

anarchist fortnightly **Freedom**

Vol. 56 No. 23

2nd December 1995

FIFTY PENCE

"Selfishness is not living as one wishes to live. It is asking others to live as one wishes to live."

Oscar Wilde

POWER WORSHIP AND THE 'BOSNIAN PEACE'

The sanctions against Serbia are lifted as the politicians of the western powers scatted the doves of peace in the aftermath of the dawn of the Balkan peace deal. A peace proclaimed in umpteen parliamentary assemblies and newspaper headlines throughout the western world. A bright-faced Bill Clinton was able to show himself in the Rose Garden as the harbinger of peace in the Balkans before going off to rev-up his re-election plans for the coming presidential campaign.

Bosnia has been partitioned! In the

end one suspects it will be carved up between the Serbs and Croats, but for the time being the Moslems will be stuck in a 'federation' with the Croats in which the Moslems will be the junior partner. The Moslems have been ditched by their US supporters, like Clinton, in favour of the Croats.

The Moslems of the Bosnian government never looked like winners! The US government was never going to back a losing team like that of President Izetbegovic of Bosnia, but the Americans had to placate their Moslem allies in the

Middle East, like Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and so on, who are angry about developments in former Yugoslavia. Clinton at first called for a lifting of the arms embargo, which cost nothing to the United States and gave the appearance of doing something to the Middle Eastern allies.

Later this year real politics took over and Mr Clinton started supporting the Croats. This summer a US trained and backed Croatian army got the go-ahead from NATO and the Americans to take Krajina and drive the Serb population out. Krajina has been a Serbian region of Croatia for generations. As Michael Ignatieff says, Croatia's President Tudjman may be a bastard, but the Americans concluded that he's *our* bastard. This means that Croatian ethnic cleansing will have the stamp of American approval. Finally this US support for the Croatian side, together with the economic sanctions against Serbia, forced the Bosnian Serbs to do a deal in Dayton, Ohio.

(continued on page 2)

ECSTASY, AGONY AND ETHANOL

A couple of weeks ago the media was full of the case of Leah Betts who died after taking a tablet of Ecstasy (methylene dioxymethyl amphetamine). There is an official estimate that between 25 million and 60 million Ecstasy tablets a year are consumed, and these result in five or six deaths a year.

In Leah Betts's case there was early speculation about contamination, since the manufacture of Ecstasy is illegal and therefore uncontrolled, but the tablet was shown to be pure. There was also talk of allergic reaction. The post-mortem showed, however, that this was a tragedy of inadequate information. Users must remember to drink without feeling thirsty and rest without feeling hot, as the effect of the drug is to inhibit normal responses to energetic activity. Leah Betts apparently knew the rule but not the reason for it, and drank without feeling thirsty to the extent that she died of over-diluted blood. Groups like Release renewed their long-standing demand that the official 'Just Say No' campaigns be supplemented by proper information for those who prefer to say Yes, and the Health Education Council has at last announced that it will do this.

A huge police operation is underway to find the supplier of the drug, and it is not impossible that he or she may be charged with manslaughter. Meanwhile Leah's distraught father has stated that he would like the supplier to be convicted of murder

and sentenced to death.

About 600 people a year, mostly young, are poisoned to death by ethanol, and others are permanently brain damaged, not as an allergic reaction but as straightforward poisoning when ethanol in the blood reaches the critical concentration. Some hundreds more, mostly middle-aged, die of *delerium tremens*, the withdrawal syndrome of ethanol addiction. There are many deaths in ethanol-induced fights, and more people are killed and injured by people driving cars while befuddled with ethanol than by all other types of violent crime put together.

This does not prove that ethanol is more dangerous than Ecstasy, as thousands of millions of gallons of booze are consumed against only tens of millions of Ecstasy tablets. But it seems reasonable to ask why suppliers of Ecstasy should be pursued and prosecuted while suppliers of ethanol should be regarded as pillars of the community.

Or, some to that, why Clare Short, the Shadow Minister of Transport, should have been repudiated and forced to retract the moderate suggestion that a committee might be set up to consider whether cannabis might be decriminalised. A medical report suggests that cannabis is more dangerous in Britain than in the United States because of the peculiarly British custom of mixing it with addictive and lethal (but legal) tobacco.

It might be that middle-aged journalists, politicians and even magistrates are keen boozers, but totally ignorant of Ecstasy or cannabis. Consequently they may see ethanol consumption as wholesome, provided it is not excessive, but Ecstasy or cannabis as deeply immoral. 'Alcohol abuse' means booze in vast quantities. 'Drug abuse' means even the tiniest amount of a recreational drug which happens to be illegal.

Exhortations not to drink and drive over the Christmas season always include the reservation 'we don't want to stop anybody having a good time', meaning by 'anybody' anyone whose idea of a good time is to get pissed. Those whose idea of a good time is to get high on Ecstasy or stoned on skunk are not included. Users of 'hard' drugs are considered fiendish.

All drugs are dangerous. We do not condemn, but do not recommend any recreational drug, legal or otherwise. We do contend, however, that the debate about drugs would be more rational if there were no prohibitive laws.

POWER WORSHIP AND THE 'BOSNIAN PEACE'

(continued from page 1)

Civilised warfare

NATO will now take over where the United Nations failed. The new world order will be imposed, as its generals and politicians stamp on this ethnic theatre of eastern Europe. But war weariness apart, there are too many loose ends in this latest deal. As Simon Jenkins in *The Times* declares: "NATO is going to war in an inappropriate theatre, with no clear military objective beyond holding two sides apart until it leaves again, as soon and as triumphantly as can be stage-managed."

British troops in Bosnia will henceforth march to NATO's tune! In the Dayton deal our troops will be going into Bosnia as part of the biggest army that NATO has assembled. A NATO command will mean they are going to be played with as the puppets of US domestic politics.

Before the British troops were in the Balkans as part of the United Nation's force to protect the delivery of humanitarian relief. From now on they will be part of a buffer force in any rough-house between the warring parties. They will be the frontline in the battle for the reputations of men like Mr Clinton and Mr Riffkin.

Some will argue, like Michael Ignatieff, that the Western powers and Europe in particular must defend the status of its 'moral universals'. He says these ideals - human rights, international humanitarian law and the law of war - belong to the tradition of European 'moral universals'. These rules of war were not respected in the Balkan wars.

Mr Ignatieff claims: "Civilised warfare is not a contradiction in terms - the idea of civilising warfare has been at the heart of the European natural law tradition since Grotius". Tolstoy, and I think many other anarchists, would take the view that a notion of 'civilised warfare' played out like a game of cricket is an obscene concept.

In the Bosnian conflict some in the anarcho-syndicalist Solidarity Federation and the Syndicalist Bulletin faction in the UK have called for libertarian support for the Moslems or the Bosnian Federation against the Serbs. While one can understand their sympathies for the underdogs in this conflict, it must strike us as a politically naive and ideologically inconsistent approach.

It may even be that the Croats are becoming the dominant force in the Balkans, now they have US support. There have even been hints from President Tudjman that he may turn on his Moslem allies. The international recognition of an independent Croatia was the incident that triggered the conflict in Bosnia.

EU diplomatic duffers

The Communists under Tito tried to set up Yugoslavia as a geographical nation state like those in the west. Anthony D. Smith, the sociologist, in his book *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* has said: "Though they recognised the ethnic distinctiveness of Yugoslavia's six nations, and institutionalised it, the Communists also tried to bind them together in a territorially defined 'Illyrian' homeland, with its common

division of labour, common citizenship rights and common laws - and even a shadowy common culture of 'Yugoslavism' with its non-alignment, self-management and confederalism."

That kind of western geographical nation state has now collapsed to be replaced by more authentic eastern ethnic nationalism. The Tito regime looks like an anomaly today. A pleasant and peaceful pause in "The Reason of Unreason" (Quixote) of a restless people.

But are the monsters of war really in retreat? Mr Clinton seems to think so, as do many others (but not all) among the commentators. Four years ago the BBC's reporter Misha Glenny cornered Gianni de Michelis, the Italian diplomat sent by the European Community as part of a team of foreign ministers to resolve the conflict between Croatian and the then Yugoslav state. Mr Glenny records: "Michelis ... told me triumphantly that the Troika [European diplomatic team] had sorted out the entire problem and fighting would stop the very same day". Two days later Mr Glenny recalls the fighting had intensified. Señor Michelis came to realise that theoretical understanding is little use in a country where the political currency is barefaced deceit.

Today the European powers are generally recognised to be duffers with no adequate foreign policy in former Yugoslavia. In some respects, by recognising a sovereign Croatia they brought the destruction of Bosnia. Clearly the European Union has failed in Bosnia, and may have made matters worse.

US as benevolent bully?

Will things fare better now the Americans have taken over? Or will the dove of peace again be strangled at birth? Anarchists must have grave doubts about the future! But the former Marxist historian, Eric Hobsbawm, had remarked on the Dayton 'peace deal': "It will be a triumph for the US government which virtually single-handed took over the task of peace-making, and in the end virtually imprisoned the Balkan negotiators ... for weeks in the depths of middle America, until they signed."

Mr Hobsbawm proclaiming 'PAX AMERICANA' - extraordinary for a former Stalinist. But perhaps not so odd. The belief in the bully runs very deep in a certain kind of intellectual. After the fall of the Soviet Union Hobsbawm said the 'police state' had had a bad press and the police state had the positive effect of maintaining stability in some societies. Some people said the same about Franco in Spain.

With the demise of the Soviet Union there is only one global bully left - PAX AMERICANA. Inevitably Mr Hobsbawm, overcome by power worship, is transferring his admiration to the one and only realistic world policeman, the United States. He asks: "What does the only great power in the world do?" And Mr Hobsbawm answers: "In short, there is nobody else who has America's high capacity to bribe or subsidise and to threaten and blackmail, especially relatively small or weak states." The

IMAGES OF WAR

The depiction of violence as *entertainment* is becoming more prevalent - a glance through the television listings will show many crime documentaries, films and series on any given evening. These programmes are more and more explicit in their quest for realistic presentation of violent acts and their consequences. Serial killing, the mutilation of women and so on, is graphically portrayed so that little is left to the imagination. No 'noises off' for these directors.

The depiction of violence as *information*, however, is becoming more and more sanitised. Recently war correspondent Martin Bell and his team in Bosnia were at loggerheads with the BBC because of their refusal to transmit a picture of a bloodstain in the snow where an aid worker had been killed, still less would they show the dead body. Actual violence is becoming more glamorous and the 'unacceptable' elements are edited out and images are chosen for their visual impact rather than their informational or emotional content. Martin Bell says that they are glamorising war and stripping it of its horror, and he knows what he's talking about because he speaks as a veteran war correspondent and was recently wounded by shrapnel in Bosnia.

Does this mean that entertainment and information are converging so that we, the public, are in danger of ending up being fed a diet where reports from war zones and Rambo-style films imperceptibly merge to form a kind of 'faction' or 'docudrama' where fact and fiction blend seamlessly and truth is always obscured? This is no new thing and we can detect a long-term process at work here. Despite major advances in visual technology, photographs and film of World War Two, and even World War One, are much more immediate and horrifying than those from the Gulf War of 1991. This is because the freedom given to press and television cameramen in Vietnam meant that Joe Public sitting at home with their television dinners could see their own sons being killed in full colour, and this was undoubtedly a factor in bringing the war to an end. This so frightened the American military that by the time of the Gulf War correspondents of all kinds were completely controlled by the military authorities both in terms of where they could go and what they could transmit. Thus the entire campaign was presented on television as a species of video-game, e.g. missile's-eye-view through crosshairs as it bears down on a truckload of terrified Iraqis. Also the killing of civilians in the course of 60,000 sorties by allied aircraft is underplayed. Hundreds of thousands may have been killed. How did they dispose of the

bodies? Westerners do not want to see bulldozers pushing mountains of corpses into mass graves because of resonances it sets up with Belsen, etc.

The printing in the *Guardian* of a photograph of a single Iraqi fried to a crisp in his vehicle stimulated nation-wide debate. At least one journalist is reputed to have been reduced to posing as an army officer in order to gain access to the front-line. It may be argued that programmes like *Cracker* at one and the same time cause the viewing public to become desensitised as far as violence is concerned and also to become accustomed to the idea that this level of violence is what is to be expected in real life. People's fear of crime is unrealistically raised and their horror of war simultaneously and equally unrealistically lowered.

Such sanitisation of images of wars means that viewers become increasingly blind to the full horror of the phenomena. BBC television, in common with all other journalists, have a duty (and a right) to present the truth as they see it as to what is going on in Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda and elsewhere, otherwise nothing will be done about these trouble spots, nor will efforts be made to prevent similar outbreaks in other parts of the world. As the Prussian military theorist Von Clausewitz in his major work *On War* says: "It is of no purpose, it is even against one's better interest, to turn away from the real nature of the affair because the horror of its elements excites repugnance." These words are as valid today (perhaps even more so) as they were when they were written almost two centuries ago.

No one could be blamed for turning away from 'the real nature of the affair' during the trial of Rosemary West, because the horror of its elements did indeed 'excite repugnance'.

Many journalists and therapists, clerics and philosophers, have rushed forward to discuss the nature of evil, the nature/nurture debate, crime, guilt and retribution, original sin and much, much more. Headlines have ranged from "Burn in Hell" (*Sun*) to "Mothers who learn to hate" (*Guardian*). The *Evening Standard* leader "Staring it to the face of evil" developed an anti-capital punishment argument until its twisted sentiments at the end with the sentence "Life in a grim solitude ... is far more fitting for this evil woman".

It is very difficult for lay people, and some experts too perhaps, to form any firm opinions as to why some people commit such unspeakable acts. It is perhaps too soon for any considered opinion. But public excitement, and in some cases media prurience, seems desperate for a quick answer, a reassuring word that tells them that such behaviour is a force from beyond, a very rare occurrence that is light years away from their own experience or that of their loved ones. 'Evil' is fast becoming the new four-letter word and, paradoxically, a temporary salve.

Silvia Edwards

former communist Hobsbawm seems hardly able to contain himself when he says: "The Bosnian peace is the first successful experiment in maintaining the pax Americana in the world today".

The rest of us must hold our breath and wait and see what this outbreak of 'New World Order' has in store for humanity.

Brian Bamford



Theatres of the Mind

Like many an old cliché the one that goes 'Just because you're paranoid doesn't mean they're not after you' makes a sort of sense, and came to mind as I watched the *Panorama* special interview with Princess Diana along with 21 million other people. 21 million sounds like a lot of viewers until we learn that during World War Two radio cook Marguerite Patten drew a regular audience of 18 million listeners every week for her *Food Front* recipe programme – and they couldn't even see to analyse her body language.

The interview, which itself took the form and language of a counselling session and lasted as long, had the experts, counsellors, analysts and pop psychologists falling over themselves to show their sensitivity and insight.

Did the bulimia ruin the marriage or did the marriage bring on the bulimia? Was this the fury, albeit contained, of a woman scorned or a brave attempt to complete the final stage of her therapy and to set the record straight for the history books? Were the soulful eyes the result of expert, if heavy-handed, application of Kohl's eye pencil or the result of prolonged unhappiness? A republican in the making or a fairytale princess desperately hanging on to the glass slipper? The question which is easiest answered is "Who are the country rooting for, Charles or Diana?"

The swift response from the Palace is proof indeed that Princess Di has the country and, who knows, most of the world on her side. Education packs, or CD-Roms as I think they're called, will in future contain videos of this and the Charles interview as part of their primary sources on courses entitled 'Monarchies Around the World' or, more optimistically, 'The Rise and Fall of the British Royal Family'.

It would be salutary to believe that this interview has done more to hasten the end of the monarchy than any anti-monarchist campaign.

News that only a few hundred people turned out to watch Prince Charles turn on the Christmas tree lights in Trafalgar Square this week, and the fact that his recently published biography is already selling for less than half price in some bookshops (not ours!), seems promising. But if you turned off the lights and

invited the Queen Mother to switch them on again – serene and sprightly on her new hip joint – the public would no doubt be out in droves. Royalty it seems, like politics, survives on the cult of the personality. A nation brought up on fairytales largely inhabited by kings and queens or those aspiring to join or replace them seems determined to support the idea that some are born deserving to preside over others.

Nicholas Soames's rash remark that Diana must be in an extreme state of paranoia if she believes that her mail is being tampered with or that the Royal Family wants her to be magicked away, illustrates how even educated people bandy about psychiatric terminology in an attempt to put someone down and undermine their validity.

If Diana's present or previous mental states need to be discussed it would be more relevant to note that self-wounding, to which Diana admitted, is associated with eating disorders, especially bulimia nervosa. Repeated self-wounding is one of the symptoms of borderline personality disorder or of other 'flamboyant' personality disorders such as histrionics and narcissistic personality disorder. "I want to be the Queen of the people's hearts" said Diana.

Anyone wishing for a fuller understanding of mental illness with barely an expert in earshot would have done well to listen to Michael Ignatieff's *Theatres of the Mind*. This set of five programmes hidden away between two concerts on Radio 3 this week spoke to people and carers of people with manic depression, autism, dyslexia, Alzheimer's disease and schizophrenia. The personal accounts were interspersed with poems, sound effects and atmospheric music in an attempt to give the listener some indication of how people experience these problems first hand.

The programme on schizophrenia was especially distressing as attempts were made to reproduce what hearing 'voices' is like. These voices were based on first-hand recollections of voices by people with schizophrenia. Some critics accused Michael Ignatieff of presenting a romantic face of mental disorder – a 'sensitive face' would be a more accurate description and less critical.

Nothing romantic about the following: "A voice told me I had maggots in my stomach and I should drink bleach to cleanse them away". The half-hour programme was unsettling and took a small step towards the better understanding of other people's realities. What a pity these programmes were so inaccessible to the average person whereas more sensational programmes about the violent behaviour of people with schizophrenia or comedies where we are encouraged to laugh at dementia are given prime time television space.

The Law, a new quarterly "progressive but interesting" periodical, showed how

dangerous it is to mess with the monarchy. A woman scattered spoof £10 notes bearing the inscription: "What do you call someone who doesn't own the property they live in, avoids the poll tax, pays no rent and expects the taxpayer to foot the bill ...? Your Majesty."

She has since been involved in a long and expensive court case. The *Kent Messenger*, a local paper, said of the proceedings that "we have reached the conclusion that the Establishment has been at work here to make sure she was made an example of". The defendant writes "I couldn't have put it better myself – well I could, but then I'd probably be accused of being paranoid".

Silvia Edwards

SAVAGE ATTACK ON WILLIAM MORRIS GALLERY

The William Morris Art Gallery in Walthamstow, which houses many works by William Morris and other artists and craftsmen, was attacked recently in a bizarre raid. Tens of thousands of pounds worth of damage was done as a man – apparently acting alone – ran amok, and many irreplaceable artefacts have been damaged beyond repair.

The vandalism happened at 10.30am on the morning of Wednesday 1st November. A man entered the Gallery, in Lloyd Park, as an ordinary visitor. A party of two dozen 9-10 year olds from nearby Woodside Junior School were in another part of the Gallery at the time, with their class teacher and the school's headmaster. A loud crash was heard and the head teacher, Geoff Riding, told local newspaper reporters that the noises went on and he went to investigate. He then saw a man who was "going berserk. He wasn't ranting or raving; he was very quiet, but destroying everything in sight." The man went methodically through the Gallery picking up art works on display, hurling them around and overturning furniture, glass display cabinets and a large shelf unit. A bronze bust of Morris was among exhibits thrown to the floor. During the rampage furnishings and artefacts in three rooms were overturned and smashed, several irreplaceable vases were broken and a Rodin sculpture damaged. Graffiti was carved into a table, reading 'NF18' and 'CFC' – presumably intended as neo-Nazi slogans and offering some

kind of motive for the senseless attack.

No one was hurt, but the frightened children had to be escorted from the building for their own safety. Police were called by Gallery staff and immediately sealed the building off and arrested the man. The vandal, Barry Embleton aged 40, is of no fixed abode but later gave magistrates an address at Shaw Square in the Higham Hill area of Walthamstow. He appeared at court on Tuesday 7th November charged with criminal damage at the Gallery and was committed to Claybury Hospital for 28 days for psychiatric assessment and treatment.

The Gallery remained closed for a week while staff assessed the damage and tried to decide which items – including rare Morris prints – could be salvaged, and which were beyond repair. Restoration workers from the Victoria and Albert Museum arrived at the Gallery on Friday to try to piece together wrecked items which it is hoped can be repaired. The bill for damage caused is expected to run into tens of thousands of pounds, and destroyed exhibits are currently being valued by experts. The Gallery has now re-opened. Further information about the Gallery, including opening times, can be obtained on 0181-527 8750.

The William Morris Gallery is one of the world's foremost collections of works by the visionary writer, anarcho-socialist, interior designer and craftsman, who spent many of his formative years as a child growing up in the building in which the Gallery is now housed. It also contains many works – including prints, stained glass windows, tapestries and furnishings – produced by luminaries of the Arts & Crafts Movement and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. The attack came at a particularly unfortunate time as the Gallery is preparing to mark the centenary of Morris's death next year.

Katy Andrews

OPPOSE THE JOBSEEKER'S ALLOWANCE

In May of this year the government announced that the Jobseeker's Allowance, which is to replace income support and unemployment benefit, would not be implemented in full until October 1996. The public were told that computer problems were the reason why the Jobseeker's Allowance could not be implemented in April 1996. However, it appears that an external review carried out by Anderson Consulting advised ministers that there could be bigger problems in implementing the Jobseeker's Allowance than there has been in implementing the Child Support Act. Other critics have argued that the Jobseeker's Allowance will turn Jobcentres into 'fortresses', and it is not difficult to see why.

As from next April, non-means tested unemployment benefit is to be cut to six months entitlement instead of twelve months despite increases in National Insurance contributions. All people aged between 18-24 years are to receive 20% less in benefit, despite the fact that they currently receive the same level of non-means tested unemployment benefit as their elders. There is also no Adult Dependent Allowance with contributory Jobseeker's Allowance and some people could be as much as £70 a week worse off. However, a more worrying aspect which underpins the Jobseeker's Allowance is the increased authority it give to Employment Service staff to suspend unemployment benefits.

With the introduction of the Jobseeker's Allowance claimants will be required to sign a Jobseeker's Agreement (which will be regularly reviewed and monitored) in order to get benefit. Unless this agreement is signed by the claimant and the Employment Service officer, there will be no entitlement to benefit. All claimants will be required to be available for any work which they can be reasonably expected to do, at any wage level, including self-employment. There is also no 'minimum wage' that the unemployed can insist

upon – if you specify more than £1 an hour, you could lose your claim for benefit. Likewise the rules on 'actively seeking work' are also to be tightened up – claimants will be expected to prepare CVs, apply for jobs and research potential employers in order to qualify for Jobseeker's Allowance. Moreover, claimants will not be eligible for Jobseeker's Allowance "where the unemployed person's behaviour is such that it actively militates against finding work". Finally, claimants have the right of appeal against any term of the agreement they consider unreasonable, but will not be paid benefit pending their appeal.

Under Jobseeker's Allowance rules, Employment Service staff will be able to issue a Jobseeker's Direction which will require a claimant to undertake activities to improve their employability. Directions could include applying for a low paid job; attending a Job Club or training course, which will be compulsory under Jobseeker's Allowance; or improving your appearance in order to present more acceptably to an employer. People who disobey a 'direction' will be 'sanctioned' and will be disqualified from receiving benefit for two weeks – this will rise to four weeks for a second offence. No reduced benefit payments will be made to those who have been 'sanctioned' unless they can show that a member of their household would suffer hardship if benefit was not paid.

It is clear to many people that the introduction of the Jobseeker's Allowance will result in considerable hardship and the loss of benefits for thousands of unemployed people. It is also clear that giving benefit staff the authority to suspend unemployment benefits is open to widespread abuse and will lead to direct confrontation between staff and the unemployed. Like many Employment Service staff, Claimant Advisers who presently conduct Restart interrogations are on performance-related pay and the size of their Christmas bonus is

determined by how many people they can 'bully' off the dole. However, civil service unions are themselves opposed to the Jobseeker's Allowance because it will lead to the loss of thousands of their own jobs due to privatisation and the reorganisation of the benefit system. Already pre-Jobseeker's Allowance pilot schemes, which have been introduced in some regions, have 'crashed' due to internal resistance and non-cooperation from NUCPS and CPSA members. Similarly, although some unemployed activists are involved in anti-Jobseeker's Allowance campaigns in various parts of the country, opposition to the Jobseeker's Allowance is still diffuse and has yet to acquire the same national notoriety as the Child Support Act,

Poll Tax or the Criminal Justice Bill. I am aware from my own campaigning work against the Jobseeker's Allowance that many people are still unaware of the coercive and anti-libertarian measures contained in the Jobseeker's Allowance.

Only recently, when I spoke with a group of young anarchist motorway protesters, it was apparent how little they knew about the Jobseeker's Allowance, despite the fact that most of them were unemployed and would almost certainly be unable to get their unemployment benefit under a stricter Jobseeker's Allowance regime unless they discarded their 'battle fatigues' and smartened themselves up or attended a Job Club. I think the penny might have dropped when they realised that stuck in a Job Club five days a week doesn't leave much time for motorway protesting.

The underlying intention behind the Jobseeker's Allowance is to make it more difficult for people to claim unemployment benefit, and to keep it. Moreover, it is a way of harassing the unemployed and a means of coercing them into taking low-paid casual work in order to drive down wages so that British workers can compete with the sweatshops of the third world. With millions out of work in Britain and employment trends which show that many jobs which are being created are low-paid and casual, the very title 'Jobseeker's Allowance' is a ludicrous farce. Moreover, many of the unemployed who are 'bullied' into taking low-paid work by Gestapo-like Claimant Advisers in benefit offices, only finish up claiming state benefits to augment their low wages. The Jobseeker's Bill has been described as one of the most potentially anti-libertarian measures ever to be introduced by a British government. What is required to stop the introduction of the Jobseeker's Allowance next year is the kind of mass opposition which we have seen with the Poll Tax and Child Support Act. This is what the government fears, and the reason why they have delayed the introduction of the Jobseeker's Allowance until October 1996.

Joe McCarthy

The Raven 30

on

New Life to the Land?

A variety of thought-provoking articles including
 George Woodcock on Anarchism and Agriculture
 Colin Ward on Colonizing the Land
 Herbert Read on The Open Fields System
 Tony Gibson on Food Production and Population
 Harold Sculthorpe on Reclaiming the Land
 Neil Birrell on Land and Liberty in Mexico
 also including articles from Errico Malatesta,
 Harold Barclay, Richard Boston and John Myhill
 plus articles on the Kibbutz Movement and Land
 Nationalisation

100 pages £3.00 post free

Not A Drop To Drink

There is no shortage of water in Yorkshire, so why did West Yorkshire nearly run out? It is in the South Pennines, one of the wettest parts of England, where the reservoirs were so full during last winter that they overflowed, and they were still 95% full in March. But, because rainfall was only 50% of average between April and October, they are now nearly empty with about 10-15% of mostly poor quality water left. If it doesn't rain heavily soon, we were told, they will be empty in six weeks, even with all the emergency measures introduced including the use of road tankers to bring water into the area. Now they say that there will not be any need for rota cuts before January and probably not even then. Yorkshire Water Services Ltd (YW), the company formed in 1989 when water supplies were privatised, claim that such a dry summer should only happen once in 100 years or even once in 500 years depending on whom you ask. They blame lack of rain and the people for using too much, but never their own incompetence and cost cutting; never their failure to anticipate that in an area dependent on small single season reservoirs, any dry summer would result in a shortage. In the past four years, 20 reservoirs and towers for storing water have been disposed of by Yorkshire Water and they are even planning to build houses on the site of one of the reservoirs. They can pipe water from 'wet' West Yorkshire to 'dry' East Yorkshire by gravity but now, when they need to, they haven't got the pumps to pump it the other way. And they had been warned. Whilst between 1985 and 1988 there were no Drought Orders, since privatisation in 1989 up to 1994 there have been 36.

Who is Really Wasting Water?

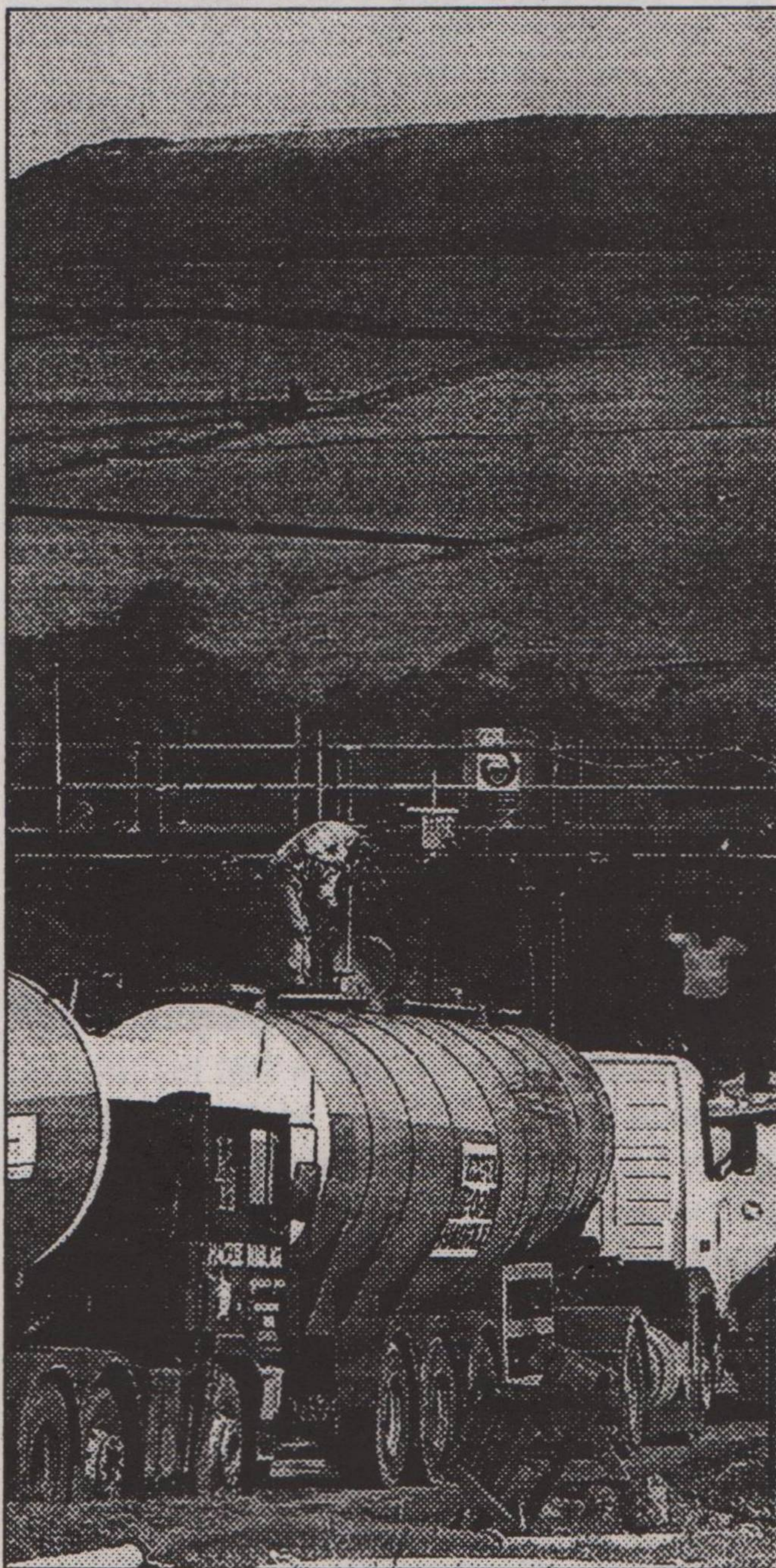
Yorkshire Water loses well over a quarter of its water through leaks in its pipes before it reaches the customer and is among the worst in the country in this respect. The figure is over 30% in West Yorkshire because, notes Yorkshire Water, "not only is the west of the region hilly, but a large proportion of the population actually live in the hills as a result of the traditional textile industries which developed there". Have they only just realised this?

Too Little, Too Late

In a desperate attempt to keep the water flowing, 600 road tankers, each holding 5,000 gallons, are bringing water from East Yorkshire and even Teeside, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, causing misery to and disturbing the sleep of those who live on the route. We have been told that this will have to continue right through the winter until March or even May. This massive exercise, now costing the company £3 million a week, is not without problems for the company. There have, for instance, been claims that some of the tankers have previously been used to carry toxic chemicals and are not suitable to carry potable water. When Yorkshire Water wanted to hand over this task to an outside company drivers threatened to strike claiming that this would lead to a reduction in their wages. This quickly led to an offer of increased pay, which was accepted.

Anger in the Streets

Yorkshire Water are so out of touch with ordinary people that in September they advised their own employees to remove uniforms and identifying badges while on their lunch breaks to avoid public abuse, not recognising that people knew quite well who were actually the villains. But talk to anyone in the streets of West Yorkshire, as we have done in Dewsbury, Halifax and Hebden Bridge, and you will discover that the people are very angry and indeed outraged at the behaviour and performance of the top managers at Yorkshire Water. Whilst bills have nearly doubled since 1989, little has been done to anticipate a dry summer and income that could have been used to develop a modest

PUBLIC PROTESTS PREVENT WATER CUTS IN WEST YORKSHIRE

grid system has gone into high dividends for shareholders, a lavish lifestyle for the bosses and investment in other businesses. Many people can remember when water supplies were the responsibility of the local authority and how then they would economise when necessary, but now, faced with a company that blames its customers instead of its own greed and bad management, they are not impressed. This arrogant attitude can be illustrated by the behaviour of the Managing Director Trevor Newton who stated on the 18th September that, to save water, he had not had a bath or shower for three months, but it was discovered two days later that he had been having regular baths at his parents' house which was just outside Yorkshire. In August, letters were sent to many people in the Hebden Bridge area telling them that standpipes would be erected in the streets, but just for testing. This was cancelled a few days later because, claimed Yorkshire Water, a political protest was being organised and people had been taking out their anger on these devices.

Profits Before People

Following twenty lesser drought orders during the summer, on the 19th September Yorkshire Water applied to the Secretary of State for the Environment, under the Water Resources Act 1991, for the most serious drought order possible. This would "suspend all the obligations to which the company is subject as respects the supply of water (whether in point of quality, pressure, quantity, means of supply or otherwise)", with the intention of introducing 24 hour water cuts on alternative days from midnight to midnight in order to reduce consumption by 25% for a period of three months, with the possibility of a two month extension.

The hearings lasted four days. We heard, on the first day, claims from Yorkshire Water that they had done all they could to keep supplies running. Then we heard from expert witnesses, among the 250 objectors, of water sources nearby that could be used. Borehole supplies had been offered as early as September but had not been taken up. There had clearly been a serious lack of consultation and communication with local industries. We heard health experts explain the health risks especially for the very young, the sick and the elderly. We heard that the water, when it did come through the pipes would be

contaminated and have to be boiled. We heard from social services the difficulties the old and disabled would face. No one has experience of rota cuts on this scale and it became clear that the effects were completely unpredictable. We heard from Yorkshire Water of how little they were prepared, (they said able) to do to reduce any risks and of the derisory 30p a day they would pay householders for the inconvenience they would suffer.

Last year Yorkshire Water announced profits of £143 million, and they increased dividends by 21%. They also announced plans for a radical restructuring of the business involving large scale redundancies, stating that these reductions in manpower numbers would be very apparent in 1995. How true.

We heard from industry, largely textile, and how because of their need for a plentiful supply of pure water they would have to close down and lay off staff in the event of cuts. Yorkshire Water replied that there could be no compensation for industry and that it would be worse if the water ran out, although they did not repeat their earlier advice to move elsewhere. A suggestion to Yorkshire Water by a local vicar that if they apologised for the mess they had made of things and stopped paying dividends to shareholders, people might then be more cooperative, fell on deaf ears. But if this were done the share price would collapse and what then for those share options?

Late on the first day seven senior managers, abandoned by the real bosses, sat in a line at the front of the hall and faced a barrage of criticism and complaint, but could only say at length and with prompts from their counsel – we did all we could, we can do no more, it is not our fault, our customers have been using too much water and we have done all the Office of Water Services (OFWAT) required of us. But by the third day, they were telling us of all the extra and new emergency measures they were taking to bring more water into the region.

The government created OFWAT when the water companies were privatised ostensibly to protect the people from the ravages of monopoly capitalism, although of course they did not use those words. But they never gave it the powers to do this and it is widely recognised that OFWAT is weak, inconsistent and biased towards the interests of the shareholders rather than the consumers.

The hearing was conducted by the Inspector with courtesy and consideration for all, whether they were formal objectors or just wished to speak from the floor. We, having heard all the evidence, would conclude that the drought order was not justified, but the Inspector may have thought otherwise. Before the hearing had even started it was reported to it, by a local MP speaking from the floor, that David Currie, Junior Minister in the Department of the Environment, who was visiting the empty reservoirs at the time, had said that of course the drought order would be granted. However it has since become clear that because of the strength of public opposition, the government cannot afford to grant the drought order. So the hearing seems to have been largely cosmetic, with the decision being made for purely political reasons. Isn't that how capitalist democracies work?

Yorkshire Water wanted rota cuts last September and they were only stopped from taking this (for them) easy and cheap way out because of massive opposition by the community, coupled with threats by many to stop paying their water bills. Now we have to make sure that it is the shareholders, not the consumers, who meet the costs of Yorkshire Water's disaster.

NUCLEAR WASTE AT STRATFORD STATION: trial begins 18th December

On Monday 18th December 1995, the postponed trial is due to begin of the three anti-nuclear demonstrators arrested at Stratford Station, East London, on 18th May this year. In December 1994 two activists from CND – Pat Arrowsmith and David Polden – drew attention to the North London and Barking to Gospel Oak Line route via Stratford by sitting in front of a nuclear waste train, delaying it for twenty minutes. Their case was thrown out by magistrates on a technicality in late summer, due to a miswording of the charges. The Stratford Three's case is therefore the first to challenge openly in the courts the legality of transporting highly toxic radioactive waste through densely-populated areas of the country. Signalmen at Rugby – where a flask was heard to be 'buzzing', sparking a major security alert, shortly after the Stratford action – have recently refused to work on shifts handling these cargoes.

Chris Gwyntopher and Katy Andrews are still charged with malicious damage under an Act dating from 1861, and Oliver Stoll faces charges under the Criminal Justice Act for causing criminal damage. All three were local residents. They face a damages bill of over £2,000 – for cleaning the locomotive and delays to the Ipswich Express – and the possibility of up to six months in prison for their part in drawing attention to this dangerous practice.

The waste transported by rail across Britain comes from power stations both here and abroad, including Germany, Switzerland and Japan. Responsibility for transportation of nuclear waste is due to be sold off shortly to capitalist investors as part of the government's 'privatisation' (i.e. sell-off and destruction) of the nationwide rail network.

There will be a demonstration outside Stratford Magistrate's Court from 9.00am on Monday 18th December, with leafletting, banners, music, etc. Support inside the courtroom – people observing from the public gallery – would also be very welcome. The case is expected to continue until Tuesday 19th. The Court is on Stratford Broadway (south towards Bow from the tube/BR/bus/DLR station), London E15. Any support, physical or financial, would be very much appreciated.

For more information please contact 'Stop the Nuclear Trains' at North London CND on 0171-607 2302. For more on the Stratford Three trial and supporters' actions please contact Newham CND on 0181-471 8779.

SHELL SHUT DOWN IN CARDIFF

Following the news of the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa on Friday night, Cardiff folk organised a Shell garage shut down for the Saturday. Two garages on Newport Road, a major road out of the city were closed down for three hours by 25 people.

Following a planning meeting on the Saturday morning, placards were printed up and leaflets produced to hand to motorists. Traffic cones and blockading material were 'obtained' and we set off at 1.00pm.

At 2.00pm, ten people swept into the garage blocking off the entrance with traffic cones (letting people in there out, first!), sticking large posters of Ken Saro-Wiwa over the pumps, with the slogan, 'Blood on Shell's Hands'. They also tied ribbons and tape around the pumps so they were closed off. At this time 10 other people emerged with placards, down the road, and made it obvious that the garage was closed. A sign stating, 'Shell Closed' seemed to persuade people who didn't know about Ken Saro-Wiwa's execution. Five other people were involved in handing out leaflets to motorists stuck in the six lanes of traffic.

We kept the garages closed for three hours and everything went off very peacefully. The police were just embarrassed, and kept saying that they agreed with us but they'd have to do something if the owner told them to. Eventually they took the ribbons down, but it didn't really encourage people to drive in seeing police walking about!

After three hours we left, cold and wet, but knowing we'd cost them another few thousand. If everyone did it it would be billions!

The highlight of the day was the Shell manager getting his bemused staff to come out with us and put a (rather poorly made) placard up saying, 'Garage open, protest in progress'.

The Anarchist Revolution

The Anarchist Revolution: polemical articles 1924-1931

by Errico Malatesta, edited and introduced by Vernon Richards
Freedom Press, 124 pages, £3.50

This is a valuable addition to the same editor's *Malatesta: Life and Ideas* which was first published by Freedom Press in 1965. The new volume prints a selection of translations from the Italian of Malatesta's articles (1924-31) covering the years "when the tide was flowing against them" with *Umanita Nova* and *Pensiero e Volonta* finally suppressed and Malatesta himself under house arrest. The tone of the pieces reflect the difficulties of writing under such conditions, and there are many references to the censor. Letters to Malatesta either did not reach him or were delayed. This especially affected his correspondence with Nestor Makhno in their diplomatically-worded exchanges, cordial and conciliatory to the last. That they both were prepared to publish their letters with all their emphatic arguments amounted to at least some kind of agreement among equals. Reading through this companion volume it is certainly an opportunity to go back to the previous volume which is full of dogged enthusiasm, written in the midst of the long continuing struggle and before the final incarceration which Malatesta bore with commendable dignity and by patient reiteration of anarchist principles.

Perhaps the most important aspect of Malatesta's achievement was the drafting of the 'Anarchist Programme' which was accepted by the Italian Anarchist Congress in 1920. Almost seven decades later the same sentiments could be penned, but there is now no anarchist congress to which it could be submitted for acceptance. Certainly the myriad anarchist groupings and individuals should be at least conversant with the text which was printed in the original volume.

The beginning was typical: "We believe that most of the ills that afflict mankind stem from

a bad social organisation; and that Man could destroy them if he wished and knew how."

This is an important diagnosis. Human social organisation is defective and should be replaced by anarchism *if we only knew how*. This last bit is a delightful touch of anarchist Bolognese humour: "We want to make amends, replacing hatred by love, competition by solidarity, the individual search for personal well-being by fraternal cooperation, instead of oppression liberty, instead of the religious and the pseudo-scientific lie the truth" and to set up (point 3) an "organisation of social life by means of free association and federations of producers and consumers, created and modified according to the wishes of their members, guided by science and experience, and free from any kind of imposition which does not spring from natural needs, to which everyone, convinced by a feeling of overriding necessity, voluntarily submits."

The first task is to persuade people. We must make people aware of the misfortunes they suffer and their chances to destroy them.

To those who are cold and hungry we will demonstrate how possible and easy it could be to assure everybody of their material needs. (It is nice to hear the thunder in Malatesta's old fashioned oratory.)

But because of the opposition of the entrenched interests, for those people who want to emancipate themselves, only one course is open: that of opposing force with force. (This last one would not have been agreed in any congresses of recent memory.)

This could have been written today: "People are in the most miserable moral and social condition, we must push for complete emancipation. Privilege cannot be abolished and equality established firmly without abolishing government."

The people are to provide themselves with those institutions which they think best and by creating anarchist communities.

The first volume managed to establish and maintain Malatesta's reputation in this



country. His appeal to me is that his life was an open book. Certainly Malatesta is now better known in this country than in Italy. On the odd occasion I had asked an Italian's opinion of Malatesta, none of them had heard of him but had heard of his namesake, a fifteenth century aristocrat. The attraction for the anarchists here is that Malatesta was everybody's ideal to the extent that even his opponents treated him with courtesy. Wrote the *Daily Herald* editorial writer on 22nd May 1912: "Those who know Malatesta the man pay high tribute to his social and intellectual individuality."

He was obstinate and very fond of definitions, but the energy of the man must have been tremendous. His travels to further the cause of anarchism were tabulated in *Life and Ideas*. One looks at his life and wonders how could one man achieve so much. His travels took him in the anarchist cause to Switzerland, France, England, Spain, Portugal, Egypt, Romania, Spain, Austria-Hungary,

Belgium, Holland, the United States, Cuba, Argentina, writing and agitating and giving solidarity wherever he travelled. Throughout his long life Malatesta earned his living as a mechanic-electrician as he was opposed to revolutionaries being 'kept' by the movement.

Malatesta was born on 14th December 1853 of an initially well-to-do family, but both his parents died of chest complaints when he was a student and he lived with "my brother and an old aunt who was mother to us after the death of our parents".

You will have to read the previous volume for 'Notes for a Biography' but, assuming it is at hand, I would only pose one question: How is it possible not to pay tribute to the sons and daughters of the middle class of past generations, the idealists who challenged the ruling class out of altruism and not because they were in any sort of economic or cultural discomfort, except the knowledge that while they enjoyed the fruits of their privilege the great mass of people were shunted to and fro on the rails of ignorance, misery and tyranny.

The translations are mainly by Gillian Fleming, but with the editor having the last word! Perhaps at a future reprint some of Malatesta's personal accounts could be added, such as his first meeting with Bakunin when Malatesta was 19: "At the time I was sickly, I spat blood and was said to be consumptive ... While crossing the Gothard during the night over a snowy mountain in a diligence I had caught cold ... After the first greetings, Bakunin made up a camp bed and covered me with all the blankets he could lay his hands on and urged me to stay there quietly and sleep. His motherly attention gripped my heart." The dots denote there is more to be translated and every word is important to our knowledge of these men who, in their love for justice, had the common wish to lead their class in a revolutionary direction, but knowing full well that the emancipation of the oppressed is a cooperative effort.

Finally I wish to pay tribute to the estate of George Walford (1919-1994) as the printing of this volume has been paid for with the legacy of that good friend of Freedom Press.

John Rety

FPD TRAWL LANDS HUGE CATCH: part 2

Freedom Press Distributors have been out fishing in the depths and shallows of the literary seas again. Using undersized nets and ignoring EU quotas, we set out with modest ambitions and unexpectedly caught whole shoals of big 'uns. We managed to land the catch under the noses of the authorities, who assumed that it had been blown into our nets by the force of the French nuclear tests ... (stranger things happen at sea).

Free Love and Anarchism: the biography of Ezra Heywood* by Martin Henry Blatt, University of Illinois Press. Ezra Heywood was one of the best known individualist anarchists in America, a position he moved to, like most of them, from the abolitionist movement. He was trained in the ministry, but became a spiritualist; he began as a pacifist, but gradually modified his position, supporting Bakunin, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman even after Berkman's attempted murder of the industrialist Henry Frick. He even lent the columns of his newspaper *The Word* to Johan Most, whose violent rhetoric he despised, and he was sympathetic to the Chicago anarchists imprisoned following their framing in the Haymarket bombing affair. He was a tireless pamphleteer in favour of anarchism, free love, women's emancipation, labour reform and individual liberty, and against the state, organised religion, moral hypocrisy, marriage, censorship, war and capitalism. As if all this was not enough, he eventually proclaimed 'the abolition of death' and with his wife, Angela, founded the New England Anti-Death

League. But they didn't stop there, and either joined or formed dozens of other leagues, including the American Free Dress League – indeed many of their supporters were transvestites. Between all this activity Heywood spent several periods in prison, caused by a man named Anthony Comstock, who was so obsessed with the distribution of 'obscene' materials through the post that he worked as a Special Agent of the US Post Office for thirty years without pay in order to satisfy his personal vendetta against anyone trying to loosen the stays of Victorian America. His main targets were people like the Heywoods and their friends. Your proverbial nosy postman had nothing on Comstock, who was the forerunner of the people who bomb abortion clinics, and whose campaign gradually broadened to include the censoring and banning of medical information, gambling, horse racing, birth control and a wide range of unorthodox social views, using subterfuge, deceit and entrapment. Much of his ignorance and prejudice was, predictably, passed into US law and to this day several states retain 'Comstock Laws' on the statute books. But Heywood's achievements – notably *Cupid's Yokes*, a pamphlet extolling free love and attacking marriage, and *Uncivil Liberty*, a pamphlet denouncing male domination of women – sold in massive quantities and outshine all the attempts to silence free speech. A fascinating book with an introduction, index, notes and excellent bibliography. 207 pages, hardback, published price £19.95, OUR PRICE £8.50.

Images for the End of the Century: photomontage equations* by Peter Kennard, Journeyman Press. The images in this attractive book are designed to overcome the limitations of the camera – the fact that a mere photograph of the outside of a nuclear power station, for example, cannot illustrate that its radioactive emissions can cause birth deformities. So Kennard, who is deeply concerned about the environmental and military devastation being wrought by the élites of the world, uses a technique at which he is particularly skilled – photomontage – to transcend these shortcomings. By using the components of more than one photograph and combining them in particular ways he creates powerful images which speak for themselves and show clearly the consequences of the actions of those world élites, or even what the consequences of *not* taking those actions what might be. As with, say, the image of the giant bomber raining bombs down on the earth which, as they fall, change their shape gradually from bombs until by the time they reach the ground they are large sacks of grain arranged in tall, neat stacks. Taking as his main theme the futility of the arms race, he has created a visual language of his own that is strangely appropriate for the end of the twentieth century. He has been described in the national press as the best photomontage artist in Britain today, a fact attested to by the widespread use of his photos, both at home and abroad, by numerous publications, campaign groups, films, television programmes and art galleries.

In an afterword the artist explains in detail what he is trying to achieve and ends: "Governments haven't ceased to deceive or mislead ... There is no let up". This is a series of fourteen of his sets of 'equations', approximately 122 pages, published price £9.50, OUR PRICE £2.95.

The Basic Bakunin: writings 1869-1871* translated and edited by Robert M. Cutler, Prometheus Books. Although this anthology covers only three years of Bakunin's life it is apparently "the one time in his life when he was able to concentrate on his work and sustain a consistent output of speeches and writings". And dating from the period of his propaganda on behalf of the First International, which he founded with Karl Marx, these writings represent the height of his influence and belong to a phase of his activity which is central to his anarchism. The book is divided into five parts: 'The Rise and Decline of the Bourgeoisie in Europe', 'Bourgeois Socialism and Revolutionary Socialism', two parts on the 'Programme and Tactics of Revolutionary Socialism' and lastly 'Patriotism and Human Progress' which includes a highly pertinent attack on Russia for playing the 'pan Slavism' card whenever it suits the government – such as in Bosnia at the moment, perhaps. In his introduction Cutler compares not only Bakunin's anarchist ideas with Marx's statist ideas, but also Bakunin's anarchist with his pre-anarchist ideas. While these are perhaps not the best nor the most interesting of his works, it is a

— ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

MUMFORD AND JACOBS AND THE CLAY DOGS

When Jane Jacobs took her children to Croton Point the clay dogs had gone. There used to be a beach on the Hudson River north of New York where, through a geological freak, the currents and the sun would turn the clay into dense sun-baked accidental sculptures, inexhaustibly. "Generations of New York City geology students, along with picnickers, tired ball-players and delighted children, treasure-hunted among the clay dogs and carried their favourites home." But when the Jacobs family went back one year later they found that the site had been improved and the beach had become a lawn with a rustic retaining wall.

"Who" she felt impelled to ask, "would prefer this vapid suburbanisation of timeless wonders? What kind of park supervisor would permit such vandalism of nature? An all too familiar kind of mind is obviously at work here: a mind seeing only disorder in the life of city streets, and itches to erase it, standardise it, suburbanise it."

The parable of the clay dogs presents the message of Jane Jacobs's book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (still around as a Penguin book here) and what led me to look it up was the fact that ever since the Anarchist Bookfair my bedside reading has been Donald Miller's *Lewis Mumford: a life*, 628 pages long, published by the University of Pittsburgh Press when Mumford died in 1990.

Publishers are so anxious to empty warehouses that you can get it from Freedom Bookshop for £4.95 including inland postage (add 15% if ordering from abroad).

I learned more than I actually wanted to know about Mumford, but the book provides a great deal of fascinating detail. For example, the fact that it was through the evening classes at City College that Mumford met Irwin Granich (Michael Gold), who introduced him to the works of Kropotkin and to the company at MacSorley's saloon and to the upstairs room at Polly's on Fourth Street in New York, "the Village meeting place of Emma Goldman, John Reed, Lincoln Steffens, Theodore Dreiser, Eugene O'Neill and Randolph Bourne".

It was Granich who "introduced Mumford to the anarchist Ferrer Society in Harlem, where

in 1917 Mumford gave his first public lecture on Kropotkin and the philosophy of regionalism. But while Mumford was moving towards a new appreciation of regional decentralisation, Granich was moving in the opposite direction, towards revolutionary centralism."

Several hundred pages later, when Mumford had become famous as the author of *Technics and Civilisation* (1934) and *The Culture of Cities* in 1938, and had watched both their impact on readers like us and their lack of influence on policy makers, he wrote in 1958 to an English friend Frederic Osborn of the Town and Country Planning Association, rejoicing that, at last, others were beginning to share the doubts they both felt about Urban Renewal programmes, promoted by local authorities with central government money in both countries.

"In particular there is a young woman named Jane Jacobs who for the last two years has been making a series of devastating criticisms of our whole method of urban renewal, on a wholesome scale, massive in their common sense, shrewd in their perceptions of social and personal relations."

Her articles were collected in her famous book in 1961, but by this time Mumford had altered his view, finding the book both "stimulating and awful", and wrote three articles in the *New Yorker* fiercely attacking it. However, partly because of editorial shortening of Mumford's demolition job, Jane Jacobs was "flattered rather than hurt" and straight away enlisted his help in opposing "an absurd crosstown expressway that the 'experts' were unanimously in favour of", opposition that was eventually successful.

Why did she generate such hostility among the very people who were her natural allies in

criticising the disintegration of urban life? The answer was that she chose very arbitrarily to cast as the villains of her story the whole range of advocates of the dispersed polycentric city: Ebenezer Howard, Patrick Geddes and Mumford himself.

In fact they were grotesquely misinterpreted and misunderstood. Jane Jacobs claimed that Howard "hated the city", whereas in fact the whole motivation of his proposals for the garden city and its function in the creation of a social city was to make the old desperately overcrowded metropolis habitable by forcing a fall in site values and therefore in residential densities. He was opposed to suburbanisation and thought he had found an alternative. In fact Jane Jacobs's assumptions about desirable urban densities were far more absurd than Howard's.

But the importance of her work was that it was the first book to articulate to a non-specialist audience misgivings which were widely felt but for which an appropriate language had not been found. She described, with closely observed case histories, all the subtle minutiae of urban living, not only in

inhibiting criminal activity but in providing an unobtrusive but automatic neighbourly involvement in the supervision and security of children. The rebuilt environment had "junked the basic function of the city street, and with it, necessarily, the freedom of the city".

A second aspect of her argument was her contrast between "gradual money" and "cataclysmic money" in the inner city fabric. The lack of gradual money put an arbitrary stop to the normal process of continual small-scale renewal and refurbishing. It meant that decline was artificially accelerated so that only wholesale rebuilding with cataclysmic money was thought appropriate. Meanwhile a whole generation grew up in an environment of squalor and blight, and in the end the totally rebuilt area, with no remaining links with the past, was and is loathed by its inhabitants. The force of this has been felt in every British and American city, especially now that the cataclysmic cash has run out, except for government-promoted capitalist enclaves like the London Docklands or the harbour district of Baltimore.

A third valuable insight came in Jane Jacobs's plea for "horizontal municipal administration" — the idea that local government should be devolved to a neighbourhood level. Unfashionable then, and still to be achieved now.

And a final argument was her attack on urban motorways and against the continual erosion of the sidewalk and consequently of urban conviviality through endless piecemeal attempts to accommodate the motor car in the ordinary city streets. She was not only one of the first to note that traffic expands to fill the provision made for it, but she also observed that through a million individual choices, traffic usually decreased when that provision was not made. She dared to proclaim that policy should be switched from the erosion of cities by cars to the attrition of automobile traffic by the cities. 35 years later do any of us disagree?

Jane Jacobs turned upside down a hundred planning shibboleths. If we must have zoning, she declared, let it be zoning for variety and vitality, because she cherished the "intricate and close-grained diversity" which was the essence of any successful city. Like Mumford, we can forgive her misunderstandings about densities and the decentralists, and can take to heart her plea for an environment that generates in its inhabitants that "modicum of public responsibility" which makes urban life possible.

But I was only as far as page 474 of the Mumford biography when I reached the author's claim that the Mumford-Jacobs debate is intensely interesting because it is so pertinent to current urban concerns. There's a lot still to read if I can persuade myself to get to bed early.

Colin Ward

coherent presentation, no mean feat given Bakunin's apparently totally disorganised working methods, and only one of the texts has appeared before in an unabridged English translation — many are translated here for the first time. Apart from the introduction there is a useful chronology of 'Milestones in Bakunin's Life', a handy bibliographical glossary of all the main players mentioned from Alexander II to Voltaire, an index, notes and a thorough bibliography. 248 pages, published price £10.95, OUR PRICE £6.95.

*The Treasure of the Sierra Madre** edited by James Naremore, University of Wisconsin Press/Warner Bros Screenplay Series. Before we go any further, let it be stated that the author of the original novel was the enigmatic B. Traven. The editor acknowledges this in the first line of his introduction, but the publishers do not include it on the title page, relegating it to the publishing information page where it is buried in the small print. This edition is in fact the screenplay for the film (starring Humphrey Bogart), both of which were the work of writer/director John Huston, a fact also buried in the small print. The novel is considered a Traven classic, and the film brought Huston even more accolades and Academy Awards than *The Maltese Falcon*. What is good about this book is that it indicates which passages and/or scenes were omitted from the novel for the screenplay, and from the screenplay for the final film version. It also indicates which parts of the film were made up by Huston and inserted into the final version. Thus we find that numerous passages were censored on grounds of 'taste' or politics, rendering the film more palatable (to the producers) in an era when the Hollywood studio system was at its zenith. It remains a great film, albeit with a muted message, and Naremore's introduction here

provides some fascinating information about B. Traven himself — and there is even more in the current edition of *Drunken Boat** ('Storm Demon: who was B. Traven?' by Hakim Bey), £7.95 — and about John Huston, his life, film-making and relationship with Traven. In addition to the notes to the screenplay there is also a cast list and production credits, and 24 stills from the film. 205 pages, published price \$10.95, OUR PRICE £3.50.

*The Damnedest Radical: the life and world of Ben Reitman, Chicago's celebrated social reformer, hobo king and whorehouse physician** by Roger A. Bruno, University of Illinois Press. "So this is the little lady, Emma Goldman. I've always wanted to know you", were the words with which Ben Lewis Reitman greeted "the queen of anarchy" in March 1908, a few days before she was due to give the first in a series of public lectures in a hobo meeting hall which he had provided. She was instantly smitten by him, and they became lovers in a relationship which lasted for many years. He grew up among tramps and prostitutes with names like Chinatown Blinky, Truck Horse May, Philadelphia Shorty and Dopey Liz, and developed their robust enthusiasm for life, their ingenuity, intelligence and spirit. To pay his way through medical school he sold stray dogs to other students and opened his first surgery to a stream of prostitutes, pimps, drug addicts and down-and-outs. These were hard times in America and although he took up later with anarchists and other social reformers and revolutionaries, he often found them intimidating and arrogant and preferred the company of society's outcasts. Many things were said about Ben Reitman: that he was charming, talented, a compassionate and loyal idealists; or that he was offensive, vulgar, egotistical and irresponsible, an inveterate drinker, gambler and skirt-chaser. All were

Some recent titles from Freedom Press

TALKING SCHOOLS

ten lectures by Colin Ward

140 pages £5.00

THE MARCH TO DEATH
drawings by John Olday

a book of anti-war cartoons first published in 1943

84 pages £3.00

THE TERRACE

an educational experiment in a state school

by Michael Duane

80 pages £2.50

VISIONS OF POESY

an anthology of twentieth century anarchist poetry

edited by Clifford Harper, Dennis Gould and Jeff Cloves

300 pages £8.00

all post free in the UK (elsewhere add 15%)

To guarantee delivery before Christmas all mail orders should be received by Freedom Press not later than Friday 15th December

true for different people in different situations, but one thing he was not was boring. He lived more in one month than most people achieve in a lifetime. Besides being an unbelievably colourful character himself, the times and the milieu in which he lived were some of the most exciting, kaleidoscopic, challenging, joyful and dangerous this century. Flamboyantly dressed in a fedora and cape with his walking cane, he was opening a hobo college in Chicago one minute and the next he was travelling around the country with Emma Goldman on her lecture tours, or riding the boxcars with hobos and itinerant workers, or sailing off to Europe — where he abandoned his pregnant wife — to escape the tedium and routine of medical life. In the '20s he worked openly in the world of organised vice; he was on good terms with, and often worked for, mobsters such as Al Capone, Mike de Pike, the Four Horsemen and Monkey Face Charlie who ran entire hotels for illicit sex and gambling. He became 'house doctor' for a string of brothels and was on first-name terms with most of the 'joyladies', several hundred of whom a week

would queue up for his medical inspection. A cast of thousands peoples this book, including Alexander Berkman, John Reed, Eugene Debs, Clarence Darrow, Big Bill Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Boxcar Bertha, Kenneth Rexroth, etc., etc., and it is written in superb flowing style. It is complemented by a prologue, chapter notes, selected bibliography and index. British readers will also need to make use of the hobo glossary defining the many unfamiliar slang and jargon words. 332 pages in handsome hardback with 18 pages of photographs, published price \$28.00, OUR PRICE £8.50.

NB: All the bargain titles mentioned in Part One of the 'FPD Trawl' are still available, although some are now in short stock, so order soon to avoid disappointment.

Pugwash

* All fish are post-free inland, but add 15% as usual if ordering from abroad. They are also available to the trade at discount while stocks last, although individual customers have priority when stocks are low.

FOCUS ON ... VIETNAM

Vietnam's history has always been a bellicose one. Of course there were the wars against France and the US – wars against foreign aggression – and the more recent move by Hanoi against perceived aggression from Cambodia but the history goes back further: the Ammanites have been fighting the Kmers, the Thais and above all the Chinese for centuries.

Part of the explanation for this lies in the geographical reality that is Vietnam and the clear split between the North and the South which means that in parts the country is joined by a tract of land that is only 50kms wide. This factor will prove operative in the future as it has been in the past and is crucial to an understanding of the situation in that country today.

For Vietnam is still a country suffering from a number of internal divides which have implications not only for the internal 'stability' of the country but also for Indochina as a whole and by 'stability' we mean, as always, the kind of 'stability' required for foreign investment to be able to move into a country rich in resources.

This has indeed been the lure for the Japanese who clearly also wish to see an emerging middle class in the South buying more of its motor bikes whilst assimilating karaoke culture. To the communist regime, with its power base in the North, and intent on preserving its privileges, these overtures are not wholly unwelcome, offering as they seem to do a counterweight to the Chinese shadow to the North. The rivalry here can indeed be seen as not only historical but also in parts must have its roots in the parallel course these two Marxist regimes have pursued during the last few years which in a sense makes them regional competitors. The pattern in both cases is clear: a powerful and dictatorial party apparatus relying heavily on the military for protection of its privileges trying to achieve the status of a modern state, i.e. a symbiotic relationship with an emerging middle class.

Again in both countries factors are at work which may threaten this possible outcome. The contrasts, about which we have spoken in this column, which are the reality in China find their mirror image in Vietnam. Hanoi to the North is the Beijing of Vietnam the home

base for the old guard trying to define its relationship with the Vietnamese Guandong to the South – Saigon.

SAIGON

Saigon is fast becoming like other Asian cities. Small traders crowd the pavements and luxury hotels go up to welcome back the foreign business men. The middle classes are getting their savings out from the mattresses now that private property is back and the bicycle is giving way to the Honda.

These middle classes who the communist regime wish to woo and control are the lucky ones in Vietnamese terms. The GNP per inhabitant here is in the region of \$840 which is nearly four times the national average. But even here such figures hide the differentials. Labour is cheap. It is literate. It is productive. It is hard working ... but it is cheap.

And it is abundant. Five and a half million live in the intramuros part of the city – a staggering number; a rate of 23,200 per square kilometre (which compares with a figure of 5,677 in Hong Kong). Such densities cannot fail to produce not only a high number of beggars (as John Major would point out, along with Jack Straw – not too good for the tourists) but also is part of a 19% national rate of unemployment. The city is effectively being called upon to support a population ten times the size for which Saigon was designed. The plan to help with the problem is to build a Free Economic Zone (read: State Subsidised Sweatshops) outside Ho Chi Minh City.

Environmental damage is apparent with pollution reaching dramatic levels which it has been said is irreversible. The water sources on which the city depends have been contaminated by two serious industrial accidents which poured toxic waste into the water. Perhaps more worrying for business are the frequent electricity blackouts which also reflect the problems relating to infrastructure.

AGRICULTURE

According to the *Financial Times* in a special report (13th November 1995) agriculture in Vietnam is "not yet on the fast track". The

establishment is concerned: "Without agriculture, there can be no stability" opines Du Moi the Vietnamese Communist Party's General Secretary. Indeed, despite the picture from Saigon, Vietnam is still a predominantly agricultural society – this sector accounting for some 70% of the labour force. But it is geared towards an external market and accounts for 50% of all Vietnamese exports.

Whilst back in 1989 Vietnam was a rice importer today it is the third biggest exporter (after Thailand and the USA). The cash crops are (it is felt) the key to the future: coffee (currently a money maker on the international market so the state has decided to double land available for it over the next five years), sugar cane (Tate & Lyle announced in October the setting up of a \$71 million processing plant) and cashew nuts (again third biggest world exporter) figure among some of the crops being grown in this country where, according to a recent World Bank report, 57% live below the poverty line with some 90% of it concentrated in the rural zones where a farmer can perhaps make \$100 per annum.

Pan Van Khai the Deputy Prime Minister echoes Du Moi's concern: "without guaranteeing safe food supply for eighty million people by the turn of the century, there will be no stability for development", he says, whilst recognising the fact that you "cannot get rich through food production". You can but try and if the people complain let them eat rubber.

UNREST

Du Moi's concerns are not without foundation. Ho Chi Minh City has seen more than fifty strikes and walk-outs organised by the labour unions over the last two years. In one example last year 600 workers at a South-Korean firm went on strike to protest against long working hours and the regular beatings they receive from their South Korean supervisors. The state shows little concern – indeed the worker's wrath is often directed at the state sector. The government seems more concerned to keep labour in check in order to attract foreign investment. New laws have kept the minimum wage at \$35 per month despite labour demands for a rise to \$50 which it had been before it was cut. The tactic has worked with some \$3 billion worth of investment in the past five years.

And the foreign investors are squabbling. US corporations have already been beaten by European and Asian investors in many cases. Last September, for example, the government announced that it was awarding Mitsubishi a contract to assemble cars. The contract was won by a plan to build the industry from scratch over a period of four years – tied to traditional suppliers of parts and technology like Bridgestone Tyre and Asahi glass. A sour Alan Tonelson of the US based Economic Strategy Institute noted that "Mitsubishi's master plan is clearly good for Japan. It is not clear how good it is for Vietnam".

We could concur. Despite investment last year the country exported \$1.7 billion to pay for imports worth \$1.8 billion. And they are being ripped off. A report from Hanoi's Institute of Science Management estimated that Vietnam had overpaid to the tune of \$50 million for equipment in 300 investment projects due to inflated prices.

So far since the US made its latest moves to regularise relations between Washington and Hanoi US corporate interest has been slow to move in and Japan has really only been watching from the sidelines. The Vietnamese government still has more to do in the way of providing the necessary freebies in the way of infrastructure. It has, however, firmly delivered on the tax front with a number of companies enjoying full return on their investment allowing for the full return of capital to the West. The Vietnamese reap no benefits except those well positioned to be able to demand the kind of back-handers that oil the works.

Vietnam is clearly of interest to the masters of the Old American Disorder. Firstly as a source of cheap labour. Secondly as a possible market for consumer goods (or so they think – they got it badly wrong in China) and last but not least: oil. For we are speaking of a country which has plenty of resources of much value to her population if only they were allowed access to it. Already 100,000 barrels a day are being produced and we can all guess who is benefiting most.

INTERNATIONAL UPDATE

TIMOR

LISBON, 12th October (Reuter) – Timorese resistance leaders urged the United Nations on Thursday to intervene to halt a crackdown by Indonesian forces in the East Timor capital Dili.

Jose Ramos Horta, spokesman for jailed resistance leader Xanana Gusmao, said the atmosphere was like that prevailing when scores of protesters were killed in a riot in Dili in 1991.

Indonesian forces raided houses in Dili and rounded up youths on Thursday in a crackdown after this week's rioting, residents and diplomats in Dili said.

"I wish to make an appeal to Portuguese communities to intervene immediately to ask the UN secretary-general to intervene", Ramos Horta, who was in contact with Timorese protesters in Dili, told Portuguese TSF radio.

Another Timorese resistance leader based in Australia, Jose Gusmao, speaking on TSF, also called for UN observers to monitor the situation in Dili.

Ramos-Horta said some 70 people had been detained and dozens of people injured throughout the day in Dili.

"The situation is similar to what happened

on November 12 1991," Ramos Horta said. He was referring to a funeral procession in Dili when Indonesian troops opened fire on protesters and mourners. Human rights groups say up to 200 civilians were killed. Indonesia says up to 50 people may have died in the incident.

Jakarta annexed East Timor in 1976, a year after it invaded the former Portuguese colony, in a move not recognised by the United Nations. The UN still recognises Lisbon as the administering authority.

SRI LANKA

PARIS, 5th October (Reuter) – Sri Lanka's Tamil Tiger rebels said on Thursday 23 civilians had been killed and tens of thousands made homeless by shelling since government forces began an offensive in the north of the country last Sunday.

A statement from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) received in Paris said most of the casualties from what it called indiscriminate shelling were elderly women.

It said government forces kept shelling Chirupidy, Puthur, Neerveli and Vallai through the night in Operation Thunder Strike.

The armed forces, fighting for control of the rebel-held Jaffna peninsula, have said they captured 25 square km (10 square miles) of rebel territory since breaking out of the government-controlled Palaly air base.

Next 5 Minutes TACTICAL MEDIA CONFERENCE AND EXHIBITION Amsterdam and Rotterdam 18-21 January 1996

Next 5 Minutes: Tactical Media is a conference and exhibition project about tactical media, due to take place on 18th to 21st January 1996, which is being organised by De Balie, Paradiso, V2 Organisatie, the Society for Old and New Media and the Centre for Tactical Media in collaboration with other national and international organisations.

Please contact the production team:

N5M@dds.nl (Sjoera Nas, Andreas Broeckmann)

De Balie, Production Team N5M, Keline Gartmanplantsoen 10, 1017 RR Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Phone: 020-62 33 673 Fax: 020-63 84 489

Freedom on the World Wide Web

<http://www.lglobal.com/TAO/Freedom>

a-infos

Daily multi-lingual international anarchist news service

To: majordomo@lglobal.com
subscribe a-infos

GUARANI INDIANS SELF-DEMARCATHE THEIR LAND

Supported by Guarani communities from seven Brazilian states, more than 100 Guarani Indians in Rio Grande do Sul have occupied, since 6th November, the Barra do Ouro Indian area, which early this century was invaded by speculators and corporations, such as the Zaffari Supermarket Company, which has no title deed to the area it occupies.

For the Guarani, self-demarcating the 2,850-hectare area is the only way to ensure the tenure of the land. "Since Funai and the government have not demarcated the area, we're going to do it," said the leader of the Nemboaty Guassu Guarani Indian Organisations, Manoel Wera.

The Indians decided to occupy the Barra do Ouro Indian area, whose use was interdicted in 1988, after repeated requests for the Brazilian government to do it. While they awaited an official decision for many years, the Guarani were confined to a small area and some of them were forced to live under bridges and in slums in cities, jeopardising their traditional culture. Those who tried to get back to their land were expelled from it and threatened by the Zaffari Company. As soon as they took possession of Barra do Ouro, the Guarani began to open trails in the forest and plant crops. The Office of the Attorney General and the Human Rights Commission of the State are intermediating the issue, but the demarcation of Barra do Ouro clearly depends on a political decision. In the south and south-east regions, there are 61 Guarani areas, and only 12 of them have been officially demarcated, none of which in Rio Grande do Sul.

MORE ABOUT SHELL IN NIGERIA

Following the show trial and execution of nine Ogoni activists, Shell International Petroleum Corporation, which supplied 90% of the Nigerian military government's revenue, were asked not to proceed with the building of a new natural gas plant in Ogoniland. They declined.

Eight of those executed were said to have taken part in a riot, during which four Ogoni tribal chiefs were battered to death ('tribal chiefs' are local magistrates appointed by the District Commissioner, Colonel Komo). Ken Saro-Wiwa was said to have organised the riot. All were convicted of murder. Nineteen more alleged rioters are said to be awaiting trial.

During the Cold War period there was a pretence that capitalism had some causal connection with electoral democracy. It was true that the biggest capitalist countries were electoral democracies and that places where capital was a state monopoly did not have elections, but this was largely coincidence. Many smaller states in the 'free' (for capitalism) world were police states and any democratically elected government which was seen as a threat to capitalism, such as that of Allende in Chile, was rapidly seen off by American agents and replaced by military dictatorship.

Now that the Cold War is over and multinationals can go anywhere, the myth that capitalism and electoral democracy are synonymous has ceased to be useful. The new pretence is that 'multinationals let national governments rule as they will, and national governments let multinationals trade as they will'.

In fact, national governments and multinationals are much closer than that. In military dictatorships especially, their interests often coincide (neither the government nor the traders want trade unions, for instance) and they work closely together.

Shell in Nigeria is known to have called in the Mobile Police Force to put down objectors, and evidence is emerging that they did not just condone but were actively involved in the judicial murders in Ogoniland.

Prosecution witnesses in the show trial included two low-grade civil servants in the

chiefs' office, Nayone Apka and Charles Danwi. There was no provision for cross-questioning witnesses at the trial, but after the trial they were questioned by the British barrister observing on behalf of the England and Wales Bar Human Rights Committee, Michael Birnbaum. Apka and Danwi swore affidavits confirming what they had told him.

Mr Apka originally refused a police order to sign a statement implicating Ken Saro-Wiwa and one of the other defendants, saying he knew nothing about the murders, which was true. He was then told that if he signed he would get promotion, some money and a contract with Shell, so he signed.

Mr Danwi was promised a house, promotion to level 5 in local government, and a contract with Shell, in return for identifying anyone pointed out to him by the military. The promise was confirmed at a later meeting attended by police, government officials and representatives of Shell. He was also given 30,000 naira, later increased to a million naira (about £8,300).

One of the activists' arguments was that if Shell had an obligation to clear its mess from the Mersey in England, it also had an obligation to clean up the Muepene in Nigeria.

Shell discharged crude oil into the Mersey in 1989, cleaned it up within a year and made a big donation to Liverpool Art Gallery, and were still fined a million pounds. Nine years earlier, Shell discharged crude oil into the Muepene to make a three mile slick, which is still there, and have done nothing about it except to make a grant for environmental improvement in Rivers State to the Nigerian central government, which spent it elsewhere.

If the Ogoni activists had been successful they would have cost Shell a lot of money. The irony is that their judicial murder attracts more attention in the developed world than their agitation would have done had they been allowed to continue. Shell may yet have to choose between spending a lot of money in Rivers State and losing even more money as purchasers exercise their power not to purchase.

The job of Shell's vice president in Nigeria looks less secure than it did.

Dear subscribers...

More than half of Freedom subscriptions expire with the next issue, number 5624. Thanks to the few who have already renewed, and I will be grateful to all who renew early. It really will save me a lot of unpaid work.

Freedom Subscriptions Department

FREEDOM PRESS BOOKSHOP

in Angel Alley
84b Whitechapel High Street
London E1 7QX
(nearest tube Aldgate East)

★ ★ ★

— opening hours —

Monday to Friday 10.30am - 6.00pm

Saturday 11.00am - 5.00pm

★ ★ ★

A mail order service is also available.
For a copy of our current book list write to:

Freedom Press
84b Whitechapel High Street
London E1 7QX
Tel: 0171-247 9249

FPD TRAWL: part 1

Bargains mentioned in our issue of 21st October and still available

Midpassage: Alexander Herzen and European Revolution by Judith E. Zimmerman, £6.95

Brotherly Tomorrows: movements for a co-operative society in America 1820-1920 by Edward K. Spann, £5.95

The Spirit of Revolt: anarchism and the cult of authority by Richard K. Fenn, £5.95

Lewis Mumford: a life by Donald L. Miller, £4.95

The Workers' Union by Flora Tristan, £2.95

Vera Zasulich: a biography by Jay Bergman, £4.95

CANADA

A terrorist group based in Vancouver, calling itself the 'Anti-Fascist Militia' has been mailing out parcel bombs and not just to racists. A bomb was sent to the notorious neo-Nazi, Ernst Zundel, and to an Aryan Nations leader. But also a conservative organisation, the Mackenzie Institute of Toronto, and a cattle insemination bureau in Alberta(?) received the potentially lethal devices. The attack upon groups completely unconnected with racism or fascism leads to the conclusion that whoever is doing this is a psychopath much like the technophobic 'Unabomber' in the USA, rather than an anti-racist militant gone astray. Genuine anti-racist organisations have vehemently denounced the attacks.

19th July: The new Ontario government has abolished the discriminatory quota system called 'employment equity' established by the previous politically correct NDP government. Employment will now be based on ability rather than race or gender. These changes are in line with what more than three-quarters of the population want - no racial or sexual discrimination, negative or positive.

21st July: Demonstrations have begun against the proposed cuts in social services in Ontario. 1,000 mothers and children marched in Toronto against changes in child care benefits which would no longer grant teenage single mothers free day-care.

22nd July: The Ontario government slashed welfare payments to single employables from \$663 to \$520. This will take effect in October. Workfare measures will also be introduced. In spite of the severity of this cut-back, polls show 75% support for this act.

26th July: The CSN (ex-Catholic union central) has announced the formation of its own investment fund. More radical than the rival FTQ's billion

dollar Fonds de Solidarite, the new organisation will have a section, Fondation, devoted entirely to financing workers' co-operatives and community organisations. This is in line with the CSN's endorsement of worker co-ops.

14th August: Demonstrators in Montreal demanded a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal who is slated to be executed on 17th August.

24th August: A potential Waco-like conflict appears to be developing near the tiny BC community of Gustafsen Lake. After the completion of the annual Sun Dance Ceremony several score of native people occupied the dance site. They were heavily armed and willing to die rather than leave. They protest that what the occupiers claim is the New World Order threat to the lives and sovereignty of native people.

8th September: A native person was killed during a shoot-out with police in Ipperwash, Ontario. A group of Chippawa's have occupied a park in the area in response to foot-dragging over land claims.

13th September: 12,000 people demonstrated in Montreal against proposed hospital closings.

14th September: College teachers went on a one day general strike throughout Quebec to protest cutbacks eliminating 25% of all teaching positions.

17th September: Natives at Gustafsen lake surrendered ending peacefully the month-long armed occupation.

20th September: 6,000 university and college students demonstrated in Montreal against education cut backs which will add \$1,000 to the cost of their tuition fees.

25th September: 5,000 people opposed to the Ontario governments cut-backs in welfare payments attempt to invade the legislature.

4th October: Noam Chomsky addressed about 2,000 people in Montreal on the theme of the US and the New World Order. He criticised Canada for

its so-called 'hate laws', a form of censorship under the guise of fighting bigotry.

5th October: College professors in Quebec went on another one day strike to protest cut-backs.

25th October: The Cree nation voted 96% against the separation of Quebec from Canada and promised to resist any attempts by a sovereign Quebec to rule their land. The following day, the Inuit voted against the separation of their territories by a 95% majority.

30th October: Quebec nationalists lost the independence referendum by a mere one percent. The nationalist campaign was marked by a level of deceit/demagoguery, and xenophobia seldom seen in Canada. The anti-independence forces had little to offer but hollow promises of change and statistics on the economic costs of separation. These were little match for appeals about 'national pride' and 'nous sommes un peuple', but emotionalism was not enough to win the referendum. Some, but unfortunately not all the left, boycotted the campaign, claiming the nationalists were dividing the workers and the referendum was an attempt by a section of the Quebec bourgeoisie to grab all the power for itself.

The closeness of the result will encourage further decentralisation of federal government power.

The night of the referendum a bomb was planted in the Liberal Party (anti-independents) Montreal headquarters and in another city one of their offices was fire-bombed. A riot ensued between pro and anti forces in Montreal and 29 people were arrested.

31st October: In a surprise move, the Prime Minister of Quebec, Jacques Parizeau resigned. Many people suspect the outrage which greeted his xenophobic remarks in a speech given the night of the referendum had something to do with this. Parizeau claimed he lost the vote because of 'ethnics' and that he wanted 'revenge'.

Larry Gambone

Through the Anarchist Press

Recent events show an ever-changing struggle between camouflaged sides whose forces remain invisible and are felt by their effects. This is a macrocosmic pressure on a microcosmic set of circumstances. Dear old microcosm also has to live and live out its bodily functions. As anybody who lives among humans will tell you, a merry dance is led by all.

Every now and then we chew on an apple and this time our tooth is broken. We seek another being who looks into our mouths and repairs us expertly. Another person stops a pain in somebody else's mouth. And today only a lingering memory. Another proof that John Cage was right. When one person allows another's fingers in his mouth and that other person stops pain instead of adding TO misery, then both may be regarded as anarchists. Just as when switching on and off the lights.

Choice is difficult. Whoever thought that those in the saddle may be out of it tomorrow even if the reverse may not necessarily be true. The mouthwash could be salty warm water, or have you tried a stick of celery with warm water. For me it accompanied the pain out splendidly.

In the Courts of Law in the Strand in the bear garden a judge in chambers dismissed the application of the North London University for an interim possession order of the building they abandoned in Kentish Town. Now the case goes back to the busy county court near Regents Park. Your reporter was the only member of the public present on both occasions. ASS 2, Home Office plc 0.

Pecuniary considerations apart, the judges must have noticed on both occasions that the impecunious side was better versed in the law than their opponents. In fact one of the judges was curious enough to ask the Mackenzie Friend "Have you studied the law?" "No" was the reply, "I'm a language teacher." The question must remain, how long will academia remain homeless, although this is not a consideration for the University of North London.

Even this, the man said, is a question of temperature. Heat. Not much of a consolation when you are trying to get a flame striking with a damp match.

John Rety

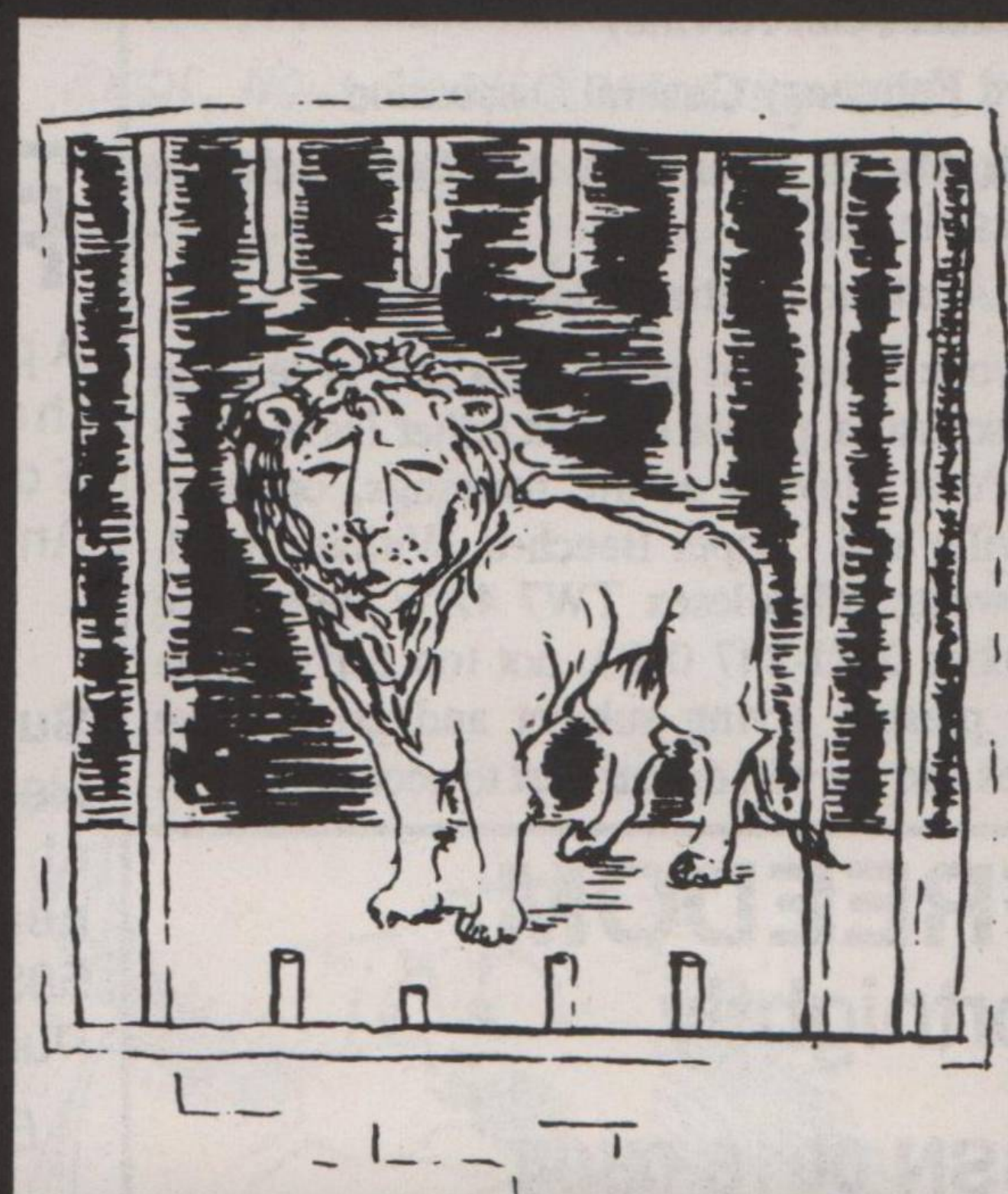
new from Freedom Press

Through the Anarchist Press

a column in Freedom

by John Rety

with drawings by Emily Johns



96 pages ISBN 0 900384 85 9 £3.60

London Anarchist Forum

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

- 1995 PROGRAMME -

1st December What Price Prosperity? (speaker Don Howard)

8th December General Discussion

15th December Christmas Party

22nd - 29th December no meetings

- 1996 PROGRAMME - (provisional list)

5th January Chomsky (speaker Mil Ray)

12th January General Discussion

19th January Some Further Comments on Chomsky (speaker Peter Lumsden)

26th January General Discussion

2nd February Anarchism and the Family (symposium)

9th February General Discussion

16th February Anarchism and Social Class (speaker Peter Neville)

23rd February General Discussion

29th March Anarchism and Sport (speaker Peter Neville)

5th April no meeting (Bank Holiday)

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

FREEDOM fortnightly

ISSN 0016 0504

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

Printed by Aldgate Press, London E1

ACF OPEN DISCUSSION MEETINGS

Held on first Thursday of every month at 8pm, Marchmont Community Centre, 62 Marchmont Street, London WC1 (nearest tube Russell Square). Entry free.

Thursday 7th December 1995 FIGHTING THE JOBSEEKER'S ALLOWANCE

Dales Red Rambles

A new series of free guided walks in the Yorkshire Dales for Anarchists, Greens, Socialists and Libertarians.

Sunday 10th December: Airedale. Skipton to Flasby. Meet outside Skipton Castle at 11.00am. Length 7 miles.

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

Telephone for further details
01756-799002



Red Rambles

A programme of free guided walks in the White Peak for Greens, Socialists, Libertarians and Anarchists.

— 1995 —

Sunday 3rd December: Bonsall and Heights of Abraham. Meet 11.00am at Bonsall Market Cross, Bonsall, near Matlock, map reference 279 583, for circular walk approx 4 miles. Pub lunch.

Bring walking boots, waterproofs and food on all walks.

Telephone for further details
01773-827513



The Raven

Anarchist Quarterly number 30 on 'New Life to the Land?' out now

Back issues still available:

29 - World War Two

28 - Noam Chomsky on Haiti

27 - Fundamentalism

26 - Science (2)

25 - Religion

24 - Science (1)

23 - Spain / Emma Goldman

22 - Crime

21 - Feminism

20 - Kropotkin's 150th Anniversary

19 - Sociology

18 - Anthropology

17 - Use of Land

16 - Education (2)

15 - Health

14 - Voting

13 - Anarchism in Eastern Europe

12 - Communication

11 - Class

10 - Libertarian Education

9 - Bakunin and Nationalism

8 - Revolution

7 - Emma Goldman

6 - Tradition and Revolution

5 - Spies for Peace

4 - Computers and Anarchism

3 - Surrealism (part 2)

2 - Surrealism (part 1)

1 - History of Freedom Press

£3.00 each (post-free anywhere)
from

FREEDOM PRESS

84b Whitechapel High Street
London E1 7QX

CLYDESIDES RESOURCE FOR
POLITICAL AND CAMPAIGN GROUPS

SOLIDARITY CENTRE

3 Royal Exchange Court
85-87 Queen Street
Glasgow G1 3PA

Tel/Ansaphone/Fax: 0141-226 5066

— NOW OPEN —

Monday - Friday 10am - 4pm
evenings and weekends by
appointment

FACILITIES INCLUDE:

- Darkroom & Tuition
- Radical Books (library and outlet for AK Press)
- Meeting space for political and community groups

COMING SOON:

- Desktop Publishing Facilities
- Screen Printing Workshop
- Media Workshop Facilities

FREEDOM AND THE RAVEN SUBSCRIPTION RATES 1995

	inland	outside Europe surface	outside Europe airmail	Europe (airmail only)
<i>Freedom</i> (24 issues) half price for 12 issues				
Claimants	10.00	—	—	—
Regular	14.00	22.00	34.00	24.00
Institutions	22.00	30.00	40.00	40.00

The Raven (4 issues)

Claimants	10.00	—	—	—
Regular	12.00	14.00	18.00	16.00
Institutions	18.00	22.00	27.00	27.00

Joint sub (24 x Freedom & 4 x The Raven)

Claimants	18.00	—	—	—
Regular	24.00	34.00	50.00	36.00

Bundle subs for Freedom (12 issues)

	inland	abroad surface	abroad airmail
2 copies x 12	12.00	13.00	22.00
5 copies x 12	26.00	32.00	44.00
10 copies x 12	50.00	60.00	84.00

Other bundle sizes on application

Giro account number 58 294 6905

All prices in £ sterling

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

To Freedom Press in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street,
London E1 7QX

- I am a subscriber, please renew my sub to *Freedom* for issues
- Please renew my joint subscription to *Freedom* and *The Raven*
- Make my sub to *Freedom* into a joint sub starting with number 30 of *The Raven*
- I am not yet a subscriber, please enter my sub to *Freedom* for issues and *The Raven* for issues starting with number 30
- I would like the following back numbers of *The Raven* at £3 per copy post free (numbers 1 to 29 are available)
- I enclose a donation to Freedom Fortnightly Fighting / Freedom Press Overheads / Raven Deficit Fund (delete as applicable)

I enclose £..... payment

Name

Address

.....Postcode.....