

anarchist fortnightly **Freedom**

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FIFTY PENCE

"The anarchists consider the syndicalist movement and the general strike as powerful revolutionary means but not as substitutes for the revolution."

International Anarchist Congress, Amsterdam 1907

WHO WANTS THE SINGLE CURRENCY?

The burning issue of the single currency has nothing to do with a loss of sovereignty (no pun intended) as the vocal Euro-sceptics maintain in their propaganda, but a lot to do with vested interests of all kinds. The fact, for instance, that the leading industrialists are in favour of the single currency, while a bunch of politicians are not, does make one come to the conclusion that the politicians feel that their 'power' will be eroded by a single currency. We wonder what connections some of them may have with the banks, the City and the money market? After all, London is the world's largest, with a turnover of \$69 billion a day, and to wipe out more than half of that very profitable business for the money-changers would be a 'disaster' for them, but not for the millions of holiday-makers who are regularly ripped off when they change their pounds for francs or pesetas or marks and vice versa.

In this writer's opinion the single currency will benefit such industries as car production, for today a car is no longer made in one country. It is not even necessarily assembled in one country. Remember the way Fords of Dagenham produced the chassis which was then loaded onto trucks and transferred to Belgium (or somewhere in Europe) to be completed, and then returned to the British market? Think what headaches are created by fluctuating exchange rates for this kind of production in heavy industry.

The real power in the hands of the government (the politicians) is to play with exchange rates. When exports are flagging, a bit of devaluation boosts exports (since the importers are also more concerned with profits than patriotism and their local industries). The only problem for Britain is that we import most of our raw materials (having closed down most of the local mines, in spite of there being coal down below for three hundred years, so we now import the stuff) and therefore devaluation can be a double-edged weapon unless stocks of the raw materials are high.

One can only assume that Britain will join, seeing that most of its trade is with Europe. But we also imagine that as well as the single currency most of the members of the EU will retain a second currency for internal use – just as for the seventy years of existence of the Soviet Union the rouble was a currency only for internal transactions. It could not be exported and so, for instance, visitors to the USSR in the '50s and '60s would exchange their currency for roubles at a rate of two and a half roubles to the pound sterling, and when they left they had to exchange the roubles they hadn't spent for foreign currency at the same rate.

Of course there was a black market for foreign currency – one was accosted in the street – that always happens, but what was interesting was that the prices of the basic commodities never fluctuated and that

the Soviet Union could not import in money terms more than it exported. And of course gold and other valuable minerals were among the exports, so unlike Britain, which never followed Mrs Thatcher's stricture that "we should all live within our means", the Soviet Union did. And as we said, we can well imagine that some of the European countries, when the single currency is ratified, may well adopt a similar system.

But *plus ça change ...* so long as money is power and used for exploiting human labour, basically adopting the single currency won't make a ha'porth, or an ecusworth, of difference. A few money-changers will go out of business and continental holiday-makers may not be ripped off by banks and bureaux de change, but does that justify holding a referendum? We think not.

MERCHANTS OF DEATH

In their issue of 19th November *The Independent* devoted a half-page to the subject. The heading was more than challenging: "Who is the second-largest supplier of weapons in the world? China? France? Russia? No, it's Britain" and one article deals with the 'illegal ones', the small merchants of death that hide behind 'respectable' travel agencies and the like, and with thousands of lorries crossing the Channel every month, even if the customs men were unable to close an eye, some would inevitably get through.

But the serious business – "these are a great export success" worth £6 billion a year in exports to the Gulf states and beyond. All above board by household names in the engineering world such as BAe, GEC-Marconi, VSEL. And not only are they proud of the really lethal weapons they can offer, but they are also responsible for some 400,000 jobs.

And Portillo, our Minister of Defence, has just returned from Abu Dhabi where he has, to quote *The Guardian*, struck a defence deal

worth £2 billion in arms sales in return for a promise to "commit British troops to defend United Arab Emirates". We suppose it keeps our mercenary army in trim, and our war factories busy. What a world.

IN THIS ISSUE

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and much more...

THE BENEFITS OF PROSPERITY

It was good to hear from our Chancellor in this Budget speech that the British economy is in such good shape. As you will know, he informed us that his prudent managing of the country's finances had delivered falling unemployment, low inflation, interest rates and taxes, and high profitability enabling the government to cut public spending by £2 billion next year. Things are going so well that it will even be possible to find £470 million over the next three years to spend on the fight against benefit fraud.

The state of the economy is obviously good news for somebody, perhaps for the majority of people, but what is the effect of the economic growth on those who, not lucky enough to have a job, are not reaping the benefits of this prosperity? A hint of the answer to this question can be discerned in the changes to housing benefit made by the budget which will come into effect in October of next year. Here I'll quote *The Guardian*:

"The cuts [to housing benefit, which will affect 250,000 single tenants and save more than £100 million a year] will mean that people under 60 who live alone in private rented accommodation will be eligible only for benefit equivalent to the average rent of a room in a shared house.

In a second move, affecting another 125,000 people and designed to save a further £25 million a year, all private tenants will be limited to housing benefit equivalent to the average local rent for a 'suitable' size home."

These two changes effectively mean that if you are unemployed and dependent on the 'charity' of the tax-funded welfare system, you no longer have the choice to live where you want. Or, at least, you can choose, but only to the extent of what room in a suitably cheap house you want to live in. Alternatively, according to Peter Lilley, you can stay where you are by paying from your own income "for more expensive accommodation". The minor technicality of 'what income?' seems not to exercise the Secretary of State's imagination, nor does the approachability or compassion of most landlords when he also suggests that tenants could "negotiate their rent downwards". Amazingly he also links the movement of individuals from single occupant flats into shared houses to the problem, perceived by the government, that of the 4.4 million projected new houses which will have to be built by 2016, 80% will be occupied by single people living alone. Lilley doesn't say that it would help diminish this problem if claimants and those on low incomes were impelled by legislation to live in shared accommodation, but by saying "it cannot be right to allow the benefit system to play any part in furthering" the increase in single occupant houses, he's implying the same thing.

Decent housing is a human right, but more than this, the choice of home, the possibility of deciding its decoration and what to put in it are basic acts of self-definition. One of the aims of anarchism is to increase immeasurably the amount of control we have

over our own lives and the decisions concerning them. The simplest, and perhaps most mundane, but surely the most essential example of this control is the chance to shape our own immediate environment. Any really substantive expansion of freedom would mean the possibility of being able to shape the environment beyond our homes but, as things are, even the decision of whether to live alone or with others is connected to the amount of money we possess. Choice in this area, it seems, is a privilege which is forfeited if you have no job. To be able to claim money from the state you must accept its restrictions and directives or else face punitive sanctions. Choices and decisions taken for granted by those in work must be given up once you've signed on. You are left with no doubt that you are able to eat and live beneath a roof only because of the munificence of the state. All the while one's dignity and self-respect is being gnawed away.

These changes in housing benefits, however, are only tinkering which join pieces of legislation such as the Job Seekers Act, the Criminal Justice Act, and certain provisions of the Housing Act 1996, in a process of creeping social control. The welfare system plays its part in the moulding and adapting of individuals to the imperatives of the market economy, that cosy euphemism for capitalism. In their rhetoric politicians warn of the dangers to society as a whole of the social dislocations resulting from widespread unemployment. Unfortunately, due to the supposed political impossibility of criticising the capitalist system itself, the solutions offered to reduce the enormous welfare bill are limited to those which serve the purposes of the 'market'. The solutions don't, for instance, stretch to easing the way for people to build their own homes, or to make small changes in the planning regulations so that people could live and work on the land, thus lowering or even eliminating the cost to the state and taxpayer. Indeed, the most invidious thing about the state is that it actively seems to prevent the use of initiative and, dare I say it, entrepreneurship, if such initiatives follow a direction which it disapproves of because they don't 'add value to the economy'. On the one hand the state vilifies and criticises people who are some of the most vulnerable and least privileges in society for not trying hard enough to find work, while on the other hand withholding from them the opportunity to help themselves unless they are making a contribution to UK plc.

The unofficial economy, alternative lifestyles and the different human-centred values they embody may be the only sustainable way forward when the prosperity of Britain, and the other countries of the west, is disrupted by those who have been excluded from it and by the environmental damage which can only be slowed, not halted, by green consumerism.

Duncan Hunt

NEWS FROM ANGEL ALLEY

This is the last issue of *Freedom* for 1996. It is necessary to say this for two reasons: first, because in the last few weeks we have gained a number of new subscribers whom we would like to welcome as regular readers and let them know they can expect our next issue on or before 11th January 1997 (and incidentally to remind our regular contributors to have their copy in not later than Friday 3rd January 1997), and secondly, for our larger number of regular readers whose subscriptions fall due with this issue, your prompt attention to our renewal notice will be appreciated by the voluntary workers who will come in to Angel Alley over the holiday period to deal with the many expected renewals and donations.

Talking of which, we felt that a few words about the Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund and the Freedom Press Overheads Fund (contributions to which are acknowledged on page 8) would not come amiss, both for the many new *Freedom* readers who would like to know more about these funds, and for older comrades and friends who may have forgotten how important these funds are. They enable the day-to-day activities to continue. The Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund is to meet the deficit incurred when printing and postage costs exceed income from subscriptions and sales. The Freedom Press Overheads Fund is for rates, insurance, heating, telephone, and all the postal and other overheads incurred in running an office which deals with all the mail orders as well as subscriptions to *Freedom* and *The Raven*. None of these overheads is charged to either *Freedom* or the bookshop.

We have brought out only three issues of our 96-page journal *The Raven*, instead of the intended four. The last issue to go out (No. 33 on 'The Arts') was dated, logically or otherwise, 'Spring 1996', although it appeared but recently. This was not for financial reasons but because of the slowness of promised contributions and our determination not to let editorial standards slide. We plan to catch up next year; subscriptions are for four issues, and that is what you will get. Joint subscribers, we appeal to you to renew now.

Publishing – once again we have had an active year, bringing out five new titles: *The Blue Cow* by John Olday, described as "intended for the young but by the brilliance of the drawings and the surrealism of the text even more fascinating to adults than to children"; Colin Ward's *Talking to Architects*; our first work of fiction, Steve Cullen's utopian fable *The Last Capitalist*; *A Weekend Photographer's Notebook*, the collection of unusual photographs by Vernon Richards; and finally Max Nettlau's *A Short History of Anarchism*, written in the 1930s but translated into English for the first time.

We intend to start the new year with a large collection of writings by anthropologist Harold Barclay to be titled *Culture and Anarchism*, and a challenging book on the subject of workers' control of industry and the role of the Labour Party, which will be available in time for the next

general election, which we are assured will take place in the spring.

The bookshop in Angel Alley, staffed by voluntary workers, has not only kept open six days a week but has been able to offer a range of remaindered titles at bargain prices, for example *Solidarity Forever: an oral history of the Wobblies* was reduced from £9.95 to £2.99 (plus £1 postage) and Brian Winston's *Misunderstanding Media* reduced from £20 to £2.95. The shop will end the year with our annual social on Saturday 21st December, though we expect to stay open until 5pm on Christmas Eve, after which we will be closed until Monday 6th January.

Freedom will be published every two weeks in 1997, with the exception of Easter (22nd March to 12th April) and August Bank Holiday (16th August to 6th September) when there will be three-week breaks, and the last issue of 1997 will be dated 13th December, making 24 issues in all.

We intend the paper to cover all the issues which affect people's daily lives – technology, the environment, industry, health, education, transport and so on, as well as covering the major international and national news from an anarchist viewpoint.

Some time next year, probably earlier rather than later, there will be a general election in Britain, when for the first time in eighteen years (as long as the lifetime of some first-time voters) there is the real possibility of the Labour Party under Tony Blair taking power from the Conservatives. Anarchists should be preparing now to launch their campaign for the election year. Whatever we do will not alter the course of the election, but we shall take the opportunity of putting forward the anarchist case. We are looking for new readers who are not anarchists but who are on the 'left' and despairing of the political parties. If they are to make sense of anarchism we must show them that the anarchist approach to day-to-day problems makes sense, and how we differ from the capitalist press, as well as from the various social democratic periodicals.

In common with other small circulation papers, *Freedom* is not of interest to the commercial newsagents. We have kept our cover price and subscription rates the same for several years, but although our circulation is rising and although we have no paid staff or contributors, we are still not breaking even. We rely on subscribers and those comrades and supporters who take bundles of the paper to sell at meetings or demonstrations. Being optimists, we are convinced that somewhere in Britain there are at least, say, 500 more people who would like to read *Freedom* if they only knew about it. Regular subscribers, ask yourselves if you could take at least one extra copy which can be used to introduce new readers. Bundle subscription rates are given on the back page.

The season's greetings to all our readers and best wishes for a happy new year.



— BRIGHTON AND LIVERPOOL —

UNIFYING THE STRUGGLES

Activists in Brighton were thrown out of court by angry police on Thursday 21st November. The courthouse, a listed building, was no longer functional anyway, but the squatters' intention to use it to host a Saturday conference called 'Justice?' on the theme 'unifying the struggles' was not appreciated by the law men.

Aided by helicopter surveillance, a posse spent Friday tracking activists, who nevertheless managed to squat another wasted building, albeit less provocatively than the first. The police response was to illegally evict them for a second time. Upon being reminded about the due process of law, the local chief inspector replied: "I don't give a fuck, you're not having your conference in this town". But this town proved big enough for the two hundred of us who would not be turned away when on Saturday a third building was being liberated. Police had to be satisfied with humble pie whilst inside the participants tucked into a menu consisting of workshops on increasing police powers (heard of the proposed Police Bill?), media, building local groups, prisoner support, JSA, reclaiming land, squatting and, of course, martial arts. General discussions held before and after the workshops included some notable contributions: on the theme of the general election, someone suggested using bonfire beacons to unite the land in symbolic refusal; more robustly, perhaps, it was asked why road protesters could not utilise their skills and tenacity in stopping the building of new prisons.

The Brighton conference was attended by, amongst others, 'Justice?', Reclaim the Streets, Advance Party, Earth First, ABC, a Class War group and a class struggle anarchist group from a northern city. It continues the spirit of co-operation being forged between working class struggles and ecology groups which burst into the open in Liverpool at the end of September when activists united in support of the sacked dockers.

Several of those in Brighton last month were back in Liverpool on Monday 25th November to assist in a mass picket called by the dockers. Despite the grim weather about four hundred people turned out, and those of us who aren't dockers received the warm welcome characteristic of those brave people – the dockers and their families. The dockers are replete with personal reminiscences of their close encounters with 'tree-people' and pot-

smoking 'eco-freaks', that reflect the mild irony of their being united with them in struggle. But events in Brighton and Liverpool are proving that people are being united by the common language of direct action and solidarity.

Anarchists might regret that the bulk of this movement is not proclaiming 'anarchy', though many of them are in their own way, whether overtly or not. The parade of names above should not hide the fact that, while there are differences of emphasis, diversity does not mean disunity.

**RECLAIM THE FUTURE**

Reclaim the Future, a new newspaper published by the alliance of that name, who with the dockers organised the Reclaim the Future event in Liverpool at the end of September, has made its appearance. The alliance was formed by three 'groupings': Reclaim the Streets, Freedom Network (anti-JSA campaign) and Advance Party. Like the people involved in their movement, the contributions in the paper are broad based, so from a wide variety of stimulating articles there are some conclusions we cannot endorse or would emphasise differently. The editorial "invite[s] anarchists, socialists, greens and all others to work through their differences with the aim of encouraging and helping each other's struggles".

— ANARCHIST COMMENTS IN BRIEF —

ARE YOU THERE?

I can't help returning to the mobile phone saga. Whole pages of the dailies and Sundays advertise them, offering free calls and other inducements for you to lose your freedom to this monster. Already there are some five million in action in this country and thirty million in Europe.

But apart from the additional stress (and after all, stress is now the latest industrial professional disease in the prosperous west) that the miserable commercial travellers and other employees away from the office must endure from bosses checking up on them, apparently mobile phones "produce about the same radiation as an average microwave oven". I quote from *The Guardian* (19th November) which examines the arguments put forward at a conference in London on the subject 'Mobile Phones – is there a health risk?' by an Australian writer and commentator in the communications industry, Stewart Fist. He thinks there is, whereas *The Guardian's* man, Ben Potter, thinks not enough research has been done. Whatever the verdict, it won't put people off wanting all

these gadgets. You aren't 'with it' if you don't possess these latest money-spinners for Vodafone and others. They are already buying each other out. Vodafone has just taken over Peoples Phone for £77 million. There are too many now and Vodafone point out that revenue per customer dropped last year from £481 to £430. But they were not too disappointed as they had anticipated a drop to £400. And anyway, Vodafone are laughing as they announce a 21% rise in pre-tax profit for the six months to the end of September to £252.4 million. Are you there? Did you get that?

I warmed to a correspondent in *The Independent on Sunday* (1st December), Peter Quince of Faversham in Kent, who pointed out that "it is possible to engage in a full life without a mobile. I don't own one, nor an answering machine, a computer, a pager or a video machine. Being old fashioned, I prefer face-to-face contact. It is not mandatory even in the modern world to get sucked into gadget worship." That's me too.

Libertarian

POSTIES: BUREAUCRATS AGAINST THE RANK AND FILE

The members of the CWU have already voted twice to go on strike, but this isn't the result that the bureaucrats wanted ... so now they've got to have a third vote, with 'no' being the only effective option.

This sad and ridiculous story of betrayal began when they voted by 68% to go on strike. As a result there were eight one-day strikes, but these were ineffective and didn't achieve anything beyond demoralising people. When it looked as if these strikes were finally going to get serious (i.e. by lasting for four days in a row) there was suddenly a 'problem' which no one had noticed before.

Out of the 90,000 votes there were 318 spoiled ones, and suddenly it was 'discovered' that this number had been covered with tippex before the forms were returned. As a result of this detail the eight days of strikes were declared illegal and the bosses said that if the union didn't hold another ballot they would be liable for damages.

It's incredible to think that anyone could take all this seriously, but that's exactly what the bureaucrats did, deciding unanimously to have another ballot rather than taking the lead in rejecting what was obviously an unacceptable and blatantly silly threat, by making it clear that there would be an all-out strike if it was carried out.

In this second vote, which occurred on 14th October, 62% voted 'yes' in favour of stepping up the strike action, which would have been particularly effective in the run-up to Christmas ... but for the bureaucrats there was another problem: a strike would have tarnished the Labour Party's image in the run-up to the general election.

Their solution was to organise a third ballot on 13th December to seek acceptance for the setting up of a joint working party, with equal numbers from management and union, to consider the causes of the strike (i.e. the 'Japanese-style' working practices, known as team working, which management want to introduce, etc., not the basic nature of capitalism itself, of course). By a happy coincidence this joint working party will not be making its report until April, so that's Tony Blair off the book ... and also the possibility of an effective pre-Christmas strike avoided.

Given that this is only the latest in a long history of blatant disregard for what the posties themselves want by CWU bureaucrats, it's not surprising that unofficial strikes have always been popular (and effective) in this industry. For example, in November '95 a wildcat strike in Edinburgh which lasted for a week was able to save 253 jobs. Edinburgh has also just seen a brief unofficial strike which started when management introduced ten casuals without consultation on 21st November. The net result of this has been the creation of 83 new permanent positions and a new agreement which requires management to consult the union over the use of any further casual workers.

The conclusion is obvious, and even the CBI have started to realise that unofficial action could be a major problem for them now. They recently came out against the Tories' plans to introduce even more laws to make official strikes ineffective, as they realise that would just make it even more likely that the rank and file would take things into their own hands and make sure they get the result they want.

Mick Parkin

FRENCH LESSON: TRUCKERS TRASH THE BOSSES

Twelve days – that's how long it took for France's lorry drivers to batter and blockade the bosses into submission, into granting the drivers a 10% pay increase, limitations on working times and retirement at 55.

How did they achieve this? Not through putting their faith in others, *à la Anglaise*, not through petitioning MPs or hoping that the union bosses 'will sort it out', but through relying on nothing but their own unity, tenacity and ingenuity – in short, a victory for direct action.

It's as if, despite the years of control that 'communists', 'socialists' and other politicians have had over the various sets of initials that make up the French labour movement, the ordinary French workers when push comes to shove revert to the revolutionary syndicalism beloved of their great-grandparents.

Witness the 'Hot Winter' of 1995 when millions came out onto the streets in defence of the public sector and welfare benefits, or the railworkers' battle of December 1986, or the movement of students in the same period – "May in December, That's Cool" as the graffiti read.

Now this article is *not* concerned with the French labour movement. I'll leave the story of this great victory to our thousands of syndicalist comrades working in the big confederations, as well as the French CNT and SUD. What interests me is the application of the French lesson to the British situation.

In small ways 'French practices' are prevalent in Britain too. On 30th November Greenpeace activists chained themselves to the lock-gates at the Port of Liverpool; the week before that, faced with hundreds of coppers kitted out like Darth Vader, the Liverpool dockers and their eco-anarcho-allies brought the port to a standstill, parading from one dock gate to another, whilst cranes were occupied.

Every Groundswell occupation of a Job Centre repeats the old 'French lesson' first taught in 1900 by our anarchist forefathers who moved into and briefly won the unions to anarcho-syndicalism.

It wouldn't be the first time that ideas from abroad strike a spark here. Last Saturday my family, with various Hull UCATT comrades, attended a demonstration of the Magnet strikers in Keighley. Three hundred men and women sacked for refusing a pay cut. On an overcast day in this West Riding town, the speaker that impressed wasn't Bob

Cryer's widow, the Labour candidate (far from it), it wasn't George Bromwell of UCATT, and it certainly wasn't Bill Morris the T&G supremo who was heckled and jeered by the dockers present for sabotaging their struggle. The one speaker that struck a chord was the Darlington Magnet striker who hailed the lesson our French friends have given us.

Part of that lesson is about applying the whole battery of direct action armoury against the bosses. Sabotage, boycotts, go-slows, the picket that begins at the boss's front door not just at the factory gate – the list is long, but it's more than that. It's that we can rely on no-one but ourselves; that all politicians will sell you out, as will the union leaders whose tongues are firmly placed inside the fundamentals of the former.

The French lesson is a universal one and if we wish to win again we should study it closely.

Guy Cheverton

'Job Centre in Paris Occupied'
see page 7

ARRESTS AT LIVERPOOL

A picket from the Liverpool dockers' campaign was arrested for hitting a scab at the end of last month. It happened during a picket of Argos, a catalogue company which imports goods through the Mersey Docks & Harbour Board ports.

The police have warned the dockers that they intend to toughen up their tactics, because of the high cost the dispute is having on police finances. If they do this the dockers are threatening to retaliate.

Greenpeace is getting involved at the port because of the importation of genetically engineered produce, such as soya beans.

Two weeks ago six Greenpeace activists were arrested after spending 24 hours on top of the cranes at the port. They were released on bail and are due to appear before Liverpool magistrates at a later date.

— NEGOTIATING THE DOLE QUEUE —

TUC TAKES ITS BALL HOME

NORTH WEST JSA CONFERENCE

In a fit of pique the North West TUC tried to trash talks in Liverpool last week on the Job Seeker's Act and Project Work. North West Against the JSA had booked a room at the headquarters of the Transport & General Workers' Union on Merseyside. At the last minute, the T&GWU withdrew the room, under pressure from the TUC head office in the North West.

In a welter of panic steps in the run-up to this conference (backed by Groundswell groups, North West Trades Councils, Unemployed Centres, union branches and civil service union members) the TUC bosses tried to wreck it by spreading black propaganda about the organising group – the North West Against the JSA – and withholding trade union resources.

Fortunately the organisers had booked an alternative venue as a precaution. Thus the meeting went ahead and on time. Just under fifty participants were present, from the anarchists and libertarians of Groundswell (the independent movement of unemployed activists) to the luminaries of the Trades Councils, and the odd functionary from Socialist Outlook. Above all, there were representatives of the Liverpool dockers angry at the attitude of the TUC.

One libertarian speaker said that "the TUC seems to have taken its bat and ball home".

UNIONS FRIGHTENED OF THEIR OWN SHADOW

It's not just hurt pride. The union top brass can feel the rug being pulled out from under their feet. It's not just Groundswell and the anti-JSA groups either. The Liverpool dockers are becoming an embarrassing nuisance (see *Freedom*, 30th November 1996, 'Liverpool Dockers and the ITF') to the TUC and the T&GWU. And the Reclaim the Future Alliance is putting a new complexion on English politics.

One docker claimed "the trade union movement is doing a policing job for the bosses" in trying to stop disputes from spreading and turning into actions like the French lorry drivers' strike. But the Liverpool dockers' dispute has gone international and the campaigns against the Job Seeker's Act are, like the Poll Tax Campaign, beginning to slide outside the reach of the established institutions like the unions and the Labour Party.

And what these establishment men and women can't control they will try to destroy. So they will try to do a deal over the heads of the dockers and force redundancy upon them, rather than get them their jobs back.

So they tried to bugger up the North West JSA Conference, but only succeeded in rallying support behind the conference.

If we are entering a post-modern era, are these hobby-horse unions up to the job?

STARVE OR SLAVE IN HUDDERSFIELD

Huddersfield Against the JSA is now up and running. There have been several meetings at a local pub. Last month the campaign started picketing the city centre Job Centre. A lively leaflet, more readable than most, has been issued to claimants. They hope to leaflet most claimants in Huddersfield over the next few weeks. Clearly you don't have to starve or slave under the Scrooge system of the government's JSA and Project Work in Huddersfield, for now you can join Huddersfield Against the JSA, PO Box 310, Huddersfield HD1 3YL.

After the Industrial Revolution the British trade unions were the first modern unions to be created. Now they are in their dotage, and it shows. Some at the conference were calling on us to look to the French lorry drivers for inspiration, but the French unions are smaller, fitter and better able to cope with a contemporary context than the bureaucratic British amalgamations.

Derek Pattison for North West Against the JSA told us that the "TUC tends to pedal in tandem with the Labour Party". Some unions seem to be frightened of their own shadows. Bill Morris is like some Uncle Tom, 'Yes Sir Mr Blair' and 'No Sir Mister Blair'. And then the General Secretary of the Transport & General rats on the dockers, or rats on the North West Against the JSA.

PEOPLE POWER



Display of Declarations of Public Conscience at City Hall in Norwich

In the World Court Project, 3.7 million people, worldwide, expressed their opposition to nuclear weapons in Declarations of Public Conscience. These documents were a major element of the Project, which succeeded in drawing from the World Court, last July, a strongly abolitionist Opinion on nuclear weapons.

The Declarations are being treated as historic documents and will be kept in a new peace museum in Bradford. They were taken on a tour, this autumn, of about sixteen cities and towns in western Europe. The photograph shows some of the Declarations at City Hall, Norwich. Angie Zelter made an empowering speech, emphasising that such successes as the World Court's Opinion do not come out of nothing. She reviewed the World Court Project and other grassroots campaigns against militarised oppression. A copy of the speech is available on request from me, at 23 Springfield, Poringland, NR14 7RG.

The UK tour was conducted by George and Jean Farebrother and Liz Jones. The UK branch has played a decisive role in the WCP from the earliest stages. The Project is now following up its success at the World Court to ensure that the Opinion becomes known to and understood by a wide public, and that it is not sidelined or subverted by nuclear weapon states.

Alan Cottey

What thanks the unions will get for this sucking up I don't know, but Mick Cullen, a docker, claims a future Labour government is "going to ditch the trade unions and introduce a system of state funding for political parties". Clearly, judging by most of the speakers at this conference, the Fabians have triumphed in the Labour Party and the trade unions – the syndicalist wing – have been cowed.

POLITICS IS NECESSARY

Alan Simpson MP tried to convince us that we should back the Labour Party. "Direct action and nowt else is not enough!" he said. "Parliamentary politics is necessary!" he pleaded.

He was the only speaker to be heckled. Most were polite. Afterwards someone commented "It was the wrong speech in the wrong place". Another remarked "It just goes to show, whenever these people open their mouths, how little they know about the Job Seeker's Act". "Bloody hell!" gasped somebody else, "these MPs get money for old rope".

Clearly this conference was made up of disgruntled plebeians. The Labour Party seems to be in the process of excreting its trade union activists – its syndicalist wing. This conference was made up of syndicalists of all shapes and sizes. Authoritarian syndicalists (former members of the Communist Party), half-boiled syndicalists, libertarian syndicalists, members of Groundswell, and even post-modernist syndicalists like Subversion.

Of course some at the conference were still inside the Labour Party, but even their interest was hardly luke-warm.

The civil service union speakers, Nigel Williams and Jim Dyer of the CPSA, predictably expressed some measured criticism of Groundswell's 'Three Strikes' strategy. It was claimed that the Employment Service management were exploiting 'Three Strikes' to divide their staff from the claimants.

The Groundswell speakers, and others, disputed this saying that claimants couldn't surrender this defence. Derek Pattison argued that 'Sanctions Busting' demos are an alternative to 'Three Strikes', but also that the

STONEHENGE ASSEMBLY RULING CHALLENGED IN HIGH COURT

Prosecution calls for 're-interpretation' of the Criminal Justice Act to stop loophole, 11th December 1996, The Strand, 10am.

The CPS has appealed to the High Court in the case of Richard Lloyd and Margaret Jones, first people to be charged with 'Trespassory Assembly' under the 1994 CJA.

In January the two defendants were acquitted at Salisbury Crown Court. The argument was accepted that while the CJA empowers the banning of 'Trespassing Assembly', no criminal offence has occurred if a *peaceable, non-obstructive gathering takes place on public land*. In short, where there is no trespass there is no crime.

For further info contact the Liberty office on 0171-403 1904

REINSTATE ROB ROONEY: VICTIMISED FOC

Readers of *Freedom* (30th November) will have read of Rob Rooney, Father of Chapel at the *Hull Daily Mail*, who was sacked by that paper for putting out a satirical NUJ newsheet *The Spoon*. His sacking was upheld at an appeal on 2nd December. On this date the Hull Trades Council, to whom Rob is a delegate, declared war on the *Hull Daily Mail*.

Since then, workers at Ideal Standard, BP and BAe at Brough have given support to the Trade Council's consumer boycott of the paper. Our city is plastered with boycott posters, and a unionisation drive has begun at the newspaper.

Send messages of support to Rob via Trades Council Papers Convenor, 39 Sherriff Highway, Hedon, Hull. Hull Syndicalist

civil service unions should get in touch with Groundswell.

Keith Sinclair from Hull Trades Council gave details of how to fight the government's extension of Project Work to 29 more areas. Project Work is a form of forced labour designed to get the jobless off the unemployed register and busy them on community projects. Mr Sinclair said the government scheme had failed in Hull – few new jobs had been created and all that had happened was that more people had been forced into part-time jobs in pubs and onto the black economy.

The conference has resulted in expanding the North West Network from Greater Manchester to the North West generally. This will help us develop a campaign strategy throughout the region against the JSA and Project Work. Unemployed Activist

DON'T GO TOO FAR

NORTH WEST TUC CONFERENCE

The theme of this conference, called in response to the above North West Against the JSA Conference (advertised in *Freedom*), was one of restraint, caution and an eye for the letter and spirit of the law.

By comparison it was poorly attended by just over two dozen delegates. The emphasis was on improving contacts with the Labour Party.

Julie Gibson, a researcher from Liverpool Unemployed Centre, reported that the 'Durex Scheme' (involving giving cards to the dole manager protesting about having to sign the Job Seeker's Agreement) was going well. Some cynics call these cards 'Durex Cards' because they help to protect the TUC from the charge that they are not doing anything to fight the JSA.

The obsession with Groundswell and the 'Three Strikes' was well aired. The civil service unions the CPSA and PTC repeatedly argued that TUC-supported bodies should "have no truck with campaigns that target civil service members".

Tony Gallagher of the PTC union said: "Three Strikes' is a strategy which will give the Employment Service management an excuse to call in other agencies like Special Branch, the police, and could lead to claimants being frisked for concealed cameras".

NORTH WEST TUC MIGHT OCCUPY JOB CENTRES

Under pressure the gathering did agree that occupations of Job Centres may be valid 'in the proper context'. The civil service unions claimed they had no objections to 'peaceful occupations', though it was pointed out that peaceful protests can soon become violent.

Alan Manning summed up. The North West TUC will:

- Seek to persuade local authorities to boycott Project Work.
- Try to liaise better with civil service and appropriate campaign groups.
- Educate people in work about the Job Seeker's Act.
- Lobby the Labour Party.
- Press for national TUC support.

Peaceful progress within the legal limits of the law.

Northern Worker

DOLE ARREST IN NEWCASTLE

Neville Allen was arrested while protesting against the JSA on 7th October. The Employment Service bosses have long been trying to get the police to take action against demonstrators and pickets at Job Centres.

— ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

FLIES UNBUTTONED

The British are in the throes of one of their periodic moral panics. Politicians rival each other in pledging themselves, if re-elected, to be more authoritarian than their rivals, and the Labour Party is slightly ahead, with David Blunkett calling for 'delinquent' children to be forced to take lessons during the summer holidays and Jack Straw prescribing bedtimes.

On 30th October Nick Tate, chief executive of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority, announced a statement of values drawn up by "150 religious representatives, teachers and business people". One Conservative MP dismissed it as "a long string of empty platitudes with no firm commitment either to marriage or to Christianity", and *The Guardian* reported that the former Conservative prime minister, Sir Edward Heath "became the first political heavyweight to condemn unequivocally the drift among the main parties towards claiming a link between their policies and specific religious beliefs".

Nobody even attempted to relate elementary moral principles to the fact that an increasing proportion of children grow up hungry in a climate of exclusion, not just from school, but from society, and from the world of being able to earn a living. We have a strange convention that moral behaviour is about sex and religion, but not about authority and inequality.

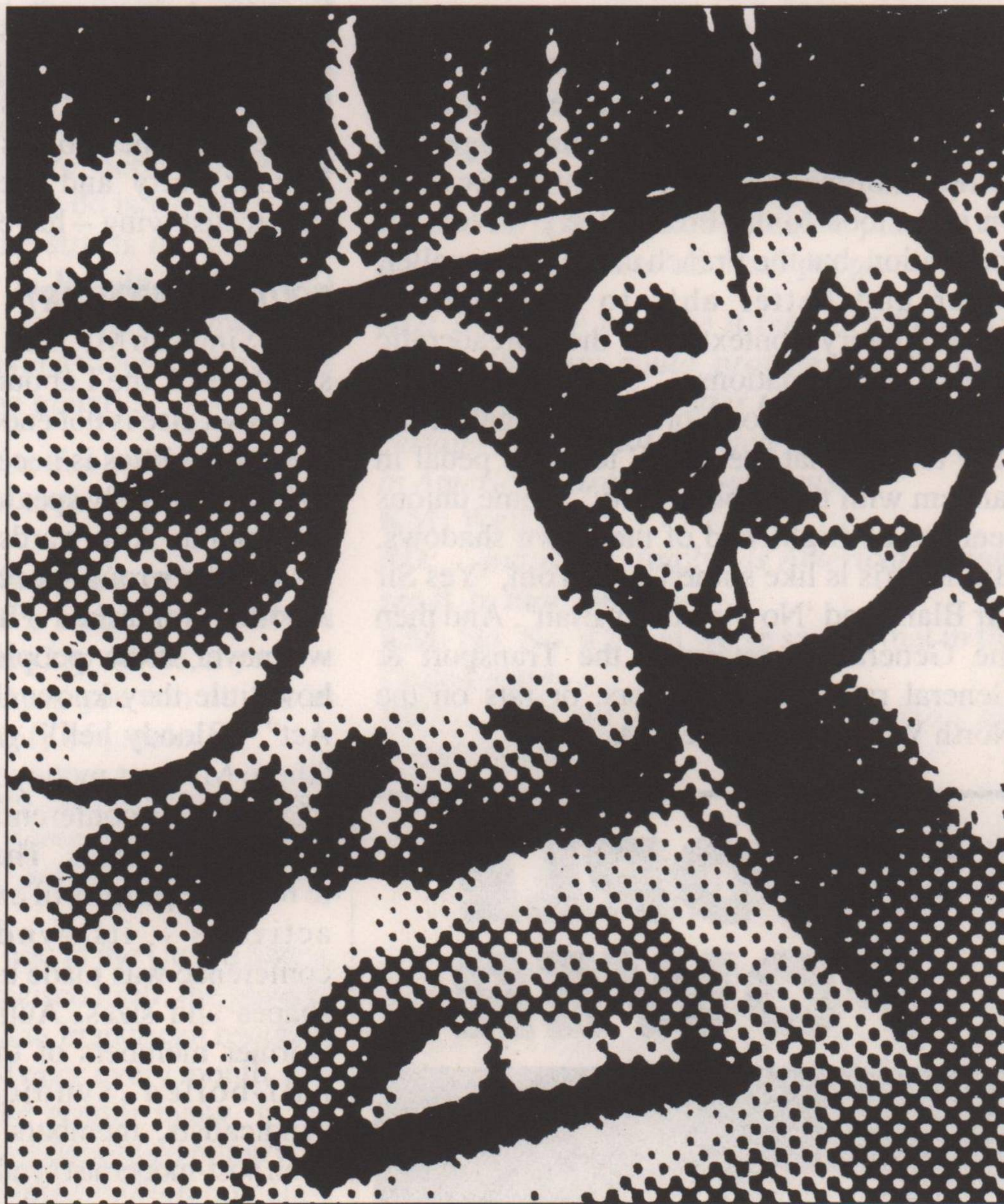
The one moral fable that has, for decades, been read in schools is William Golding's novel *Lord of the Flies*, first published in 1954. It immediately became an 'O' Level school text and the equivalent all round the world, and the author was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. It was filmed by Peter Brook in 1961, and both his version and an inferior American re-make, were shown on television recently. In the '60s an issue of *Anarchy* was devoted to discussions of the book, and A.S. Neill wrote to me to say, "I have just been re-reading your *Lord of the Flies* number. I wish I had known you were doing it, for I could have given a criticism from an angle different from those published by you. People ask me: 'Doesn't Golding's book show that your views on children are all wrong?' On the contrary, the book shows that the views of the Establishment are all wrong."

Every reader must know that the story relates

what happens among a bunch of boys aged between 9 and 13 who are the sole survivors of a plane crash in the Caribbean. They are evacuees from a nuclear war, engineered by their elders, and they, apart from Piggy, come from the privileged (prep school and choir school) sector of the English education system. The book is frequently seen as an allegory which demonstrates the 'impossibility' of anarchism. For savage gang warfare emerges, and the good boy, Ralph, pursued to the death by the leader of the bad boys, Jack, is saved when he finds himself at the feet of an immaculately dressed naval officer on a rescue mission, looking down with distaste at the spectacle of the triumph of savagery.

What re-awakened interest in this fable was the film shown on BBC2 on 23rd November in which we see Peter Brook re-united, after 35 years, with six of the middle-aged men who had played leading roles in the film. They were based in a posh tourist hotel on the same island, and wandered together around the locations where Brook says: "Each of the boys bore some stamp of his fictional character."

I felt the film a disappointment. I wanted to know what these men now feel about the



implications of Golding's story. But the question was not raised. There was only the usual human interest about what had become of those boys. The man who played Ralph became an actor, and valued the experience because it was "the first time anyone had paid any attention to me". The man who had played the sinister Roger declined the invitation to the reunion. The man who had played Jack, now a forester, says that "I spent quite a few years trying to erase Jack, but he didn't go away".

But, of course, everyone's favourite was the spectacled fat boy Piggy from Camberley, with his pragmatic, reasonable common

sense. He grew up tall and slim. The film "had absolutely no effect on me at all", and it is almost an anti-climax to learn that he now works for Mars Bars in Moscow.

What about the story itself, used in schools in fifty countries? A.S. Neill was almost alone in commenting that, "I fear that too few will ask whether boys on a desert island really would become savages and sadists; few will wonder how Golding can know how boys would behave. Naturally he doesn't, any more than you or I know." There actually is an account of a real-life situation like this, told by Susanna Agnelli in the course of her book on a different aspect of childhood (*Street Children: A Growing Urban Tragedy*, a report for the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues, Weidenfeld 1986).

She explained that real life is not the same as our preconceptions: "In 1977, six boys in Tonga, all friends, went fishing. Their boat was caught in a storm and after several terrifying days was wrecked on a reef. The crew had just enough strength to scramble ashore, onto an unknown tropical island. They realised that it was totally uninhabited. Confronted with their predicament, they promised each other that as long as they were there they would never quarrel, because that would spell the end of them; that they would always go about in pairs, in case one had an accident or got lost; and that two of them would keep guard, day and night. They kept their promises, and fifteen months later were found and rescued. They owed their survival to a shared faith; to the fact that none had any reason to exploit the other; and, especially perhaps, to a culture which gave more weight to co-operation than to competition."

We live in a culture which ostentatiously reverses this weighting of values. That is why our moral mentors flounder in a sea of platitudes.

Colin Ward

FREEDOM PRESS BOOKSHOP READERS' ROUND-UP

A nicely produced £1 for 50 pages pamphlet from the ACF stable is John Crump's *The Anarchist Movement in Japan*, which is a condensed version of his much longer book on the subject. The three sections into which it is divided reflect the three distinct phases of the Japanese movement: 1906-1911, 1912-1936 and 1945 to the present. He faces up to the contradictions manifested at various times which so puzzle anarchists in the west, such as working within official trade union structure, forming political parties and accepting funding from the Comintern, and covers the anarchist-communist/anarcho-syndicalist divisions, half-hearted attempts at terrorism and the vicious repressions inflicted on individuals by the state. One such, Kōtoku Shūsui, was one of the early leading lights of the anarcho-communists, and is featured in Freedom Press's pack of picture-and-biography cards in three colours called *Anarchists** (£5 for the 36-card set), of which he is number 13. Unlucky for some, and definitely for him – he was hanged for a plot against the Emperor in which he was not even involved. If you would like more information on anarchism in South East Asia, we have limited stocks of the Japanese magazine *Libero International** (in English) from 1975-1980, numbers 3 to 6, at £3 for the set while stocks last. Topics include Ōsugi Sakae and Bakunin, anarchism and China, the Korean anarchist

movement, Bakunin and Japan, Pa Chin, reviving village autonomy, and a lot more.

Senseless Acts of Beauty: cultures of resistance since the sixties is an attractive, large-format book by George McKay, a former punk and anarchist who now teaches in Lancashire. It is an accessible, vivid insider's account of all the main youth cultures and protest movements in Britain up to the present and, just as important, it shows the links, continuity and influences that run through the various

BOOK INFO STOP PRESS

Demanding the Impossible (Marshall) has gone up from £10.99 to £12.50; *Customs in Common* (Thompson) from £9.99 to £12.00; *News From Nowhere* (unabridged, Morris) from £9.99 to £10.99; and *Organize!* magazine from 60p to £1.

Following the reported winding-up of the Class War Federation, *Class War* has ceased publication and we have sold out of all issues.

We still have some copies of the 1997 *Anarcho-Surrealist Calendar** (illustrated), as reviewed in a recent Freedom, but hurry, hurry – the response has been good. **KM**

strands, contrary to popular opinion which says that each 'new' manifestation is a complete break with previous movements. What is of most value is the book's sense of hope, notwithstanding the gloomy reality on which it opens: "Welcome to the social and environmental devastation that is Britain in 1996 ... to interchangeable political parties and their chattering media jesters pulling together to make Johnny Rotten's dream come true: no future. But despite their best efforts, fear, cynicism and the National Lottery aren't the whole story. Protest hasn't disappeared during the last twenty years, nor have solidarity and imagination. They have simply taken new forms, moved out and moved on. More and more young people especially are making a virtue of necessity and living outside Britain's rotting institutional fabric. Travellers, tribes, ravers or squatters, direct action protesters of every kind, DIY-ers." Despite the 'single-issue politics' criticism they sometimes face and the fact that many would reject the term 'anarchist', the tactics, structure and methods of organising they use have undeniably been heavily influenced by contact with anarchist ideas, and how many hearts are not gladdened at each new motorway occupation, each new squat opened and each new act of resistance to the CJA and Public Order Act? Running roughly chronologically McKay details the

hippy free festivals and fairs; the New Age travellers; the anarcho-pacifist-feminist band Crass and the punk movement; raves and drug culture; the radical ecology groups and anti-roads movements; the massive nationwide opposition to the CJA, brought in as a reaction to all the above nuisances and many others; but he doesn't shrink from criticism, and makes many sharp observations about them in this "first attempt to write their history, to explore and celebrate their endlessly creative senselessness". Published by Verso, your 210 pages also gets you plenty of notes, an index and a chronology, for £10.

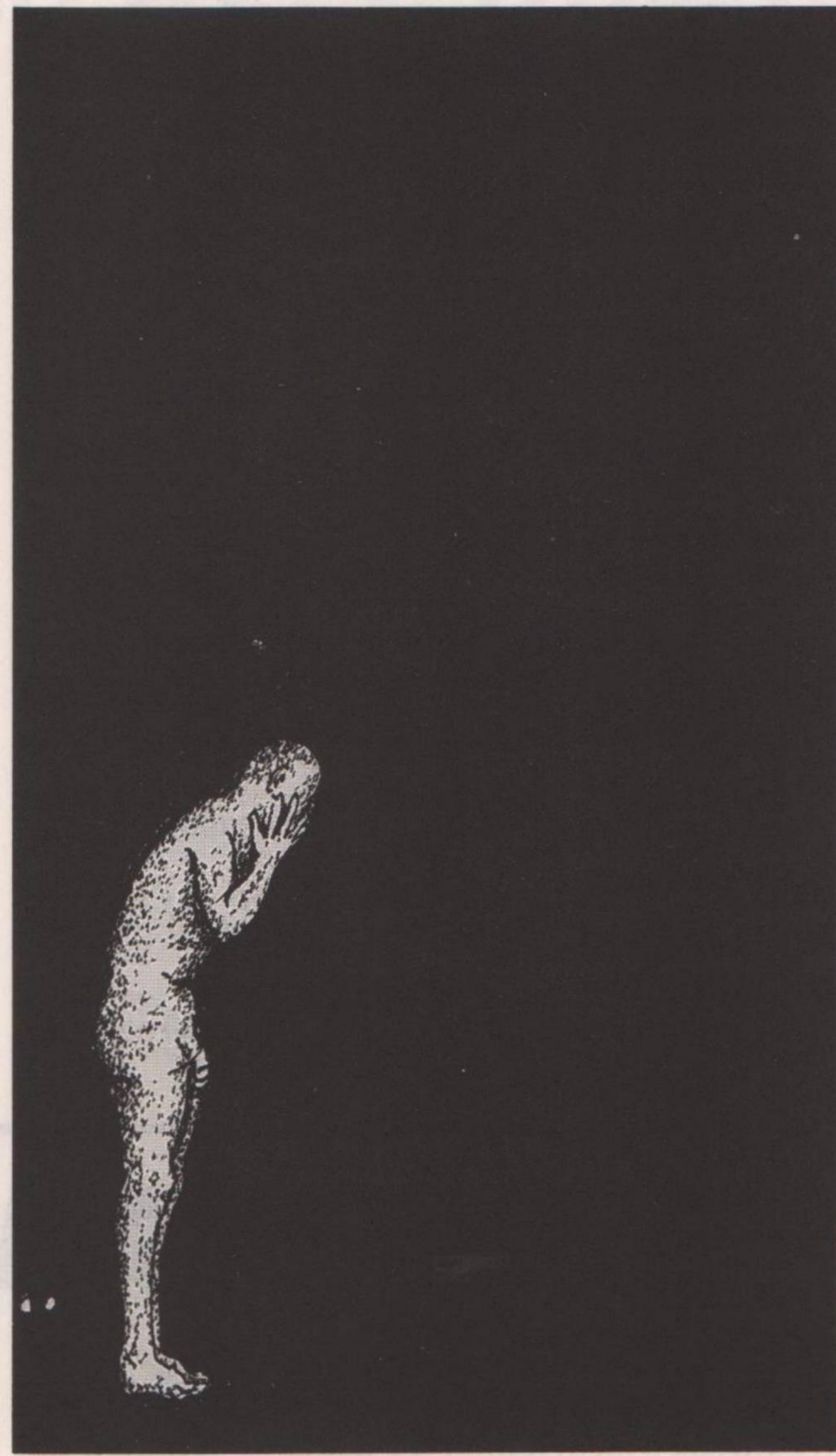
Noam Chomsky would probably not want to be seen dead on some of the above actions, but then his *forte* lies elsewhere. Fortunately in *Class Warfare*, one of the two new titles from Pluto Press, he says his health is fine but admits to thinking about retiring. However, he also wishes he could produce more writings – in addition to his already prolific output. This work is a collection of lengthy interviews over the last couple of years (one of a series – Chomsky is at his most lively in interviews) with his long-standing collaborator David Barsamian, which he hopes will stimulate the reader into action. He explores the growing economic and social crisis, the fiscal austerity rationale that is being used to cloak "an unrelenting class war against working people" by the multi-national corporations and their political side-kicks, and shows how poverty and its associated ills, although always present under capitalism, is now worsening even during times of economic recovery. There are ton of facts and figures here and some typically snappy

DEFINITELY DÉJÀ VU £100

Any large forbidding book with a Teutonic-reading author's name printed on its cover, and on its derriere the Library Collective photograph of grassy foregrounds and in the background the Hallowed Halls of government funding, has any cynical illiterate such as myself, and the lesser breeds within the White Hart, reaching for whatever any southern gentleman reaches for when one is felt to be physically or intellectually affronted. I type this with true humility for in my masturbatory childhood I ploughed, via the public library, through yard upon yard of those pages, sharing it with the Holy Bible, believing in my innocent childish heart that I had found an ever-lasting Golden Hoard of pristine filth sacred and secret to myself. Foolish child. Age has doused the fire and dimmed the eye for the sexual adoration of women, and place me within the Sultan's harem or the King's Cross red light district armed only with 'baubles, bangles and beads' or a handful of Her Majesty's wealth of the realm and, aged fool that I am, I would be seeking fried skate and chips.

Hans Prinzhorn left the German arena feet first in 1933, the same year that Hitler came in head first, and while Adolf was filling the homeland concentration camps, Hans was filling the Heidelberg University with his six thousand works of the art of the mentally unstable. Hans was an art historian and a psychiatric quack who made his weekly wage by telling the insane why they wanted to jump out of the tenth floor window, and to demonstrate the point he collected six thousand collages, drawings, paintings and objects beyond the wealth of M&S. All these six thousand items were claimed to be the art of the insane and Hans, forswearing the tried and tested method of tea leaves reading, claimed that these six thousand works of art of the mentally unstable were the 'Smoking Gun' that Hans needed to make his point that whoever paid for Hans's orchard should be another fruit to be included within Hans's glorious six thousand unknowing and unwitting conscripts.

All that Hans did is what any fortune-teller does, which is to tell a captive audience what they wish to know and what they should already know in that reverse image of the



mind, i.e. that a glorious future awaits them if it were not being ruined by the small-minded and envious shits who hate me for my £60 a week OAP.

As the drunk on the floor of the White Hart would declaim, 'Folie de Grandeur, Folie de Grandeur', to which we the anarchist intellectual caucus quote the National Theatre 'Break a leg'. Of myself I must declare my interest in that my aged Irish grandmother, who never ever owned one square inch of peat bog, went into the Royal slammer for trying to kill my Irish grandfather when she was justified but certifiably raving insane. I ended up those years later wrestling with my aged, naked, ghastly aunt as she rolled screaming on her bedroom floor, mind gone, mind gone. Madness is a mind-broken thing, like unto

drunkenness and drugs, wherein the discipline of the conscious brain refuses to accept any social authority for within any second of the day we are under the taut discipline of social contact and if, for a few moments or minutes, that discipline of the mind breaks down then true mind has taken over for we, the sane, are victims of our social constraints in our own, Stirner, Stirner, self-interest. My pity is with the sick and the unfortunate insane, for the insane bear a social stigma for which no one within their family groupings ever wish to acknowledge.

In my glorious army career when Wagner-loving members of the pre-Common Market shared the game with the medical branch of the armed forces, I was called upon to spend my two hours of guard, complete with belt and PT slippers, locked in a padded cell, and in Catterick Army Camp, again belt and gym slippers, to be locked within the secure ward containing twenty soldiers deemed violently mentally unstable, with the task of subduing them if they decided on a private non-nationalist killing war, and of my shame I have played the coward and sat quietly and unmoving on an army cot for two guard hours, and I shared the social stigma when I managed to lose one of the military unstable. And in the early morning when I left her village bed and crept back into the Weymouth Fort, I was among the relieved guard squad – there comes that time when one creeps into the fort lavatory to examine one's penis whimpering, in those pre-penicillin days, 'Oh Christ, I hope that cow hasn't given me a dose', but God is merciful to we who would like to obey His laws, and as Christ cleansed the leper, so I was cleansed and her husband, poor bastard, was overseas.

Setty's one claim to the reference books is that in a small aircraft he flew over the East Coast Wash and dropped pieces of dismembered body into the sea and, while in Switzerland, he murdered an unfortunate taxi driver. While in a Swiss prison Setty's paintings went on exhibition and sale in a

fashionable London art gallery (reviewed in *Freedom*) and because of his killing of the tragic Swiss taxi driver the media decided to play it up as the paintings of a 'raving lunatic' and from under every psychiatric couch, points North, South, East and West, off Grosvenor Square psychiatrists crawled forth armed only with a colourful geometrical abstract diploma to prove beyond challengeable quotation that Setty's line and drawing proved that he was a 'fruitcake'. Yet in the years that Setty and I wrote to each other – he in the Swiss prison, I in London – I found a rational, sane and brutal man, and the art gallery brain-peerers prattling from hindsight, playing to the mob. In the termination of the last century Louis Wain killed his father and spent the rest of his life as an inmate of a state lunatic asylum wherein he spent the hours painting his small works of art. One would rightly assume that, if Hans of Heidelberg had seen Wain's paintings without knowing the man, that here was a perfectly rational individual, for Wain's small paintings were of photo-realistically cute and lovely cuddly kittens, and their reproductions and their originals to this day still fill art gallery and card shop, simply stating that Hans and the rest talk crap.

Anything that hints of 'magic' but is unprovable will find a paying audience, and Setty and Wain are our spinning coin. If we must mourn the death of innocence then weep for Al Hansen who served with the USA 82nd Airborne Division during the 'Second'. Al went in for 'Art Happening' style, and it was pre-Swinging Sixties style in that over forty years or so ago Al organised his 'Car Bibbe' wherein he had a hundred cars race into a twilight-lit car park, lights flashing, horns sounding, and yea, even a man with his leg in plaster! So there are those who say the smash 'rash' bash 1996 car sex blood and scream film should be censored. Ya ... it is all hindsight. Ask Hans of Heidelberg – he collected six thousand of them.

Arthur Moyses

chapter headings, like 'Take From the Needy and Give to the Greedy' and 'Israel: Rewarding the Cop on the Beat', and also some bizarre revelations: just to take one example, a former Provost of MIT, where Chomsky teaches, disagreed with him on practically everything, but they got on very well. Chomsky even backed him as a candidate for President of MIT when most other people didn't. His name was John Deutch, now director of the CIA. £10.99 for 185 addictive pages, with index.

If, like me, you first came across Chomsky in the context of linguistics, then philosophical essays on language and the problems of its connection with thought and nature will be familiar to you, and the first two chapters of his latest work, *Powers and Prospects: reflections on human nature and the social order*, will certainly give you some cerebral toffee to chew on. But if that's not your particular bag, there is plenty of other good material in its 244 pages. In January last year Chomsky arrived in Australia for a whistle-stop lecture tour across the continent in a typically punishing schedule. As it happened, Pope John Paul and the billionaire software king Bill Gates both arrived at the same time. Guess who didn't make the front pages. But Chomsky's talks, which form the basis of this book, will probably still be read – and certainly deserve to be – long after those two gurus have been forgotten. There are two meaty chapters on East Timor and its fate at the hands of the great powers and under the New World Order; one on the Middle East Settlement; another called 'Goals and Visions', and more. As usual his work is suffused with

a wealth of detail, supplemented with chapter notes and an index. At £13.99 a bit pricier than the previous title, but then that's Mammon for you.

Anyone with experience of communal living knows that it's not as easy as it sounds, the nuclear family having been the norm for decades or longer. So D&D Publications' *Diggers and Dreamers 1996-97: the guide to*

co-operative living (£9.50) is not just a list of communes but has a detailed 'how to do it' section on what you need to think about and do before taking the first step. Besides the directory with over 100 pages of descriptions of all types of communities, both here and abroad, and their addresses, 100 other pages of articles cover the ups and downs, joy and tears, and implications of communal life, and

include using LETS, permaculture, a piece on self-build pioneer Walter Segal by Colin Ward, sexual relationships and so on. Attractively designed with maps and photographs.

£6 will get you Volume 4.2 of the biannual *Anarchist Studies*, whose main articles are on William Godwin, and Anarchy on the Internet. Of the two, the latter is the more interesting, but marred by some silly remarks and uninformed assumptions about *Freedom*, and much repetitive puff about Spunk Press. I wonder why. Also, a reply to Bookchin's *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism** by Susan Brown, Janet Biehl's reply to the reply, and lots of book reviews.

"You're writing a history of Russian anarchism? What are you trying to prove? There's only one important thing: the Commie sons-of-bitches wanted power! And I'll tell you something else: there were a lot of funny bastards among the anarchists too!" – Kropotkin's daughter Sasha speaking to Paul Avrich a year before her death in 1966, in one of his 53 collected interviews that form the admirable *Anarchist Voices: an oral history of anarchism in America*, the abridged paperback (£13.50) alternative to the outrageously-priced hardback. Covers the obscure, the famous and, most intriguingly, and obscure on the famous. An unmissable 323 pages, with exhaustive index, by America's pre-eminent anarchist historian.

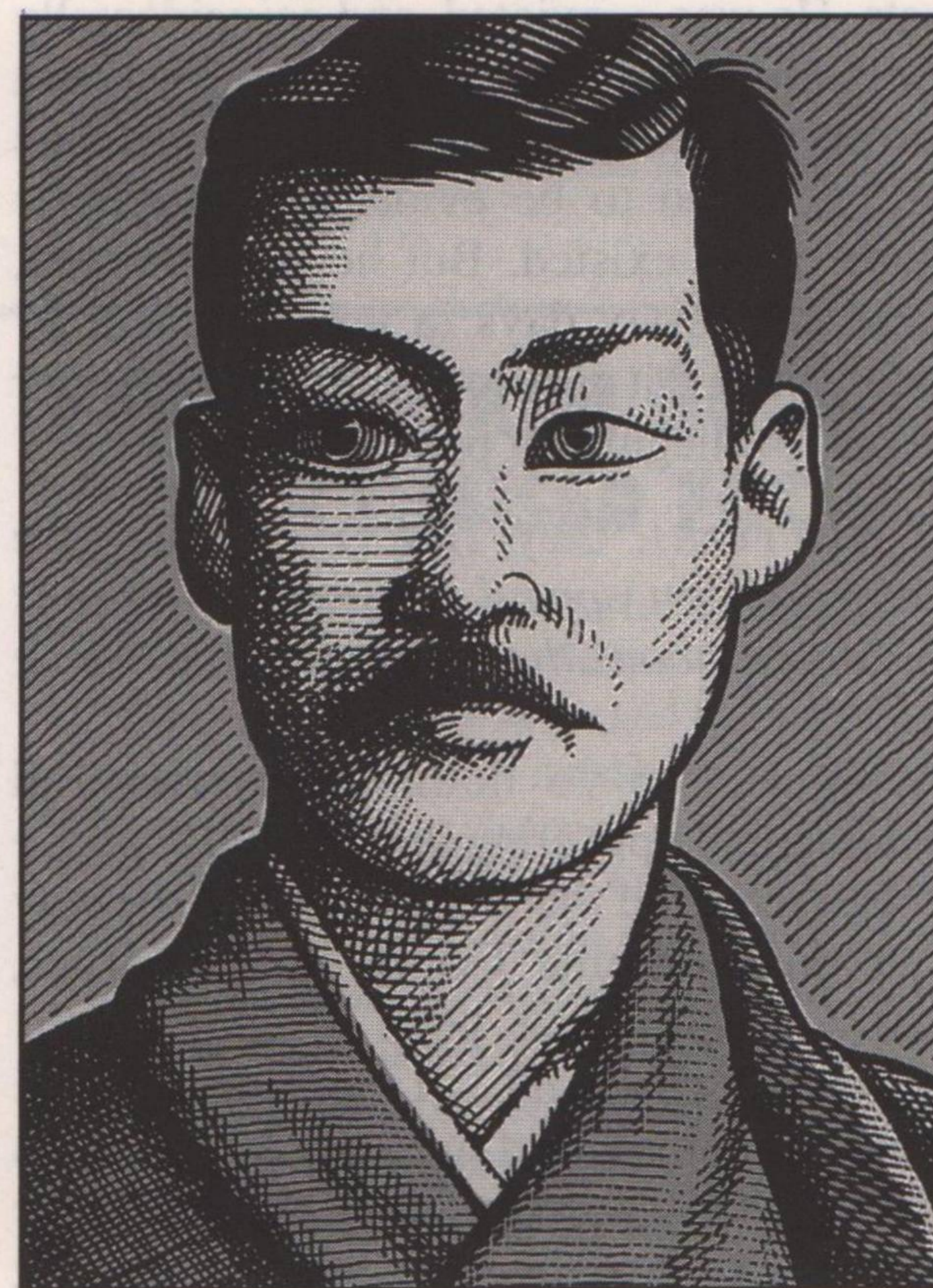
'Four Eyes'

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

KÔTOKU SHÛSUI Born 4th November 1868 in Nakamura, Japan, died 24th January 1911 in Tokyo, Japan. The son of a dry goods merchant, Kotoku studied English and while very young became involved in the popular rights movement. After graduating, he became a journalist. In 1901 he founded, with Katayama Sen and Abe Isoo, Japan's first Social Democratic Party. He also published his first books, in 1901 on imperialism, and *The Quintessence of Socialism* in 1903. During the Russo-Japanese war he started the weekly *Heimin Shimbun*. While in the USA, he became committed to *Direct Action* and anarchism, which on his return led to the split of the party. A plot against the emperor (Kotoku was not involved) provided the chance to condemn him to death together with 23 others. He was hanged at Ichigaya prison.

The portrait, right, is a black and white copy of one of 36 portraits of anarchists drawn in three-colour line by Clifford Harper, included in a set of picture cards each with a potted biography on the reverse and published by Freedom Press. Other portraits include such varied anarchist figures as Errico Malatesta, Marie Louise Berneri, Emiliano Zapata, Noam Chomsky, Michael Bakunin, Colin Ward and many more.

The 36 picture cards (known to collectors as trading cards) come in a neat box and are available in our bookshop or by mail order, price £5 (post free in UK, £5.45 including p&p abroad) from: Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX



KÔTOKU SHÛSUI

NEWS FROM THE NEW WORLD

In the 16th November 1996 issue of *Freedom* an article appeared about Keith McHenry and the San Francisco Food Not Bombs group. The following is a transcript of an interview which was recorded live at the BBC in London on Sunday 3rd November 1996, on the last evening of Keith's recent European tour. The interviewer was Richard Dallyn and the recording was broadcast on the following Sunday, 10th November, during the regular weekly *Dallyn Worldwide* programme between 2100 and 2200 hours on BBC Radio 5 Live, the national news and sports station.

Richard Dallyn: *Handing out soup to the homeless and destitute of San Francisco sounds a harmless benevolent act, but Keith McHenry's activism has repeatedly involved him in confrontation with the authorities. He was last arrested in June literally for, I quote, "possessing a bagel and oatmeal". It's sixteen years since Keith co-founded his volunteer organisation, Food Not Bombs, named in protest against the money spent on defence. The organisation is funded by donations and has become big news in San*

Francisco because of the large number of volunteers arrested. Keith has just completed a European tour and talked to me about what the group stands for now.

Keith McHenry: We've been going for sixteen years and what we do is we share free vegetarian foods on the streets of about 130 cities (including here in Britain, in Brixton) and in San Francisco we're most famous for having been arrested over a thousand times for sharing free food to the hungry.

RD: *Well the authorities don't like you – you have, as you say, been arrested lots of times. Prison as well?*

KM: Yes, I've spent six months in jail waiting to go to trial for a Three Strikes trial. 'Three Strikes' in California is a law where, if you get convicted of three crimes, you can do life in prison without possibility of parole.

RD: *Why do you stand on the streets, then, giving out help to the homeless? Surely there is enough provided anyway through the proper means?*

KM: Actually there is not. In the United States, for instance in San Francisco itself, the government says that 90,000 San Franciscan residents go without food at least once every month, and towards the end of the month many, many people, that's when most people go hungry. In the States there's over three million homeless people and, in the city of San Francisco, of 600,000 residents there are over 20,000 homeless people and only about 2,000 people have beds and most people are forced really to live on the streets and doorways and, at night, when you travel through the city almost every shop has a family in the doorway.

RD: *Are you saying, then, that a lot of these people, if they didn't have the food that you provide for them, they wouldn't get anything?*

KM: Right, they would go without food. In fact even with all the food we hand out, and all the other charities – the soup kitchens in the rest of the city that hand out – there are many, many people that go hungry. So our goal isn't really actually just to feed people, it's really to advocate in behalf of the civil rights of the homeless. For instance, Amnesty International has come to our aid because of our arrests – because it is a human rights' violation to attack people for their political point of view – and the United Nations Human Rights Commission has also come to our aid and has declared homeless people in the United States political refugees.

RD: *But why do you get arrested? Because, all right, they might regard you as a pest, a nuisance, but are you actually breaking the law standing outside giving soup to those who haven't food?*

KM: It's not really clear whether we're really breaking the law. That's possibly why only one person has gone to trial in over a thousand arrests. He was convicted, and coincidentally he was one of the few people who was not videotaped sharing free food, so a videotape wasn't allowed to be evidence in the case because none existed. But he was charged, sentenced to sixty days in jail and spent 27 days in jail, and it was not really clear whether it's legal or illegal, but presumably it is.

RD: *All right, they say it is, but you presumably can appeal against it if there is some doubt about the legality of the whole thing?*

KM: Well, we've been appealing and appealing and appealing and the judges have not been really all that definitive – all the way up to the Supreme Court of California, actually – and we've been in court in the Federal Courts. And, in one case, some Federal Supreme Court rules that we *could* do basically what we were doing but the police said they didn't really care, they were going to ignore the authority of the Supreme Court of the United States.

RD: *In a way, are you a public nuisance? Is that the case? I mean, you're causing an affray ... I don't know ... you're causing some kind of public disorder, is that why they don't like you?*

KM: No. The police say, and the government says, that they don't care that we're sharing free food – it's that we have a political message and they're not going to allow that. And we *do* – our message is that society actually *could* provide for everybody and our message is very clear, so that when you see Food Not Bombs on the streets we have *piles* of food on both sides of our table, plus we are giving away food to all these people.

RD: *But there must be a bit more than just saying 'Society could provide'? Is there, I mean, for want of a better term – and there's certainly been a lot of witch-hunts in the past in America – are you Communists?*

KM: Well, no ...

RD: *... putting it simply, as Americans might see it, in that simple way?*

KM: No. No, it's that we're saying that in the United States ...

RD: *... well, are you trying to overthrow the system in some way?*

KM: Well, we're certainly challenging capitalism ...

RD: *Right!*

KM: ... the whole *idea* of capitalism. Now we're not a political party, we're not affiliated with any church or political party, but we are saying that we're basically a group of volunteers that have a message which is that we spent over fifty cents of every US dollar – of US tax dollars that the public pays out – in the military. So there's 275 billion dollars spent by US taxpayers last year on *war*. In San Francisco people are going hungry, and in New York, and in fact all over the United States, people are going hungry, do not have adequate education or healthcare, do not have adequate ability to just even make their own way as far as rent and foods.

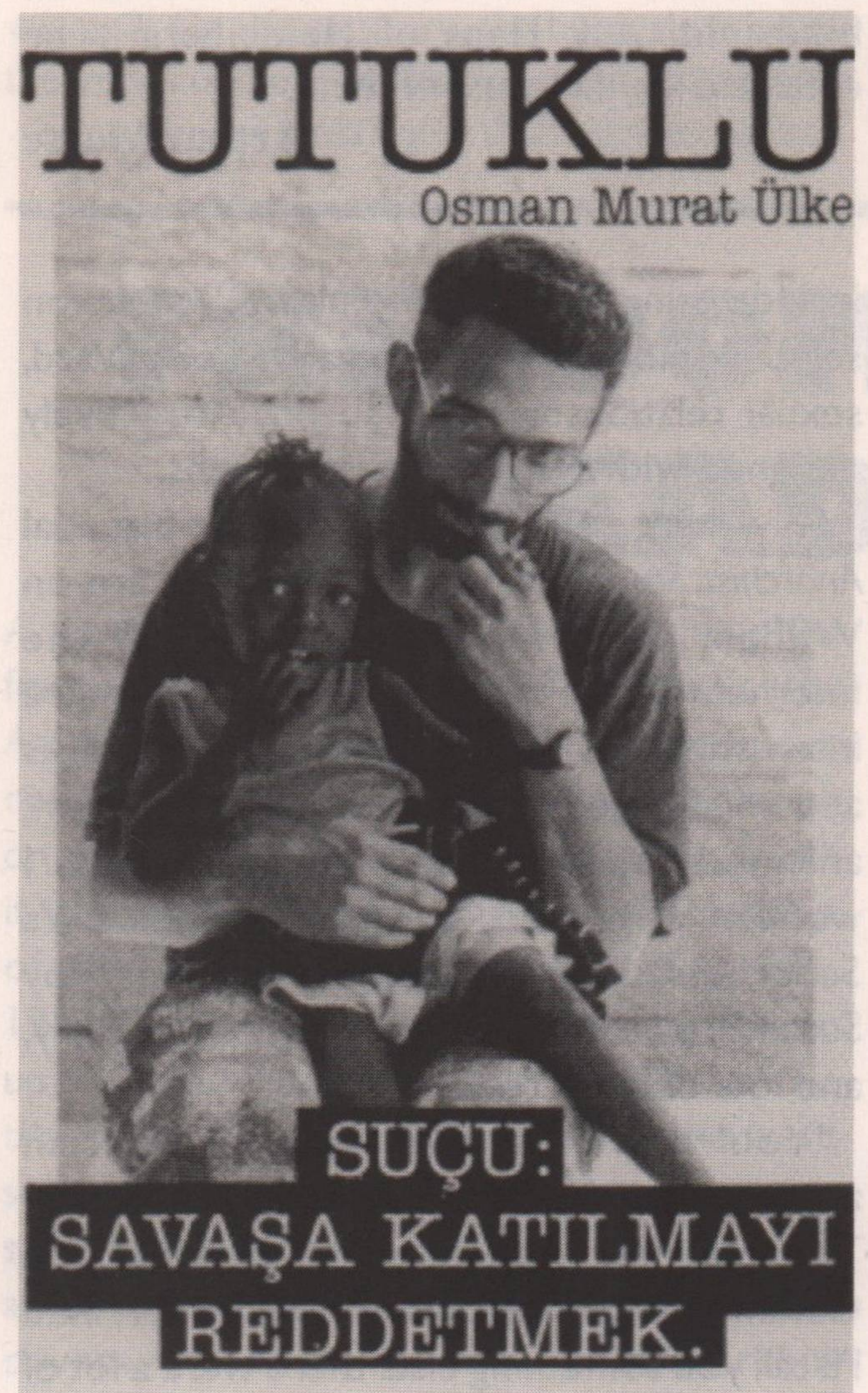
RD: *Keith McHenry and his organisation Food Not Bombs. Well, this is 'Dallyn Worldwide'.*

Joy Wood

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TURKISH ANARCHIST RESISTS MILITARY SERVICE

Osman Murat Ülke, 26, the Turkish war resister who burnt his military papers, was put on trial in Ankara on 19th November charged with "alienating the public from the institution of military service". The hearing was adjourned until 24th December and Osman Murat Ülke was formally released, only to be taken by police to the military prison and from there to the recruitment office to begin his military service. He is now to stand trial at the Disciplinary Military Court in Eskisehir for insubordination.



Turkey's system of conscription for military service makes no provision for conscientious objectors. Turkey has thousands of draft evaders, avoiding conscription into the war in the south-east. In contrast, Osman Murat Ülke has publicly declared that he is not a draft evader but a conscientious objector. His case has been taken up by War Resisters' International and by Amnesty International, and has been reported at length by *Peace News* in its November and December issues.

We have since heard that Osman Murat Ülke was one of the founders of an 'alternative' magazine, *Coelacanth*, on the themes of anarchism, ecology and anti-militarism, fourteen issues of which appeared between January 1992 and the summer of 1993.

A campaign for solidarity with Osman Murat Ülke and against compulsory military service has been formed in London. For more information telephone Özgür Tilgarimolu on 0171-241 1736.

CANADA UPDATE

20th September: The Quebec government suggested making work-sharing and a four-day work week a legal option for workers. Workers and trade unions were generally favourable, but employers were not.

21st September: Temagami, Ontario. Disputes arose between Earthroofs environmental protesters and townspeople over the possible logging of old growth pine in this area. Fifteen protesters chained themselves to heavy machinery. Meanwhile two hundred loggers marched through the town demanding that Earthroofs "stop taking food off people's tables". After twenty years of a logging moratorium a compromise had been reached between aboriginals and loggers, but this was not supported by Earthroofs. Natives are not against controlled logging and the townspeople say "we are not anti-environmentalist". A local writer, Britt Griffin, editor of a magazine called *The Highrider*, says the dispute is rooted in class differences. Northerners are working class while the protesters are middle class urbanites. She claims Earthroofs has "no understanding of the people and the complexities".

24th September: The proto-fascist Movement for the Liberation of Quebec (MLQ) threatened to fire-bomb Jewish homes in retaliation for the refusal of anglophone Jews to support independence for Quebec. Other *independentiste* groups criticise the MLQ for its racism and anti-semitism.

28th September: A poll shows 57% of Quebecois don't want another independence referendum to be held again for at least ten years. Unemployment, decline in healthcare and high taxes are seen as more important than nationalist fantasies.

30th September: A three-day long conference on sex workers ended today in Montreal. Featured speaker was veteran activist Margo St James of the prostitutes' union Coyote. Panellists in the well-attended meetings included social activists, academics and prostitutes. The organisers seek to decriminalise prostitution and improve the lives of sex trade workers.

THEIR MONEY AND OURS

- At a time when cut-backs are being made in healthcare, the multi-billion dollar corporation Bombardier has been granted an \$87 million interest free loan by the government.
- The Quebec Federation of Labour's *Fonds de Solidarité* now has \$1.8 billion in assets and comprises 20% of Canadian risk capital.
- Pension funds continue to grow rapidly as the 'baby-boomers' age. This year Registered Retirement Plans account for \$235 billion, the Quebec Pension plan \$45 billion and 'private' pension plans some \$400 billion for a total of \$680 billion. To put this astronomical figure into perspective, it is greater than the four largest Canadian banks put together. The largest 'private' pension fund is the Ontario Teachers.

1st October: The idea of secession is growing in northern Ontario. Some northerners would like to create a new province separate from southern Ontario. This move has been sparked by the Temagami logging protests which saw urban southern Ontarians pitted against northern loggers.

1st October: Marc Emery, the owner of the Hemp Store, will be running in the Vancouver mayoral election in favour of drug legalisation. He is getting much support from local libertarians. A similar campaign is being waged in Victoria, British Columbia.

9th October: Auto workers strike at General Motors plants in Ontario and Quebec. The dispute is over sub-contracting and assembly line speed-up. For the first time the union is challenging 'management rights', or how the company is run, rather than wages or working conditions. Ford and Chrysler have already signed contracts with the Canadian Auto Workers Union, a move which puts pressure on General Motors.

12th October: A group of Vancouver animal rights extremists calling themselves the Animal Avengers claimed to have put poison in a shipment of Thanksgiving turkeys, an action similar to the Christmas turkey poisoning incident of 1994.

15th October: The General Motors strike has spread to all plants in Quebec and Ontario, some 26,000 workers in all. In Oshawa, Ontario, workers occupied a plant scheduled for closure and refused to leave until their demands are met.

15th October: Protesters in Montreal were blocked by riot police from breaking up a press conference held by two members of the French ultra-conservative party, the Front National. The media claimed the demonstrators were 'anarchists' and 'members of anti-racist groups'. This is the second time this year the media have tried to scapegoat anarchists for disturbances.

21st October: Charges against 23 persons involved in last ten years armed occupation by native people in Ipperwach, Ontario, have been dropped for lack of evidence.

23rd October: General Motors strike ended today. 89% of workers voted to go back to work after obtaining cut-backs on some sub-contracting and a 10% wage increase over the life of the contract. Two auto plants will be closing, as the union felt it could not win this issue. This was the longest auto strike since the 1970 walkout which lasted 95 days.

DOLE OCCUPATIONS IN FRANCE

Following more than a week-long occupation in Lille, northern France, jobless demonstrators move to Paris to take over a Job Centre. At the time of writing, they have been inside for three days. The occupation of Lille dole had been broken up by the police.

The protests in France are about the mounting unemployment and the lack of jobs throughout the country.

REVOLUTION AND ORGANISATIONS

Dear Editors,

The recent review of *A People's Tragedy: the Russian Revolution 1891-1924* by Orlando Figes (in *Freedom*, 2nd November 1996) prompted some thinking on my behalf about the secretive, hierarchical organisations which have existed in the name of anarchism, as well as of the bureaucratic, statist bodies which have acted to produce capitalist society in the name of socialism, as had the Bolsheviks. Were it not for this unfortunate use of revolutionary vocabulary by elitist groups and thinkers, we would not have to spend so much time arguing about the non-anarchist nature of the Russian Revolution. I say this knowing full well the anarchist tendencies which have always existed in these popular movements – there were soviets, and peasant councils, which, like the free organisations of the Spanish Civil War, tasted brief freedom organisationally, while aiding larger social movements against oppression with a wide participating body of socialists, social democrats, even pro-capitalist republicans who were enemies of bureaucracy, oppression, violence and racism.

In this sense the Marxist theory about history being unable to jump from feudalism to socialism without that intervening capitalistic phase rings oddly true as we look back upon this century's history. Many of us anarchists who have read Marx are aware that his vision of socialism was very much like those of his anarchist opponents, and of ours today, namely that of a society without capital, wages or state. While we object to the paradoxical notion that capture of the state will lead to its eradication, we must not forget that for Marx this capture was to be carried out by the whole working class, by what he called the "dictatorship of the proletariat".

This dictatorship was never defined anywhere in his writings that I am aware of, as the dictatorship by a party separate from the will of the majority working class, as was the case with the Bolsheviks, the European Labour parties, the Social Democratic parties and a host of splinter socialist

and communist Marxist groups today, none of whom favour the vast majority of the working class (as opposed to parties acting in that class's name) taking direct control of the state.

When our free, federated organisations based on principles of mutual aid have established such relations of work and living, there may come the time (as our ecological society is sufficiently widespread) when we concretely remove the guns and the bombs from the armies, and so on. We will do this when we are a majority of free beings, and in this sense when we are a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' (a term, for sure, we despise for its use of the word 'dictatorship' and, for many of us, the classism inherent in the term 'proletariat' – still, in Marx's nineteenth century vocabulary, an apt term).

Such a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' means just what it says: 'of the proletariat', not of minority groups acting in that majority's name or alleged interest. Since socialist vocabulary was used by elitist groups and parties throughout the last century, people have come mistakenly to view the Russian Revolution as a failed socialist or anarchist revolution.

Yet other than its unfortunate use of words (in some ways Lenin knew the power of those words in ways that would pre-date the modern press) this 'revolution' was very similar to the American Revolution, which is very much how I tend to look at it. In the American Revolution the populace at large, some of it organised with the armed opposition (to the monarchy) and others unarmed (and thus, in brief, historical instances anarchists as they organised democratically in town meetings across the New World, federated in a manner inspired by Native Americans) engaged in Boston tea parties and otherwise created 'democratic' organisations ('democratic' like the Greeks, not counting the slaves, the rural poor and the women). These organisations were perfect settings for the advancing era of commerce, and indeed liberated commerce from the impossible clutches of

aristocratic entitlements and taxation.

Don't I sound a great deal like Marx professing the materialist conception of history? The truth is that there is a great deal of truth to this analysis, 'truth' from the point of view of the downtrodden and oppressed. They aided the despotic rule of monarchs much as did their counterparts in Russia a hundred and twenty years later. One revolution was labelled democratic, the other socialist. But they were remarkably similar. And these ideologies remained, as Marx would have seen it, the ideologies of the new elite which kept exploited the vast mass of the people who built the railways, roads, cities and so on, for starvation wages.

Union organisation helped raised those wages to more bearable levels, yet did not succeed in abolishing the exploitative relationship (some, like the Wobblies, argued this for decades). As we close our twentieth century, perhaps thinkers like Marx and the old anarchist thinkers of his day, like Kropotkin, may come a little closer together as we allow ourselves to purge from history the vast distortions of meanings and words created by power-hungry leaders.

So ironic that many of us anarchists should come to see Marx more as an anarchist than the socialists of today who have hardly anything in common with him, he who argued for the death of capital – I doubt there are many left-wingers today working for a moneyless society. Capital is as much capital if your boss is an individual, a corporation or government, and you are as much the exploited one. We may recognise all these things without arguing for the elitist organisations Marx headed, or the sexist and very 'unecological' features of his life and personality, not uncommon for a male thinker in the nineteenth century.

Long live freedom in all its forms but, like developmental psychology, let us not forget that freedom (from parents) is meaningless without also a healthy 'mutuality'. We are social beings and we require each other, as psychologists know very well, for validation, empathy, support and stimulation. That is the basis of our freedom, to be both other and a part in a colourful dynamic filled with choices and responsibilities. This is what makes freedom so creative. This is its burden as much as its wings.

Daniel Vogel

HOW I'D DEAL WITH DELINQUENTS

Dear *Freedom*,

One of the ways in which 'the left' in general, and anarchists in particular, have failed to affect the consciousness of 'ordinary people' – whom we all refer to and appeal to when it suits us! – is on the issue of how those who abuse innocent people should be dealt with. *Freedom*, 30th November, carries two pieces: one of which shows a way forward, the other of which illustrates the problem.

Harold Barclay's review of Ross's book on American traditions of dealing with delinquents (a loaded word, but so are all others in this field – let's just use it as a label for now) is worth acres of the polarised drivel which is what we get from the conventional 'left' ('it's all due to unemployment and discrimination') and the 'right' ('they're evil and should be punished'). It asks us to look seriously at what a 'community', in its true sense, would do with those who damage others. It gets us to look at 'healing' as a 'spiritual' rather than a medicalised process, to take responsibility seriously and to think creatively about the possible institutions of a stateless, classless society. Yet Barclay appears to agree with Ross that there are those who "are too dangerous to be allowed to walk freely".

It is just this difficult and painful realisation that Chris Platts denies, and in doing so sets himself up as a target for the rightful derision of 'ordinary people'. He may be correct that the only

'libertarian' way of dealing with child abusers is to "enable them to understand ... help them develop ways of avoiding such behaviour" and so on. But this is to say that here libertarianism may reach a limit. Suppose such people are helped and enabled, and they understand – and then go out and again rape a child. What then? More help and enablement? But what about the victims?

The trouble with Platts's view is that he is advocating an 'Amerindian' type of solution to a problem which does not occur in an 'Amerindian' type of context. It occurs, as Platts mentions, in an oppressive and repressive culture, yet one which is saturated with sexual imagery and discussions. In the world as it is, 'Amerindian' solutions are not applicable. They suffer from the same flaw as the recent proposals to 'shame' offenders. You can only shame persons who have a sense of shame, otherwise you are wasting your time.

So what should we support? Well, for me there is an overwhelming priority: I want there to be fewer people on the streets who are likely to abuse children, rape anybody, mug old ladies or terrorise people in their homes. Now if we actually had that 'people's justice' which so many of us glibly chatter about, then there's no doubt what would happen: muggers and sex terrorists would be pilloried in the high street or hanged from lamp-posts. But anarchists, as much as liberal lefties, conveniently forget 'people's power' when it comes to retributive justice. We know that all opinion polls on the subject show massive popular support for the death penalty for murderers, yet this fact is conveniently forgotten when going on about 'them and us'.

Platts fails to justify his claim that social resources should be used to help abusers. Why should they not instead be used to help those who are unhappy, screwed-up, miserable, depressed – but who do not damage other people? And don't say that this is only a problem for capitalism. Human resources are necessarily finite.

This is what I propose. Those who damage others should indeed be helped with intensive psychotherapy, use of LSD to facilitate empathy with victims, psychodrama or whatever. They should be given a serious chance. If they again damage persons then they should be permanently prevented from doing so. Not that they should be

imprisoned because, as Platts rightly says, this doesn't work. It doesn't work as a deterrent or as a cure. But of course it *does* work in that it gets the scumbags away from the rest of us. But then why should we have to pay for it? If people return to abusive behaviour after having been enabled to change, then it should be accepted that this is how they wish to be and they should be allowed to be so (perhaps this is a 'libertarian' solution). But away from the rest of us! Quarantine off an area of land, perhaps find an island; give them basic survival equipment; let them raise crops or have food staples air-dropped to them. Let them get on with it.

I'm sure that this is not a policy which appeals to many of my fellow *Freedom* readers. But why not?

Finally, a question to the editors. Your review of *Soft Core* claims that most feminist anti-porn campaigners are "refugees from ... Stalinist political parties". I'm not saying that this is not so, – I wouldn't be surprised if it is, and I'd be quite glad for it to be so – but it seems almost too good to be true! Is it really so?

David Murray

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IN THE DARK

Occasionally reviews of cultural matters appear in the anarchist press. Not having a lot of acreage, understandably there is little room for individual mentions of films, for example. The Ken Loach film was only an opportunity for anarchist and communist historians to rehearse their arguments. I cannot remember a single attempt since the old *Anarchy* magazine days of any discussion of the cinema, albeit from a sectarian point of view.

Film itself could do with a critic, for we as revolutionaries need to ask some questions as to how it affects the 'health of the people'. Whether a particular film is good or bad comes secondary to the question of what is a film.

The first time I saw a film I could not have been more than five years old. The circus came to visit the village and on a summer night in the tent they showed a film, the cone of light shining onto the large screen. The whole village was there, from babes in arms to grandparents. In such remote areas the film show was a novelty. To the watchers in their unsophistication the film was real, because the unreal was beyond their comprehension. For a child of my age it was an enchanting introduction to the art of film under the big top, so fascinating and attention-riveting.

There was some unexpected drama that night at this circus cinema which made such a strong impression on my childish senses as to have kept its memory fresh all these years. This is how I remember the occasion. A man was shown on the film who, having had a few drinks, was tottering about some dangerous precipice. The way he was swaying it looked as if he was about to fall into the valley beyond. At this point a peasant woman rushed from the back of the seats towards the image on the screen, her arms outstretched wide to be ready to catch the man as he fell.

This was not an isolated incident. At another time I saw somebody take off his shoe and throw it at the screen in disgust at a display of military brutality. That films get applauded or booed or hissed I still find a curious occurrence, but it does happen. People show communal emotion in the cinema. The thing about films in the cinema is that the audience is composed of people who, by and large, do not know each other, except for immediate friends, and there they sit in the semi-darkness together with others and watch what everybody else is watching and many time join in the communal hubbub, making the noise and emotions peculiar to the crowd.

It is not the same thing at all watching the small screen, which is a strictly monogamous relationship, and unless the set is used as a telephone extension it has little interest for me.

Although film as such, and the usual accomplished trash produced by the film industry is not an essential requirement for the future anarchist society, if comrades do not wish to sit in platonic caves watching moving shadows, so be it.

But there is no reason whatsoever why we should neglect this very amusing and instructive art, even at least from a philosophical point of view. This I mention ruefully, stressing the philosophical aspect, because the chances of my making a film are nil. The only film I ever helped to make was back in 1954 (there was such a year, I assure you) when I played the role of a sinister anarchist (typesetting with a vengeance) in Marvel Steiner's immortal *Elvira, or the Face That Launched a Thousand Ships*. It should be shown, together with another outstanding production of this century, John Smith's *Girl Chewing Gum*, at the NFT every full moon.

For many film addicts will probably agree with me that films have taught us a lot, but not as much as we could teach the film industry if I or my fellow artistes of little means could lay our hands on a few feet of celluloid.

John Retz

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- 1996-97 PROGRAMME -

13th December Anarcho-nihilism (speaker
Steve Ash)

20th December Christmas Party

3rd January General discussion

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

17th January General discussion

24th January Symposium on Work (short
submissions invited)

31st January A speaker from *Green Anarchist*
(probably Arthur Mix) talking about their court
action and showing the video *Exit Stage Right*.

7th February General Discussion

Although we have had a number of tentative
offers for speakers after this time, nothing has
yet been firmly decided. Anyone interested in
giving a talk or leading a discussion, please
contact Peter Neville at the meetings, or at 4
Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth,
Middlesex TW7 4AW, giving subject and
prospective dates and we will do our best to
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Peter Neville
London Anarchist Forum

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Monday 16th December
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