

## White bicycles back in Amsterdam

Older readers will remember the white bicycles scheme, run by the anarchist 'Provos' in Amsterdam in the 1960s. Anarchists renounced property rights in their bicycles, painted them white and left them about. The idea was that anyone going on a journey could use a white bicycle, leaving it at the end of the journey for the next person to use. For a time, a picture of a white bicycle was used as an anarchist symbol.

A proposal for a white bicycle scheme in Cambridge was quickly prohibited by the authorities, who argued that it would cause bicycle thefts. Cambridge students habitually leave their personal bicycles in the street outside lecture halls. A white bicycle user who could not find a white bicycle for a journey would be tempted to take some other bicycle.

The Amsterdam scheme was wrecked by capitalism, in the shape of entrepreneurs who came by night with lorries which they loaded with white bicycles and took them away, presumably to be repainted and sold elsewhere.

Thirty years later, we read in the press that the white bicycle scheme is to be restarted in Amsterdam, this time with the blessing of the city council and the police. The new white bicycles are to be specially made for the scheme, with solid tyres to avoid punctures. To prevent theft, they are to be kept in locked stands, from which they can be released by a swipe card issued to volunteers of the scheme. And – here's what is really new – each volunteer has to pay 200 guilders (about £64) for the swipe card, plus an insurance premium.

Perhaps 'customer' would be a more

appropriate term than 'volunteer'. Indeed, when the scheme is fully operational, in September, temporary swipe cards will be sold to tourists, charging them about 50p a ride.

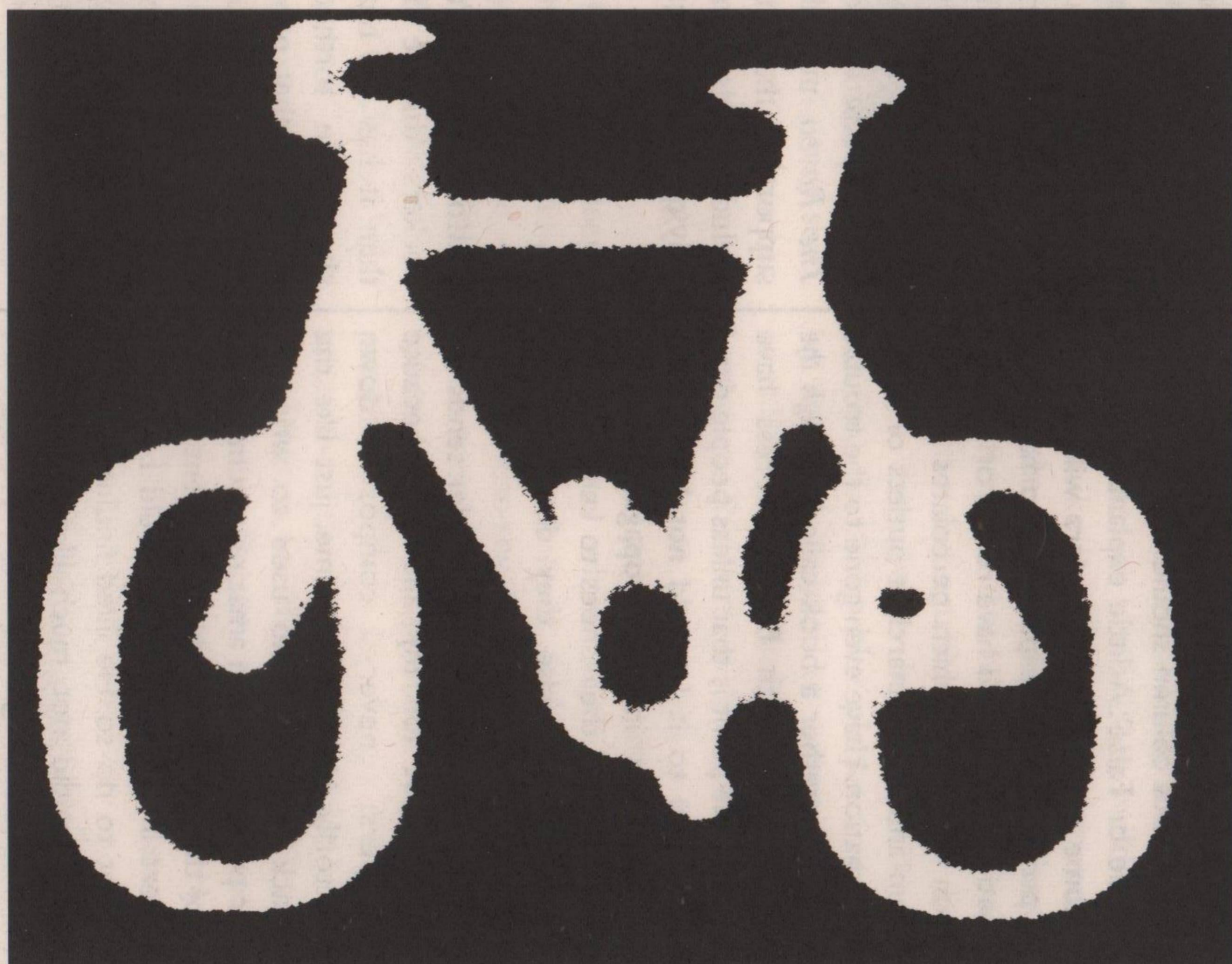
The organiser is Lut Schimmelpennick, one of the originators of the 1960s white bicycle scheme, who says "I am still an anarchist. My views have not changed". No doubt. But the white bicycle scheme has changed completely.

Let us not be cynical. We anarchists are working for a totally free society but, in the absence of miracles, all we can hope to achieve in a short time is a society which is freer than it would have been.

Amsterdam anarchists would like bicycles to be freely available to all who want to use them, but they have tried it and know from experience that it cannot be done in a society where bicycles have cash value. What might work, however, is to make bicycles freely available to members of a bicycle-owning club. This is far from ideal, but it is a small step towards the ideal.

### Anarchist sci-fi

The autumn 1999 issue of *Anarchist Studies* magazine will deal with the old *Anarchy* subject: the relation between anarchism and sci-fi (we are just good friends). Proposals for papers on all topics are invited by John Moore at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Luton. What about an appreciation of George Hay the philosopher, sci-fi writer and editor, and his Science Fiction Foundation? It would be nice if we could get him out of the seventh dimension where he is probably curating the Museum of the Future.



# Freedom

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## New Deal Exclusive

# ANARCHISTIC SPOOF

# SHAFTS STATE SCHEME

Activists attached to the network of independent groups, Groundswell, are an headache to the Employment Service and the New Labour Government. In their latest jab at the jugular of the Government's New Deal scheme to force the 18 to 24 year old jobless into work or onto time-wasting options, thousands of fake copies of the Employment Service's New Deal leaflet are being circulated countrywide by unemployed action groups, political militants, and dissident trade council affiliates.

This mock leaflet contains perverse information designed to show Labour's New Deal is "a raw deal". It is styled as a wicked interpretation of the state scheme. If substituted for the official document in Job Centres it will produce anger and bewilderment in all who read it.

Nationwide distribution of this new weapon to sabotage government propaganda is now in gear. From Scotland to the south coast claimants are unwittingly picking up the pseudo document in their local dole that tells them that the New Deal's "a programme to help us cut unemployment figures and social security spending and force young people into badly paid (or even not paid at all) jobs".

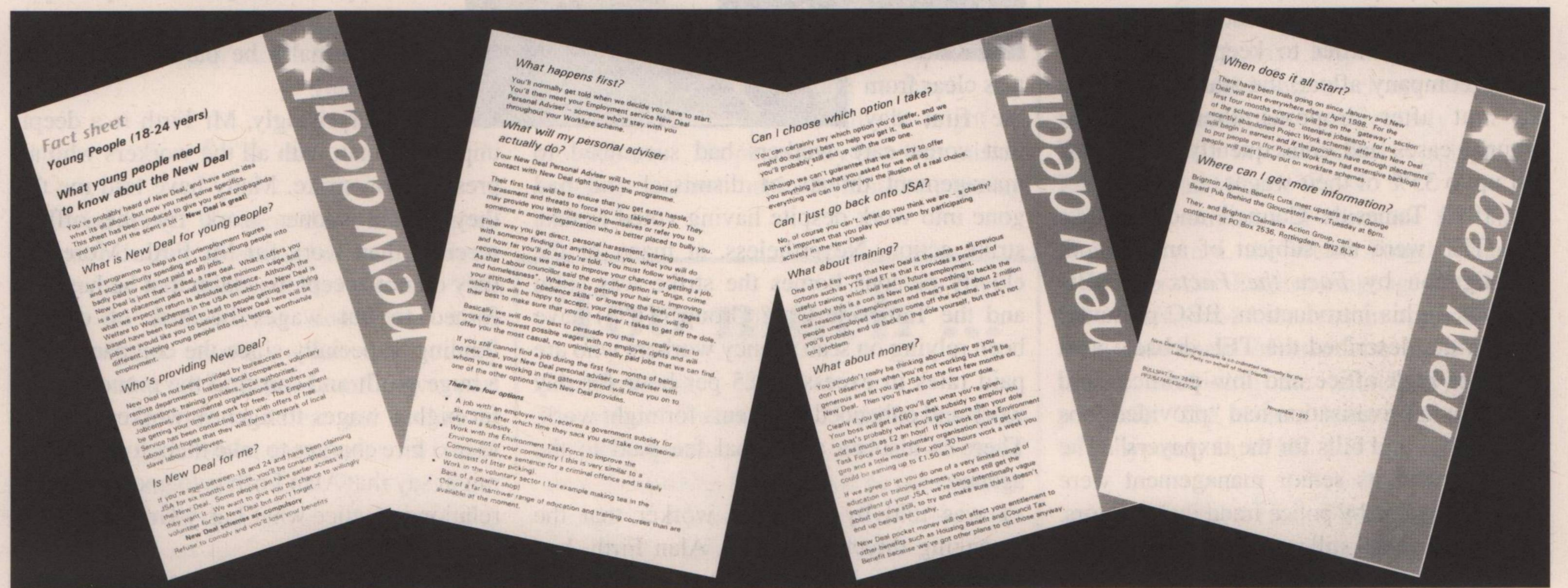
What effect will this have on the minds of impressionable young people?

**NEW DEAL PROPAGANDA SABOTAGED**  
Nor will the young unemployed be reassured on page two of this four-page counter-promotion. Here the claimant's 'personal adviser', who vets the job search efforts of individuals, is caricatured into a monster minder.

"Your New Deal Personal Adviser ... Their first task will be to ensure that you get extra hassle, harassment and threats to force you into taking any job." Then it resumes: "They may provide you with this service themselves or refer you to someone in another organisation who is better placed to bully you".

This leaflet emphasises the compulsory nature of New Deal or Workfare. There has even been a recent radio phone-in programme about New Deal re-introducing military conscription by the back-door. It seems there is a plan to use New Deal to boost army recruitment and overcome the shortfall in enlistment.

The solemn official tone of the leaflet makes it appear authentic. It declares that: "Basically we will do our best to persuade you that you really want to work for the lowest possible wages with no employee rights and will offer you the most casual, non-unionised, badly paid jobs that we can find". It is the realistic feel of this anti-official brochure which could force the New Deal organisers to design a fresh one to distinguish theirs from the counterfeit



version. That would be a dear do, as the protest groups seem to have the capacity to re-model their product to copy anything the government and its agents put out.

### SOUTHERNERS SHOW THE WAY

This kind of thing has happened before. In the 1930s the government in Catalonia used to make secret plans in the morning; in the afternoon the anarchist press would be on sale on the streets of Barcelona revealing to the general public all the plots enacted. Not since 'Spies for Peace' in the early 1960s has anything similar happened in this country.

The professionalism of this counter-information leaflet makes one wonder if there has been some help from inside the Employment Service. Leaks from inside the Employment Service to both Groundswell and *Freedom* prevailed during the period of

the previous Conservative government. There was support from some members of the civil service unions for the campaign against the JSA. There is every reason to expect disgruntlement from some staff against New Deal.

The nationwide distribution of this counter-information document is threatening to wreck the government's propaganda on the New Deal. The initiation of this new form of protest is coming from the southerners in Brighton. It was in Brighton that Project Work was abandoned owing to the action of claimant groups.

Different forms of direct action against the Job Seekers Act, Project Work, New Deal and Welfare to Work have been followed in different parts of the country. The southerners have tried to form links with the civil service unions to undermine government

projects. In Scotland and the Midlands the campaign of 'three strikes' has thrown the Employment Service onto the defensive. In both Edinburgh and Nottingham there have been arrests of activists involved in 'three strikes', but this has not deterred the campaigners.

In the north west there have no arrests during the 'three strikes' actions, but in Manchester and Birkenhead a cattle market tactic was adopted by the North West Against the JSA group. In local doles and, at Frank Field's surgery, goat dung became the weapon. In April we saw the first conviction of an activist for 'police assault' while involved in goat husbandry.

With this leaflet the Brighton Claimants Action Group is showing there is more than one way to skin a cat.

**Mack the Knife**

## Minimum Wage: no answer

Last week the Low Pay Commission delivered its report on the minimum wage. A figure of £3.60 an hour was recommended for adult workers, while the 18 to 21 year olds can expect £3.20. The figures, welcomed by employer's organisations, were described as "a disgrace" by a union boss.

At this level about 1.5 million workers could appear to benefit, mostly women in low-paid jobs. Security guards, shop workers, care assistants, hotel and catering staff should also be gainers. But much of this may turn out to be cosmetic, with the main gainers being inspectors and professionals monitoring pay for bodies like the Low Pay unit and other bureaucratic off-shoots. The Low Pay Commission managed to spin their job out longer than expected.

The unions are complaining about the £3.60 level, but in the end they will accept whatever the government dishes up. Rodney Bickerstaffe, leader of UNISON, argued that

"£3.60 for an hour of anybody's life at the end of the twentieth century in one of the richest countries on earth is not something to be proud of".

That may be, but Mr Blair the Prime Minister told *Eva* magazine that hard times are good for you. He said: "You've got to be able to make your own way ... and I think to do well in life you need a little bit of struggle".

For many that means working long hours as a security guard or something to make a passable living wage. Ken Cameron, left-wing leader of the Fire Brigade's union, claims bosses are likely to sack young workers on £3.20 an hour when they qualify for the higher rate of £3.60.

The laws on low pay are demanded because of the rises in inequality in pay, low paid and low skilled service jobs, which are now becoming common. It is further evidence of the failure of the trade unions to transform society and to mitigate the worst effects of the free market. The issue of low pay has

long been a problem, even when, in the 1960s and '70s, we thought the unions were powerful. Now the unions are seen as history's couch potatoes in the late twentieth century, and nobody can seriously expect them to solve the problem of low pay.

Hence they are trying to tackle the job by proxy, through the offices of state laws. Minimum Wage laws are an admission of failure by the unions: failure to beat sweat-shop bosses through their own unity and strength. To hand the matter over to the New Labour government and the sly centralisation which will follow, marks the irresponsibility and incompetence of today's unions.

In future they will haggle and pontificate over minimum pay levels with politicians and bureaucrats. It will increase their self-importance and give the union bosses the illusion of power as they pile on the moral platitudes, but in the end the state will decide.

**Albert Shore**

# Tameside Care group: the unacceptable face of Labourism

The strike by care workers employed by Tameside Care Group in Greater Manchester is now entering its second month. This company, which was formerly known as Tameside Enterprises Limited (TEL), was set up by the Labour controlled Tameside Council in 1990 to run its elderly persons homes.

Those staff who were employed as care workers by the council were told, at the time of transferring to TEL, that their local government rates of pay and conditions would be 'protected'. However, in 1992 it was discovered that, due to managerial incompetence, TEL had debts of more than £2 million. In order to keep the 'not-for-profit' company afloat, the staff agreed to a pay cut after dropping their industrial tribunal cases and consequently some staff lost up to 35% of their wages.

In 1994 Tameside Council and its links with TEL were the subject of an in-depth investigation by *Face the Facts* on BBC Radio 4. In his introduction, BBC presenter John Waite described the TEL debacle as a "story of high office and low politics" and how a civic privatisation had "provided jobs for the boys and bills for the taxpayers". The company and its senior management were also investigated by police fraud investigators. Tameside Council still retains a 'golden share' in Tameside Care Group.

Although Tameside Care Group (a not-for-profit company) made a profit last year of £750,000, the company informed its workers on New Year's Eve that, due to cuts in funding by Tameside Council and the West Pennine Health Authority, they intended to end their contracts and to impose cuts in pay and conditions.

The proposed cuts included no company sick pay, reduced holidays and reduced payments for bank holidays. They also involved cuts in hourly rates by up to £2.08 an hour. This was the second pay cut since 1993, and it was the company's response to a request by workers – who have not had a pay rise in five years – for a modest pay increase. By a majority of four-to-one, the care workers voted in a secret ballot to take strike action in opposition to the wage cuts and other changes in their contracts.

As the strike began at the end of March it



Photos taken at a recent demonstration in support of striking care workers from old peoples' homes in Ashton.

was clear from the first day that some care workers had succumbed to management threats of dismissal and had gone into work despite having voted to take strike action. Nevertheless, at many of the elderly persons homes the strike was solid and the Tameside Care Group (TCG) have been relying on scab agency workers who are paid rates in excess of £5 per hour for day work and enhanced payments for night work. There is also an additional fee paid to the agency.

I was told by one care worker that the managing director of TCG, Alan Firth, had been paying a loyalty bonus to scabs which consisted of a £5 clothing voucher and a box of chocolates. Although Mr Firth drives a BMW and earns in excess of £40,000 per year, he has stated that he believes the wage floor in Tameside is around £2.80 per hour.

At the 'Yew Tree' elderly persons home in Infield, where most workers are on strike, I was told that one woman had gone back to work and that her manager (Mark) had made her apologise to scabs for having been on strike. When I visited the picket line, the strikers had erected a large placard near to the entrance of the Yew Tree which said "Traitor's Gate".

At the 'Holme Lea' elderly persons home in Stalybridge, where the strike is solid, the operations manager of TCG, Mike Farmer, was interviewed at Stalybridge police station after two women on the picket line alleged that he had tried to run them over in his BMW company car. At this particular home



one striker told me that an agency scab, who had been brought in to replace her, was being paid twice as much as she would normally be paid for doing the same job.

Not surprisingly, Mr Firth is a deeply unpopular man with all the workers who are presently on strike. Many have told me that they would sooner work for the official receiver than work for Mr Firth. Moreover, they do not accept his claim that he has been forced to cut wages because of cuts in funding, especially since the company made a huge profit and can find the money to pay far higher wages to agency workers as well as taxi hire charges to take them to work. You might say that Alan Firth is to good industrial relations practice what Larry Grayson was to rugby league.

Nearly as unpopular as Mr Firth is the Labour controlled council in Tameside. To my knowledge not one Labour councillor has spoken out publicly in support of the striking care workers and the local newspapers have carried numerous letters from the public which have been critical of the council's failure to support the strikers, even though it retains a major shareholding in the company. It is also known that one of the agencies which have recruited for TCG is 'Access', which is based in Ashton-under-Lyne. A proprietor of this agency is Shirley Stonier, née Trainer, a former Chairman of Tameside Social Services and the ex-wife of Paul Stonier the disgraced former managing Director of TEL. Other scab agencies include Apex and Arcadia, as well as Meridan and Allied Medicare Ltd.

The company trustees, which include the Labour MP Andrew Bennett as well as Labour Party members Mike Custance and Jack Thornley, have also been heavily criticised for their failure to speak out publicly in support of the striking care workers. As the secretary of Tameside NUT, Mr Custance often writes in the local newspapers about low pay in the teaching profession. Despite his own views on low pay, Mr Custance refuses to resign as a trustee of the Tameside Care Group.

Although most striking care workers are members of UNISON, around forty strikers are members of the GMB trade union. Since the beginning of the strike Tameside UNISON has been in the driving seat and has adopted a low-key strategy which seeks to keep the lid on the action. Whilst there have been financial appeals and calls for letters of support, there has been no attempt to build support on the picket lines, even indirectly, and calls for wider solidarity action, such as the recent occupation of a scab agency, were received with disdain by the local UNISON branch secretary, Noel Pine, who threatened to dissociate his union branch from the action.

Mr Pine does not believe that this strike will be won on the picket line. Indeed, a number of striking care workers have complained

about the way in which they have been intimidated on the picket lines by scab agency workers who seem to enter these homes with impunity. Under the present circumstances I think that Mr Pine may well have a point. However, a strategy for winning this strike which depends on the intervention of local politicians, rather than on building wider support within the community, does seem a precarious strategy to say the least. Moreover, this strategy seems all the more unlikely to succeed given the reluctance of UNISON to build support for the strike in order to bring pressure to bear on the company and the politicians.

It is often said that history tends to repeat itself and a distinguishing feature of British politics has always been hypocrisy. For example, in 1993 a blue plaque was erected by Tameside Council to commemorate the so-called General Strike of 1842, which began in Stalybridge when local cotton workers went on strike against the imposition of pay cuts. Shortly after erecting this plaque, which pays homage to the striking workers of Stalybridge, Tameside Council also sought to impose a wage cut on its own employees and threatened to sack ninety employees. Similarly, when the BBC presenter of *Face the Facts*, John Waite, interviewed the leader of Tameside Council, Roy Oldham, in 1994 about the TEL fiasco, the leader of the council declined to apologise to care workers employed by TEL and said that they should regard themselves as fortunate to be in work.

The strike at Tameside Care Group reveals, amongst other things, how the quest for profit and the drive for low wages are being put before the needs of the elderly in care. As the *Guardian* columnist Paul Foot said recently; "the striking care workers are by any sensible definition high net worth individuals who contribute enormously to peoples' health and happiness. And yet they have been relegated to the bottom of the social pile, insulted and demeaned". Care for the elderly in Tameside has become the unacceptable face of 'Labourism'.

Derek Pattison

## Frank Field's body language

The face of Frank Field, Minister for Welfare Reform, sank as he confronted a vociferous bunch of objectors to his New Deal proposals on the steps of Manchester Cathedral last month. Clearly he was surprised and his body language showed it. He had been booked for over a year to give a talk to the Anglicans, and it had not been a well publicised event.

Left-wing christians inside the Cathedral subjected the minister to probing questions on his policies. Outside loudhailers blasted the stained glass – deadly weapons in the hands of some well-known local lone parents.

Manchester Anti-JSA Group had organised the event, which was supported by Tameside Unemployed Workers' Alliance, Bury Unemployed Workers' Association and women from Wages for Housework. The Bishop came out and told the protesters (who were shouting 'Frank Field – Minister for Poverty' and 'New Labour – Hard Labour') that he regretted the situation but Mr Field had been invited before he became a government minister.

The noise irritated Mr Field, but as he left he had recovered his composure and told a demonstrator "You'll have to get more people if you are going to beat us". His body language had also bucked up a bit.

**HEALTH SERVICE**

# WILDCAT

Scripted by Victoria N. Furmurry. Drawn by Donald Roofum.

Drawn by Donald Roofum and scripted by Victoria N. Furmurry, *Health Service Wildcat* is available from Freedom Press (post free inland, overseas add 15%)

ISBN 0 900384 73 5
48 pages
£1.95

## At the front line of health care

Working as a cleaner in an NHS trust hospital is an enlightening experience. It is here at the front-line that one can witness the vicious political rape of our healthcare system.

At the start of April this year our trust was merged with two other local trusts to form a 'supertrust' (I kid you not). There was some resistance to this, and despite so-called public consultation (more akin to the prescription of a bitter pill), it was all pushed through. The supposed objectives of this merger were to: maintain and improve local health services, provide local specialist clinical services, meet national training standards, and respond to financial pressures. It requires little intelligence to see through this tissue of lies.

How can local health be maintained by integrating the health services with two other 'local' (40 and 22 miles away) consortiums which have previously often had to buy services from outside their trusts (I refer here to services that they provide themselves but which they are over-subscribed for) and have consistently been unable to remain within their allocated funding? This financial strife makes me dubious of any extension to clinical services locally. National training standards are a joke; what we are seeing is American training methods, devolving responsibility for Health and Safety by providing brief training that will leave low paid staff with all the responsibilities (but none of the cash that supposedly goes with them). As for financial pressures, I presume this is Frank Dobson's proposed saving through cuts in excessive management - surely something to be applauded. Well, from what has been apparent over the last few weeks, this is not so. Those who have had their fingers deep in the pie have ensured that, even if they do go, their severance will be several years of protected pay. Sideways movement into newly created managerial jobs (that those concerned have no background in) is apparent. Still, they talk with the right accents, wear the right ties, and vote the right way (any way at all these days, it seems). Although the new posts have been allocated, previous job-holders are still wandering round. Are they working their notice? Have they been allocated new jobs? No one seems to know, or else they're being kept quiet.

Job changes do seem on the cards but among those who are most worried are secretarial and administrative support workers, workers whose loyalties are suspect (i.e. those who work for those executive directors who weren't selected for the role in the new supertrust).

None of the previous executives from our workplace have been selected, and while this causes me no loss of sleep, it does stink of 'takeover' rather than merger. Our previous executives did, at least, make some effort to be affable (and on their wages they could bloody well afford to), while the takeover brigade seem to be quietly shutting themselves away in a newly assigned 'corporate corridor'. Renal patients currently use this corridor to access their treatment suite, but rumour has it that they are now to be redirected through a ward. The ward in question was due to have become a head injuries unit (of great use as a lengthy journey down the motorway is not a recommended course of treatment). This was the previous Nursing Director's pet project and has accordingly gone (with the rest of the NHS) down the pan. So much for 'customer

care' (to use approved NHS newspeak).

Meanwhile on the non-executive director front, five new bods have been appointed to £5,000 a year posts. These folk are appointed by the Secretary of State for Health and have all the right 'New Labour' connections (enough for our local Tory MP to question the appointments in Parliament) to do a few hours work a week and pick up a similar wage to most of the non-medical workers. Picking up on the comments in the 'Rich are getting richer' piece - how can these people find time they already hold what one might naively believe are jobs that require their full attention (tourist board chair plus industrial council committee member, business partner plus institute associate, principal lecturer, MP's research assistant, I don't have details for number five but the odds of them being a trained medic or a prole is, I think, marginal)?

At ground level we're all very unhappy bunnies. No one will tell us what is happening, and though we are sure that the new structures have been put to the board, even those high up in the hospital hierarchy say they have been told nothing.

A few questions do remain. How come these top jobs, which could not be advertised until April, were so obviously filled beforehand (new headed notepaper with the new Chief Executive's/Chairman's name printed on them were delivered towards the end of March!)? Why are Union representatives unable to discover what is going on? Why won't the new management structure tell the workforce anything? How many skills will be drained from the system as people leave because they are becoming so disillusioned? How many early retirements and voluntary redundancies? When will obnoxious bureaucracy totally bankrupt (financially and morally) an essential public resource?

As the tension and anger builds at a local level I am left wondering how this is reflected nationally.

Northern Health Service Worker

## Sorbonne days are here again!

**Friday 22nd May 11am:** The Brooker Building at the University of East London has been under occupation by hundreds of students since 7pm Monday 18th May. The University's main building has been in occupation from 10am on Thursday 21st May and the academia has ground to a halt. The number of students supporting and talking part in these actions are still growing.

The students of UEL are protesting against the university's cuts of £2.4 million which is leading to eighty redundancies, library cut-backs and course closures, yet the university vice chancellor still gets a pay rise!

Yesterday afternoon we, the student body, were served with an injunction to remove ourselves from the building by 10.30am on Wednesday 27th May. At a meeting last night it was decided democratically that we would remain in occupation until our demands were met. This morning the student body made arrangements for lecturers to meet with those students who needed help and advice regarding educational matters. The university have responded to the student occupation by shutting down the learning resource Centre

and the nursery facilities in the hope of causing dissent among the students. The students categorically stated that they would not occupy either of those buildings as they wanted to cause the minimum amount of disturbance to the other students. They are simply protesting against the management.

— COPY DEADLINE —

The next issue of Freedom will be dated 20th June, and the last day for copy intended for this issue will be first post on Thursday 11th June.

## Second Gandalf trial deferred

**P**aul Rogers of *Green Anarchist* and Robin Webb of the Animal Liberation Front appeared in court at Portsmouth on 11th May to answer the charge of conspiracy to incite criminal damage, but the trial was deferred until September.

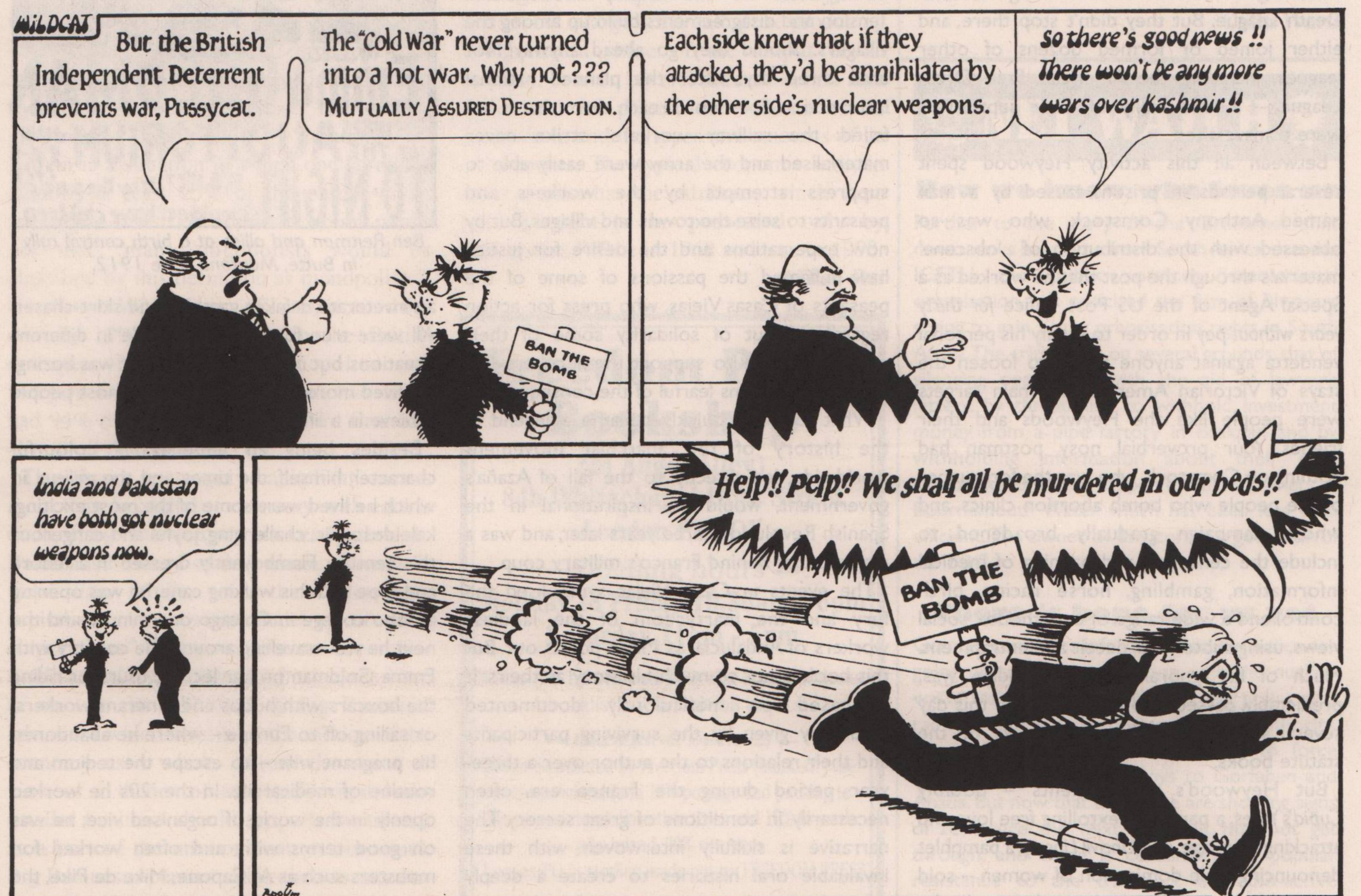
Their alleged fellow conspirators - Steve Booth, Saxon Burchall-Wood, and Noel Molland, convicted and sentenced to three years imprisonment each - were freed on bail in March, pending appeal. If their conviction is quashed, Webb and Rogers will have no case to answer.

All the defendants are associated with either *Green Anarchist*, or the Animal Liberation Front, or both. Hence the

acronym Gandalf (GA and ALF). *Green Anarchist* was founded in 1984 by the late Alan Albon, a former *Freedom* editor, who resigned from *Green Anarchist* in 1986 and returned to *Freedom* as agriculture correspondent.

The most recent manifestation of *Green Anarchist* is as a primitivist journal with the sub-heading "for the destruction of civilisation".

Recent issues include regular listings of attacks on property, classified according to whether they are perpetrated in pursuit of animal liberation, or on behalf of the environment. It is argued in defence of these columns that they do not advocate damage to property, but simply report its occurrence.



# Now there's a turn up for the books

So there we were, the entire crew of Freedom Press Distributors' not very stern trawler, the Lethargic, heading down the Thames for the South Seas but now broken-down off Southend. If it hadn't been for a large sea container drifting towards us we'd probably still be there. We decided to claim it for salvage and managed to get a line attached. Moments later a Customs cutter hove alongside us, having picked up the container on their radar. "Engine trouble is it?" asked one of the officers. "Don't worry, we'll soon fix that." Minutes later we were under way again, the Customs men waving us off with warnings against "overdoing it on the booze cruise to France next time". They eyed the container suspiciously as we towed it back upstream, and muttered something about duty-free allowances being ridiculous these days. We still had no idea where it had come from: a note in a bottle attached to one side merely said "Compliments of El Niño". But what we found inside were boxes and boxes of brand new books at unbelievably cheap prices. And we marvelled at it all.

**Free Love and Anarchism: the biography of Ezra Heywood\*** by Martin Henry Blatt, University of Illinois Press. Ezra Heywood was one of the best known individualist anarchists in America, a position he moved to, like most of them, from the abolitionist movement. He was trained in the ministry, but became a spiritualist; he began as a pacifist, but gradually modified his position, supporting Bakunin, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman even after Berkman's attempted murder of the industrialist Henry Frick. He even lent the columns of his newspaper *The Word* to Johan Most, whose violent rhetoric he despised, and he was sympathetic to the Chicago anarchists imprisoned following their framing in the Haymarket bombing affair. He was a tireless pamphleteer in favour of anarchism, free love, women's emancipation, labour reform and individual liberty, and against the state, organised religion, moral hypocrisy, marriage, censorship, war and capitalism.

As if all this was not enough, he eventually proclaimed 'the abolition of death' and with his wife, Angela, founded the New England Anti-Death League. But they didn't stop there, and either joined or formed dozens of other leagues, including the American Free Dress League – indeed many of their supporters were transvestites.

Between all this activity Heywood spent several periods in prison, caused by a man named Anthony Comstock, who was so obsessed with the distribution of 'obscene' materials through the post that he worked as a Special Agent of the US Post Office for thirty years without pay in order to satisfy his personal vendetta against anyone trying to loosen the stays of Victorian America. His main targets were people like the Heywoods and their friends. Your proverbial nosy postman had nothing on Comstock, who was the forerunner of the people who bomb abortion clinics, and whose campaign gradually broadened to include the censoring and banning of medical information, gambling, horse racing, birth control and a wide range of unorthodox social views, using subterfuge, deceit and entrapment. Much of his ignorance and prejudice was, predictably, passed into US law and to this day several states retain 'Comstock Laws' on the statute books.

But Heywood's achievements – notably *Cupid's Yokes*, a pamphlet extolling free love and attacking marriage, and *Uncivil Liberty*, a pamphlet denouncing male domination of women – sold in massive quantities and outshone all the

attempts to silence free speech. A fascinating book with an introduction, index, notes and excellent bibliography. 207 pages including 16 pages of photographs, hardback. Published price £19.95, our price £8.50.

**The Anarchists of Casas Viejas\*** by Jerome R. Mintz, Indiana University Press. Just imagine the scene: it is January 1933 and workers all over Spain have had enough of starvation wages and atrocious working and social conditions. The CNT in Barcelona is agitating for an insurrection, and to this end is pressing the railway workers, dominated by the UGT, to



A civil guard and an assault guard in a house-to-house search in Casas Viejas.

call a strike to prevent the army moving reinforcements around the country to put down local uprisings. At the other end of the country in an obscure village in Andalucia, where to have travelled the fifty or so kilometres to Cádiz was to really be someone, hunger and illiteracy has not prevented the landless peasants from deciding to play their part in a social revolution.

At the appointed hour they wait for the pre-arranged signal from the next village that the national uprising has begun. But there is no signal. It is many hours before any news comes through, and it is contradictory and uncertain. Tension and disagreements build up among the villagers. Should they go ahead anyway? Not until three days after the planned national insurrection does word reach them that it has failed: the railway workers' strike never materialised and the army were easily able to suppress attempts by the workers and peasants to seize the towns and villages. But by now expectations and the desire for justice have inflamed the passions of some of the peasants of Casas Viejas, who press for action regardless. Out of solidarity some of their comrades agree to support them, others flee into the mountains fearful of the consequences.

What followed quickly became a legend in the history of the anarchist movement worldwide, led directly to the fall of Azaña's government, would be inspirational in the Spanish Revolution three years later, and was a major factor behind Franco's military coup.

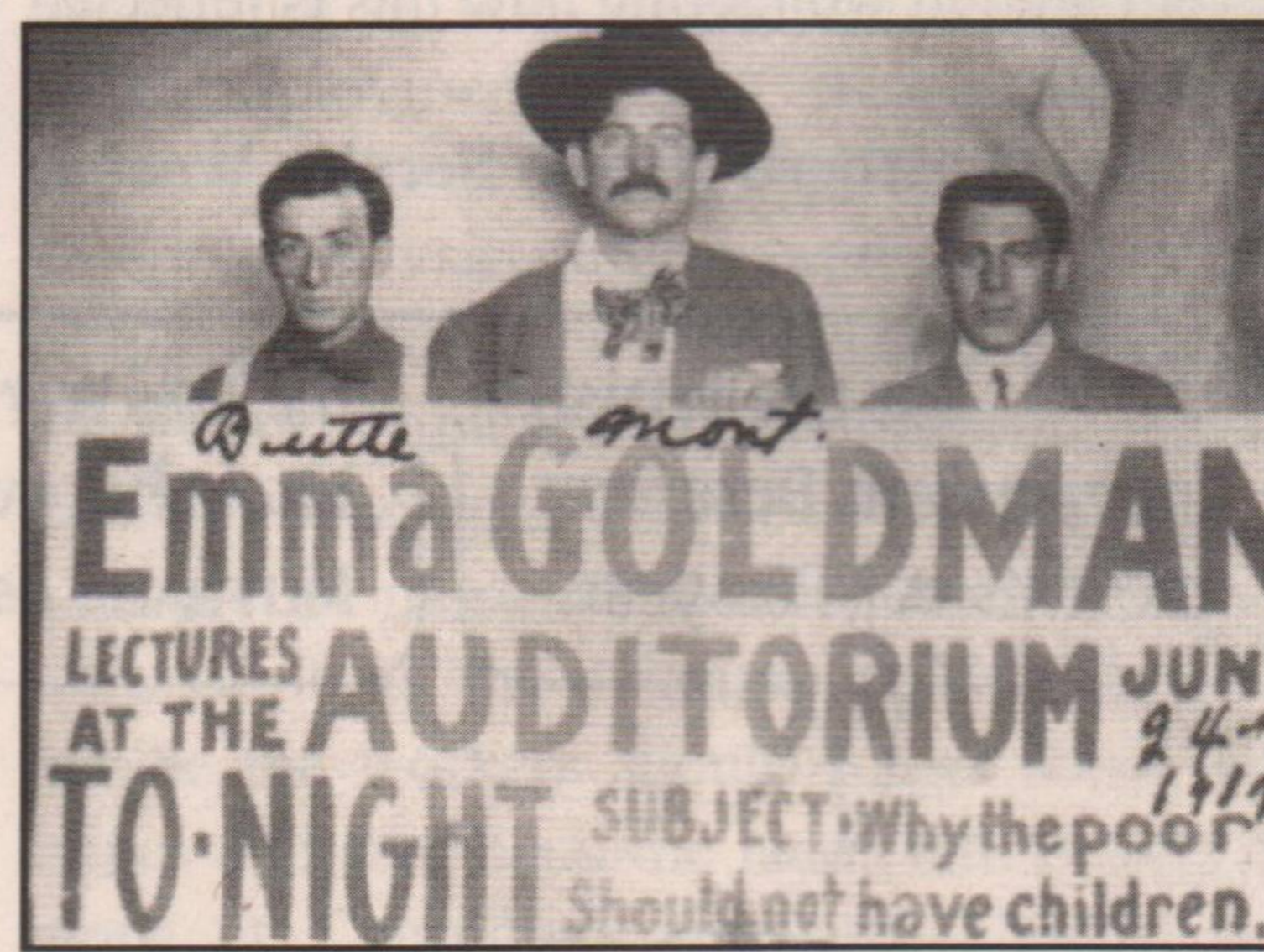
The events in Casas Viejas symbolised the fury and the martyrdom of the landless workers of Andalucia, as Mintz points out. But this book is not so much his story as theirs. It is based on meticulously documented testimony given by the surviving participants and their relations to the author over a three-year period during the Franco era, often necessarily in conditions of great secrecy. The narrative is skilfully interwoven with these invaluable oral histories to create a deeply sympathetic and moving account of the lives and

aspirations of individuals in rural communities of the period, showing how and why they embarked on the course they did. But in recording the heroic events and their tragic consequences he also challenges the misinterpretations of earlier studies of both the Spanish anarchist movement and the events themselves. Your shelves of anarchist history are incomplete without this one. There are 16 pages of photographs out of 336, a bibliography and a good index. Mintz has also thoughtfully provided a glossary of Spanish terms. Published price £13.99, our price £6.99.

**The Damnedest Radical: the life and world of Ben Reitman, Chicago's celebrated social reformer, hobo king and whorehouse physician\*** by Roger A. Bruns, University of Illinois Press. "So this is the little lady, Emma Goldman. I've always wanted to know you", were the words with which Ben Lewis Reitman greeted "the queen of anarchy" in March 1908, a few days before she was due to give the first in a series of public lectures in a hobo meeting hall which he had provided. She was instantly smitten by him, and they became lovers in a relationship which lasted for many years.

He grew up among tramps and prostitutes with names like Chinatown Blinky, Truck Horse May, Philadelphia Shorty and Dopey Liz, and developed their robust enthusiasm for life, their ingenuity, intelligence and spirit. To pay his way through medical school he sold stray dogs to other students and opened his first surgery to a stream of prostitutes, pimps, drug addicts and down-and-outs. These were hard times in America and although he took up later with anarchists and other social reformers and revolutionaries, he often found them intimidating and arrogant and preferred the company of society's outcasts.

Many things were said about Ben Reitman: that he was charming, talented, a compassionate and loyal idealist; or that he was offensive, vulgar, egotistical and irresponsible,



Ben Reitman and allies at a birth control rally in Butte, Montana, June 1912.

an inveterate drinker, gambler and skirt-chaser. All were true for different people in different situations, but one thing he was not was boring. He lived more in one month than most people achieve in a lifetime.

Besides being an unbelievably colourful character himself, the times and the *milieux* in which he lived were some of the most exciting, kaleidoscopic, challenging, joyful and dangerous this century. Flamboyantly dressed in a fedora and cape with his walking cane, he was opening a hobo college in Chicago one minute and the next he was travelling around the country with Emma Goldman on her lecture tours, or riding the boxcars with hobos and itinerant workers, or sailing off to Europe – where he abandoned his pregnant wife – to escape the tedium and routine of medical life. In the '20s he worked openly in the world of organised vice; he was on good terms with, and often worked for, mobsters such as Al Capone, Mike de Pike, the Four Horsemen and Monkey Face Charlie who

ran entire hotels for illicit sex and gambling. He became 'house doctor' for a string of brothels and was on first-name terms with most of the 'joyladies', several hundred of whom a week would queue up for his medical inspection.

A cast of thousands people this book, including Alexander Berkman, John Reed, Eugene Debs, Clarence Darrow, Big Bill Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Boxcar Bertha, Kenneth Rexroth, etc., etc., and it is written in superb flowing style. It is complemented by a prologue, chapter notes, selected bibliography and index. British readers will also need to make use of the hobo glossary defining the many unfamiliar slang and jargon words. 332 pages in handsome hardback with 18 pages of photographs, plus notes, bibliography and index. Published price £25.99, our price £8.50.

**The Origins of Nonviolence: Tolstoy and Gandhi in their historical settings\*** by Martin Green, Pennsylvania State University Press. The following has been compiled from the book's preface and cover notes. This book describes the world-historical forces, acting on the periphery of the modern world – in Russia in the nineteenth century and India in the twentieth century – which developed the idea of nonviolence in Tolstoy and then in Gandhi. It was from Tolstoy that Gandhi first learned of this idea, but those world-historical forces acted upon and through both men.

Green tells how the modern version of non-violence – and satyagraha, and war-resistance, and one kind of anti-imperialism, even – were in effect invented by Tolstoy and Gandhi. He studies the two men's lives, showing how their ideas evolved from different starting points, and via different experiences, to come to a common climax.

In the course of their lives they become, respectively, military officer and novelist, and lawyer and political organiser. They win fame in those roles; but in the last two decades of their lives they occupy the same special space – ascetic/saint/prophet.

Green's subject is modern world history, marked by the expansion of modern culture from its sources in North-western Europe over the rest of the globe. That culture's leading characteristics, seen from inside, were democracy, rationality, freedom; seen from outside, aggression, exploitation, imperialism. Tolstoy and Gandhi were at first agents of modern reform, in Russia and India. But they then became rebels against it and led a profound resistance – a resistance spiritually rooted in the traditionalism of a myriad peasant villages.

But the stress falls on the historical forces to which they were reacting. Russia and India were, in the lives of Tolstoy and Gandhi respectively, on the periphery of the expanding world system centred in England, and the two men foresaw, and rebelled against, a future of modernising imperialism. Thus, the book relates the two men to each other and to the Western world of the last hundred and fifty years. And in order to tell this story, it creates a historical background that is common to both the nineteenth century Russian novelist and the twentieth century Hindu politician, and a point of view which brings Tolstoy's Russia and Gandhi's India into a common focus, as occupying the same moment in history.

Green is a gifted storyteller, about both individuals and groups and ideas. The book's scope and sweep are enormous.

He has made history into an absorbing myth – a compelling and moving story of importance to all scholars and readers concerned with the history of ideas. A 256-page hardback, with notes, index and bibliography. Published price £23.00, our price £5.95.

**Pugwash**

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— ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

# In a green shade

I was always impressed by a note prefixed to the 1919 reprint from the publishers Thomas Nelson of Kropotkin's *Fields, Factories and Workshops*. It stressed that "It pleads for a new economy in the energies used in supplying the needs of human life, since these needs are increasing and the energies are not inexhaustible."

I certainly can't think of any other publication from those years that expressed our dilemma of resources and the environment in those terms and I doubt if readers can. In the same year Kropotkin urged that, "after the cruel lesson of the last war, it should be clear to every serious person and above all to every worker, that such wars, and even crueller ones still, are inevitable so long as certain countries consider themselves destined to enrich themselves by the production of finished goods and divide the backward countries up among themselves, so that these countries provide the raw materials while they accumulate wealth themselves on the basis of the labour of others ... We should not forget that at the moment it is not only the capitalists who exploit the labour of others and who are 'imperialists'. They are not the only ones who aspire to conquer cheap manpower to obtain raw materials in Europe, Asia, Africa and elsewhere ..."

This intensely interesting observation comes from a supplement to *Freedom* in 1970 described as 'Freedom Anarchist Pamphlet No 5', and consisted of a translation by Nicolas Walter of Kropotkin's postscript to the 1921 Russian edition of *Words of a Rebel*. It reminds us of course, of Orwell's insistence, always raised to embarrass his fellow socialists, that the allegedly high standards of living for the Western industrial worker was dependent on imperialist exploitation.

It is also a reminder of the appalling burden



of debt in the countries of the poor south to the bankers of the rich north. And this in turn leads to the question of the evaporation of those vast loans, for the benefit of the rich world's arms dealers, interrogational crooks and the grotesque luxury of the poor world's rich.

But Kropotkin's observation is also a reminder of another daily fact about today's global economy and our search for alternatives: the production and distribution of food and its lessons for us all. In Britain five giant supermarket firms control more than two-thirds of the retail food market.

They roam the world market seeking producers, always to the detriment of the local food market, whether in Britain, continental Europe, Africa or Latin America. There, export crops for the air-freight to Europe continually dominate and distort the demand for scarce and precious local resources like water (borrow from your local library my book *Reflected in Water*, published in 1997 by Cassell).

In the United States the economist Paul Hawken produced a book facing this issue, *The Ecology of Commerce: A Declaration of Sustainability* (Harper Business, 1993).

Addressing governments, he urged a shift from the Free Trade enshrined in current dogma and in treaties like GATT to the concept of what he called Most Sustainable Nation tariffs. Jeffrey Jacob is another American investigator who, in the course of a book on *New Pioneers: The Back-to-the-land Movement and the Search for a Sustainable Future* (Pennsylvania University Press, 1997), attempts to explore the implication of a shift in the Free Trade ideology to the Hawken style of tariff:

"It is possible that the Most Sustainable Nation tariffs could remove the profitability from a Third World agriculture that relies on the application of chemicals banned in North America and wages calculated to do no more than reproduce a subservient labour force. If, however, sustainability requirements in the North were to cripple export agriculture in the underdeveloped South, the beneficiaries would be the masses of rural and urban Third World poor. With the dissolution of plantation-style agriculture, peasants would be free to turn their attention to growing basic grains in order to address the long-standing calorific deficit from which they and the urban poor suffer, rather than producing luxury crops for First World consumers. In addition, without the power and wealth that comes from the ownership of cash-crop export operations, Third World elites would no longer have automatic access to the resources of oppression ... Consequently, in underdeveloped countries whose economies are heavily dependent on export agriculture, the loss of North American and Western European markets could create an opening for democratic movements, movements that in the past have been routinely crushed by the planter class."

Now you and I know, as much as the American authors of those books know, that the changes they recommend are not going to happen. The concept of sustainability is fine, just so long as it doesn't interfere with the right of the controllers of retail marketing to roam the planet, buying in the cheapest market, and then abandoning their suppliers when they have developed one which is even cheaper.

But it is useful to be reminded, and to remind others, of the anarchist background of this tradition of thinking about green futures.

Colin Ward

— VISIBLE HANDS —

## Monopoly money

What is 'monopoly capitalism'? That was Robert Kennedy's question to his Indonesian audience in 1962. He might have added 'and why should I care what it is?' Taking the second question first, the answer is that it matters to all of us what kind of government we live under, and the phrase 'monopoly capitalism' describes a particular kind of dictatorship which is creating many of the problems which beset us today.

What is 'monopoly capitalism'? The immediate answer would seem to be: a form of capitalism dominated by monopolies. 'Capitalism', as discussed in an earlier segment of this series, is a social system in which there are two main classes of people, one class which controls the economy through ownership and management of society's productive resources, and another (much larger) group of people who are forced to rent themselves out to the economic elite. What of 'monopoly'?

'Monopoly', in economic terms, covers a number of different situations. The most straightforward is pure monopoly, where one person or institution controls absolutely and exclusively the supply of a particular good. For example, in British India, the government reserved to itself a monopoly on the production and sale of salt - a monopoly openly broken by the independence movement under Gandhi's leadership. The flip side of monopoly is 'monopsony' where one person or institution is the only buyer of a particular good. Thus, in British India,

farmers were forced to grow opium poppies, and the East India Company was the only buyer to whom they were allowed to sell (for onward sale to China in the biggest drug trade in history).

A weaker version of monopoly is 'oligopoly', where the market is dominated by a few sellers or buyers. The official government definition of 'monopoly' in Britain is a situation in which one company controls at least 25% of the output of an industry. A recent economics textbook points out that "many oligopolists would be classified by this definition as monopolists". Geoffrey Whitehead (*Economics*, 16th edition, 1996) comments: "In the British detergent industry the Monopolies and Mergers Commission found that two firms had 94% of the market and a third firm had almost all the remaining 6%."

The phrase 'monopoly capitalism' means more than 'a capitalist economy with cartels controlling the major markets', though. Baran and Sweezy, in their classic *Monopoly Capitalism* (1968), write that "Monopoly capitalism is a system made up of giant corporations". These corporations are unlike smaller businesses. Smaller businesses have to react to the initiatives of Big Business, initiatives which determine the motion of the economy as a whole. "From the point of view of a theory of monopoly capitalism, smaller business should properly be treated as a part of the environment within which Big Business operates rather than as an actor on the stage."

"Today the typical economic unit in the capitalist world is not the small firm producing a negligible fraction of a homogenous output for an anonymous market but a large-scale enterprise producing a significant share of the output of an industry, or even several industries, and able to control its prices, the volume of its production, and the types and amounts of its investments. The typical economic unit, in other words, has the attributes which were once thought to be possessed only by monopolies." True in 1968 and true in 1998.

Milan Rai

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### NET WATCH

#### Now we know who loves us

Further to the story of the Green-net shut down, news has come from South Africa, that the ICFTU, the public services international organisation, has criticised the firm of Biwaters trying to gain water privatisation rights in South Africa. The criticism is on several grounds: that of silencing opposition with the aid of lawyer's letters, by threatening to withhold investment money from a pipe factory in Brakpan and by withholding information about their own capabilities. Biwaters happen to be the owners of Bournemouth Water which has been less than efficient. The owner of Biwaters is a governor of the BBC.

#### There is hope for us yet

German comrades inform us that the police are going on strike in connection with the nuclear waste trains. It has occurred to the police that radio-activity is no respecter of police authority. Since 1955 the state has managed to force through four Castor convoys to Gorleben and Ahaus. But now that the police are showing signs of resistance the next shipment may not get through, and there is certainly great popular resistance to the transport of radio-active material.

JR (source: a-infos)

## CNT: loose labelling

The Spanish anarcho-syndicalist trade union federation in Andalusia has appealed to demonstrators at the so-called Córdoba 'anarchist trial' not to use the CNT's initials during their protests. Press reports in the Andalusian supplements of the national newspapers *El Pais* and *El Mundo* had claimed that the CNT and Spanish anarchist Black Cross were supporting the defendants (an Argentinian and three Italians) accused of murdering two policewomen and of bank robbery.

Paco Cabello Garcia, Andalusian regional secretary for the CNT in Granada, declared in *El Pais* "that no union or other organisation of the CNT has participated in the protests". He added that the persons using the CNT banners during the protests have never been affiliated to the CNT.

The local Córdoba secretary of the CNT, Francisco Vargas, told *El Mundo* that when a

militant from the CNT went to tell the demonstrators they had no right to use the CNT symbols in their demo, she was greeted with insults and abuse. Vargas argued that he couldn't justify or defend violent action which had little to do with anarchism.

It is not clear if the young people using the CNT symbols and name are doing so maliciously or foolishly. It may be just a bout of Spanish melodrama, which we in this country occasionally suffer.

In April Francisco Vargas stated that "the efforts of the CNT in the world of work is to raise a form of trade unionism which is different, in that the people at the bottom are all important and rooted in libertarian ideas". This has nothing to do with the acts of the defendants, he claimed.

*Freedom* covered the Córdoba trial in brief on 9th May, based on reports in the Spanish press.

## TURKEY Man jailed for refusing military service

Osman Murat Ulke has been sentenced once more with the accusation of "continuing disobedience in the military unit" on the 4th of May 1998. This time he has been sentenced to seven months. So, the total amount of sentence is 38 months since he was arrested on the 6th of October 1996. Today, he has been 'released' again and sent back to the military unit. He is strictly faced with a vicious circle. He has performed one action: refusing to perform military service.

Further information can be obtained from the ISKD Communication Group (telephone: 0 - 232 - 464 24 92, fax: 0 - 232 - 464 08 42, or e-mail: [osi@info-ist.comlink.de](mailto:osi@info-ist.comlink.de)).

ISKD Communication Group

## Canadian Diary

4th March 1998

- A House of Commons report roundly condemned the Department of Fisheries for allowing fish stocks to be depleted – something fishermen have been saying for years. The department is accused of ignoring over-fishing and there are claims that officers took bribes from foreign fishing boat captains. The report recommended firing the top bureaucrats.

- The Quebec Health Minister announced that he plans to phase out the use of *practical* nurses in hospitals and clinics. All newly trained practical nurses will be restricted to geriatric care. This move was undoubtedly a sop to the powerful *registered* nurses union. Both of Quebec's labour federations oppose this action.

5th March 1998

- A US congressional report stated that Canadian companies operating in Cuba are virtually using slave labour. Companies – like Sheritt International – pay the Castro regime \$9,500 for each worker provided. The dictatorship in turn pays each employee \$15 a month in wages and pocket the difference. In this manner Canadian capitalists subsidise the Stalinist regime to the tune of tens of millions of dollars annually.

6th March 1998

- Workers at Maple Leaf Foods in Burlington, Ontario, approved their new contract after a bitter four-month strike. The contract marks the defeat of the union struggle as wages will be cut back 40%. The company had threatened to close the plant and move to the US unless these cuts were made.

- Another bomb was found at BioChem headquarters. This time no one claimed responsibility.

11th March 1998

- Four thousand students from community colleges demonstrated in Quebec City against cutbacks. Many students in other cities demonstrated as well.

16th March 1998

- Further information on the destruction of the East Coast fisheries has been made available. Foreign over-fishing, while contributing to the problem, was not the root cause. The federal government spent hundreds of millions of dollars buying out the small and more environmentally-sound fishing boats and encouraged fishermen to convert to enormous sea-vacuuming dragnets and trawlers. At the same time the fish quotas were kept much higher than the advised levels. The reason? Sleazy politics – buying votes in the Maritime provinces.

L. Gambone  
March 1998

## NET WATCH

### Hack-it holiday in Florence

'Hack-it 98' cannot be defined easily. It is an open air festival, a meeting, a hacking party, a pause for reflection, an experiment in public learning and an exchange of ideas, experiences, dreams, utopias and love. There are neither organisers nor users. It takes place in the world famous squat in Florence named Centre Popolare Autogestito (everything sounds better in Italian). The CPA offers a large area where you can pleasantly spend your days and nights. Does it cost you anything? Of course not. It is a no-profit event and nobody will make money out of it. (Tel: 39 55 658015164). Let us hope they let us have a summary of the extremely interesting advanced topics of which "Packet [pocket?] radio and wireless digital transmissions" fascinates most.

### 'Stuff the Shroud' banned in Turin

A demonstration to have taken place on 23rd May in Turin was banned by the chief of police, thus foiling the counter-information campaign.

The police informed the organisers that the ban was put in place "because of its highly controversial nature in relation to the celebrations connected with the display of the Holy Shroud" (an image of a bearded man). Basically, the Turinese section of the Italian Anarchist Federation were told "that no-one in Turin has the right to express a different opinion, or express an opinion critical of the Catholic Church, which remains to be the State Religion". In Turin the authorities cut the social services but fully subsidise the clergy.

### Arbetaren journalist arrested

A journalist from our sister paper *Arbetaren* was arrested in Malmö on 1st May. Jenny Widov was reporting the May Day events for *Arbetaren*. Police on horses charged the demonstration. Jenny found herself pushed against the wall. She was arrested although she showed her press card. There were 137 arrests. Jenny was kept in custody and all her work materials, cell-phone, pen, notebook and press card were taken. She was body searched in full view of a male policeman and other demonstrators.

Our comrades request that "while the level of police harassment and violence was very high both in Stockholm and in Malmö we ask you to concentrate specifically on this breach on the freedom of the press". There have been insinuations in the Swedish press that the press card was not issued by the journalists union. Other journalists and photographers commented that Jenny was "only a left-wing journalist". This lack of solidarity and perspective is frightening as we believe that the media's job is to watch against the abuse of power. *Freedom* agrees that this is a scandalous attack on the freedom of the press. All messages of support to *Arbetaren* at Box 6507, 113 83 Stockholm, Sweden.

JR (source: a-infos)

## Letter from Moscow

### DAY OF THE UNKNOWN ARTIST

Around the world there are people prating anonymous and free art – and in Moscow anonymous artists hold a festival every year on 1st March. Why that day? How should I know – it just happened that way. A concert was held on the 22nd floor of a construction site – how they got the instruments up there is one of those great mysteries of life, like the pyramids (maybe we should assume that they were aided by extra-terrestrials). About twenty different groups played up there – it's a good way to finish a concert as cops aren't apt to climb up after you. Afterwards there was a showing of different independent films in Moscow – already not exactly anonymous, but by people who are normally anonymous (the ego must take over after putting in long hours at the drawing board). Marina Potapova showed a brilliant cartoon/montage film, *How the Red Soldier Kicked All the Bourgeois off Mars*, destined to be a classic of the new Russian underground.

The anonymous artists have organised many concerts around Moscow, in places ranging from an empty swimming pool to various building sites. Once even a famous western group joined up, but it's against my principles to name them. Since even so-called 'alternative' clubs in Moscow are too expensive, this kind of self-organised activity is especially important for creating a non-commercial social life. Unfortunately leisure is not everything in life, and the politics of some of the anonymous artists often leave something to be desired. But, as Vladlen Tupikin (avatar of anarchy) tells me, you have to start somewhere.

### MAKHNO LIVES! Well, sort of ...

Our magazine, *Naperekor*, received a wonderful packet of information from the Revolutionary Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists in the Ukraine. Normally, they don't think that they should send their stuff all around; they have limited resources and want to give out literature to as many locals as they can to further their agitational work. So we don't always know exactly what they're up to, but we know they're always up to something! The first thing is that the group is now the Makhno Group of RKAS. Recently they've put out three issues of *Anarchy*, a small paper. They've also been publishing weekly informational leaflets. They published two more brochures, one on the consequences of closing down mines and one on Kronstadt. *Anarchy* (there's also an *Anarchy* in Russia and in Belarus, not to mention the one in the States, so don't get

confused!) is published in print runs of a thousand.

The worst problem facing the residents of the Donbass region is that they don't always get paid wages or pensions. For example, Dneprovagonmash company (industrial vehicle manufacturing) hasn't paid workers since September 1996, Dneprokhimstroi since August 1996, and Resinotekhnika since July 1996. In Kiev there was even a company, Atomspetsstroi (nuclear builders) who hadn't paid their workers since September 1995. Of course the government and trade unions had promised to get all wages paid by 1st November 1997.

The problem of unemployment is very bad, although it's impossible to tell how much there is. Officially, only two million, but most unemployed don't register as unemployed, and the unpaid don't count. Also, people who have been laid off indefinitely – which is a whopping 20.5% of the working population – don't count. 7.2% of those working are employed part-time. In Sevastopol 80,000 people are registered at local employment offices. Women make up about two-thirds of the unemployed in the Dnepropetrovsk region and have fewer chances of finding new employment. There are fourteen times more unemployed people than job openings.

People in more rural areas have a better time of it as the Ukraine is very fertile; maybe the workers should forget about the mines and take back the land. Who wants to work at Chernobyl anyway? The bosses should do 'reform labour' in the mines themselves! Long live the self-organised peasant commune! If you want to get in touch with RKAS, write to Tatiana Nosach @ PO Box 327, Donetsk 340122, Ukraine.

### NO MORE CHERNOBYLS

On 23rd April members of the Moscow and Samara groups of Khraniteli Radugi (Rainbow Keepers) and friends made a happening outside the Ministry of Atomic Energy in Moscow. Typical street theatre, with people dressed as elements, waste containers and dying nuclear workers. Unfortunately the activists got treated to a taste of police brutality afterwards. Eight people were rounded up into the police wagon and were continually sprayed with tear-gas inside the closed vehicle. This constitutes life-threatening chemical torture and is something increasingly practised by Moscow police which should result in their immediate dismissal – and people's revenge.

Laure Akai, [cube@glasnet.ru](mailto:cube@glasnet.ru)

## The Raven Number 37



### Anarchism in the Americas and China

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**Rich and Poor**



This week's column should really be called 'True or False'. A little explanation might not come amiss. As my readers will know, I have professed in the past not to have read the national press and have relied, or tried to rely, on the news which percolates through *Freedom* and other anarchist outlets or inlets of information. I have even gone to the trouble of putting together a book called *Through the Anarchist Press* which *Freedom Press* have published. The point is that unless people draw my attention to it I would not know what goes for news in the propaganda sheets people stuff into their shoes to keep the rain out or whatever else they do with their newspapers.

Every now and then a kind reader sends me a cutting, not for my allotment because newspapers never compost down satisfactorily. Most of the time, just like the late Jack Robinson who used to write, or rather put together, an amazing column called 'out of this world', when he was sent an item to insert in his column he would be rather reluctant to do so. He liked finding the stuff himself. He did not much like Spam, as it happens he was vegetarian.

But I am not made of such stern stuff and this time I was sent a real gem of a cutting from the *Femail on Sunday* dated 26th April 1998, on their page 43. It shows a sepia young man in what is now called mouth contact with a young woman, while a third person, a woman, looks anxiously at nobody in particular. Even from this scant description you would recognise the photograph, for it is very famous. The caption is a bit forced and says "The Look of Love: forever caught by Robert Doisneau in Paris 1950. But what happens to a relationship when the early passion fades?" - what indeed.

Many of our readers have seen, and even possess, a copy of that beautiful book published by *Freedom Press*, *A Weekend Photographer's Notebook* by Vernon Richards. On opening their book they will find in the introduction by Vernon the following passage: "In view of all the publicity about Doisneau's 'Le Baiser' which apparently earned him some \$50,000 in fees and which immediately attracted claims by the subjects of 'Le Baiser', Doisneau, to defend himself, had to admit that it was a posed picture and named the paid models."

As for Vernon Richards' photo of the same subject, which is on page 21, he has this to say: "I believe that my photograph recorded a moment of truth, as well as offering me a photographic framework. I was *there* and I observed it for minutes and nothing changed. Such is a true kiss, as well as the indifference of that academic gentleman."

It is certainly a memorable photograph. I haven't been to Paris since the '50s, but a single glance shows me it must be a wall alongside the Seine where the couple in each other's arms are oblivious not only of the old gentleman sitting on the steps and involved in his writings, but also of this photographer.

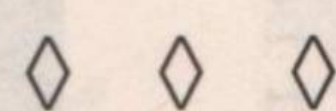
Perhaps the editor will print both photographs side by side for you to see. Don't be fooled by the word 'amateur' or 'professional'. It is the work of art that matters.

And which of these two images stays with you longer. Only time will tell.

**Questions and Answers**

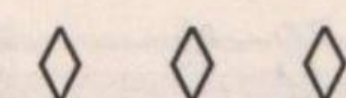
Dear *Freedom*,  
I make two requests for information, not intended as provocative criticism in themselves. Firstly, I would like to read some extended analysis of the dock workers' 28 months of struggle and an explanation (not finger-pointing and blame) of what seems a disastrous end, because such commentary might enlighten future protesters and resisters. Jimmy Nolan's curt announcement and the cursory comments in Brian Bamford's report on the NAN conference are not at all a fitting discussion, especially after all the coverage the dispute received in *Freedom Press* publications. Secondly I ask KM to point out to me where my essay in *The Raven* number 35 gave credence or support to the current 'therapy business', including 'false memory syndrome', so that I may quickly correct such a false impression.

John R. Doheny



**Editorial reply:** We agree that the Liverpool dockers' dispute deserves deeper analysis than it has yet received in *Freedom*. This should be forthcoming later. But it is important that people outside this country recognise that the Liverpool conflict was part of a bigger picture of defeat and decline in the British trade union movement, of which the Magnet sackings and the Tameside Care strike (for more on this see page 2 of this issue of *Freedom*) are also a feature. Anarchist activists involved in these

struggles are having to think on the hoof. *Freedom*, as a fortnightly newspaper, does its best to supply coverage, support and practical ideas to those in the field. In a rapidly evolving situation, a detailed theoretical probe must be delayed.



**KM replies:** If I may quickly reassure John Doheny, my brief comments in 'Food for Thought ... and Action' (*Freedom*, 4th April 1998) did not suggest that his essay in *The Raven* number 35 "gave credence or support to the current 'therapy business'", merely that it is worth comparing *Here & Now's* approach with his, which is notably less hostile towards psychoanalysis. My brief mention of false memory syndrome was not made with reference to *The Raven's* articles, and there was no intention to imply any connection, but I can see how it might be misconstrued. I hope nobody else was misled as John was, and thanks to him for pointing it out.

**Too much ...**

Dear *Freedom*,  
The issue of *Freedom* for 23rd May contains two photographic images and a five-panel cartoon depicting Robin Cook (a government minister). Please leave this for the mainstream media.

David Peers

**Emma Goldman on television**

Dear *Freedom*,  
I write to ask if your readers could provide any help in connection with a programme I am directing on Emma Goldman and her marriage to James Colton.

James Colton was apparently born in 1860 in Edinburgh (son of stonemason Arthur Colton), became a bakery worker in Edinburgh, developed an interest in anarchist ideas, moved to South Wales probably at the turn of the century, became a coalminer in Upper Boat and then in Cwmaman, married Emma Goldman in 1925 (in order to enable her to become a British citizen) and died probably in 1935.

Thanks to the help of his descendants, I have come across letters to him from Emma Goldman which have helped to fill out the story, but I would very much appreciate any further information, particularly on his involvement in anarchist groups in Edinburgh and South Wales.

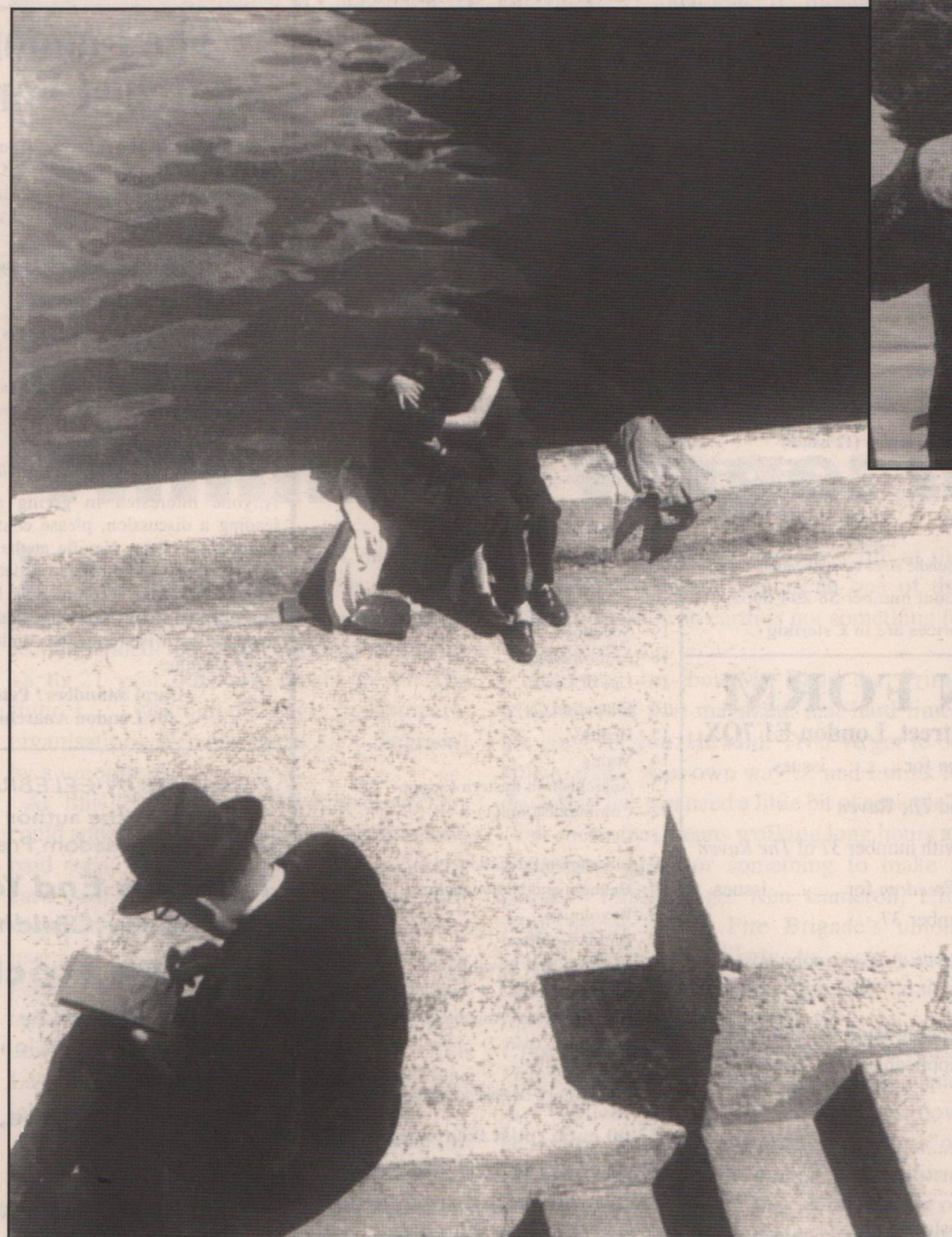
The programme will be made for Sianel Pedwar Cymru, the Welsh Fourth Channel, with a possible English language version for BBC Wales, and I see it as an opportunity to raise awareness of anarchist ideas in this period, including the anarcho-sindicalist pamphlet 'The Miners' Next Step' produced in Tonypany in 1912.

Colin Thomas

Teliesyn Ltd., Film and Television Production Company, Helwick House, 19 David Street, Cardiff CF1 2EH

**'The Kiss'**

See John Rety's column, left: Below is Vernon Richards' photograph 'Lovers on the Banks of the Seine, 1960', taken from *A Weekend Photographer's Notebook* published by *Freedom Press* at £6.95. On the right is the photograph by Robert Doisneau taken in Paris, 1950.



**NET WATCH**

Those of you who are subscribers to a-infos will have seen their very long and detailed fact-sheet. A-infos now publish in English, German, Castellano, French, Italian, Portuguese and Swedish. They also publish regular bulletins in 'infrequent languages', that is to say from which communications are infrequent, but they give a three-page-long list of languages in which anarchist information services have been started. They range from Afar to Zulu and include Welsh, Irish and Scots Gaelic. For the classical anarchist there is Latin and I am pleased to see that Sanskrit is making a comeback, together with Interlingua and Esperanto.

All this has been set up in less than eight years. Many thanks to our own international editor and to all those remarkable talents all over the world. They have created something which is literate, readable, entertaining and deadly serious. They need translators, as does *Freedom*, and contributors, ditto.

JR (source: a-infos)



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## Meetings & Events

### The London Anarchist Forum

Meet Fridays at about 8pm at Conway Hall,  
Red Lion Square, London WC1R 4RL  
(nearest tube Holborn). Admission is free  
but a collection is made to cover the cost of  
the room.

#### — PROGRAMME 1998 —

**5th June** General discussion

**12th June** 'Does Social Class Matter?'  
(symposium)

**19th June** 'What I Want is Facts' (speaker  
Nicolas Walter)

**26th June** General discussion

*Please note that this is an amended list of dates*

Anyone interested in giving a talk or  
leading a discussion, please contact Carol  
Saunders or Peter Neville at the meetings  
giving subject and prospective dates and we  
will do our best to accommodate. Donations  
are accepted from those who cannot attend  
regularly but wish to see the continuation of  
these meetings.

Carol Saunders / Peter Neville  
for London Anarchist Forum

**PUBLICATION CELEBRATION**  
meet the author

of the new Freedom Press title

### The East End Years: a Stepney Childhood Fermin Rucker

introduced by  
Anthony Rudolf and John Rety  
on

**Tuesday 23rd June, 7pm**

at  
Owl Bookshop  
211 Kentish Town Road,  
London NW5

### Red Rambles

A programme of monthly guided walks in  
Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Leicestershire for  
Socialists, Libertarians, Greens, Anarchists and  
others. All walkers are reminded to wear boots  
and suitable clothing and to bring food and  
drink. Walks are 5 to 8 miles in length.

**Sunday 28th June**

**Wirksworth to Alport Height**

Meet at 1pm outside The Black's Head public  
house, Market Place, Wirksworth, Derbyshire,  
for five-mile circular walk.

**Telephone for further details**  
**01773 827513**

### Third Anarchist Summer Camp in Berlin

**This year the Anarchist Summer Camp**  
**will be held in Berlin from Friday 31st**  
**July to Sunday 9th August 1998.**

This is a self-organised camp where we do  
the cooking and washing-up together as  
well as the dancing, singing, discussion,  
climbing, playing ... whatever you like.

In previous years (held in Hamburg)  
various study groups and also film  
sessions and presentations.

This year's camp site is situated in  
woodland on the outskirts of Berlin  
(a lake for bathing is not far away).

Your share of costs should be between  
90DM and 140DM depending on personal  
means and income (meals are included).

**For details, suggestions, enrolment:**

Postal address: Jugendumweltladen, c/o  
Andreas, Jagowstraße 12, 10555 Berlin,  
Germany

Tel: (Germany) + 0177 27 249 03

Fax: (Germany) +030 40 533 639

e-mail: [acamp@jpberlin.de](mailto:acamp@jpberlin.de)

**For enrolment we require the following details:**  
your address (postal or fax), the number of persons  
enrolling, details of any planned study groups,  
projects, if you wish to play in a band, etc.

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