our lives. The market economy has become the market society. Human feelings are being replaced by market jargon, corrupting all our ethical and spiritual expressions and relation-



ships. Community is being replaced by commodity. The social breakdown this implies can be seen all around us - poverty, crime, alienation, unhappiness.

However, the seeds of hope still exist. Regardless of what the system tries to do, we are still human beings, with innate emotions, feelings of empathy and solidarity and, most importantly, the ability to think, to learn and the will to rebel.

No one can do it for us. All magazines like Scottish Anarchist can do is prompt thinking and encourage rebellion. The SFA does not want followers, we are not leaders. We want everyone to become a leader. We realise our activities are only really effective when we join in union with our equals. Isolated individuals cannot make history. But a union is only as effective as the individuals that comprise it. A "union" of sheep can bleat, but a union of individuals can discuss, enrich each other by our diversity and change the world!

A cooperative commonwealth can only be made up of thinking, acting, feeling **individuals**. Community can only be created when we reclaim our individuality and end the self-sacrifice of our beings which is required for capitalism to exist.

The future is in your hands.

Iain MacSaorsa

**"It is only those who do nothing who make no mistakes"**

Peter Kropotkin

We would like to thank all those who sent in articles and apologise to all whose work did not appear this issue. Again, we welcome articles, letters, graphics, whatever, from any source.

Send letters to, or ask for more information about the SFA from:

**Scottish Anarchist**  
c/o GAG, PO Box 1008  
Glasgow, G42 8AA

**Hotline - Solidarity**  
Centre, Glasgow :  
0141-  
226-5066.

# POLLOK FREE STATE lives wild and free

by faol-chu

Despite recent national press reports Pollok Free State lives on. The struggle to stop the environmental disaster that is the M77 has moved on to a new offensive phase for which both Wimpey and Strathclyde Regional council are ill prepared. The tree felling operation has taken over 8 weeks putting the road behind schedule and eating into Wimpey's profits.

The last major action on the Barrhead Road site was on Wednesday 22, March. It took Wimpey and Strathclyde police 12 hours to cut down 36 trees but not before they had to arrest 16 people (2 women 13 men and 1 juvenile taken by the social services). They didn't get all the trees they require for the route with Jack, a gentlemen in his 50's, remaining in a Scots pine for the whole day. Strathclyde had deployed the 'infamous' V squad who really weren't much good and had to resort to 'snatch squads' as the day drew to a close.

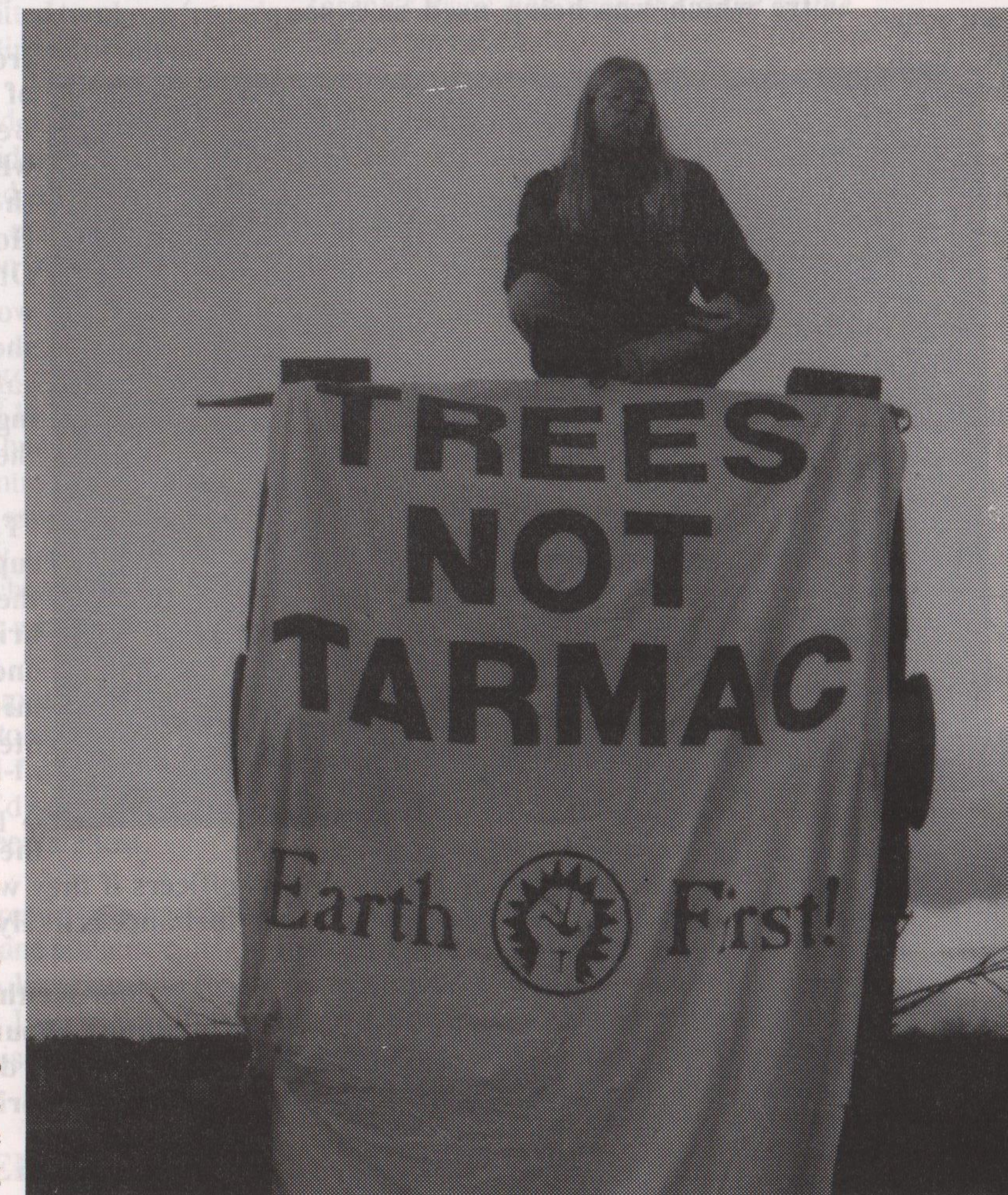
The children from the local communities were locked in their schools all day preventing them from coming to the free state and taking action to save their future. This shows how scared the state is of people taking an interest in their future and standing up for their rights. But with the school holidays fast approaching the children of Pollok will have ample opportunity to take control of their own destiny again.

Wimpey now has a compound beside the free state, extending onto the road bed and sadly Carhenge. This has provided Pollok with its first zoo. The main exhibit being 'The Spineless Yellow Back' (Securitus gardus) who like nothing better than a Golden Shower and a mouldy cabbage tossed from on high in the beeches.

Visitors and new residents are always very welcome as are donations of: Money, clothing, tools camping equipment, water proofs, ropes, chains, locks, new faces and energy. But please don't feed the animals.

Wimpey makes most of its money from building houses so Earth First! are now targeting Wimpey show homes across the

Wimpey actively encourages the public to visit their show homes so you have every right to be there. After a while they may call the police, if you don't wish arrest it's best to leave the home if you are occupying it but you can continue to leaflet the public outside and express your views on Wimpey's environmental record. Happy home hunting!



Starting in May the campaign is planning Operation Roadblock, where each day a group of 50 protesters will stage an action to stop construction of the M77. This will send the security costs through the roof and could very well be the beginning of the end for Wimpey's planet killing aspirations. So we are currently looking for volunteers and ideas for Operation Roadblock. Prizes will be given for the most original and entertaining action ideas. If you wish to get involved in Operation Roadblock or wish to tell us of your home hunting antics please contact us.

**Live wild or die!**

**Wimpey Show Homes**

Wimpey advertises in the property pages of local and national press giving the locations and phone numbers of developments in your area, isn't that nice of them! You could also try

their helpful Hotlines.

West 0141 772 6406 East 0131 317 2345

### No M77 Contacts

Earth First!  
PO Box 180  
Glasgow  
G4 9AB

Pollok Free State  
Barrhead Road  
Pollok  
G53 5AE

Contacts 0141 946 2700  
Pollok Free State mobile 0860 728 244



# EDINBURGH'S OTHER TATTOO

Ellis D. Hayes

COUNCILLORS were unable to nod off at the year's first meeting of Lothian Region on February 1. The walls of their plush chamber, like the square outside, reverberated to the rhythms of massed drums, beating out rebellion, paradiddling protest, rapping out a tattoo of rage at the violent eviction of the Council-owned Edinburgh Unemployed Workers Centre last December, during which 23 unemployed activists were arrested and charged.

As the drumming reached a crescendo the councillors could hardly hear themselves lie.

The blood-stirring primal rhythms were laid on by the Sativa Drummers and the Women's Drumming Collective, a must at any good demo. Both outfits were involved in the occupation of the Centre.

Scores of angry protesters accompanied the beat with whistles and yells of "Give us back our Centre!"

For 6 months the Broughton Street Centre had been occupied, as both a protest against the corrupt actions of Lothian Region and their lackeys and as a display of determination to keep the self-managed and unfunded community space open. A stone's throw from the centre of Edinburgh, which is now Europe's fourth business capital, unemployed and homeless activists barricaded themselves in and continued to run a cheap cafe, offer benefits advice, operate a crèche, and maintain a wide variety of groups and workshops, while the Labour Council seethed with anger. Their eviction notice had been torn to confetti.

(For the full story of the fight for the Centre and its history see the last issue of *Scottish Anarchist*)

## GET BACK TO THE GUTTERS, YOU SCUM

At dawn on December 1st the sleeping occupation nightshift was yanked from its slumbers by the sounds of the Centre's back doors being smashed in. The Emergency

Phone Tree was activated before the nightshift was flung out by the invading bailiffs and pigs. Within half an hour Centre activists and supporters were tackling the police. A sympathetic *Herald* journalist takes up the story:

**"Police and sheriff officers acting on the instructions of Labour-controlled Lothian Regional Council smashed their way into an unemployed workers' centre which was being used as a soup**



kitchen and shelter for the homeless.

The dawn action involved the ejection of four of the activists, who have been occupying the former school building in Broughton Street, Edinburgh, since last June when the council terminated their lease.

They have used the building 24 hours a day since then, as a cheap, vegetarian cafe during the day, a meeting place for community and political groups, and by night many of those who kept the occupation going were homeless people who would otherwise have been on the streets.

One of those present when sheriff officers and police arrived yesterday was a homeless man, who gave his name as Graham. "They came in about 7.30," he said. "They couldn't get in through the front door but at the same time they were

breaking in at the back. They caught us on the hop.

"There were only four of us here. One guy spoke and there were two others in plain clothes plus several police."

Campaigns against the poll tax, Criminal Justice Bill, and VAT on fuel were operated from the building, causing resentment among regional councillors....

Ironically, one of the users of the building was the Beltane Fire Society, which will be involved in the council-sponsored Hogmanay celebrations. Other users included a women's drumming workshop, members of which gathered around the building yesterday to beat out their protest.

"The Centre has so much support that the only way they could evict us was to bring in the police," said one of the organising committee, Mr Michael Stevenson....

A police spokesman said they always back sheriff

officers if they were advised that a disturbance is likely.

Councillor Keith Geddes, the leader of the ruling Labour group on Lothian Regional Council, dismissed criticism that a Labour authority should not be acting in this way.

He said: "We took a decision some time ago to terminate the lease. Since then, they have continued to occupy the premises and we felt it was time to restore the premises to council use."

He rebuffed the suggestion that it was wrong for a Labour authority to shut down a building which provided cheap food for the poor and shelter for the homeless.

Calling the occupiers "unrepresentative", he said: "Superficially, it might

well appear ironic but, in the long term, we believe we will use the building far more effectively."

23 protesters were arrested and charged for taking part in the 6-hour struggle against 70 police officers, and hauled off to St. Leonard's police cells. The Labour Council had hoped for a swift and easy dawn eviction. They must have been disappointed.

## NOR IRON BARS A CAGE

In the stuffy soundproofed single cells of St. Leonard's the struggle continued. The stainless-steel cludgies proved to be excellent drums and the rhythm of resistance rang around the copshop, made more effective by a 'scream-in' in the women's wing, while the big-gutted turnkeys fretted and yelled threats of dire retribution.

By 1am all the arrested demonstrators had been released. Coincidentally, the blacksmith's van which had turned up to lock the Centre Collective out was discovered near the police station with its windows done in.

The Crown Office dropped the charges against all but three of those arrested. Ten days after the eviction hundreds rallied outside the locked-up Centre to protest its closure while the drums rapped out their tattoo. And on February 1st they were back outside the Council chambers, deafening the toadying wretches within.

As the demo broke up and drifted away some folk were heard to ask "Who was the wee guy with the old-fashioned drum?" Others said that they'd seen no such person, that it must've been a ghost.

Indeed it was. Your reporter, who knows something of such arcane matters, can now inform that it was no less than the rebellious spirit of Bowed Joseph Smith, back from the grave with his drum, to haunt the Council.

## BOWED JOSEPH'S DRUM

Around the year 1760 the Edinburgh Town Council and its well-heeled allies found themselves faced with a formidable opponent in the shape of Joseph Smith who was a frequent, if unwelcome, visitor to the Council Chamber. This was described by a contemporary as 'a low-roofed room, very dark and very dirty, with some small dens off it for clerks. Within this Pandemonium sat the Council, omnipotent, corrupt, impenetrable. Nothing was beyond its grasp, no variety of opinion disturbed its unanimity.' Some things never change.

Joseph Smith was a cobbler who lived in the Cowgate, an area of squalid tenemented poverty in the shadow of the Castle Rock. Deformed from birth - hence the 'bowed' - Joseph was possessed of 'great muscular strength in the arms' and an equal strength of character in the face of oppression which led to his becoming Auld Reekie's foremost and best-respected grassroots organiser. Chambers, in his *Traditions of Edinburgh*, says that after Joseph 'had figured for a few years as an active partisan of the people, his name waxed of such account with them that it is said that he could, in the course of an hour, collect a crowd of not fewer than 10,000 persons....' To rally a spontaneous demo Joseph Smith 'employed a drum...and, never, surely, had the fiery cross of the Highland chief such an effect upon the warlike devotion of his clan as Bowed Joseph's drum had upon the spirit of the Edinburgh rabble.'

**Rabble?** At the time the city's entire population was less than 80,000 and considering that the beat of Bowed Joseph's drum could muster 10,000 in an hour, that's quite a rabble. Robert Chambers was a respectable businessman whose brother later became Lord Provost so his bias is understandable. But even he admits that Joseph Smith 'was never known to act in a bad cause, or in any way to go against the principles of natural justice... it was apparent that almost everything he did was for the sake of what he designated fair-play. Fair play indeed was his constant object, whether in insulting the constituted authorities, sacking the granary of a monopolist,

or besieging the Town Council in their Chamber.'

## OMNIPOTENT, CORRUPT, IMPENETRABLE....

When word of council corruption or decisions adversely affecting the poor folk of Edinburgh leaked out it wasn't long before Bowed Joseph's drum could be heard beating out its tattoo of resistance beneath the town's towering 'lands' and up and down its fetid closes, while the townsfolk rallied to its call and besieged the Council chamber.

Bowed Joseph and a delegation would be invited in to the chamber for consultations. 'With one hand stuck carelessly into his side, and another slapped resolutely down upon the table - with a majestic toss of the head... he would stand before the anxious and feeble council pleading the just cause of his compeers, and suggesting the best means of assuaging their just fury. He was generally dispatched with a promise of amendment and a hogshead of good ale...' The ale was shared around. Direct action gets the goods.

But Joseph was no ego-tripping, careerist politician riding on the backs of the people. When the demo was over, and the cause won, Joseph would return to his Cowgate cobbling. He never sought any office or financial gain. He was a focus, a rallying-point of popular protest, nothing more. Nor did he need a crowd with him to make a point. When the High Court





made a notoriously unjust decision. Bowed Joseph stopped the Lord Chief Justice's sedan-chair in the street and demanded of him, Scotland's highest judge, that he explain the justice of his decision. Later, when the House of Lords reversed the court's decision, Joseph dressed 15 scarecrows in rags and wigs, 'representing the judicial attire', one dummy for each of the Scottish Law Lords, and paraded them around the High Street on the backs of asses. There's an idea!

Nor was it only Establishment figures who earned Bowed Joseph's scorn. When the Guild of Shoemakers (which Joseph, as a shoe-repairer wasn't able to join) held their annual parade, Joseph met them at the city gates. Wearing a tin crown and carrying a wooden ruler like a mace, he stooped before the elitist guildsmen and apologised profusely for being only a mere cobbler. The onlookers loved it. The proto-trades unionists were deflated.

But there were more serious issues to contend with.

### CLASS WAR IN THE CLOSES

The news filtered down to Joseph's dank den in the Cowgate. 'A poor man in the Pleasance, having been a little deficient in his rent, and in the country on business,' writes Chambers, returned to find that 'his landlord had seized and roused (pounded) his household furniture, turning out the family to the street. On the poor man's return, finding the house desolate, and his family in misery, he went to a neighbouring stable and hanged himself. Bowed Joseph did not long remain ignorant of the case; and as soon as it was generally known in the city, he shouldered on his drum, and after beating it through the streets for half an hour, found himself followed by several thousand persons, inflamed with resentment at the landlord's cruelty.' The city guard, popularly known as the Town Rats, never interfered. They 'peeped forth like cautious snails on hearing his drum' then 'drew in their horns... and shut their door as he approached.'

The irate crowd rallied in a local park and decided on revenge. They marched to the landlord's house. He had already fled so they removed every article from the premises, heaped it up in a pile, and set fire to it 'while the crowd rent the air with their acclamations. Some money and banknotes perished in the blaze - besides an eight-day clock which, sensible to the last, calmly struck ten as it was consigned to the flames.' It is noteworthy that none of these poverty-stricken townfolk thought of keeping the money, the clock or anything

else for themselves.

On another occasion, during a food-scarcity, the Edinburgh slum dwellers, with Joseph and his drum to the fore, had forced all the meal-dealers to sell their stocks at a low price, or have their shops closed down. 'One of them, whose place of business was in the Grassmarket, agreed



to sell his meal at the fixed price, for the good of the poor, as he said, and he did so under the superintendence of Joseph, who stationed a party at the shop-door to preserve the peace and good order, till the whole stock was disposed of...' The crowd gave three cheers then dispersed with their much-needed foodstuffs.

Next day the merchant boasted to his friends that he had used dodgy weights and short-measured the folk of a quarter of what they had paid for. His boastful words leaked back to the hungry townfolk. Bowed Joseph set about 'collecting a party of his troops, beset the meal dealer before he was awake and compelled him to pay back a fourth of the price of every peck of meal sold; then giving their victim a hearty drubbing, they sacked his shop, and quietly dispersed as before.' Justice was done.

### THE END OF BOWED JOSEPH

For twenty years the poor of Edinburgh used Joseph's drum as a rallying call to fight back against oppression and corruption in the Council Chambers. Landlords, monopolists and councillors shuddered at

his name. The police could do nothing in the face of such massive popular resistance. Neither could the magistrates who 'patronised him rather from fear than respect.' It is a shining example of people power.

In 1780, while returning from the Leith Races, an annual gala beside the sea and a holiday for the Edinburgh folk, Bowed

Joseph, drunk as a Lord, fell from the top of a coach and died. The powers-that-be exacted a subtle revenge. Joseph's twisted skeleton was displayed in the city's medical museum.

Bowed Joseph never exploited his popularity, never ran for office or took money. He never sold out. If the Auld Reekie establishment thought that Joseph's death would mean an end to popular resistance, then they were in for a shock. Four years after his death there were massive food riots in the city. Joseph had been only a rallier, but an exceptionally good one. There have been many like him, men and women, who have disappeared into the mists of time, as Joseph would have had not Robert Chambers written of him. 'History' is the lie of rulers, kings and emperors and their lackeys. The full chronicle of popular resistance in Edinburgh remains to be told, from the tale of the Blue Blanket right up to modern-day accounts of the 70's council-rent strikes, the 80's occupations of council chambers during the DHSS strike which successfully forced the Council to issue food vouchers, to the demos and occupations against the Labour Council's passive acceptance of the Poll Tax - right up to the 6 month occupation of the Unemployed

Workers Centre and its smashing by Labour-run Lothian Regional Council.

That fight isn't over yet.

### THE BEGGAR'S BIBLE

As February's drumbeats boomed around that den of thieves called the Council Chamber, councillor Brian 'Killer' Cavanagh announced that the council had donated £2,000 towards the cost of a booklet called **A Guide to Surviving on the Streets of Edinburgh**. Cavanagh, the Labour chair of the social work committee and one of those most responsible for the smashing of the Centre, had reached the pinnacle of cynical hypocrisy. £2,000 towards telling people how to live on the streets? Bastard. The police recently admitted that the eviction of the Centre, which was unfunded and self-supporting, cost Lothian taxpayers £5,300. A recent request to the Region from the New Town, Broughton and Pilrig Community Council, who had supported the Centre, asking how much it had cost to guard the evicted centre day and night with a private security firm, was answered with 'this will be the subject of a future report'. Bastards. These politicians are the real beggars, morally, ethically and socially.

Four months after the violent eviction, the once-thriving Centre building remains locked and bolted, degenerating into graffitied dilapidation, a symbol of politicians' determination to deny ordinary people a space to autonomously organise outside Party and Trade Union control.

The Council may have taken back the building - for now - but they have been forced to spend a small fortune to stop it being re-occupied, and have been unable to make good their promises that it will be used for council-approved community uses. The Centre collective's appeals for solidarity from other voluntary organisations have been widely reported in the press. The *Herald and Post* wrote:

**'The Centre spokesman said.... "Basically the Regional council is either going to have to keep the Broughton Street building locked and guarded...or rent it back to the community..."**  
**"We are appealing to all charities and voluntary organisations that might be approached to use the building to refuse. If they accepted they would be co-operating with the Region in closing down the centre."**

### Poverty In Scotland

D.S.S. statistics from 1993 show that 28% of children under 16 in Scotland live in households which are dependent on Income Support. Ten years earlier it was 15%, twenty years ago, about 10%.

Estimates extracted from British wide figures suggest that 38% of Scottish children live in poverty. This rises to 42% when only the under 5's are considered.

Glasgow has a 19% unemployment rate, compared to the 9% British average.

The number of adults dependent on Income Support in Scotland has grown from 451 000 (9% of the population) in 1979 to 805 000 (16% of the population) in 1991. Between 1981 and 1991, the number of people living in poverty in Strathclyde doubled.

### Poverty across the globe

The 1994 Human Development Report issued by the United Nations reveals that:

- "Between 1960 and 1991, the share of world income for the richest 20 percent of the global population rose from 70 percent to 85 percent. Over the same period, all but the richest 20% saw their share of world income fall - and the meagre share of the poorest 20 percent declined from 2.3 percent to 1.4 percent."

- The military budgets of developing countries totals \$125 billion annually, just 12 percent of that would make it possible for a billion people to visit a healthcare professional, prevent two million children from dying of preventable infectious diseases every year, provide proper diet for 192 million malnourished children and access to safe water to 1.3 billion people.

- In 1993, more than 35 million persons in industrialised countries were seeking jobs.

**And he warned that if any group did try and use the building, campaigners would take "peaceful direct action" to stop them.'**

The eviction hasn't stopped the everyday resistance practised by the Centre activists. Subversion continues from an unlikely temporary home in the basement of a church hall. Advice and solidarity on benefits hassles and poll/council tax arrears, leafletting dole offices, benefit gigs including an extravaganza for International Women's Day,

regular minibus excursions to the direct action against the M77 in Glasgow, alternative literature distribution - all are contributing to a continuing culture of resistance. So enraged are the authorities that the iron fist hasn't crushed the Centre that the police have waged a campaign of intimidation against the church where the Centre is based, threatening dire consequences if the Centre is not removed from the church premises.

Now the Centre collective plans a new initiative. The hunt is on for a cheap shopfront which can be rented and provide space for an info-shop, small cafe, meetings, and a general gathering point for the dispossessed.

### THE BEAT OF THE DRUM

We look forward to the coming day when the beat of the drum will summon in half an hour 10,000 of those who are currently telly-hypnotised and mortgage-ridden onto the streets to fight for a better life, free from politicians and all of capitalism's stagemanagers. Better, of course, if it were 100,000. Better still, a million, or more. **Bowed Joseph lives.**

The Centre hopes to move to new premises this May or June. In the meantime make contact through the permanent postal address: The Centre, c/o Peace and Justice Centre, St. Johns, Princes St., Edinburgh (mail only), or ring 0131

557 0427.

**AK Distribution for anarchist papers & books. Send Large SAE to AK Press, 22 Luton Pl., Edinburgh.**



# Health Con International

With the Health Care International fiasco rumbling on in Clydebank, it is time to ask just what is happening to our hospitals and health services.

At the same time as millions of pounds worth of subsidies have gone into profiteering for the wealthy at Clydebank, Greater Glasgow Health Board have chosen to make across board savings of £56 million by cutbacks in services. Whole hospitals, such as the Western Infirmary and Rutherglen Maternity are to be completely closed (The Courier, 23/12/94).

This leaves many people having to travel further to be admitted to hospital and the obvious dangers this creates. It leaves friends and relatives isolated miles away from hospitals, causing practical and financial difficulties and making many reliant on inadequate public transport to visit people in hospital or be an out patient.

Far from condemning this situation, Labour M.P. Sam Galbraith is quoted as saying "Greater Glasgow Health Board are to be congratulated on this sensible proposal" (Courier, 24/12/94). With so little opposition, it is will be hardly surprising if the Scottish Office



rubber stamp the plans. The Scottish Office, while happy to see £17.6 million of public money "written off" after the HCI failure and another £4.4 million offered as a "sweetener" to business interests (The Herald, 16/1/95), may find money too tight to mention when it comes to health care for need, not profit.

Of course, other expenditures do not meet the same criteria. The Eurofighter, designed to combat a nonexistent soviet threat, will cost £13 billion (probably double that) and the National Audit office has discovered that £800 million has been "lost" in putting up huge sheds for Trident. Not forgetting the £23 million owned in corporation tax or the £1600 million owned in unpaid VAT.

We have one option, ordinary people must make their voices heard, resist the cuts and the corrupt system that goes with them.

# Eigg on his face

The residents of the Isle of Eigg (population 86) have been under attack in recent months. Filthy rich landowner Keith Schellenberg who "owned" the whole island decided certain people's faces did not fit and tried to evict them from their homes and so remove them from the island.

Things came to head at Christmas, 1994, when Schellenberg decided to send season's greetings to awkward tenants. He sent cards of himself flanked by two santa thugs wielding croquet mallets, signed "The Isle of Eigg Bailiffs PLC".

Schellenberg later claimed that "the trouble is there's a lack of sense of humour in a lot of places" and that it was a "harmless joke". He later stated that the tenants were "rotten, dangerous and totally barmy". Other harmless jokers may like to note that a certain Keith Schellenberg has a farm in Mayen, Banffshire.

Residents on Eigg sat tight and refused to leave. Resentment and resistance to Schellenberg was high and his property was attacked and damaged. The good news is that he, not the residents, has left Eigg.



Eigg residents, plus dog, await the arrival of the launch that meets the Caledonian MacBrayne ferry

Schellenberg has sold the island for around £1.5 million. The owner has changed, but the land problem remains. It is obscene that massive private wealth allows people to buy whole chunks of land, whole islands and so have the power to affect everyone who lives there. People all over Scotland should

follow the example of the people of Eigg and fight back against the landowners and land owning system in Scotland today. The land must be for all the people, not the wealthy few.

# "Netwars" and Activists Power on the Internet

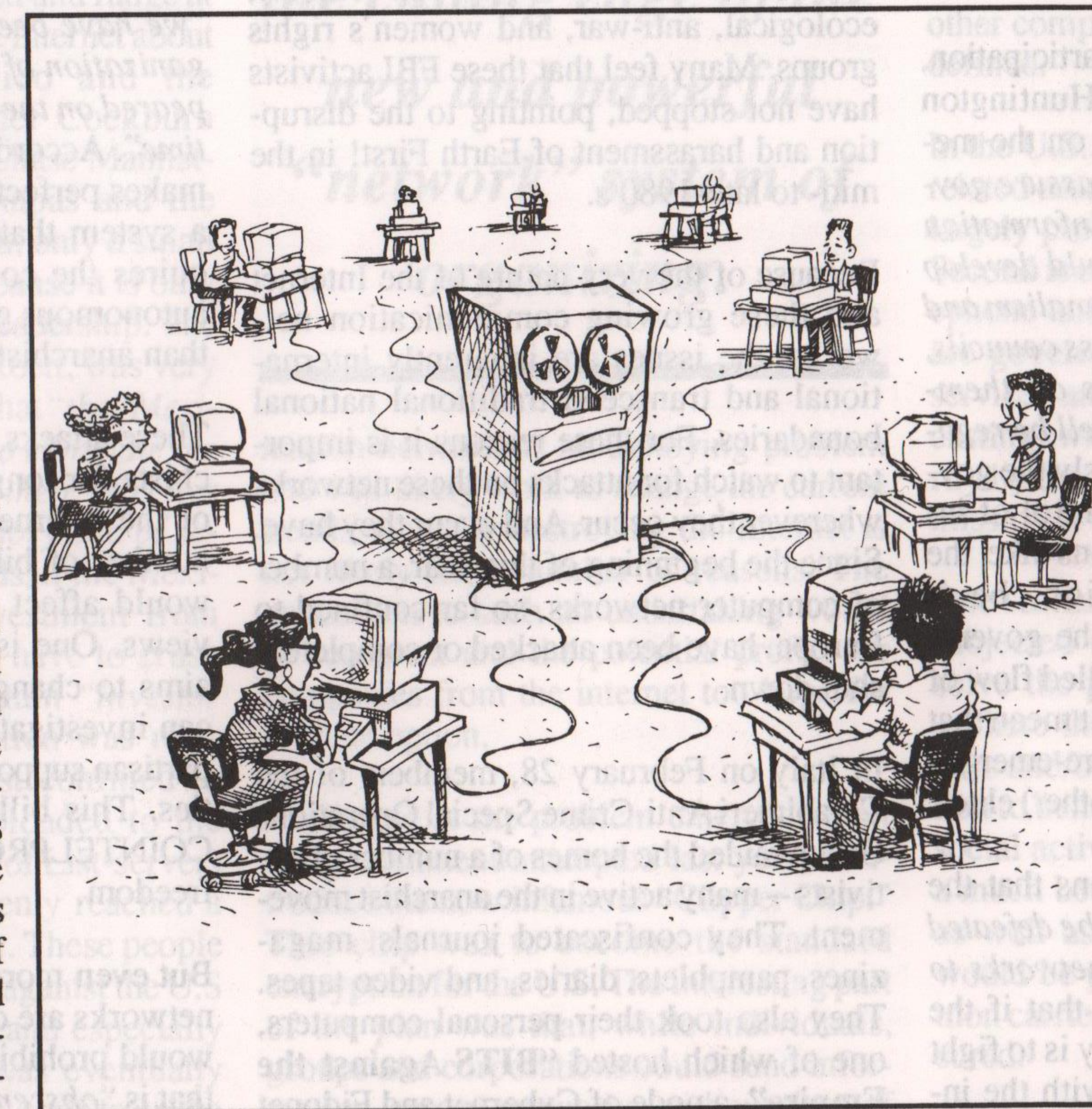
by Jason Wehling

Since the so-called Republican victory in the last U.S. election, the political Left in America has been sent reeling. In many places including the major media, we have been told that this victory spells a new revolution, a revolution for the Right with a massive 17% of the potential electorate voting republican. Regardless of the truth of these claims, many there have felt that their activist work has been for not and that it has been largely ineffectual. Interestingly a Rand corporation researcher, David Ronfeldt, argues that contrary to the impotence felt by many social activists, they have become an important and powerful force fuelled by the advent of the information revolution. Through computer and communication networks, especially via the world-wide Internet, grassroots campaigns have flourished, and the most importantly, social elites have taken notice.

Ronfeldt specializes in issues of national security, especially in the areas of Latin American and the impact of new informational technologies. Ronfeldt and another colleague coined the term "netwar" a couple years ago in a Rand document entitled "Cyberwar is Coming!". "Netwars" are actions by autonomous groups -- in the context of this article, especially social movements -- that use informational networks to coordinate action to influence, change or fight government policy.

Ronfeldt's work became a flurry of discussion on the Internet in mid-March when Pacific News Service correspondent Joel Simon wrote an article about Ronfeldt's opinions on the influence of netwars on the political situation in Mexico. According to Simon, Ronfeldt holds that the work of social activists on the Internet has had a large influence -- helping to coordinate the large demonstrations in Mexico City in support of the Zapatistas and the proliferation of EZLN communiqués across the world via computer networks. These actions,

Ronfeldt argues, have allowed a network of groups that support the EZLN to muster an international response, often within hours of actions by Zedillo's government. In effect, this has forced the Mexican government to maintain the facade of negotiations with the EZLN and has on many occasions, actually stopped the army from just going in to Chiapas and brutally massacring the Zapatistas. Ronfeldt's position has many implications.



First, Ronfeldt is not independent researcher. He is an employee of the notorious Rand corporation. Rand is, and has been since it's creation in 1948, a private appendage of the U.S. military industrial complex. Paul Dickson, author of the book "Think Tanks", described Rand as the "first military think tank... undoubtedly the most powerful research organization associated with the American military." The famous "Pentagon Papers" that were leaked to the press in June of 1971 that detailed the horrible U.S. involvement in Vietnam was produced by Rand.

Ronfeldt himself has authored many research papers for Rand, but his ties to the military do not end there. Ronfeldt has also written papers directly for the U.S. military on Military Communication and more interestingly, for the Central Intelligence Agency on leadership analysis. No, Ronfeldt's opinions were not written for aiding activists. It is obvious that the U.S. government and it's military and intelligence wings are very interested in what the Left is doing on the Internet.

## Netwars: the Dissolution of Hierarchy and the Emergence of Networks

Ronfeldt argues that "the information revolution... disrupts and erodes the hierarchies around which institutions are normally designed. It diffuses and redistributes power, often to the benefit of what may be considered weaker, smaller actors". Continuing, "multi-organizational networks consist of (often small) organizations or parts of institutions that have linked together to act jointly... making it possible for diverse, dispersed actors to communicate, consult, coordinate, and operate together across greater distances, and on the basis of more and better information than ever."

Ronfeldt emphasizes that "some of the heaviest users of the new communications networks and technologies are progressive, centre-left, and social activists... [who work on] human rights, peace, environmental, consumer, labour, immigration, racial and gender-based issues." In other words, social activists are on the cutting edge of the new and powerful "network" system of organizing.

All governments, especially the U.S. government, have been extremely antagonistic to this idea of effective use of information, especially from the political Left. This position is best stated by Samuel



Huntington, Harvard Political Science professor and author of the U.S. section of the Trilateral Commission's book-length study, **"The Crisis of Democracy"**. Basically writing in reaction to the mobilization of people normally isolated from the political process in the 1960's, Huntington argued in 1975 that "some of the problems of governance in the United States today stem from an excess of democracy... Needed, instead, is a greater degree of moderation of democracy."

Huntington blatantly maintained that "the effective operation of a democratic political system usually requires some measure of apathy and non-involvement on the part of some individuals and groups... this marginality on the part of some groups is inherently undemocratic but it is also one of the factors which has enabled democracy to function effectively." In other words, major U.S. policy makers feel democracies are acceptable if they are limited and not very democratic.

To stop this increase in public participation, this "excess of democracy", Huntington argued that limits should exist on the media. "There is also the need to assure government the right to withhold information at the source... Journalists should develop their own standards of professionalism and create mechanisms, such as press councils, for enforcing these standards on themselves. The alternative could well be regulation by government." Obviously the government is interested in the control of information. If private institutions like the major media need regulation, be it self-regulation or directed by the government, the idea of free, uncontrolled flow of information on the Internet must mean that a new "crisis of democracy" has re-emerged in the eyes of government (and other) elites.

To fight this, Ronfeldt maintains that the lesson is clear: "institutions can be defeated by networks, and it may take networks to counter networks." He argues that if the U.S. government and/or military is to fight this ideological war properly with the intent of winning -- and he does specifically mention ideology -- it must completely reorganize itself, scrapping hierarchical organization for a more autonomous and decentralized system: a network. In this way, he states, "we expect that... netwar may be uniquely suited to fighting non-state actors".

Ronfeldt's research and opinion should be flattering for the political Left. He is basically arguing that the efforts of activists on computers not only has been very effective or at least has that potential, but more importantly, argues that the only way to counter this work is to follow the lead of social

activists. Ronfeldt emphasized in a personal correspondence that the "information revolution is also strengthening civil-society actors in many positive ways, and moreover that netwar is not necessarily a 'bad' thing that necessarily is a 'threat' to U.S. or other interests. It depends." At the same time, anarchists should understand the important implications of Ronfeldt's work: government elites are not only watching these actions (big surprise), but are also attempting to work against them.

### The Attack Has Already Begun

The U.S. government's antagonism to political activism is not new. During the late 1960's and early 1970's, the Federal Bureau of Investigation began what is now known as COINTELPRO, or Counter Intelligence Programs. These programs sought to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" various political groups, such as the Black Panthers, AIM (the American Indian Movement), ecological, anti-war, and women's rights groups. Many feel that these FBI activists have not stopped, pointing to the disruption and harassment of Earth First! in the mid- to late-1980's.

Because of the very nature of the Internet and these growing communication networks, the issues are inherently international and transcend traditional national boundaries. For these reasons it is important to watch for attacks on these networks wherever they occur. And occur they have. Since the beginning of this year, a number of computer networks, so far confined to Europe, have been attacked or completely shut down.

In Italy on February 28, members of the Carabinieri Anti-Crime Special Operations Group raided the homes of a number of activists -- many active in the anarchist movement. They confiscated journals, magazines, pamphlets, diaries, and video tapes. They also took their personal computers, one of which hosted "BITS Against the Empire", a node of Cybernet and Fidonet networks. The warrant ridiculously charged them for "association with intent to subvert the democratic order", carrying a penalty of 7 to 15 years imprisonment for a conviction.

Closer to home, a number of computer networks have recently been attacked in Britain. The Terminal Boredom bulletin board system (BBS) in Fife was shutdown by police after the arrest of a hacker who was affiliated with the BBS. Spunk Press, the largest anarchist archive of published material catalogued on computer networks has faced a media barrage which has falsely accused them of working with known ter-

rorists like the Red Army Faction of Germany, of providing recipes for making bombs and of coordinating the "disruption of schools, looting of shops and attacks on multinational firms." Articles by the computer trade magazine, **Computing**, and even the **Sunday Times**, entitled "Anarchism Runs Riot on the Superhighway" and "Anarchists Use Computer Highway For Subversion" respectively, nearly lead one of the organizers of Spunk Press to loose his job after the smears were published. He has asked that his name not be mentioned. According to the book "Turning up the Heat: MI5 after that cold war" by Larry O'Hara, one of the journalists who wrote the Sunday Times article has contacts with MI5.

It is not coincidence that this attack has started first against anarchists and libertarian-socialists. Anarchists are currently one of the most organized political grouping on the Internet. Even Simon Hill, editor of Computing magazine, admits that "we have been amazed at the level of organization of these... groups who have appeared on the Internet in a short amount of time". According to Ronfeldt's thesis, this makes perfect sense. Who best can exploit a system that "erodes hierarchy" and requires the coordination of decentralized, autonomous groups in cooperative actions than anarchists and libertarian-socialists?

These attacks may not be confined to anarchists for long. In the U.S. where the use of the internet is far more widespread, a number of bills are before Congress that would affect a large number of political views. One is S390 (and HR896), which aims to change the FBI charter so that it can investigate political groups. It has bipartisan support from members in both parties. This bill would effectively legalize COINTELPRO operations against political freedom.

But even more sinister as far as computer networks are concerned, is S314. This bill would prohibit not only individual speech that is "obscene, lewd, lascivious, filthy, or indecent", but would prohibit any provider of telecommunications service (such as an Internet provider) from carrying such traffic, under threat of stiff penalties: \$100,000 or two years in prison. According to the Centre for Democracy and Technology, "the bill would compel service providers to chose between severely restricting the activities of their subscribers or completely shutting down their Email, Internet access and conferencing services under the threat of criminal liability." In other words, one option before the U.S. government is to just close down the Internet.

The U.S. government is not the only insti-

tution to notice the power of the Internet in the hands of activists. The **Washington Post** ("Mexican Rebels Using a High-Tech Weapon; Internet Helps Rally Support", by Tod Robberson), **Newsweek** ("When Words are the Best Weapon: How the Rebels Use the Internet and Satellite TV", by Russell Watson) and even CNN (Sunday, February 26) have done stories about the importance of the Internet and network communication organization with respect to the Zapatistas.

It is important to point out that the mainstream media is not interested in the information that circulates across the Internet. No, they are interested in sensationalising the activity, even demonizing it, though they correctly see that the "rebels" possess an incredibly powerful tool.

### Netwars Are Effective

A good example of the use of this powerful tool is the incredible speed and range at which information travels the Internet about events concerning Mexico and the Zapatistas. When Alexander Cockburn wrote an article exposing a Chase Manhattan Bank memo about Chiapas and the Zapatistas in **Counterpunch**, only a small number of people read it because it is only a newsletter with a limited readership. The memo, written by Riordan Roett, was very important because it argued that "the [Mexican] government will need to eliminate the Zapatistas to demonstrate their effective control of the national territory and of security policy". In other words, if the Mexican government wants investment from Chase or elsewhere, it will have to crush the Zapatistas in order to gain "investor confidence". This information was relatively ineffective when just confined to print. But when it was uploaded to the Internet (via a large number of List-servers and the USENET), it suddenly reached a very large number of people. These people in turn coordinated a protest against the U.S. and Mexican governments and especially Chase Manhattan. Chase was eventually forced to attempt to distance itself from the Roett memo that it commissioned.

Anarchists and the Zapatistas is just the tip of the proverbial iceberg. Currently there are a myriad of social activist campaigns on the Internet. From local issues like the anti-Proposition 187 movement in California to "nation-wide" campaigns like the anti-roads activity in Britain, the network system of activism is not only working -- and working well as Ronfeldt admits -- but is growing. It is growing rapidly in numbers of people involved and growing in political and social effectiveness. There are many parallels between the current situa-

tion in Chiapas and the drawn out civil war in Guatemala, yet the Guatemalan military has been able to nearly kill without impunity while the Mexican military received a coordinated, international attack literally hours after they mobilize their troops. The reason is netwars are effective as Ronfeldt concedes, and when they are used to coordinate activity and spread information they have been very influential and effective.

### What Are Their Options?

According to Ronfeldt's thesis, extreme measures such a S314 will not be the answer to the problems of that elites, especially people like Huntington, foresee. Certainly the government sees this free infor-

## Social activists are on the cutting edge of the new and powerful "network" system of organizing.

mation network as an annoying problem and will likely work to change the current trends. Actually destroying the Internet is not likely for a number of reasons. The opposition to such an undertaking would be too great and the potential profits for companies from the internet too large for such an option.

A glimpse at the problem emerged when the government attempted last year to introduce the now infamous "Clipper Chip." This chip was to become the standard encryption for the U.S. The interesting part of the plan was that, while individuals, groups and corporations could send information across networks without fear of unwanted eyes peering into their documents, the government "Clipper Chip" would have a "backdoor" for intelligence agencies like the FBI. In other words, it was safe to all except the U.S. government, which would be able to read any message it wanted to. Basically the Clinton administration had little support, aside from the FBI, CIA, National Security Agency (NSA) and AT&T, who was contracted to manufacture the chip. While the opposition included a wide variety of the political spectrum from the far-Left to the far-Right. Apparently the Clinton administration didn't like the odds and proposed that the

Clipper Chip would be a standard within the government only.

According to Ronfeldt's thesis, the idea of dismantling the Internet is not even an option. The internet and "netwars" are here to stay, maintains Ronfeldt. The trick is to be better at it than groups the U.S. government opposes. As has been stated above, that means creating government networks that can be more effective than those networks that have been created and maintained by social activists. Of course, this has inherent problems of its own. How will U.S. military leaders react when they hear that the military must "erode" it's system of hierarchy to evolve into a decentralized and autonomous network of smaller parts? Certainly there is a paradox in Ronfeldt's arguments.

Much more likely, at least for the time being is Huntington's notion of regulation of information. Currently, the question of how laws should be applied to the Internet and other computer networks is vague and undefined.

In the U.S.A. it could fall into one of three related areas. First is print media, which is largely protected by the First amendment. Second is common carriers, such as the telephone and the U.S postal system -- they are governed by principles of "universal service" and "fair access." Lastly is broadcasting, which is highly regulated, primarily by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC).

One scenario is that the Internet would be subjected to FCC regulation. This might solve the problem voiced by Huntington --where the government could create barriers and/or limit the free flow of information to better suit it's wishes. Obviously for social activists in the U.S. and elsewhere, a much better scenario is that the Internet, as well as all other computer networks, would be placed in the category of "common carriers," where universal access is assured.

This placement has yet to be resolved, but the battle lines are already being drawn. Under the guise of saving children from pedophiles, there is now a media campaign that pushes for regulation against pornography and other "obscenity" on the Internet. Last year, Carnegie-Mellon University attempted to restrict campus users from access to X-rated photographs on the Internet. Of course if this comes to pass this would be just the beginning -- the placement into the category of FCC regulation would be complete. On the other side is a large number of civil rights organizations and the Electronic Freedom Foundation argue for the "common carrier" approach.





ZAPATISTAS IN THE JUNGLE

What is happening in the U.S.A. will have obvious implications for here. Already in Britain, the Criminal (In)Justice Act has already outlawed "computer porn", again showing that these actions are not isolated events. As the internet becomes more widely reported in the media and its use continues to grow we can expect to see similar developments.

Another scenario is control, not via the government, but from private industry. Many people use the "highway" or "superhighway" analogy when describing the Internet. But a new analogy has emerged: the railroad or "super-railroad" if you will. Each one has very important connotations: the highway is based on free public access, the railroad is not. The problem springs from the growing pains that the Internet is currently experiencing. It is growing a very rapid pace. So rapid, that the "backbone" of the Net, the high-speed data transmission line over which information travels is becoming out dated.

One proposal from ANS, a joint venture between IBM and MCI is to privatise the Internet "backbone," thus creating "toll-roads" for the Internet. In other words, they lay the new cables, they own them and users will have to "pay as they go." Currently the Internet works on cooperation between the computers (nodes) that make-up the Internet. As information travels from here to there, all the computers inbetween cooperate by allowing and helping the information pass through to its destination. With a "pay as you go" system, the cost of communication would rise and would effectively limit the ability for social activists and many other groups from participating in these "netwars" or even in-

ing the internet.

This may be the long term solution, paralleling the fate of last century's new form of popular communication, the newspaper. Faced with the same problem, a cheap and accessible medium for expressing ideas available to the general population, the initial response was to enforce laws limiting its use (eg censorship laws and taxation). However, coercion is an ineffective means of social control and was soon abandoned in the face of better forces, forces implicit in the development of any commodity under capitalism, namely the increased concentration of capital required to produce said commodity for a profit.

As capital costs increased, the laws were revoked as market forces ensured that only those with access to vast amounts of money could start even a weekly newspaper. In addition, the need for advertising to run a paper ensured business control over its content. Hence, for example, we could see mainstream journals having free access web sites (funded entirely by advertising) while dissident publications (who do not desire advertising nor the control of editorial decisions this implies) will have to charge in order for their web sites to exist and pay their way.

Under these conditions, a "pay as you go" backbone, sites and publications subsidised by advertising and high initial capital costs, the need for laws to control the information super highway are limited. This, however, is still some way into the future. At present this option is not available.

### What Might We Do?

It is clear than Rand, and possibly other wings of the establishment, are not only in-

terested in what activists are doing on the Internet, but they think it is working. It is also clear that they are studying our activities and analyzing our potential power. We should do the same, but obviously not from the perspective of inhibiting our work, but opposite: how to further facilitate it.

Also, we should turn the tables as it were. They are studying our behaviour and actions -- we should study theirs. As was outlined above, we should analyze their movements and attempt to anticipate attacks as much as possible.

As Ronfeldt argues repeatedly, the potential is there for us to be more effective. Information is getting out as is abundantly clear. But we can do better than just a coordination of raw information, which has been the majority of the "networking" so far on the Internet. To improve on the work that is being done, we should attempt to provide more -- especially in the area of indepth analysis. Not just what we are doing and what the establishment is doing, but more to the point, we should attempt to coordinate the dissemination of solid analysis of important events. In this way members of the activist network will not only have the advantage of up-to-date information of events, but also a good background analysis of what each event means, politically, socially and/or economically as the case may be.

Continued on  
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## Anarchy on the Internet!

The following world wide web sites are recommended to readers who are fortunate enough to have access to the internet, either through work, study or ownership.

Spunk Press Archive

[http://www.cwi.nl/cwi/people/Jack.Jansen/spunk/Spunk\\_Home.html](http://www.cwi.nl/cwi/people/Jack.Jansen/spunk/Spunk_Home.html)

The Seed

<http://web.cs.city.ac.uk/homes/louise/seed2.html>

Portland Anarchist Web Page

<http://www.ee.pdx.edu/~jason/>

Noam Chomsky Archive

<http://www.contrib.andrew.cmu.edu/usr/tp0x/chomsky.html>

The McLibel Case

<http://anthfirst.san.ed.ac.uk/McLibelTopPage.html>

Zapataistas (EZLN)

<http://lanic.utexas.edu/>

E-mail Lists

The following e-mail based lists are also of interest. If you want to join, send a message saying :-

"subscribe <list name>"

**anarchy-list (anarchism) -  
anarchy-list@cwi.nl**

**one-union (syndicalism) -  
1-union@lever.com**

**iww-news (Industrial Workers of the  
World) -Majordomo@igc.apc.org**

**mclibel (McLibel Case) -  
majordomo@world.std.com**

## TOP TEN WARNING SIGNS OF WHAT IS CALLED "NORMAL"

by Janet Foner

Support Coalition co-coordinator & psychiatric survivor

**10. COOL:** You're cool, you hold everything in and always put "a good face on it" -- you never cry or laugh much, or show emotion in any way, certainly not in public. Your psychiatric label is "tearlessness."

**9. SERIOUS:** You always do the proper thing -- never anything unusual, playful, spontaneous, "different," wild, or creative, if you can help it. You believe playing and being silly is beneath your dignity and only for children. You have a psychiatric label of "stiff upper lip."

**8. NICE:** You always act nice even if you can't stand the person to whom you're talking. You never say what you're really thinking. Your diagnosis: "inappropriate smiling."

**7. ALWAYS RIGHT:** You always do everything right -- wear the "right clothes," say the "right thing," associate only with the "right people"-- you know there is only one right way, and it's your way. You are diagnosed as "conformity prone."

**6. BORING:** Your conversations, life and living space are dull and boring, and your lawn is always manicured no matter what. In the more advanced stages you have much inner "lifelessness" and "flat affect" -- in other words, you are one of the "walking dead." Your psychiatric label is "hyperinactivity."

**5. OBEDIENT:** You always try not to offend anyone, especially those in authority -- your security seems to depend on that. So therefore you are willing to put expediency ahead of principles. Your psychiatric label is "adjustment prone/adjustment reaction."

**4. GULLIBLE:** You believe that the doctor always knows best, that the media is telling the truth (major newspapers always print the facts, right?), and that the medical model of "mental illness" has been proven scientifically. Your diagnosis is "normal naivete disorder."

**3. AVOID FEELINGS:** You are out of touch with yourself, with the natural world,

and with what is going on with other people. It has become too hard to face how others are being oppressed, so you choose a more comfortable path. TV starts to look very, very good. You are labelled with "severe blinderitis."

**2. DON'T TRUST YOURSELF:** You learned in school that it's important to always pay attention to those in charge and not to trust your own thinking. You learned to "play the game," and you are still doing that. You believe your own lies. You have an advanced case of "schoolmania," which, if not stopped in its early stages can lead to severe overwork and, in advanced stages, "corporate asskissingitis."

**1. INDOORISM:** You lost touch with the wildness in nature. You do not rebel against ecological destruction. Label: "Tame."

### DON'T PANIC!

If you have two or more of these signs, within any lunar cycle, you probably only have "residual normality." No case of 100% normality has ever been discovered. So it's not too late! Join SCI, read Dendron News, support one another, get out into nature, and especially take action to stop psychiatric oppression before serious persistent "normality" sets in.

### Heal Normality Naturally!

Join the Heal Normality campaign! SUBSCRIBE to the free HEALNORM mailing list. Here's how:

Send e-mail to "majordomo@efn.org" with just the words "subscribe HEALNORM" in the message body.

Snail-mail: Support Coalition / POB 11284 / Eugene, OR 97440-3484 U.S.A. Membership is at least \$15. Sample \$2. Add extra if outside U.S.A.

**NORMALS ARE  
DESTROYING THE  
EARTH!**



# Have we the right to condemn?

by 'Black Sheep'



He has been jailed for refusing to pay fines, arising from the occupation and vandalising of Sheriff Officers premises.

He has been arrested on numerous occasions, the most recent being during the attack on the 'Pollok Free State' camp against the M77 by police and Wimpey employees on the 22nd March.

He is the first socialist outwith the Labour Party to achieve instant public recognition since the days of John McLean, and is a proven communicator, whether on TV or Radio, or in speaking with working class people.

He doesn't drink or smoke, his reputation is intact.

So why does he incur such wrath amongst anarchists and other revolutionaries?

The answer is simple: the Trafalgar Square Riot.

So, why is the Riot so important to the anarchists and why do anarchists south of the border know so little of **Tommy Sheridan** since that one glorious sunny day 5 years ago?

The story of the riot is well documented in the Acab Press pamphlet, "Poll Tax Riot,

*10 hours that shook Trafalgar Square*". Militant members, the stewards of huge marches that day in Glasgow and London were appalled at what they saw as the degeneration of the massive London march, and the media's spotlight on the battle in the square at the expense of news featuring 100,000 demonstrating in London and 20,000 in Glasgow.

Tommy Sheridan was flown down to appear at the end of the London rally and as the 'leader' of the All Britain Anti Poll Tax Federation was pitched into the controversy surrounding the police attack on demonstrators. Sheridan and Steve Nally, the Militant London activist who was the Secretary of 'the Fed.' were instructed by the Militant leadership, then led by Peter Taffe and the ailing Ted Grant that the riot was a 'god-send' to the Tories and would 'alienate' activists from the anti poll tax movement. The script was that "200 to 250 of these individuals intent on causing trouble" had sabotaged the march (Tommy Sheridan BBC 31-3-90).

Urged by the 'consensus conspiracy' that passes for news coverage, Tommy declared "we condemn it totally" and both he and Nally came out with the statement that "our Federation is going to be conducting an internal inquiry to try and root out the troublemakers" (Sheridan, LWT News 1st April) "...which will go public and if necessary name names" (Nally, ITN 1st April).

In the months to come there was uproar in the APTF, both at federation level and in the local Anti-poll tax groups. Dozens of houses in Hackney and elsewhere were raided by riot police. The media conducted their populist witch-hunt to identify the 'ringleaders'. Eventually the clamour died down. Instead of resistance to the poll tax disintegrating it was Thatcher's government which was rocked and a salutary lesson was learned as to 'who your friends were'. The so-called internal inquiry never got beyond the drawing board, such was the level of outrage that basic solidarity with the marchers attacked by the police, imprisoned and in some cases jailed, had been breached.

A year later Militant Labour was formed in Scotland, most of their members having been expelled from their beloved Labour Party. Militant Labour elsewhere took longer to make an impact, which in Scotland, especially clydeside, was helped by Tommy Sheridan's second place to Labour in the Parliamentary Election of 1992, closely followed by his and another victory in the Pollok ward in the District Elections of the same year.

## Rent a Quote

In Scotland, the media spotlight has continued, as Tommy can always provide "rent a quote", especially during the protests against water privatisation and a continued guerrilla war against the dreaded Sheriff Officers. Recently the attention has dimmed, especially with the emergence of the eloquent Lynsey Keenan of Earth First connected to the M77 issue. Outside Glasgow, Scottish Militant Labour has not made much of an impact with the partial exception of Dundee, and the political arena is still dominated by Labour with the Scottish Nationalists trying to muscle in. Elsewhere in Britain, Militant has not achieved the impact or benefits from the organisational stranglehold on the late lamented anti poll tax movement, and they are just another trotskyite marginalised sect along with the SWP and all the others, too numerous and unworthy of mention.

Recently in mid February, the Glasgow Anarchists were host to a visit by 20 comrades

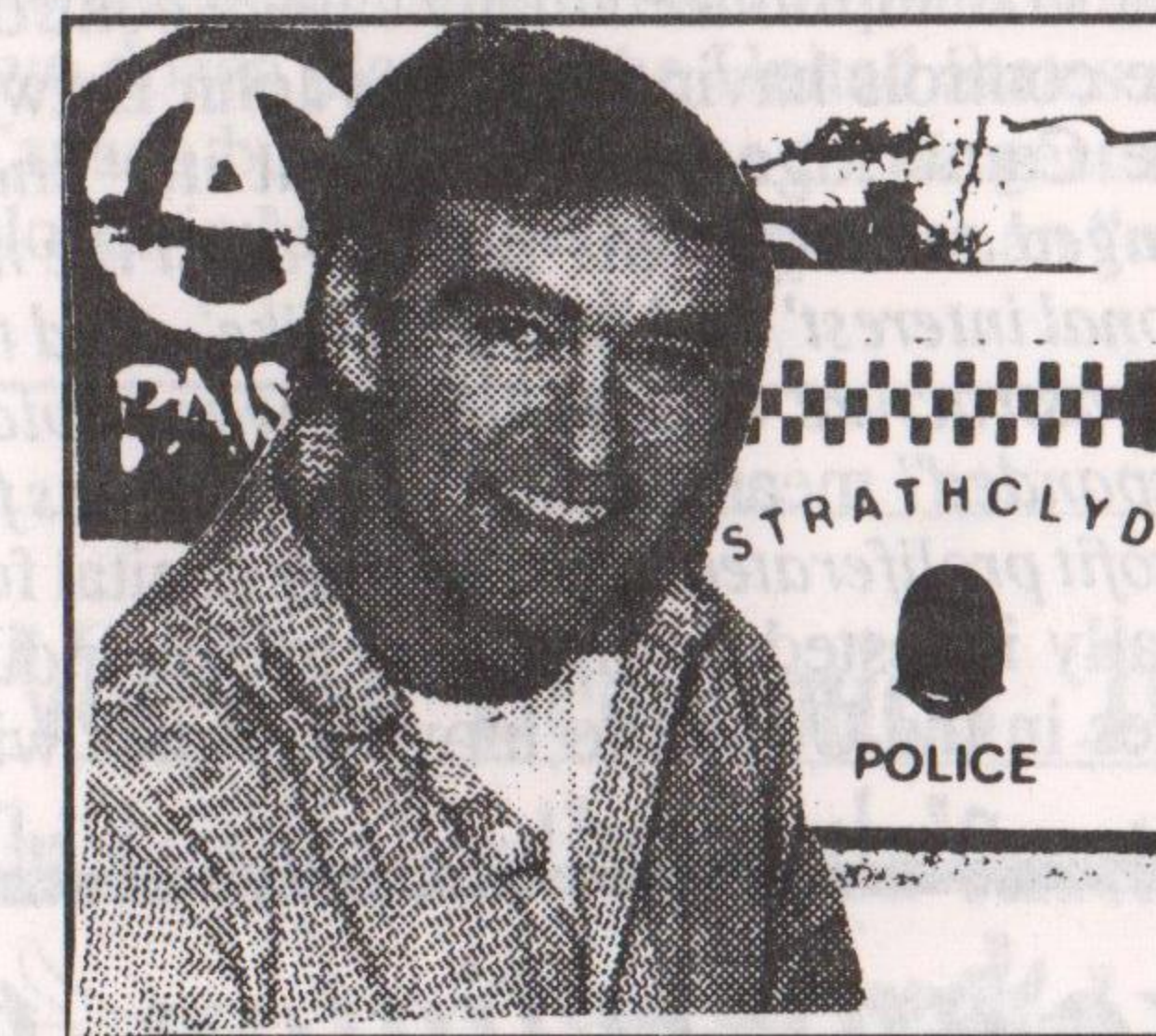
from Tyneside, kindred spirits from a similar working class city: Newcastle. As with previous sorties by English and Welsh anarchists north there is a culture shock, and this was shown in their reaction to Tommy Sheridan up on the platform in George Square at the start of the M77/ Criminal Justice Act Demo. It is hardly surprising that Tommy Sheridan is viewed in the same light as Nally and the other Militant Labour leaders. In "10 hours" the quotes taken from videos of the Trafalgar Sq. riot is followed by the assertion that Militant is "an organisation that is opposed to the working class fighting back". This may be true in England & Wales, Scottish anarchists reserve judgement on this subject. For Scottish Militant, it simply appears false.

## Entrism is Out!

The reason being is that Militant strategy has changed considerably from their days as an entrist Tendency. It is certainly true that few anarchists can match the Militant members from Pollok and elsewhere for their dedication to direct action. Nor are they disarmed by the ethic of pacifism, with many arrests associated with 'fighting back' literally, or failing to respect the property of Sheriff Officers\* and their sub-species. Part of this stems from their recruitment of young people from the housing schemes and the everyday common sense of direct action if you have nothing to lose. As mentioned Tommy Sheridan has led by example, even after elected to the Council, and faced a jail sentence and countless arrests.

Of course the appeal of direct action to Scottish Militant Labour has to be understood. There have been examples in history where Communist Party members took part in such actions, and even the SWP at times

have to show their 'mettle'. The difference is that Militant now places community struggles at the centre of their strategy, no longer giving it second billing to workplace disputes and confrontation is part of the way people can see through the role of Labourism, as defenders of the status quo. Even as far as 'controlling' actions, a level of sophistication appears to have been adopted. The Alliance Against the Criminal Justice Bill, rechristened the Defiance



Alliance is a case in point. Unlike the front organisation character of the Scottish SWP's "Coalition", the Alliance involves ravers, animal libbers, anarchists and - especially Earth First. Such was the structureless nature of the Alliance, the Scottish Federation of Anarchists tried to bring up the formal structure of the organisation at the February Alliance conference. Yes, Militant are dominant, but such the poor record (outside demonstrations) of anarchist involvement it could be a case of - by default.

This begs the question. We have a right to be lazy, but have we revelled in it for too long. Many anarchists drop out because they've 'done their bit', had their youthful rebellion, got wasted and waken up to the

reality of exploitation from such a dreamstate, and in the process collective action goes out the window. We have lacked the sophistication to realise that politics isn't stuck in a mould, and that we have no right to patent direct action as our idea. Possibly, of course, Glasgow Militants are a special case, and the charismatic Tommy has skills rarely seen in the revolutionary mindset. No doubt, taken the longer view, old Bakunin will be proved right again. Lenin's teachings are still followed by Sheridan, down to his assertion in his recent book that there are working class anarcho-syndicalists who understand struggles and the majority are an infantile rabble prone to sectarianism and manipulation by the State, and he believes all English Anarchists belong to the latter camp!

Our criticism of Militant will only stand up if we\*\* have a voluntary commitment to meet the dedication that their Party demands. Anarchist strategy and organisation will have to develop - the formation of the Scottish Federation of Anarchists is a small step, but isn't enough. Questions will have to be answered about who anarchism appeals to, why, and why we let ourselves be marginalised or out manoeuvred time & time again, by the State and by statist revolutionaries. Let's put aside the nonsensical assessment that Sheridan is scarred for life due to Trafalgar Square, respect his and Glasgow Militant's commitment to direct action, match it by our own and, after eating some 'humble pie', rediscover a purpose beyond 'playing hard to get' away from the theatre of demonstrations.

\* Baliffs south of the border

\*\*This criticism may apply to Glasgow Anarchists more than some of their English counterparts!

## Netwars

(continued from page 12)

### The Flower as a Gift of Thanks

In a recent communique from the Zapatistas, written on March 17th, Subcommandate Marcos reiterated the importance of this network coordination. It is obvious from his words that these networks are making a real difference. He said, "and we learned that there were marches and songs and movies and other things that were not war in Chiapas, which is the part of Mexico where we live and die. And we learned that these things happened, and that "NO TO WAR!" was said in Spain and in France and in Italy and in Germany and in Russia and in England and in Japan and in Korea and in Canada and in the United States and in Argentina and in Uruguay and

in Chile and in Venezuela and in Brazil and in other parts where it wasn't said but it was thought. And so we saw that there are good people in many parts of the world..."

Marcos obviously was touched by the fact that people have laboured all over the world for the Zapatista cause. So he closed the communique with a personal thank you: "And we want to say to you, to everyone, thank you. And that if we had a flower we would give it to you... and when they are old, then they can talk with the children and young people of their country that, 'I struggled for Mexico at the end of the 20th century, and from over here I was there with them and I only know that they wanted what all human beings want, for it is not to be forgotten that they are human beings and for it to be remembered what democracy, liberty and justice are, and I did not know

their faces but I did know their hearts and it was the same as ours' ... Goodbye. Health and a promised flower: a green stem, a white flower, red leaves, and don't worry about the serpent, this that flaps its wings is an eagle which is in charge of it, you will see..."

**Scottish Anarchist:  
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you missed one. Also  
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# Capitalism is losing its Barings?

by Pearl

To lose £75 on the horses is unfortunate. To lose £750 million is slightly different. When Nick Leeson lost £750 million on the Tokyo futures market in February, it should have raised more than eyebrows or smiles from anarchists. It should have raised questions.

Barings "misfortunes" have highlighted the issue of economic power and the fundamental changes in the nature of capitalism which we have all had the unpleasant pleasure of experiencing since the 1970's. These changes have important implications for us, our activities and our lives and so must be understood.

As should be obvious to any anarchist, capitalist companies and corporations, by their economic power, control political power, namely the state and in particular Parliament and the executive (i.e. the government). Political power is often powerless in the face of opposition from economic power.

As Noam Chomsky notes, "In capitalist democracy, the interests that must be satisfied are those of capitalists; otherwise, there is no investment, no production, no work, no resources to be devoted, however marginally, to the needs of the general population" (*Turning the Tide*, Pluto, 1985, page 233).

Faced with a government aiming to implement "radical" policies (ie anything that will get up the noses of capital) and "deliver for the needs of working class people" capital would use its economic power to stop or undermine these reforms. How? Simply by moving capital to more profitable countries. Its this economic power that the recent changes within capitalism has increased.

The tendency within capital is for it to become increasingly global in its operations. Transnational Companies are, perhaps, the most well known representatives of this process. Globalisation became noticeable in the early 1970's, partly as a response to popular revolt (the "crisis in democracy" to use the elites term) and partly as the natural evolution of the system. As would be imagined, the political reactions to this process took similar forms in different countries as the underlying economic

causes were similar.

The U.S. eliminated many capital controls, the controls having been, as John Eatwell the Cambridge economist put it, "challenged as 'inefficient' and 'against the national interest' and 'unmarketlike' - and the infrastructure of speculation was rapidly expanded" meaning that "opportunities for profit proliferated" by allowing capital formally invested in high labour cost industries in the U.S.A. to move to states with

**Like any religion, the market is marked by the hypocrisy of those at the top and the sacrifices required from those at the bottom.**

lower costs (John Eatwell, "The Global Money Trap", American Prospects, Winter 1993). In Britain, "Heath... had relaxed many of the controls on the banks in the U.K." (Robin Ramsay, page 2). Both countries floated their currencies (Nixon first, closely followed by Heath). This meant the end of the Bretton Wood system.

The end, in other words, of the post-war economic system.

The long term effect of this has been the reversal of the ratio between foreign exchange transactions of a speculative nature and those for the finance of trade and long term investment. In 1971, the former was about 10%, the latter about 90%. By 1993, speculative transactions stood at 90% of the total. (Eatwell, op cit)

In Britain, the immediate effect was that between December 1971 and December 1974, the total assets of British Banks rose by £48 339 million, or 131%. "Printing money with a vengeance" (Robin Ramsay, page 2). This resulted in inflation reaching 20% just before Heath left power.[1]

The reasons for this have been indicated above, but the subjective factor, namely

popular revolt, without doubt accelerated the evolution to globalisation (as it had the evolution to "national" capitalism, or the post war Keynesianism consensus of limited state intervention [2]). The major problem of the post-war consensus was that "with the full employment policy [this system implied]... it commits the state to bolstering the power of labour. While it helps increase total demand, its fatal characteristic from the business point of view is that it keeps the reserve army of the unemployed low, thereby protecting wage levels and strengthening labour's bargaining power" [Herman, page 93].

## Struggle is bad for business

This resulted in an extended period of capitalist expansion, in which both productivity and wages could increase hand in hand. Unfortunately for capitalism it is in periods of "boom" that the working class is at its strongest. This is the key to understanding the traditional "business cycle" of capitalism. If an industry or country

experiences high unemployment workers will put up with longer hours, worse conditions and new technology in order to remain in work [see "The New Slavery", *Scotland on Sunday*, 9/1/95, for example]. This allows capital to extract a higher level of profit from those workers, which, in turn signals other capitalists to invest in that area. As investment increases, unemployment falls so workers are in a better position and so resist capital's agenda, even going so far as to propose their own (see, for example, the calls for workers control in that late 60's and early 70's). As workers power increases, profit rates decrease and capital moves, seeking more profitable pastures, causing unemployment. And so the cycle continues.

Hence, after the extended period of boom caused by Keynesianism, working class struggle had invoked a capitalist crisis as the rate of profit fell.[3] Inflation, as indicated above, was the first response to this crisis as it "reduced the real wages of workers... [which] directly benefits employers... [as] prices rise faster than wages, income that would have gone to workers goes to business instead" [Brecher and Costello, page 120]. Working class revolt accelerated the process of globalisation and inflation pro-

duced the correct climate for the "deregulation" era of Thatcher and Reagan to be on the agenda.

This era was marked by a move away from the "nanny state" (for the working class at least, not for the ruling class) to "free" markets as part of a "neoliberal revolution". The new consensus not only represented a policy change away from the defunct social democratic one, it also represented a structural change corresponding to the globalisation of capitalism. A process which has benefited capitalism immensely, increasing its size, power and mobility.

## The figures speak for themselves.

From 1986 to 1990, foreign exchange transactions rose from under \$300 billion to \$700 billion daily and are expected to exceed \$1.3 trillion in 1994. The World Bank estimates that the total resources of international financial institutions at about \$14 trillion. To put some kind of perspective on these figures, the Balse based Bank for International Settlement estimated that the aggregate daily turnover in the foreign exchange markets at nearly \$900 billion in April 1992, equal to 13 times the Gross Domestic Product of the OECD group of countries on an annualized basis [*Financial Times*, 23/9/93]. Closer to home, some \$200-300 billion a day flows through London's foreign exchange markets. This the equivalent of the UK's annual Gross National Product in two or three days.[4]

The tele-communications revolution aided this "globalisation" of capital as the "revolution in technology and production is fuelling and being fuelled by globalisation... it means national boundaries and habits are becoming less relevant to business decisions as investment flows and production facilities move in quest of the highest possible returns or market share" according to the *Financial Times* [*Financial Times*, 23/9/94].

## "A level of poverty is sound monetarist policy" (John Pilger)

No wonder this *Financial Times* special supplement on the I.M.F. stated that "Wise governments realise that the only intelligent response to the challenge of globalisation is to make their economies more acceptable". More acceptable to business, not the population.[5] This has seen,

and will increasingly see, what could be recalled a free market in states, with capital moving to states which offer the best deals to investors and transnational companies, such as tax breaks, union busting, no pollution controls and so forth. The "globalisation" of capital aids this process immensely by increasing the mobility of capital and allowing it to play one work force against another.

For example, General Motors plans to close two dozen plants in the United States and Canada but it has become the largest employer in Mexico. Why? Because an "eco-

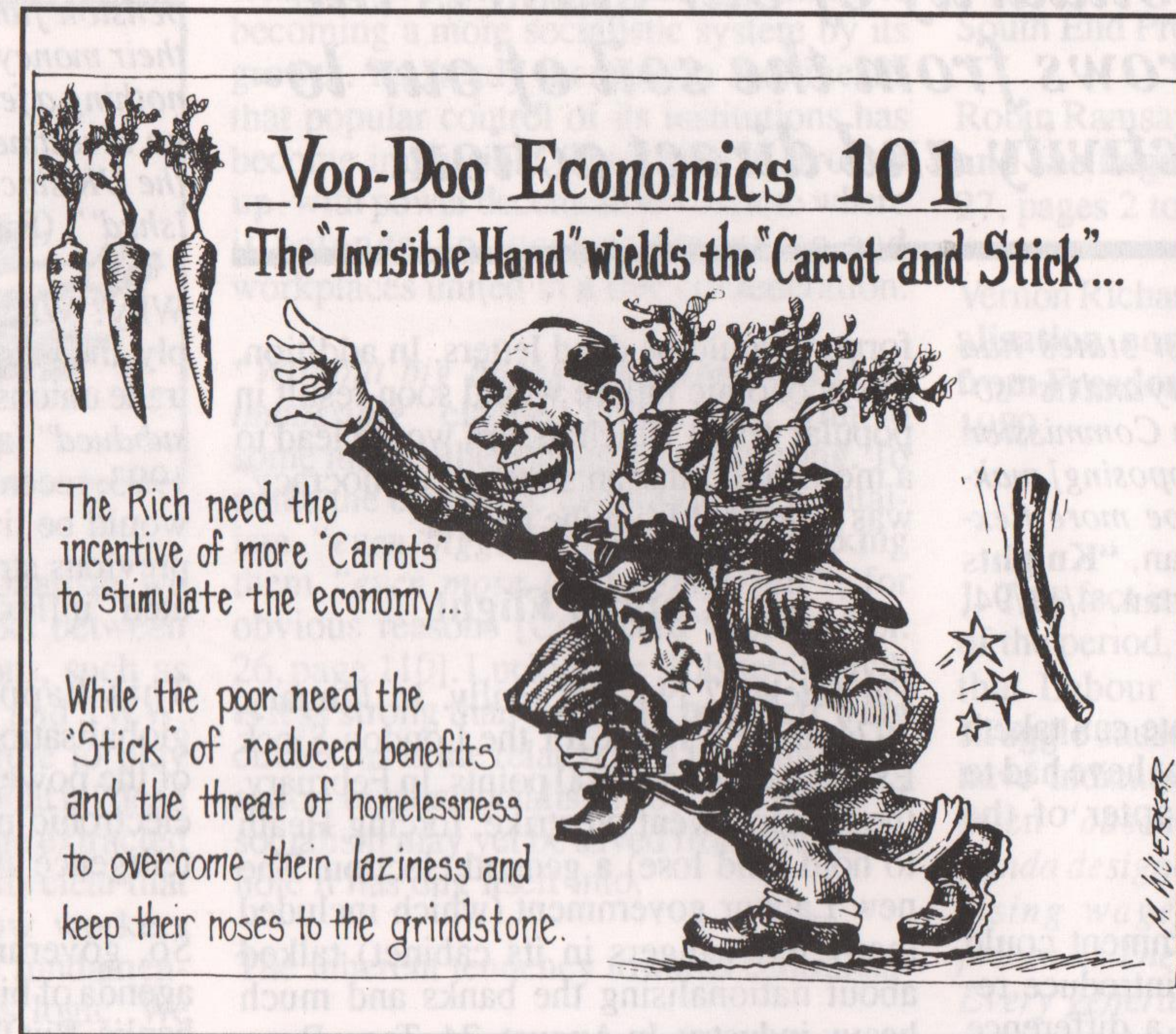
the next stage of global free trade (as represented by GATT) will make things far worse. Global free trade, as the economist Sir James Goldsmith notes, will "shatter the way in which value-added is shared between capital and labour" ("value-added" being the "increase of value obtained when you convert raw materials into a manufactured product") as it will result in a "massive increase in supply [which] will reduce the value of labour". This also mean that management power will increase for when organised labour ask for concessions "the answer will be: If you put too much pressure on us, we will move offshore where we can get much cheaper labour, which does not seek [improvements such as] job protection, long holidays..."

All of which, needless to say, will result in bigger and better profits for the few as we, the real "wealth creators", get a reduced slice of the value we create. As wealth pours up from the working class to the ruling class, the drops from the rich will "increase" (as 10% of 200 is more than 15% of 100). This is the real meaning of the "trickle down" theory so loved by the Tories.

## Free Market, Centralised State

Implied in and paralleling this rise of global capital, we see the emergence of what have been called "superblocks", such as the EU and NAFTA, needed to create "more efficient" regional markets. This regionalisation of markets requires increased political centralisation and further limitations in the power of ordinary people. Taking the EC, for example, we find that the "mechanism for decision-making between EC states leaves power in the hands of officials (from Interior ministries, police, immigration, customs and security services) through a myriad of working groups. Senior officials... play a critical role in ensuring agreements between the different state officials. The EC Summit meetings, comprising the 12 Prime Ministers, simply rubber-stamp the conclusions agreed by the Interior and Justice Ministers. It is only then, in this inter-governmental process, that parliaments and people are informed (and them only with the barest details)" [Tony Bunyon, *Statewatching the New Europe*, 1994, page 39]

However, such centralisation does make it easier for some to influence the political process. Namely, big business. For exam-





ple, the European Round Table (ERT) [6] makes much use of the EC. As two researchers on this body note, the ERT "is adept at lobbying... so that many ERT proposals and "visions" are mysteriously regurgitated in Commission summit documents". Of particular interest here is that the ERT "claims that the labour market should be more "flexible", arguing for more flexible hours, seasonal contracts, job sharing and part time work. In December 1993, seven years after the ERT made its

## The global solidarity of our class is the flower that grows from the soil of our local self-activity and direct action.

suggestions [and after most states had agreed to the Maastricht Treaty and its "social chapter"], the European Commission published a white paper... [proposing] making labour markets in Europe more flexible" (Doherty and Hoedeman, "Knights of the Road", New Statesman, 4/11/94, page 27)

What the state giveth, the state can taketh away. The Tories may soon not have had to bother about the social chapter of the Maastricht Treaty after all.

But surely a "radical" government could resist the forces that be and introduce reforms? Well, firstly, there is a difference between the state and government. The state is the permanent collection of institutions that have entrenched power structures and interests. The government is made up of various politicians. It's the institutions that have power in the state due to their permanence, not the representatives who come and go. We cannot expect a different group of politicians to react in different ways to the same institutional influences and interests. Its no coincidence that the Australian Labour Party and the Spanish Socialist Party introduced "Thatcherite" policies at the same time as the "Iron Lady" introduced them here.[7] The New Zealand Labour government is a case in point, where "within a few months of re-election [in 1984], finance minister Roger Douglas set out a programme of economic 'reforms' that made Thatcher and Reagan look like wimps... almost everything was privatised and the consequences explained away in marketspeak. Division of wealth that had been unknown in New Zealand suddenly appeared, along with unemployment, poverty and crime" [John Pilger, "Breaking the one party state", New Statesman, 16/12/94]

Electoral attempts at change are limited. In

order for a parliament to "deliver" reforms that benefited working class people capital would have to be controlled. This would have one of two effects. Either capital would disinvest, so forcing the government to back down in the face of economic collapse. Or the government in question would control capital leaving the country and so would soon be isolated from new investment and its currency would become worthless. Either way, the economy would be severely damaged and the promised "re-

forms" would be dead letters. In addition, this economic failure would soon result in popular revolt which in turn would lead to a more authoritarian state as "democracy" was protected from the people.

### Capital Flight

Far fetched? No, not really. In January, 1974, the FT Index for the London Stock Exchange stood at 500 points. In February, the Miner's went on strike, forcing Heath to hold (and lose) a general election. The new Labour government (which included many left-wingers in its cabinet) talked about nationalising the banks and much heavy industry. In August, 74, Tony Benn announced Plans to nationalise the ship building industry. By December, the FT index had fallen to 150 points. By 1976 the Treasury was spending \$100 million a day buying back of its own money to support the pound [The Times, 10/6/76].

"The further decline in the value of the pound has occurred despite the high level of interest rates... dealers said that selling pressure against the pound was not heavy or persistent, but there was an almost total lack of interest amongst buyers. The drop in the pound is extremely surprising in view of the unanimous opinion of bankers, politicians and officials that the currency is undervalued" [The Times, 27/5/76]

The Labour government faced with the power of international capital ended up having to receive a temporary "bailing out" by the I.M.F. who imposed a package of cuts and controls which translated to Labour saying "We'll do anything you say", in the words of one economist [Peter Donaldson, A Question of Economics, Penguin Books, 1985, page 89]. We all are aware of the social costs of these policies. And lets not forget that they "cut expenditure by twice the amount the I.M.F. were

promised" [Donaldson, op cit].

Capital will not invest in a country which does not meet its approval. In 1977, the Bank of England failed to get the Labour government to abolish its exchange controls. Between 1979 and 1982 the Tories abolished them and ended restrictions on lending for banks and building societies. The result was obvious, "the result of the abolition of exchange controls was visible almost immediately: capital hitherto invested in the U.K. began going abroad. In the Guardian of 21 September, 1981, Victor Keegan noted that 'Figures published last week by the Bank of England show that pension funds are now investing 25% of their money abroad (compared with almost nothing a few years ago) and their has been no investment at all (net) by unit trusts in the UK since exchange controls were abolished'" (Ramsay, page 3)

Why? What so bad about the U.K.? Simply, the working class were too militant, the trade unions were not "shackled by law and subdued" (as The Economist, February 27, 1993, recently put it) and the welfare state would be lived on. The partial gains from previous struggles still existed and so created "inflexibility" in the labour market.

This happened 20 years ago, when globalisation was in its early stages. Think of the power of capital now, with access to electronic mail, the internet, artificial intelligence and multi-media.

So, governments are constrained by the agenda of big business, multi-nationals and banks. But they are also constrained by the state itself. This is clear from the experiences of the last Labour government. Tony Benn has often written of the battles he fought (and lost) against the civil service and the state apparatus when he held ministerial office and of the disinformation fed to him by his "advisors" in Whitehall.

As Clive Ponting (an ex-civil servant himself) indicates "the function of a political system in any country... is to regulate, but not to alter radically, the existing economic structure and its linked power relationships. The great illusion of politics is that politicians have the ability to make whatever changes they like..." [quoted in Alternatives, no.5, page 19].

### Back to the Future?

As can be seen from the last Labour government, Bill Clinton, New Zealand or Tony Blair, the "lessor" evil is still an evil. They cannot challenge, nevermind change, the fundamentals of the system (assuming, for the moment, that is what they actually want to do). The task for anarchists is to create a real alternative so that we have more options than picking between "evils", so that we can create our own alternatives,

by our own efforts and which reflect our ideas of right and wrong.

That means, in part, recovering the rich tradition of socialist ideas buried after the "success" of the Russian Revolution. The ideas of libertarian, as opposed to state, socialism. These ideas take many names, anarchism, anarchosyndicalism, guild socialism, antiparliamentarian communism to name just a few, but they all share the common ideas of working class direct action, solidarity, self-help, self-reliance and self-liberation.



To meet the globalisation of capitalism, we need to forge international links between countries. Existing organisations, such as the anarchosyndicalist IWA and IWW, while not perfect, have their role to play and should be supported. As capital is "dead labour", part of the surplus value extracted from our labour by the bosses, its clear that by organising with our fellow workers across the globe we can strike fundamental blows to the system and its logic. We have a common interest to do so.

We cannot, however, limit ourselves to workplace organisation, essential as that is. We need to work within our communities as well, as we face the evils associated with capitalism in all aspects of our lives. We need to act locally. Unless we do that any international organisation or activity is hollow. The global solidarity of our class is the flower that grows from the soil of our local self-activity and direct action.

This self-activity will need to build links with like-minded people, in our communities and in our workplaces (via Industrial Networks, as suggested by the Solidarity Federation, for example). Confederations of communal and workplace assemblies, local solidarity centres, cooperatives and credit unions are essential in order to generate a strong backbone of self-managed alternatives which can support and win the class struggle.

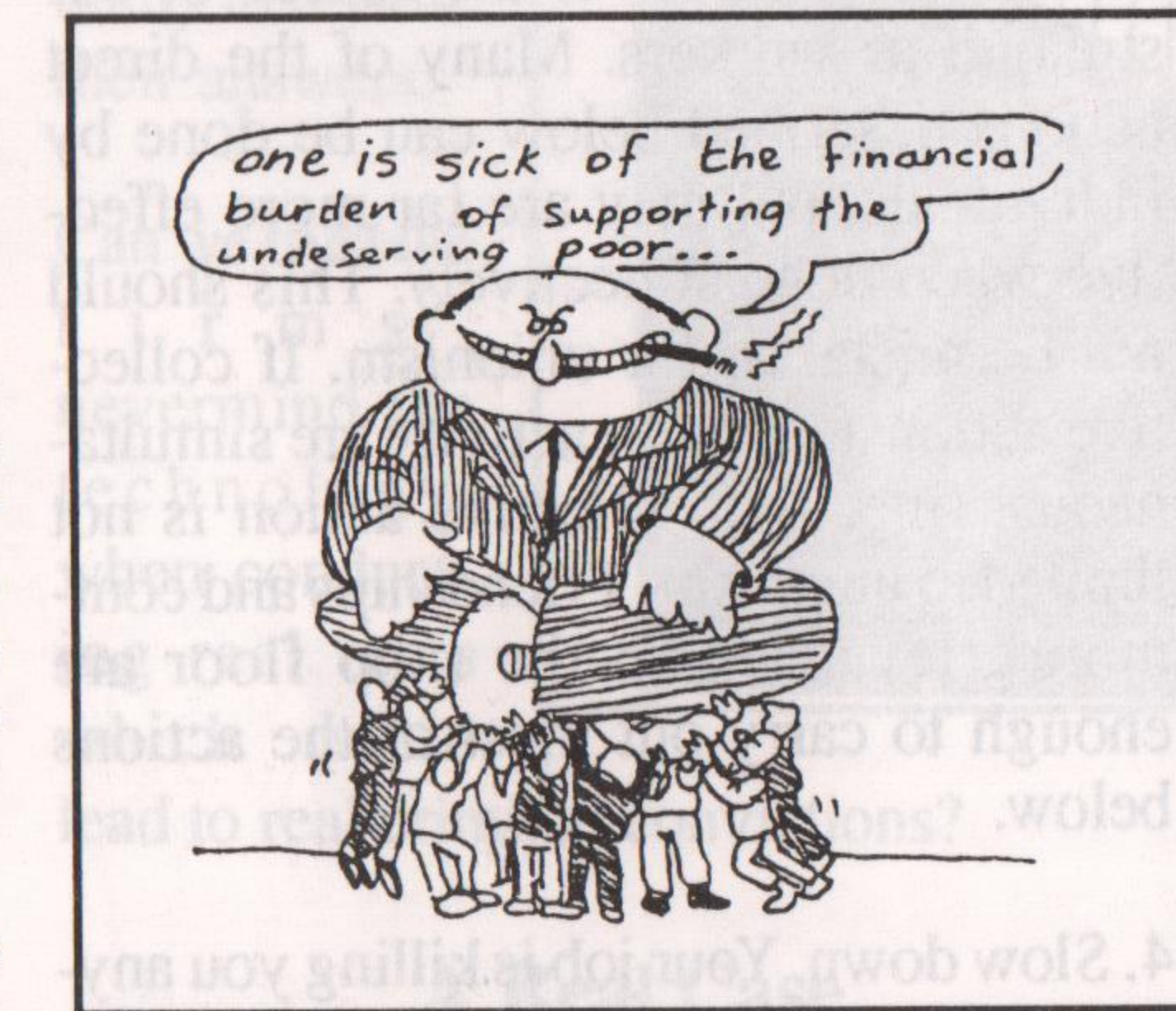
In other words, we have to build in the new world in the shell of the old. But beyond all this, we need a vision of the future and ideas on how to get there. We need **political content** to our activity in order to rise above the reality of capitalism and not sink

into reformism. Political ideas which spring from, learn from and develop with working class struggle and self-activity. Therefore we need a strong and effective anarchist organisation to help spread the idea we can change things by our own actions and that will encourage the spirit of revolt. That such an organisation must transcend national boundaries goes without saying, but like the society we aim for it must be based on local autonomy and free federation. The Scottish Federation of Anarchists hope to be part of such a global confederation.

It has never been the case that capitalism is becoming a more socialistic system by its growth. Its steady increase in size means that popular control of its institutions has become impossible. They have to **broken up**, with power decentralised back to where it belongs, to local communities and workplaces united in a free confederation.

"Without big banks socialism would be impossible" claimed Lenin. Like with so some many other things, he was wrong. To make the economic institutions of capitalism "even bigger" runs against making them "even more [sic] democratic", for obvious reasons [Collected Works, Vol. 26, page 110]. Luckily the Bolshevik myth is less strong than it used to be in left wing circles, as is the related idea that nationalisation equals socialism. [8] The ideals of socialism may yet be saved from the statist hole it has dug itself into.

The inherent tendency towards centralisa-



tion within capitalism runs **against** tendencies to socialism. As Alexander Berkman said over 60 years ago, and what the Barings farce highlights clearly today, the "role of industrial decentralisation in the revolution is unfortunately too little appreciated... in a system of centralisation the administration of industry becomes constantly merged in fewer hands, producing a powerful bureaucracy of industrial overlords. It would be the sheerest irony if the revolution were to aim at such a result. It would mean the creation of a new master class" (ABC of Anarchism, page 79-80).

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## Notes

1. This fact is often ignored in the histories of the period, which are rewritten to imply that Labour Governments and workers struggle cause inflation. As two US writers have indicated from the 1970's, facts are often "obscured by a barrage of propaganda designed to persuade the public that rising wages are the cause of rising prices.... The truth is quite the opposite. Every general increase in labour costs in recent years has followed, rather than preceded, an increase in consumer prices. Wage increases have been the result of workers' efforts to catch up after their incomes had already been eroded by inflation.... The attempt to blame inflation on worker's wage increases is hardly more than a justification for those who want to increase profits by decreasing real wages." (Jeremy Brecher and Tim Costello, page 120).

2. The nationalisation of roughly 20% of economy (the most unprofitable sections of it as well) in 1945 was the direct result of ruling class fear. As Quintin Hogg, a Tory M.P. at the time, said, "If you don't give the people social reforms they are going to give you social revolution". Memories of the near revolutions across Europe after the first war were obviously in many minds, on both sides. Not that nationalisation was particularly feared as "socialism". As anarchists at the time noted "the real opinions of capitalists can be seen from Stock Exchange conditions and statements of industrialists than the Tory Front bench... [and from these we] see that the owning class is not at all displeased with the record and tendency of the Labour Party"



(Richards, page 9).

3. Actual post-tax real wages and productivity in advanced capitalist countries increased at about the same rate from 1960 to 1968 (4%) but between 1968 to 1973, the former increased by an average of 4.5% compared to a productivity rise of 3.4%. As a result, the share of profits in business output fell by about 15% in that period. See Fotopoulos, page 63.

4. This should make any Scottish Nationalist wonder how "independent" Scotland would be in face of such financial power. And for them to ask the questions, independence for who? For what? If independence for ordinary Scots, then how can this be achieved within a capitalist system, dominated by business, politicians and bosses?

5. Such an "acceptable" business climate was created in Britain, where "market forces have deprived workers of rights in the name of competition" (Scotland on Sunday, 9/1/95) and the number of people with less than half the average wage rose from 9% in 1979 to 25% in 1993. The share of national wealth held by the poorer half of the population has fallen from one third to one quarter. However, as would be expected, the number of millionaires has increased as has the welfare state for the rich, with our tax money being used to enrich the few via military Keynesianism, privatisation and funding for Research and Development. Like any religion, the market is marked by the hypocrisy of those at the top and the sacrifices required from those at the bottom.

6. The ERT is "an elite lobby group of... chairmen or chief executives of large multinationals based mainly in the EU... [with] 11 of the 20 largest European companies [with] combined sales [in 1991]... exceeding \$500 billion... approximately 60 per cent of EU industrial production". (Doherty and Hoedeman, page 27).

7. Not that she was that "Iron" when it came to the real sources of power in society, namely capital. Robin Ramsay has done us all a great favour in documenting how "the first big interest group Mrs Thatcher took on was the City - and she lost" (Robin Ramsay, page 4)

8. At the height of Labour's nationalisations, anarchists were pointing out its anti-socialist nature. Nationalisation was "really consolidating the old individual capitalist class into a new and efficient class of managers to run... state capitalism" by "installing the really creative industrialists in dictatorial managerial positions" (Richards, page 10)

## Direct Action: 14 ways to improve your job

1. Workers run the world. Everything would stop without our labour. Withdrawing our labour is our weapon, and the right to run things is our demand.

2. At the same time, most work is a bore. As it is organized in our society, most labour kills the spirit and body of the worker, not to mention the mind. But to simply call for a four-hour day at eight hours pay is not enough. Who will benefit from the automation that could realize such a demand? Who should control technology's introduction and integration into the economy? Potentially, we can.



3. Collective action is the source of our strength as workers. Many of the direct actions described below can be done by individuals, but they are far more effective when done collectively. This should not be mistaken for unionism. If collective action and union activity are simultaneous, fine. But collective action is not limited to unionism. Friendships and common grievances on the shop floor are enough to carry out most of the actions below.

4. Slow down. Your job is killing you anyway. When your boss tries to speed things up, drag your feet.

5. Work to rule. Follow every regulation and order down to the last detail, no matter how stupid they are. If you get absurd instructions, carry them out to the letter to demonstrate how absurd they are.

6. Ask questions. Pick apart your boss' instructions with questions about everything, even about the most mundane details. Plead your ignorance and make your boss show his or hers.

7. Strike through good work. If, as in a

service-industry job, your strike would hurt other people more than your boss, strike by giving the public better or cheaper service, at your boss' expense naturally. Bus drivers can give cheap or free fares, restaurant workers can give heaping servings, hospital nurses and clerks can refuse to process billings or charge for services, etc.

8. Pass the buck. Ask your boss to make every decision and every judgement on the job. You can bury your boss under a load of petty decisions.

9. Don't forget the power of sit-down strikes and wild-cat walk-outs. Well-timed collective action can win a demand or grievance in minutes.

10. Practice deliberate inefficiency (aka "sabotage"). If working conditions are unsafe or brutal, a single loose bolt or missing part might bring things quickly to a halt.

11. Report on poor working conditions and fraudulent practice. Whistle-blowers, especially in consumer industries such as restaurants and hospitals, can be very effective. Call the fire brigade if there's a fire hazard. Call in the health and safety officers. Call the tax man on your boss's dodgy bookkeeping.

12. Everybody call in sick on the same day or days. The sick-in can cripple your workplace in a morning.

13. Take what is rightfully yours. If your boss refuses to give you breaks or longer lunches, get everybody on the job to take them anyway.

14. All of this is the day-to-day preparation for more dramatic forms of action such as a strike in one industry, the general strike of all workers in the economy, and the creation of organs of power and workers' self-emancipation (assemblies or councils) to run society. These forms of direct action, though far more organized, build from the simple direct actions described above.

# D.N.A. - Do Not Accept

The new Criminal (In)Justice Act gives the police powers to take DNA samples. The outcome of this will be a U.K. wide DNA database.

The police will have powers to trawl through this database in a random search for suspects of crime. Michael Howard, at the Tory Party Conference last year, hailed the introduction of this DNA database saying that it would reduce crime and that anyone that had a DNA sample taken would "from that point on know that they were a marked man".

Don't be fooled by Tory lies or science, DNA will not be a solve all for crime.

### Is Your DNA Sample Unique?

The biggest database of DNA to date is that of the F.B.I. in the USA. In this database there were three identical matches of DNA that could not be accounted for as errors or multiple entries from the same person. They were simply removed from the list. Research based on this new database was then published in influential science journals worldwide, stating that no multiple matches of DNA sample existed in the F.B.I. database and so DNA was unique to the individual. However as the F.B.I. files were fiddled with, it is clear that two people can have identical DNA.

Further proof of this came when samples were taken from small numbers of people from two isolated groups of tribal peoples thousands of miles apart. In this small scale study, identical DNA samples were taken from people in these two separate groups. Random matches between individuals do happen. Your DNA is therefore not necessarily unique to you.

### Testing of DNA

The inventor of the DNA test, Sir Alec Jeffrey, says that the result of DNA testing is "guaranteed foolproof from a good quality sample". DNA is therefore not guaranteed foolproof if the people conducting the tests are not working from a good quality sample

The tests are being conducted and copyrighted by private firms such as Cellmark Diagnostics, a subsidiary of I.C.I. In their promotional material they perpetuate the lie that their tests will "identify one human being with absolute certainty from all others". The reality was different when put into practice by the company.

In a blind testing to see how proficient Cellmark were, they made 7 errors from 50 samples. This gave false positives, i.e. a match between two samples where none actually existed. The people running the test them met with Cellmark who were asked to look again at these samples basically giving them an opportunity to rewrite their answers.

Can we trust the firms, nevermind the technology, when conducting real tests which could lead to real criminal convictions?

### A Real Case

After a rape in Largs in 1987, Cellmark were employed to do DNA tests on a suspect. On the strength of the information from the DNA test conducted by them, Brian Kelly was convicted and sentenced to six years in Barlinnie. This was in spite of the mass of other evidence, such as a reliable alibi, to show he was actually innocent. The "foolproof", "scientific" evidence was accepted at face value. Brian Kelly was released in 1993 after serving all of his sentence on the basis of DNA "evi-

### Graham Henderson

dence" alone. There are serious doubts as to whether the tests were conducted properly.

Whether due to laboratory error leading to



cross-contamination of samples or human error of judgement, a person has served a six year sentence for a crime he did not commit. In Brian Kelly's words "DNA has wrecked my life totally".

### Do Not Accept

We must campaign against DNA sampling. We must fight the lie that DNA is foolproof. Don't be blinded by science. Science does not equal truth.

Class War.  
Send £1 to POB 1008  
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# 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.

## As We See It

### Capitalism

Under the present system we have no real say in the decisions that affect us, our communities or workplaces. Instead a minority has this power. This due to their ownership and control of social wealth and the means to create it. In Scotland, 7% of the population own 84% of the wealth. It's the interests of this elite that must be satisfied within "democracy", otherwise there is no investment, no production and no work. This is true for the rest of the capitalist world as it is for the few remaining "Communist" Party regimes.

Economically, capitalism results in power and privilege for the few, sacrifices and alienation for the rest of us. Continually we see the world we live in being destroyed, standardised and packaged so that this elite can make a few more pounds. Capitalism has turned every feeling and desire we have into an object to be bought and sold. Humanity and community have been replaced by price tags and commercials.

Politically, we live in a highly centralised

state, over which we have little meaningful control. Every five years we get the chance to vote for a politician, a puppet for faceless bureaucrats and big business. A cross on a bit of paper for a state which treats us like children, telling us what we can and cannot do. A state that claims to know what's best for us regardless of what we actually think or want and which uses OUR money to subsidise capitalist firms and control us. A state that sends us to fight its wars for more power against its competing rivals. A state which increasingly grants itself more repressive powers in order to control dissent.

Not all working class people are oppressed in the same way. Black people are subjected to systematic racism from the state, from fascists and from individual racists. Women are oppressed by a system of attitudes, ways of living and in-



stitutions based on their domination by men. Lesbians and gay men suffer from bigotry and repressive laws. All such restrictive roles repress all involved.

Discrimination and hierarchical and authoritarian relationships exist throughout society and must be resisted. These social oppressions are only useful to our rulers, as they divide us, getting us to blame other working class people for the problems we all face. They divert our anger away from the system and those who run it.

Every individual, group or people has the right to be itself and to self-determination. But capitalism results in the standardisation of cultures. Individuality, cultural diversity nor popular self-determination can withstand market forces, the power of multi-national companies or the conformity created by state centralisation.

We are against all forms of imperialism, where one country imposes its wishes and values upon another by economic or political means. Such domination can only be resisted by class struggle, not nationalism. Nationalism, like all cross class movements, means only a change in rulers. There are no common interests between the classes. Our lives will be no better under Scottish bosses and politicians. We can only be free in a free world, a world without capitalism and states.

### Resistance

Meaningful change can only happen when ordinary people struggle together to resist power. In countries like Scotland, the vast majority who are excluded from power are the working

class. This includes white and blue collar workers, workers in the service industry, the unemployed and other claimants and people doing domestic work at home.

These struggles take many forms, such as resistance to wage cuts, poverty, sexism, racism, ecological destruction, militarism and so forth. They are fought throughout society, in workplaces, in communities, in the health service, in benefit offices, in prisons.

We in the Scottish Federation of Anarchists are involved in such struggles and aim to encourage tendencies in this resistance towards

- Self-organisation and equality, with people controlling their own struggles and organisations, rather than dependence on and control by leaders.

- Collective direct action, rather than ineffectual lobbying or letter writing.

- Combining workplace and community struggles and organisation rather than their division into different "single-issue" campaigns.

- The revolution of everyday life, not the poverty of consumerism or the boredom of left-wing politics.

- Changing the fundamental aspects of capitalism, rather than tinkering with minor changes.

- Revolution, not reformism, the working class and ruling class have nothing in common.

Struggles must be controlled by meetings of all those involved, with elected committees to carry out day to day tasks. Anyone elected to such a position of responsibility must carry out the wishes of the meetings or be answerable to those involved and subject to instant recall. Alternative forms of organisation must be created.

Resistance should be spread, with links cre-

ated to workplaces and the community. Such links must be of a federal nature, with power resting firmly at the bottom in the hands of those involved. By organising in this manner we ensure that there is active participation in activity and decision making by all involved. Any organisation not based on these principles, such as the trade unions, are part of the problem.

We reject the dead end of electioneering. We must organise and fight where we have real power, in our communities and workplaces. From there we can impose by direct action that which politicians can never get in Parliament. Only this can create the spirit of revolt needed to resist oppression and get improvements in the here and now, as well as creating a new world.



### Revolution

This new world is not for the distant future. It exists now, in our hearts. By organising ourselves, using direct action and showing solidarity we create the ideas and structures of this new world within the present one. Only this will allow us to organise as a class and take-over our workplaces and communities, so winning the class war. Without this take-over we will struggle within the system, but never replace it.

A free society can only be created and run from below, by and for everyone. No political party acting or seizing power on our behalf can do it for us. We reject the "would-be" rulers of left-wing parties and their politics. A free society can never come through Parliament or any other state. Par-

liament is organised to protect privilege and oppression, it cannot be reformed. States, by their structure and internal workings, create bureaucracy, with its own interests, power and privileges. They can never be used to abolish inequality and injustice.

### The New Society

Society can be organised in a better way, one that meets the needs of all and the environment. This society is anarchy (or libertarian communism/socialism).

Anarchism comes from our needs and desires for freedom, equality and solidarity. It is the means by which we, the working class, can win the class war and create the sort of world we want and need.

Anarchism is based on the free federation of autonomous groups, directly controlled from the bottom up by their members. In an anarchist society, self-management replaces government and bosses. This decentralisation ensures that we take control of our own fates, without leaders and led.

Our goal is the creation of a global community where

- The world's resources are held in common

and shared.

- People manage their own lives, work and communities.

- All have an equal say in decision making through decentralised forms of organisation.

- Relationships in all areas of life are based on liberty, equality and mutual respect, regardless of gender, age, colour, sexual orientation, disability or culture.

- People live in harmony with nature.

- Work no longer consists of boring and repetitive tasks but instead becomes a mean of self-expression and fulfilment.

Continued Page 27



# Spain and its Relevance Today

## Part 2 by Iain MacSaorsa

### Lessons from the Spanish Revolution

*"To organise a [libertarian] communist society on a large scale it would be necessary to transform all economic life radically, such as methods of production, of exchange and consumption; and all this could not be achieved other than gradually, as the objective circumstances permitted and to the extent that the masses understood what advantages could be gained and were able to act for themselves"* Errico Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, page 36

In part one, we indicated the social revolution that occurred after Franco's military coup was defeated in the streets. We also said that this revolution was undermined by the state and could not develop fully and that this was caused (in part) by the actions of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. committees. The issue now is what lessons for our struggles and times can be learned from the anarchist movement in Spain and the 1936 revolution?



Anarchist militia dances the Aragonese Jota during a break in the fighting.

We should not rush to condemn the C.N.T. out of hand. We should search for an explanation of what happened. The fact that anarchists joined a government should prompt the question, was the defeat in Spain a defeat of anarchist theory and tactics OR a failure of anarchists to apply their theory and tactics?

It is clear from the actions of, for example, the Makhnovists in the Ukraine during the Russian Revolution that anarchism is a valid approach to social struggle and revolution. So what made Spain "special"?

Firstly, as discussed in part one, the question of antifascist unity. The C.N.T. lead-

ers were totally blinded by this, leading them to support a "democratic" state against a "fascist" one. While the bases of a new world was being created, inspiring the fight against fascism, the C.N.T. leaders collaborated with the system that spawns fascism. As the Friends of Durruti make clear, *"Democracy defeated the Spanish people, not Fascism"* (*Class War on the Home Front*, page 30).

The false dilemma of "anarchist dictatorship" or "collaboration" was a fundamentally wrong. It was never a case of banning parties, etc under an anarchist system, far from it. Full rights of free speech, organisation and so on should have existed

for all but the parties would only have as much influence as they exerted in union/workplace/community/militia/etc assemblies, as should be the case! "Collaboration" yes, but within the rank and file and within organisations organised in an anarchist manner. Anarchism does not respect the "freedom" to be a boss or politician.

Instead of this "collaboration" from the bottom up, the C.N.T. and F.A.I. committees favoured "collaboration" from the top down. This, as indicated in part 1, only favoured the state and the (political and economic) bosses. For example, Gaston Leval indicates that the collectivisation decree of October 1936 *"legalising collectivisation"*,

*"distorted everything right from the start"* (*Collectives in the Spanish Revolution*, page 227) and did not allow the collectives to develop beyond a self-managed semi-socialist condition into full socialism.[1]

### Anarchosyndicalism

The centralisation which occurred within the C.N.T. after 19th July did not "just happen". There are institutional reasons why it occurred. These come from anarchosyndicalist practice.

The fusion of anarchism and the union movement ("syndicalism") is the basic idea of anarchosyndicalism. The unions are enough in themselves and, through the daily struggle for reforms, can lead to socialism. In practice, this does not quite work (unfortunately).

Anarchosyndicalist unions must operate within the same basic situation as normal unions, therefore they come under the same pressures and influences. These pressures of working within the capitalist system (in a unionist manner) produces in all unions the following tendencies:

1. They become bureaucratic/hierarchical, ie to generate "leaders" or union bosses separated from the rank and file. In order to get reforms, the union must negotiate and be prepared to compromise (which in practice means to get their members back to work). This results in the union committees, sooner or later, trying to control their own rank and file. This process of negotiation leads to a leader/led divide.
2. To concentrate on short term economic issues. This is due to the need to attract and keep a large union membership.

It is clear from its history that the C.N.T. was not immune to these tendencies. For

example, the F.A.I. was formed explicitly to combat reformism within the C.N.T. (see Peirats, page 238-9, and Juan Gomaz Casas, page 100, for example). The actions of the C.N.T. during the revolution had historical precedents. Consistently committees had represented plenums with fait accompli and acted without mandates (sometimes in ways contrary to C.N.T. policy). However, it must be pointed out this was minimised by the nature of the C.N.T. although it did happen.

While anarchosyndicalism sees these dangers and tries to combat them, it is clear that it can only partially do so in practice.

In addition, the idea that by controlling the economy automatically means destroying the state is false. This comes from French Revolutionary Syndicalism and not Anarchism. In effect, it means ignoring the state. And ignoring something does not make it go away. This idea can be seen from some aspects of the Spanish Revolution, ie the working class took over the economy but left the state intact. The C.N.T. leadership collaborated with the state (had they become so used to negotiating that they could not see beyond it?) and the rest is history.

However, without the C.N.T. the revolution would not have happened in the first place. The fact that the revolution occurred at all is a glowing testimony to the independence and militancy of ordinary C.N.T. members. An independence and militancy which the C.N.T. structure unlike marxist unions encouraged and not crushed through centralism.

The very structure and practice of the C.N.T. did produce a revolutionary working class the likes of which the world has rarely seen. As Jose Peirats states, *"above the union level, the CNT was an eminently political organisation..., a social and revolutionary organisation for agitation and insurrection"* (Jose Peirats, *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution*, page 239).

### Lessons

The following positive points can be gathered from the C.N.T. and the Spanish anarchist movement:

1. Its structure encouraged the politicisation, initiative and organisational skills of its members. It was a federal, decentralised body, based on direct discussion and decision making from the bottom up.

*"The CNT tradition was to discuss and examine everything"*, according to one militant. As Bakunin said *"the International [ie the union movement] must be a people's movement, organised from the bottom up by the free spontaneous action of the masses. There must be no secret, governmentalism, the masses must be informed of everything... All affairs of the International must be thoroughly and openly discussed without evasions and circumulations"* (*Bakunin on Anarchism*, edited by Sam Dolgoff, page 408).

The C.N.T. rejected full-time officials. Instead union officials were part-timers who did union work either after work hours or, if they had to miss work, they were paid their normal wage. Hence they were in touch with the union members and shared

## Without the C.N.T. the revolution would not have happened in the first place

their experiences and needs as they continued to be workers. This reduced the tendency for union bureaucracies to develop or for officials to become an (unofficial) governing caste within the organisations.

This created a viable and practical example of an alternative method by which society could be organised. A method which was based on the ability of ordinary people to direct society themselves and which showed in practice that special ruling authorities are undesirable and unnecessary. It also proves that anarchist organisation is more revolutionary than "socialist" (i.e. Marxist) forms (which are, at best, more "democratic" forms of capitalist/statist structures).

2. The C.N.T. was organised, primarily, on a local basis. The industrial union federations (ie union federations for one industry) were weak. The real base of the C.N.T. was the regional/local federation of all industrial unions in an area. Hence class wide issues could be fought, industrial divides overcome and solidarity action spread

across industry.

The C.N.T., because of this, fought in and out of the factory for social issues, helping to reduce the tendency towards concentrating only on economics as *"the demands of the CNT went much further than those of any social democrat: with its emphasis on true equality, autogestion [self-management] and working class dignity, anarchosyndicalism made demands on the capitalist system could not possibly grant to the workers"* (J. Romero Maura, *The Spanish case*, page 79, from *Anarchism Today*, edited by James Joll et al. This short essay is very good summary of the history and practice of the C.N.T. up to 1936 (although I feel that it gets certain aspects of Bakunin's ideas on "syndicalism" wrong)).

This is not to ignore the importance of industry wide federations of unions, of course. It just indicates that such forms of industrial unionism can, and do, concentrate on partial aspects of the class struggle and do not generate the same class and social awareness as regionally based organisations.

3. Direct action was used in every case. This raised the consciousness and militancy of the working class better than any election campaign. The benefits of "Doing it Yourself" was seen in practice. This, combined with anarchist organisation, resulted in a movement in which people could transform their assumptions about what was possible, necessary and desirable.

4. The role of anarchists, as anarchists. Without the actions and ideas of anarchists, the C.N.T. would have soon become the same as any other union. The anarchists raised the "moral tone" of the unions and ensured they did not degenerate into reformism. This had been pointed out by many people before hand, for example Malatesta wrote: *"Trade unions are by their very nature reformist and never revolutionary. The revolutionary spirit must be introduced, developed and maintained by the constant actions of revolutionaries who work within their ranks as well as outside, but it cannot be the normal definition of the union function. On the contrary"* (Errico Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, page 117). [2]

The actions of our comrades did make the C.N.T. a revolutionary organisation, did make it operate in an anarchist manner. However, the tactics they used over time



changed. In the late 20s and early 30s, the F.A.I. started to fight reformism by be elected to every union post they could. In the short term it worked, but in the longer term it meant that "if the FAI influenced the CNT, the opposite was also true... anarchism lost much of its special character when anarchists tried to lead the anarchosyndicalist federation. In fact, the anarchists were run by the union..." and "blinkered by participation in union committees, the FAI became incapable of a wider vision" (**Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution**, Jose Peirats, page 239).

This proved to be the undoing of the anarchist movement as the reality of being a union official resulted in militants becoming syndicalists first, anarchists second. As the rank and file militants left for the front, the "moral tone" of the organisation fell. The rank and file were too busy constructing collectives and fighting to effectively control the committees. In this situation, the actions of the committees could not be effectively stopped by the normal C.N.T. procedures (plenums, etc) and by the time anything could be done to stop the consequences of the initial betrayal of the 20th of July, it was too late.

This problem of "officialdom" was seen by many anarchists. As Durruti noted "no anarchists in the union committees unless at ground level. In these committees, in the case of conflict with the boss, the militant is forced to compromise to arrive at an agreement. The contacts and activities which come from being in this position, push the militant towards bureaucracy. Conscious of this risk, we do not wish to run it. Our role is to analyse from the bottom the dangers which beset an union or-

ganisation like ours. No militant should prolong his (sic) job in committees, beyond the time allotted to him (sic). No permanent and indispensable people" (**Durruti The People Armed**, page 216) [3].

However, the dangers of bureaucracy could not be defeated by the tactics of the F.A.I. in the 30's nor by those anarchists who considered themselves as syndicalists first.

5. As noted earlier, for anarchism to succeed the state must not be ignored but smashed and "replaced" by a libertarian structure(s) to coordinate activity. In his history of the FAI, Juan Gomaz Casas (an active Faista in 1936) makes this clear:

"How else could libertarian communism be brought about? It would always signify dissolution of the old parties dedicated to the idea of power, or at least make it impossible for them to pursue their politics aimed at seizure of power. There will always be pockets of opposition to new experiences and therefore resistance to joining 'the spontaneity of the unanimous masses'. In addition, the masses would have complete freedom of expression in the unions as well as...their political organisations in the district and communities" (**Anarchist Organisation: the History of the FAI**, page 188).

As the Friends of Durruti said "A revolution requires the absolute domination of the workers organisations". (**The Friends of Durruti accuse**, from **Class War on the Home Front**, page 34).

Only this, the creation of viable anarchist organisations can ensure that the state and capitalism can be destroyed and replaced

with a just system based on liberty, equality and solidarity.

### By way of a conclusion

Anarchism must be relevant to working class people. We must advocate anarchist tactics and organisation in all struggles. It is clear that to organise anarchists is not enough. We must encourage the organisation of the working class, otherwise "revolutionary" ideas are only the domain of professional revolutionaries. People, under these circumstances, cannot formulate and apply their own agenda and so remain passive tools in the hands of leaders. By permanent libertarian social organisation, people can control their own struggles and so, eventually, their own lives. It accustoms people, through practice, to self-management and so anarchism. The experience of the C.N.T. shows this.

This was the great strength of the Spanish Anarchist movement. It was a movement "that, in addition to possessing a revolutionary ideology [sic], was also capable of mobilising action around objectives firmly rooted in the life and conditions of the working class.... It was this ability periodically to identify and express widely felt needs and feelings that, together with its presence at community level, formed the basis of the strength of radical anarchism, and enabled it to build a mass base of support" (Nick Rider, **The practice of direct action: the Barcelona rent strike of 1931**, page 99, from **For Anarchism**, pages 79-105).

As Malatesta made clear, "to encourage popular organisations of all kinds is the logical consequence of our basic ideas, and should therefore be an integral part of our programme... anarchists do not want to



Anarchist militia in Barcelona prepare to leave for the front, 1936



Revolution

emancipate the people; we want the people to emancipate themselves... we want the new way of life to emerge from the body of the people and correspond to the state of their development and advance as they advance" (**Life and Ideas**, page 90).

This can only occur via popular self-organisation. Bearing this in mind, we must also be aware of the dangers in

the undoing of the largest anarchist movement in the world.

### Notes :-

1. As Bakunin wrote 60 years earlier "In a free community, collectivism can only come about through the pressure of circumstances, not by imposition from above but by a free spontaneous movement from below" (**Bakunin on Anarchism**, page 200). For where else could the

## The lesson from every revolution is that the mistakes made in the process of liberation by people themselves are always minor compared to the results of creating authorities which eliminate such "ideological errors" by destroying the freedom to make mistakes.

anarchosyndicalism. The anarchist movement must not be (con)fused with the mass organisations of the working class ("unions"). The "union" (by which I mean any social organisation organised in a libertarian manner, within and without workplaces, and definitely not STUC trade unions) movement and anarchism follow different, but related paths. These "unions" should be encouraged by anarchists and be as anarchistic as possible in their operation and practice, but they must never replace the anarchist movement (ie certain aspects of anarchosyndicalism as tactics, not principles).

In building the new world we must destroy the old one. Revolutions are authoritarian by their very nature, but only in respect to structures and social relations which promote injustice, hierarchy and inequality. It is not "authoritarian" to destroy authority! Revolutions, above all else, must be libertarian in respect to the oppressed. That is, they must develop structures that involve the great majority of the population, who have previously been excluded from decision making about social and economic issues.

When it comes to mass movements (and a revolution is the ultimate mass movement), the role of anarchists is clear: encourage direct action, decentralised, federal delegate organisations based on direct discussion and direct decision making and destroy the state. Not to do so is to repeat the mistakes of all previous revolutions and which were

impetus for a libertarian social revolution come from unless from "below"?

It is no coincidence that collectivisation was more socialistic in rural collectives as the state was effectively destroyed in many areas (like Aragon) by federations of collectives. As one militant describes the process of collectivisation had to be based on free federation "from the bottom up" :-

"There were, of course, those who didn't want to share and who said that each collective should take care of itself. But they were usually convinced in the assemblies. We would try to speak to them in terms they understood. We'd ask, 'Did you think it was fair when the cacique [local boss] let people starve if there wasn't enough work?' and they said, 'Of course not'. They would eventually come around. Don't forget, there were three hundred thousand collectivists [in Aragon], but only ten thousand of us had been members of the C.N.T.. We had a lot of educating to do". Felix Carrasquer, quoted in **Free Women of Spain**, page 79.

An anarchist society cannot be created "overnight", to assume so would be to imagine that we could enforce our ideas on a pliable population. Socialism can only be created from below, by people who want it and understand it, organising and liberating themselves. The lessons of Russia should have cleared any such illusions about "socialist" states long ago. The lesson from every revolution is that the mistakes made in the process of liberation by people themselves are always minor compared to the results of creating authorities which eliminate such "ideological errors" by destroying the freedom to make mistakes. This only destroys freedom as such, the only real basis for socialism.

2. Such ideas would, now, only be appropriate to rank and file organisations created in and by struggle in opposition to the Trade Unions. The STUC cannot be reformed, so why try? The last 70 years have contained enough proof of this.

3. As an aside, Durruti is echoing Bakunin who said "The purpose of the Alliance [ie anarchist federation] is to promote the Revolution... it will combat all ambition to dominate the revolutionary movement of the people, either by cliques or individuals. The Alliance will promote the Revolution only through the NATURAL BUT NEVER OFFICIAL INFLUENCE of all members of the Alliance" (**Bakunin on Anarchism**, edited by Sam Dolgoff, page 387).

## As We See it

(Continued from 23)

- Education is integrated with daily life to produce free individuals who think for themselves.

- Goods and services are produced directly for human needs in the widest sense.

- The market, exchange and money no longer exist and goods and services are provided free.

### The Scottish Federation of Anarchists

The Scottish Federation of Anarchists is a federation of autonomous groups and individuals, co-operating without any central governing body. We reject centralisation, hierarchy and bureaucracy. We believe in organising ourselves so that we reflect the kind of society we want to see.

While our immediate focus is Scotland, we are committed internationalists and wish to develop links and joint activity with revolutionaries world-wide.

The S.F.A. welcomes the involvement of all those in basic agreement with these principles, regardless of whether they describe themselves as anarchists, autonomists, libertarian socialists/communists or whatever.

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# Anarchism in Glasgow

## Part 2

Charlie Baird Snr, Mollie Baird, John Taylor  
Caldwell, Babs Raeside, Jimmy Raeside, 14/8/87

In August 1987 the Raesides, who had been living in Australia for many years, returned to Glasgow for a visit. This provided a rare opportunity to bring together some surviving members of anarchist groups in Glasgow during the 1940s for a public discussion on the history of that movement and the lesson which can be learned.

**JTC:** What did you think of Eddie Shaw as a speaker?

**CB:** Well, I didn't agree with his type of propaganda. He could draw a crowd; he could hold a meeting, but you always got the feeling that Eddie was speaking for Eddie and his distinctive propaganda was different from Jimmy's. Jimmy was a very capable speaker. The difference was that Shaw's type of propaganda and perspective was that Shaw pandered to an audience, he commiserated to them in their misery and all the rest of it. You could see blokes bring their wives up to hear him. Raeside sent them away thinking - this was the difference. I didn't agree with Shaw - I told him that at the time.

**MB:** The apprentices strike: now, we had about a dozen apprentices at the time...

**Q:** When was this, Mollie, '44?

**MB:** '45 I would say.

**JR:** They started coming in before that - Roy Johnston and that - that was before...

**MB:** That's right. They were holding meetings down at Clydeside, like at...

**JR:** John Browns Yarrows, right along the Clydeside...

**MB:** ...and these young apprentices were getting interested. Then the apprentices strike - and we had about a dozen young apprentices coming in - Bobby Lynn was one of them, and a big fellow - Willie Johnston - not that he was much of an anarchist, he stood for Lord Provost of Clydebank before he finished up. The boys were really keen, Spain had just finished and they were still interested in Spain. Johnston had a conference that Sunday and, just to give you an insight into Shaw: if you could have got Chic Murray, the comedian, he would have been just about as good. Charlie got this boy Johnston to go up on the platform, he was doing quite well, he said: well, I'm

not a speaker, but Charlie said: We'll help you if you get into difficulties. The boy had a marvellous meeting and the other apprentices were asking questions, and he even did quite well in answering these questions. The boy was holding their attention, but Eddie said: You know, they're only holding on waiting for me. The man's head was that size!

**JTC:** He was a forerunner of Billy Connolly.

**MB:** Eddie was in America for a few years - he was a fender-bender. He wouldn't work for a boss, he would only do for the different garages which would employ him. His wife used to say, come on in Eddie when he was standing watching the suckers (and he said "suckers" from the platform!) putting in the hours. Now you know you've got to do something to get money but...

**CB:** That was the debit side of Eddie Shaw, but there's another side of him. He was an asset of the movement, I recognised that. I didn't agree completely with the type of propaganda - he was comical, funny, entertaining, a carefree type of person. There was a place in the movement for him, he was an asset. Mollie gave you another side of him, but then we could live with that, it wasn't doing the movement any harm. Except that he was a personality with most of the other members, and this is one of the lessons to learn from anarchist groups who broke up and disappeared. We have to ask ourselves the question: why? what happened? If we don't learn from them, it's worse. I'd suggest to young anarchists today to consider these aspects of the problem. I'd say the responsibility to prevent these splits is to be vigilant about personalities and see that no-one constructs power from the group; once that happens that's the beginning of the end for the group. We may have mentioned certain comrades, but you have to understand I still liked Shaw, in spite of all the thing we've said about him. Leech I couldn't like - some people excused him by saying he was naive - he was naive but he was dangerous. He contributed most to the split within the group by his activities.

### During the war

**Q:** What may amaze many people sitting here is that this was all happening in the



Jimmy Dick in Brunswick St., 1945

middle of the Second World War, which was meant to be mass united patriotism united everyone against the common foe. Here we're getting a picture that in Glasgow it was a bit different. Maybe we haven't talked about the industrial front, as well, the opposition to the CP collaborating with the bosses.

**MB:** Yes, that certainly did happen.

**JR:** I understand that at that time when the CP in New York were discussing it, one bloke went to the toilet and when he came back the position of the group had changed!

**JTC:** One I can tell you intimately about was that Harry McShane was due to go down to Brunswick St to speak on a Sunday morning. He got his orders to change completely and call the war a people's war, a patriotic war, a war against fascism, and he didn't know where he was - he had to read it. He only spoke about 20 minutes, so that he could report back to the party that he had held the meeting as directed. They did such a somersault. But then he (CB) was going into more theoretical stuff... The difficulty is that in the anarchist movement there's always lack of definition: get 3 anarchists together and they'll give you 30 definitions of what anarchism is, because by its very nature it's indefinable because it's without authority. Therefore you have different kinds of anarchism. Talking of personalities and clashes within the movement: Bakunin and Marx destroyed the 1st International between them and although Proudhon was dead, his influence was so great that Marx moved the centre of the International movement from France to Germany, in which it became connected with Kautsky and took on Social Democratic character, which was later reflected in the ILP and the Labour Party...

The movement has been riddled with dissention the whole time, with personalities - we've just got to contend against that, try to clear your way through that and see what you can find solid. Now there's many

different schools of anarchism. Guy used to say there were 7, but two which seem to come to the fore now and again were anarchism and egotism, that is Max Stirner's "Ego and His Own" in which an anarchist was an individual and a multiplicity of anarchists were a concourse of individuals, and these individuals had to find some common denominator in running society, but these individuals were all persons in their own right. Now, the Kropotkinite anarchists were anarchist-communists - in simplistic terms, an ego is not a person bounded by his skin from head to toe, an ego is a ramification of all his associations... and his associations go back beyond his present time, beyond your 20 years away back into the past, so that we inherit much of our ego, much of our responsibility. Therefore a centre of our egoism should be a concept of the community. He tried to prove this was



a predominating feature in biology from the beginning of time and one of the causes of evolution - not "nature red in tooth and claw" as Darwin had said and the capitalists were now using... That's two different clashes you had. You can, when you join a movement, have at the back of your head "I am but an integral part of a community. What I do has to be related to the advantage of a community. Mixed with other people I can develop what's inside myself, my own personality, that's my anarchy"... You do not accept standardised authority for its own sake...

That's two different types of anarchism. Bakunin had a slightly different one...

### Egoism and Mutual Aid

**Q:** Can we explore the situation in the 1940s with these three different movements: Guy Aldred's USM, the Anarchist Group, Willie MacDougall's group. Did people get

on? Was there mutual aid in relation to the anti-war movement, etc?

**JTC:** No, there wasn't mutual aid.

**JR:** There was indeed, there was a great deal of mutual aid.

**JTC:** Well, we both look from different aspects.

**CB:** As a matter of fact, in the Glasgow group, it was split too. This didn't contribute to the ultimate split, but the group was split over the question of mutual aid and the ego. Eddie Shaw was an egoist; he was a Max Stirner man, and it was a bible with him, he carried it in his pocket every day and crusaded with it. On the other hand there was Jimmy Dick who was a Kropotkin man. It became so tedious that we had a debate on it. So Shaw and Jimmy

Dick put their cases and we were still split. In fact from my own point of view and others too, mutual aid and the ego weren't antagonistic at all, they were complementary. First of all take the ego: a herd of buffalo - why do they herd together? For the maximum of safety - that's mutual aid. It comes from the self, the ego, the individual. So there's no conflict between the ego and mutual aid in that respect, and that was pointed out to Jimmy Dick and Eddie Shaw and we heard no more about it.

**JTC:** George Woodcock in his study of anarchism refers to the Glasgow anarchists as a small group who are still Stirnerites, believing in Egoism. Now, I know that Eddie Shaw believed that, he once had quite a long talk with me,

but he was a crude Stirnerite. He said to me "I believe in Number One - Get what you can out of it" And he said of fixing his cars: You see the one that's going to give you the most, and hang on to him. That was his concept.

**CB:** He didn't relate it to the group. Conscious Stirnerites, through self-interest, would identify their safety in numbers and that we can achieve more in numbers than as an individual...

**JR:** One point regarding that, this attitude towards the ego. I believe (with Bertrand Russell) that the most we can hope from the individual in our society is intelligent self-interest, and if he is intelligent he'll see that cooperation is going to be a great deal better than confrontation.

**JTC:** That's asking too much. The intelligent self-interest of most people means getting themselves and their family on...

**JR:** Well, it's hardly very intelligent then, is it?

**JTC:** Mrs Thatcher in one of her last speeches (you must listen to Mrs Thatcher, she's a genius of mediocrity) said that a person should do the best for themselves and get the best they could out of society and pass it on to their son. She said that is the deepest morality. That's not the deepest morality.

**JR:** I believe literally in what you just said she said. Because I don't think she meant it the way you meant it. That you should screw everyone else - that's hardly intelligent self-interest. I think the norm of intelligence doesn't vary very much and we're all products of our environment, which includes even our parentage and our upbringing.

**JTC:** No, I'd say the fact of economism, trade unionism gathers strength in countries before anarchism does proves that people re out for what they can get. That has been the bugbear of socialism.

**JR:** The people who make a living from trade-unionism are very much to the fore in persuading people to accept that outlook.

**JTC:** Very few strikes are entirely idealistic. They're about 3p more because the labourers got a rise: they're differentials.

### Strikes

**Q:** What about the strikes in 1944: the apprentices, the strikes in Lanarkshire, etc?

**MB:** What was the apprentices strike about in 1944?

**CB:** Wages.

**JTC:** They were still getting 8/- a week and with the war there was inflation of wages, but the boys weren't getting it.

**Q:** And fighting for their rights?

**MB:** Plus the fact that boys who were not fully-fledged journeymen were doing men's work...

**JTC:** That's true. They were making the fourth year apprentices do men's work.

**MB:** And sending an apprentice along with an apprentice.

**Q:** What about the printing press question? You've talked about the problems with Freedom Press in London. Guy Aldred had his own printing press, but it was the one time there was a really strong anarchist group in Glasgow - did you never think of doing your own paper?

**MB:** We did.

**CB:** After the split we did produce a paper, "Direct Action" but it was mostly indus-



trial.

**JTC:** Willie MacDougall did a paper? Who produced "Advance" and "Solidarity"?

**MB:** Willie MacDougall did his own "Solidarity" but "Direct Action" was another wee printer, an alternative to...

**CB:** While that issue was going on about more industrial news in "War Commentary", I suggested to the Glasgow Group, that we had the money and could produce an organ of our own, quite a substantial thing too, but, of course, Shaw and Leech sabotaged that too. But with the benefit of hindsight, as Mollie said earlier on, the majority weren't anarchists, just camp-followers suffering from a leadership complex.

**MB:** We had one good wee Irish guy, wee Reilly, he had a huge meeting one Sunday in Princes St, and was doing quite well and got very excited and said "If you want a leader I'll lead you!" The majority did require a leader.

**JTC:** What was the name of the old fleapit cinema you (JR) used to fill every Sunday in Partick?

**JR:** No, the only one was the Cosmo in Rose St.

**MB:** Oh, the Grove.

**Q:** Did the women play a distinctive role in those days?

**MB:** No, women play a part, they're merely a part. I'm against all this gay movements and black movements and womens movements. If you're an anarchist, you're an anarchist and it doesn't matter what section of them you are. If you start splitting them into groups you're going to have less.

**JR:** Babs was minutes secretary...

**BR:** And also made tea!

### Social Life

**Q:** What social events were organised besides the business meetings?

**MB:** Well, they had dances, we had groups playing...

**CB:** Drinking sprees...

**MB:** Even in Guy's...

**JTC:** You look at "The Spur" and you'll see adverts for days in the Waverley, the paddle-steamer. It cost about 2/6 for the whole day. We did a lot of these things. Then you had fighting things too... Other socialist groups, the cycling club...

**MB:** The Clarion Club, that did a marvelous job, but the Communists bust that up. The Clarion rooms were up in Wellington St. You didn't have to be in a group at all;

they had tea rooms, all these things...

**JTC:** Snooker...

**MB:** That's right and social evenings, which all helped to defray expenses. The Clarion Club covered a long period. And they had camping facilities out in Carbeth. The CP went in and started to run it too. By the time they were done, there was no group.

**JTC:** But also the deterioration in social standards helped. The Clarion had a place in Queens Crescent, that was their club, but in no time the billiard balls were pinched the tablecloths were ripped - all sorts of things which never happened before the war. Things were sabotaged, graffiti on the



lavatory walls; that never happened before the war.

**MB:** Even during the war.

**JTC:** A general deterioration of social standards which happened at the end of the war, because the war broke down inhibitions. Young fellows of 18 or 19 were smashing windows in Germany and pinching things, they carried that back with them. They didn't break them down in a revolutionary sense, where you did things because you were an anarchist or because you were showing you were opposed to authority, you did it for sheer irresponsibility. All the framework of society had been shattered and that's how it started and it helped destroy the Clarion.

**MB:** They didn't have a watch committee as such. But it was yours, so everyone looked after it. It was a workers' thing.. Parents could let very young children go cycling with them, because the strongest waited for the weaker... there was none of this out-to-win. In the rooms it was the same, you just saw that the rooms were looked after.

**JTC:** They also had caravans pulled by horses from village to village...

**Q:** Were the socialist sunday schools connected to the Clarion Clubs?

**MB:** No. I was taken very young to the APCF, I knew about the rooms in Clarendon St, and also about Bakunin House. Tom Anderson ran a Socialist Sunday School. They met...

**JTC:** They met in Methven St in Govan but there may have been other places...

**MB:** Originally in Bakunin House, merely a let. That was my first visit, I was 5 or 6 at the time. They moved away then, and it was too far for us to travel from the north of Glasgow. The College Sunday School was predominantly ILP, not because the ILP ran it. There was a bond between even-pink revolutionaries at that time, that you gathered together. We went to the College Socialist Sunday School. It started down at College St and went from that. Again, it burst up - there's no socialist Sunday School.

**Q:** What do you think caused the lull in anarchism after the Second World War? And what do you think of the upsurge in militant anarchism?

**CB:** There's always been a continuation of splits. Anarchist movements have drifted away and disappeared, but there's always another crops up again. Right from the beginning of the anarchist movement, as Caldy described. There will always be an anarchist movement in Britain now. We've got to try to assess just what happened to those movements which disappeared. They didn't die a natural death. That's what I was trying to get at tonight. As long as we allow people to dominate within groups there will be splits. And if we are anarchists, we shouldn't allow them, because that's one of the principles of anarchism.

**JTC:** I must have been at thousands of group meetings and always a personality appears, and when it comes to voting, they want to see how he's going to vote, and you get the votes swung by a person who has the power of speech rather than by pure logic.

**CB:** I can recognise that Raeside was a great speaker and can hold an audience for hours; I can recognise that Guy was a great speaker, but I never looked up to them, never treated them as personalities, though they had charisma or anything like that. If I did, I'd know I was suffering from an inferiority complex. No anarchist should suffer from something like that.

[Tape ends here]

Transcribed in November 1993 from a not-always-clear cassette tape.

Audio copies can be obtained by contacting Scottish Anarchist Part 1 of this interview is contained in issue 1 of Scottish Anarchist.

# Just like a ball and chain...

## Introducing the electronic ball & chain...

A little black box attached to the ankle or wrist marks the start of new curfew laws in Britain. Home Secretary Michael Howard has announced trials of electronic tagging of 'offenders' which he believes will eventually become the principal community sentence with up to 20,000 orders imposed a year. People will be confined to their homes for between two and 12 hours a day for up to six months. If they move out of the range of a designated telephone the black box will transmit a signal down to a central monitoring centre.

**Securicor** have 'won' the £1.4 million contract for the trials in Manchester, Reading and Norfolk to begin in June of this year. They will be required to consider all violations of a curfew order and take appropriate action. Serious violations would include "being absent from home for more than 24 hours without a reasonable excuse" which would trigger immediate court action - supervised by **Securicor**. Other violations include "interference to the monitoring system caused by the actions of others such as pets, children or other householders. Examples could be the disconnection of the power supply or telephone link; the phone repeatedly left off the hook or repeated mi-

nor tamperings".

Not only do **Securicor** have no experience of dealing with offenders, they face huge practical problems. For a kick off, "suppliers" must first attempt to install a telephone if one is not already available but their staff have no legal right of entry to the offender's home and can only visit with consent. Secondly the tags have got to be difficult to remove - it was tried in Nottingham four years ago and was "a complete farce" with people simply removing the box undetected. In the US, where electronic tagging is already in force, 'correction staff' only discovered one woman under a curfew order was dead after two weeks. In addition people with jobs could not be tagged during working hours.

## Private Cops?

Court action supervised by **Securicor** means that for the first time in the history of British criminal justice private security companies are to be given powers to prosecute offenders as well as organise and supervise their sentences.

The departure is now just part of the Gov-

ernment's plans for the electronic tagging of offenders but it could soon be vastly widened to cover a range of police roles. **Group 4** has already made representations to take over running what they term "police custody suites" (in reality: police cells) although they are understood not to be interested in street patrolling.

There is no accountable regulation of private security industry which now has more personnel (167,000) operating in the UK than police officers (127,328) and which includes firms who already possess dire reputations.

Is this the end of the police as we know it? A review by chief constables of police functions which could be taken over by private security companies is in the pipe-line. Are some police functions going to be privatised? Will the polis be up for competitive tendering in the near future?

One thing is sure, rent-a-cops are still cops.

Also coming soon in Britain 1995 :  
ID CARDS (Green Paper);  
NATIONAL DNA DATABASE (FORCED MOUTH SWABS) (Section 59, CJA);  
ARBITRARY STOP & SEARCH ('SUS' LAWS) (Section 60, CJA);  
CHILDREN'S PRISONS (Part I, CJA);  
BUILDING PRISON SHIPS (Section 100, CJA);  
BLANKET SPY CAMERAS (incl. Section 163, CJA);  
MORE FORCED MEDICATION FOR MENTALLY ILL (Supervised Discharge Orders, Mental Health Act amendment);  
ABOLITION OF RIGHT TO SILENCE (Section 34-38, CJA) .....

## McQuotes (continued)

"On any given day, McDonald's serves less than one half of one per cent of the world's population. That's not enough. We're like Oliver Twist, we want more." Michael Quinlan, Chief Executive of McDonald's quoted in "The Independent" (27/4/94).

"One of our tactics is to reach families through children." John Hawkes, McDonald's UK Chief Marketing Officer.

"Children are often the key decision-makers concerning where a family goes to eat." Offering toys is "one of the best things... to make them loyal supporters." Birthday parties are "an important way to generate added sales and profits". "Ronald loves McDonald's and McDonald's food. And so do children,

because they love Ronald. Remember, children exert a phenomenal influence when it comes to restaurant selection. This means that you should do everything you can to appeal to children's love for Ronald and McDonald's." Extracts from the corporation's official and confidential "Operations Manual".

"I brainwashed youngsters into doing wrong. I want to say sorry to children everywhere for selling out to concerns who make millions by murdering animals." Geoffrey Guiliano, the main Ronald McDonald actor in the in 1980's who quit and publicly apologised.



*The truth behind the mask!*