

Stand-off at Drumcree

Defiance is not necessarily anarchistic

Anarchists do not confuse what is right with what is legal. They decide for themselves what actions are right, and if those actions happen to be against the law, they may decide to defy the law (depending on their individual assessment of the consequences of defiance).

It does not follow, however, that all defiance of the law is anarchistic. This depends on whether the reasons for defiance are acceptable to anarchism. There are those who think it right that people with brown skins should be excluded from this country, and so defy the law by abusing brown people in the street. Anarchists will no more condone such behaviour than the law will.

If we advocated absolute freedom from prohibition, we would have to say it is wrong to prohibit the abuse of brown people, disabled people, children, or any other group. But anarchists do not advocate absolute freedom. We advocate the freedom of individuals to do what they like *provided it does not interfere with the freedom of others*.

The case against condoning the abuse of brown people in the street is quite clear, but other cases are less easy to decide. For instance, there are people on bail awaiting trial for criminal damage, pulling up beet seedlings in a field belonging to the Monsanto corporation. So far as we know they do not describe themselves as anarchists, but others have described their action as anarchistic. We would need more knowledge of their motives, to agree or disagree.

So what do we think of the men in tribal dress of bowler hats and

orange sashes, camped at a roadblock outside Drumcree parish church, Portadown, in protest against being prevented from marching along a street in peaceful procession?

They do not call it a street in their public pronouncements, they call it The Queen's Highway. And they refer to themselves as loyalists, meaning supporters of the United Kingdom government, although it is the United Kingdom government that they are defying. But the fact remains that all they want to do is march, in their tribal finery, along a public street.

The difficulty is that the street they want to march on goes through the territory of the other local tribe, and that the original motive for the annual march was a display of tribal hegemony. It began in 1807, with a gang of Protestants who considered themselves British, marching through the middle of a town of Roman Catholics who considered themselves Irish, to convey the message 'We are the conquerors'.

In recent years, for some reason (some

might suspect the murderous activities of the IRA), the British government has ceased to back loyalist hegemony, and tried to demonstrate that it treats all its Northern Irish subjects equally. In 1985 the Orange Order agreed to re-route their march so that it did not go through so much Nationalist territory on the way north, but insisted on Garvaghy Road, right through the middle of Nationalist territory, for the way south.

Two years ago, the police prevented the Orange Order from marching along the Garvaghy Road, for five days. Then supporters of the Orange order demonstrated the rightness of their cause by murdering an innocent taxi driver in Lurgan, and the police relented. Last year the police and army escorted the procession down Garvaghy Road to the fury of residents.

Shortly before this year's march, a headstone was erected in the local Protestant cemetery to the memory of the chap who led the gang which murdered the taxi driver in 1996 (he was murdered in turn, by members of the other tribe, in prison). As a new addition to the marching ceremonies, members of the Orange Order visited the headstone to 'pay their respects'.

All they want to do is continue a tradition of marching peacefully along 'The Queen's Highway', but this is to continue a tradition of murderous tribal conflict, and lording it over their neighbours. We cannot approve of the police and army preventing people from walking where they will, but neither can we see the Orange Order as a group we should support.

Seamus



anarchist fortnightly

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Council Chamber Chaos

Strike action and picketing by care workers from old people's homes in the Greater Manchester area continue. Unlike the usual trade union meetings, the activists are mostly women who are motivated not only by questions of their own pay and conditions of work but also by their sense of moral indignation at the living conditions and treatment of the elderly. It seems the political 'left' has been reluctant to support the protesters as to do so could be to attack a Labour council.

This follows our reports of 6th June, 20th June and 4th July.

It was a crestfallen Roy Oldham, Labour leader of Tameside Council, who confronted the Labour-dominated full council in the Town Hall at Ashton-under-Lyne last week to produce a handful of 'pledges' cobbled together after what he described as "a full and amiable discussion" with Mr Rodney Bickerstaffe (UNISON general secretary). He had high hopes that his statement as leader of the Tameside Council would be received with acclaim, and because of this he saw to it that a heavy press contingent was assembled. Instead of that, what he got was a Fred Carno's Circus.

Thirty-five Lancashire lasses formed a chorus in the public gallery singing 'We shall not be moved' and other irksome ditties, and made council business impossible for the best part of an hour. Such was the uproar and disorder and strain on the nerves that Mr Oldham could well have had a seizure.

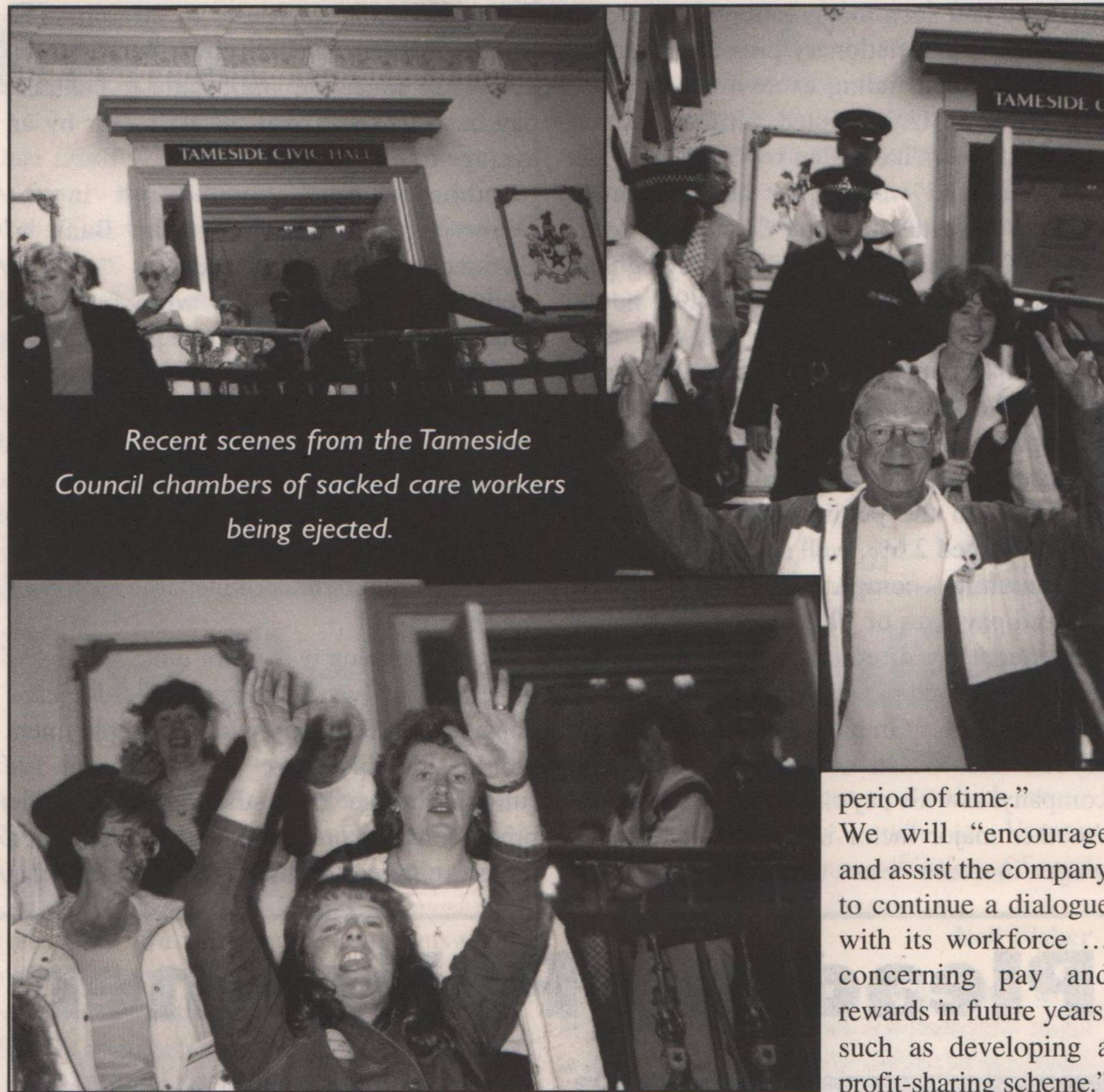
Roy Oldham doesn't look a well man. When the Tameside scandal - Tamegate - broke in 1993 the current mayor, Mr Middleton, reported Roy Oldham's complexion as being 'ashen'. It's been ashen ever since and, close to collapse in the council last week, he must have wished the ground would swallow him up.

Councillor Kennion, a rebel councillor and defector from the Labour group, declared that it was false for Mr Oldham to argue that the council had no direct link with the Tameside Care Group or responsibility for the sacking of the striking care workers. He insisted that the way the old folks homes were set up under transfer from council control to an 'arms-length' private company was a foreseeable disaster.

The mess and mismanagement was of the council's own making, it was argued, with the "incestuous appointments" and the fumbling "failure of the finance department". The critics of Roy Oldham and Tameside's Labour Council are arguing that a culture of cronyism and incompetence is endemic in the whole administration.

'Sing as you go'

As a sample of image management and spin-doctor style of 'smooth off the rough edges' of the Tameside Care debacle, the council meeting left much to be desired. They did their best - the press bench full to overflowing and they had public relations flunkies fluttering around it. The scene was



Recent scenes from the Tameside Council chambers of sacked care workers being ejected.

set with a prayer including something about Northern Ireland, then the mayor told us that Tameside is a top council involved in "investing in people".

It was when the mayor refused to allow a discussion on the Tameside Care Group and they turned the topic to the removal of rubbish and shortage of wheelie-bins that the sacked care workers lost their patience. The voices of protest rose and could be clearly heard on the press benches at the other side of the chamber. The mayor suspended the session pending removal of the sacked strikers.

Then the chamber descended into a cross between Gracie Fields' *Sing as you go* and something out of the French Revolution - all that was lacking was the click of knitting needles. A councillor called on the council to hang its head in shame and a protester yelled "You're as bent as a nine-bob note, Oldham". A Liberal Democrat councillor demanded that Roy Oldham resign.

Like a man facing the guillotine Roy Oldham tried valiantly to retain his dignity. "This council" he declared, "does not hang its head in shame". As evidence of his sincerity he offered the sacked care workers a series of dazzling 'pledges':

"The council will positively encourage former council employees to apply for suitable jobs with the council."

"The council will also endeavour to provide appropriate assistance with the individuals seeking employment elsewhere by informing Job Centres and relevant employers of the availability of this workforce."

This council will "ask the company [Tameside Care Group] to consider re-appointing dismissed employees to suitable vacancies, after the lapse of an appropriate

period of time."

We will "encourage and assist the company to continue a dialogue with its workforce ... concerning pay and rewards in future years, such as developing a profit-sharing scheme."

The council will examine ... a re-training scheme to be created for former Tameside Care Group employees."

"The council is prepared to give UNISON a mandate to utilise the council's shareholding [in TCG] for a limited period of time on terms agreed."

Mr Oldham claimed that the council is just "a single shareholder in Tameside Care Group" and was not to blame for the sackings or pay cuts of the company. Indeed, he said "this

council finds these cuts in pay and conditions abhorrent!" and he added that "conditions should be sacrosanct".

Now what, you might ask, could be fairer than that?

Bad habits and parmesan cheese

The trouble with Lancashire folk is that they are too down to earth. In the past they mostly never trusted those folk who 'took their cooking from Paris and their ideas from Moscow'. Now they don't trust these new jumped-up folk like New Labour who take their cooking from Tuscany, Italy, via the River Café, and their ideas from Washington and Wall Street.

There is a deep belief up here that Roy Oldham stirs parmesan cheese into his fish risotto. Now cookery writers declare that to be a kind of heresy. Don't trust a man who puts parmesan with fish, that's worse than all the incompetence, cronyism and incestuous appointments you can find.

It is not quite clear if Mr Oldham picked this bad habit up from Tony Blair or Margaret Thatcher, but because of it nobody can bring themselves to believe a word the good man says.

Take, for example, John Pearson, a former UNISON official, writing in the *Weekly Worker* last month: "Tameside Care group is part owned (16.6%) by the council, the remaining nominal shares being held a Tameside Community Care Trust. Current trustees include Andrew Bennett, 'left' Labour MP for Denton and Reddish, and Jack Thornley, a former Labour councillor and solicitor who does substantial business for the Transport and General Workers Union."

This kind of thing seems to suggest there is an incestuous clique attached to the Labour

(continued from page 7)

— STOP PRESS —

Freedom Press Web Site is seized

Police in Bologna, North Italy, raided the premises of the European counter information network, seizing the computer which was hosting internet material for Freedom Press. The police action took place at 10.30am Saturday 27th June.

Everyone knows that groups like ourselves - publishing material which challenges established institutions - run the risk of being silenced by those we criticise.

Censorship by the state takes many forms. As the distribution of newspapers and magazines are in the hands of state and commercial monopolies, a paper such as *Freedom* will be limited to a very small circulation. This type of censorship does not apply on the Net, for the same information which was blocked by the Italian police action can be got through different servers from as far apart as Holland and Canada.

The news of this violation of transmission has caused an unprecedented international

outcry and, if the latest UK report is to be relied on, the imminent return of the equipment by the Italian police.

For the latest information on this very important matter you'll find *Freedom* on the World Wide Web at:

<http://www.tao.ca/~freedom>

But to quote the last two paragraphs of the report:

"The whole question of content control on the internet is a worldwide issue. Here in the UK the government has started the ball rolling officially with talk about copyright and unofficially it has begun in the press with fear campaigns about child pornography and bomb-making recipes. The hidden agenda is just that - hidden.

Fortunately resistance is possible. This particular server will not be down for long and the message has been mirrored (duplicated) on other sites. Here we are dealing with state censorship."

— VISIBLE HANDS —

An Embarrassment of Riches

Last issue we discussed the affair of the Goldman Sachs investment bank. The *Guardian* responded to the spectacle by wringing its hands: "No one denies that Goldman Sachs is very good at what it does even if what it does – buying and selling corporate assets and arranging mergers – may come low down on what most people would regard as essential to the life process. It is doubtful whether the company ever asks itself questions like: 'What are we doing for humanity?' or 'By how much would life be enhanced or diminished if we didn't exist?' because it never pretends to be anything else than what it is. But even in this postmodern period when it is almost *de rigueur* not to question the outcome of market forces, someone, somewhere, surely ought to be wondering whether the gigantic disparities in income and wealth between the richest and poorest in our society are an efficient, let alone a fair, way of running the economy in the long run." (Note the interesting reference to postmodernism as a de-radicalising social phenomenon producing conformism rather than diversity and dissent. The ranking of 'efficiency' over 'fairness' in running the economy is also revealing.) The *Guardian's* crusading response to the Goldman Sachs scandal is, in short, to argue that the obscene contrast of greed and poverty justifies drastic action: 'someone, somewhere' ought to wonder about the efficiency and fairness of our social arrangements.

The problem is larger than Goldman Sachs, to be sure. Gemini Consulting and Merrill

Lynch, the investment bank, reported at the end of April that individuals with investable assets of \$1m or more now control more than \$17,400 billion worldwide, a rise of 5% since 1996. At the last count the US had 170 billionaires, compared to just thirteen in 1982. Meanwhile, poverty and insecurity have mushroomed on both sides of the Atlantic.

Despite this, when the Bank of England raised interest rates at the beginning of June, it argued that such tough action was needed to combat the inflationary pressures created by workers demanding excessive pay rises. The Low Pay Unit pointed out that pay for female cleaners has fallen by 0.6% over the past year, and women bar and restaurant workers have taken home £2 a week less. The TUC lambasted the Bank for saying that 'average earnings' had increased 4.9% in the year to February, ignoring the fact that different sectors have seen different wage trends. Workers in retail and catering, for example, had enjoyed only 'relatively modest' increases of around 4% (the same as inflation). In the public sector, wage rises have averaged 2.6%, well short of inflation.

Meanwhile company directors have enjoyed pay rises of 7% on average. Several non-executive directors of the Bank of England enjoyed pay hikes (in their day jobs) of over 30%. Graham Hawker, head of Hyder, the Welsh water and electricity company, saw his pay rise 67%, or £130,000. Another major factor in the high 'average' wage increase was what the *Observer*

described as "a wave of exceptionally large bonuses in certain sectors", with the financial services sector paying the largest bonuses, accounting for over 33% of its pay bill in March. Bonuses in the City are a third higher than a year ago.

The Office of National Statistics estimates that one-off payments in the City and in manufacturing added 0.7% to the pay bill in February and 1.4% in March. The latter was a sizeable proportion of the 5.1% total 'average' wage increase to March. The finance sector saw earnings increase by 10.3%. In education and health, in contrast, pay has increased over the past year by an average of only 1.4%.

Anthony Barnett pointed out in the *Observer* (14th June) that the Bank of England's criticism of workers "stunned many on the shopfloor who failed to understand why their moderate pay increases should be used to punish homeowners and manufacturers by raising [interest] rates". A more accurate rendition would be: 'many on the shopfloor failed to understand why the excessive bonuses and pay rises paid to executives and social parasites in the City should be used to undermine large sectors of the economy.'

The explanation was given quite simply by the Bank: "Given the strength of domestic demand ... economy-wide unemployment would probably have to rise to hit the [inflation] target on a sustainable basis". In other words, in order to keep to the inflation target required by the government (and big

business), most workers will have to accept pay cuts in real terms, and some will have to be thrown out of their jobs in order to get the rest to moderate their demands (while those at the top of the heap continue to rake in the loot).

The *Economist* remarked uneasily on some of the disquieting cultural effects of such realities: "In newspaper cartoons, Bill Gates has evolved from geek-hero to bullying monopolist – very Rockefelleresque. *Titanic*, the blockbuster movie, offered a bracingly Marxist view of events, and the delight of American audiences when one or two rich passengers went under was, er, chilling. Barely a week passes without news of some executive hauling home a planet-sized pay packet, often for merely keeping his own company's performance in line with the stockmarket's. And the fattest pay packets often occur at companies where 'downsizing' is most vicious. Can it be long before populists such as Pat Buchanan begin to tap directly into these resentments, before politicians say that 'something must be done' to rein back American capitalism?"

The answer, according to the *Economist*, is a return to philanthropy. Philanthropy of money and of ideas. Thus can 'new corporate leaders' secure themselves, and 'American capitalism', against a 'populist' backlash. This is the answer to those troubling questions 'What are we doing for humanity?' and 'By how much would life be enhanced or diminished if we didn't exist?' This is the way to paper over the 'the gigantic disparities in income and wealth between the richest and poorest in our society'. This is the way to justify the ways of Mammon to humankind.

Milan Rai

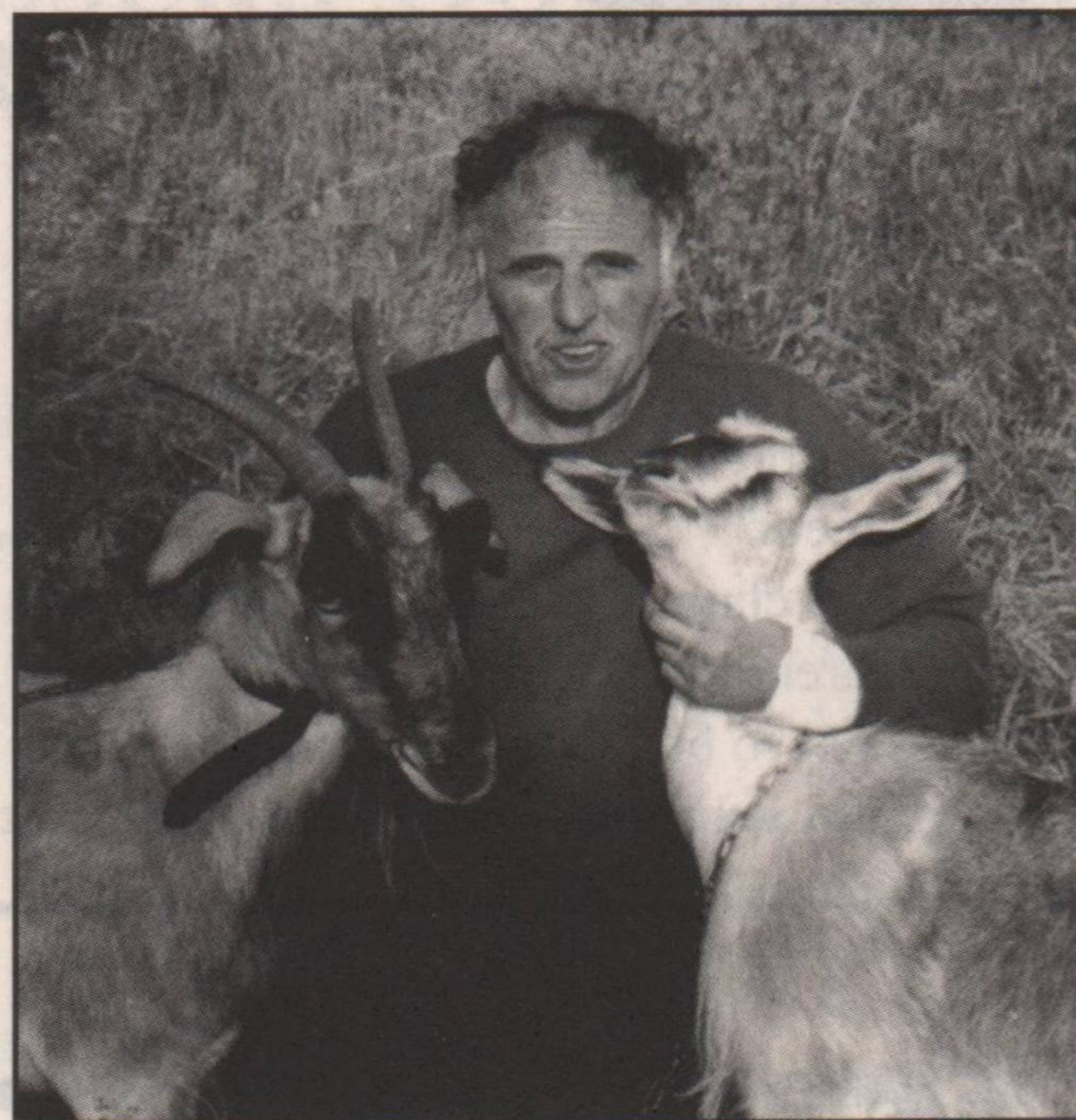
Imagine if you can this scene. The place is Victoria Station in Manchester. It is 12.40pm on Thursday 22nd May 1997. At platform five a 57 year old 'trained sociologist' is being dragged feet first from a passenger train attached to three goats. He is then forcibly restrained by two police officers who are trying to handcuff him whilst members of the public look on with amusement.

This is no scene from a comedy script, but it could be. The events as described did take place when Brian Bamford from Todmorden in West Yorkshire sought to travel as a contracted passenger with North West Trains in May 1997, accompanied by a friend and three goats called Doris, Edna and Victor. Although on the day Mr Bamford had intended to travel from Castleton Station near Rochdale to Farnworth in Bolton, he was to spend 23 hours locked up in a Manchester police cell.

In the 25th April issue of *Freedom* I reported that Mr Bamford had been convicted in the Manchester Magistrates Court of assaulting a police constable and a breach of the peace. On 12th June Mr Bamford's appeal against these convictions was heard at the Manchester Crown Court.

Ms Finola Barr, counsel for the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), told Mr Justice Rigby that Mr Bamford (the appellant) had travelled on a train accompanied by two billy-goats and a kid. He had been informed by rail staff that he was not entitled to travel with livestock and had been shown a manual which confirmed this. Two constables from the British Transport Police had been appraised of the situation and had asked the appellant to leave the train. As he would not do so, he was removed from the train by the constables. Ms Barr stated that the appellant had kicked one of the police constables whilst being removed from the train.

Pleading Policemen



The defendant, shown here with a pair of his goats

PC Thornborough stated that he had found Mr Bamford on the train in an agitated state with his goats. He had asked him to leave the train but he had refused to do so and had waved his train ticket at him. He told the court: "I was begging and pleading with him to leave the train and told him that I would have to remove him physically". He then described how Mr Bamford had kicked him but had then apologised, whilst holding onto the rail in the stairwell attached to his goats.

In what he described as a "crazy ludicrous situation", PC Thornborough stated that after being removed from the train attached to his goats Mr Bamford had to be held down on the floor because he was trying to get back on the train. He told the court: "I decided to arrest him when it became apparent that he wanted to travel. He struggled very violently when I tried to cuff him and said 'break it, break it – you'll be sorry'".

PC Taylor stated that the goats had defecated on the train. He told the court that

after the train had departed Mr Bamford got up from the floor and was shown the 'conditions of carriage'. He stated that Mr Bamford had continued to be argumentative and abusive and was lashing out with both hands. He described how Mr Bamford was taken to the station front and eventually arrested.

Mr Ian Nicholson, a senior train inspector, stated that the operations manager had telephoned him to enquire if goats could travel on trains. He stated that he had told him that goats couldn't travel, or pigs, and had referred to the 'conditions of carriage'. Asked by Mr Justice Rigby if this meant that sheep and cattle could travel on trains, Mr Nicholson said that they were excluded as well.

Under questioning Mr Nicholson stated that the goat incident was his first in 27 years. He confirmed that he had been informed that Mr Bamford had a train ticket and had mentioned about carrying the animals in an eighteen-inch box.

Mr Bolton, a conductor from Victoria Station, told the court that he had sold Mr Bamford a train ticket at Castleton Station. He had sought authorisation from Victoria Station and had been told that goats could travel on the train because they were classed as dogs.

Mr Bamford told the court that during an eight-year period he had travelled with his goats on the train on at least twenty previous occasions and had never experienced any difficulty until the incident at Victoria Station. He stated that on one occasion whilst travelling on Eastern Trains a conductor had queried the presence of the goats, but had told him that the test as to whether goats could travel depended on whether the goats

could chase a stick and then fetch it back.

Mr Bamford denied assaulting PC Thornborough. He stated that he had shouted "Nazi! Nazi!" whilst being cuffed and had sworn in Spanish at the police constable. When asked by Mr Justice Rigby to spell the Spanish word he had used, Mr Bamford spelt out the word 'cabron' and explained that it meant 'cuckold'.

Mr Bamford told the court that he could recall a discussion with Mr Nicholson about the size of animals and that he felt he was in an impossible situation because no alternative transport was being made available. Under questioning, Mr Bamford denied that his behaviour had been objectionable on platform five. He stated that he had been prepared to negotiate at all times and that as a "trained sociologist" he would always "try to assess a situation".

In his concluding speech Mr Dockery told the court that North West Trains had entered an agreement to convey passengers and goats from Castleton to Bolton. This agreement could not be unilaterally altered even if the conditions of carriage stated that goats could not travel. Moreover, this could not be incorporated suddenly at Victoria Station as the terms could not be changed mid-contract.

Referring to the charges against his client, Mr Dockery stated that whilst North West Trains were in breach of contract, they were under certain circumstances entitled to ask a passenger to leave a train. He told the court that the action of his client in slumping to the floor of the train was not the action of a man who was supposed to have kicked out at a police officer. Moreover, even after the alleged assault has taken place, Mr Bamford was not arrested until much later. Likewise, whilst abuse was used, such as 'Nazi', these were derogatory terms and not obscenities.

Mr Bamford's appeal against the assault (continued from page 7)

Reclaiming our space



Amongst the many attractions at the party in Brixton High Street were live bands P.A.I.N. (below) and Hamble (left)



Last month witnessed the latest successful action by the Reclaim the Streets group and its supporters. This time two street parties succeeded in closing two of London's most congested streets, Seven Sisters High Road and Brixton High Street, and reclaiming them back as public space. The Police were powerless as the streets were barricaded with wrecked cars and sound systems moved into place. Within a couple of hours the area was awash with crowds of activists, party-goers and locals, of all ages and races, whose numbers were estimated to be at least four thousand at each event. The parties lasted for the rest of the day as people danced, played, chatted and made love in what was previously a no go area to local people. At times it seemed that even some of the police were restraining themselves from joining in, as early attempts to suppress some of the revellers' more high-spirited antics failed due to their overwhelming number and enthusiasm. "It's great, it's like a Revolution", exclaimed one local resident, a view that seemed to be shared by most of the locals present. Through out the day the Police kept a low profile, fearing what could happen if they used too heavy tactics. A fear reinforced by some of the more aggressive anti police graffiti that was being sprayed on every available space, and the occasional beer bottle landing short of police lines. On the whole the events were peaceful and ended with a gradual pullout of the occupied areas, marred only by an aggressive police 'clear up' operation, in Seven Sisters, after the last few revellers closed the day by symbolically setting fire to the wrecks barricading the road. An operation which prevented the completion of the organiser's plans to tidy up the area and leave it as they found it. Probably an intentional ploy on behalf of the police who later filmed the area, and may have been behind some of the false claims of vandalism reported in the press in the following week.

These events were in sharp contrast to the previous week's Social Justice demo, which by all accounts was a total wash out and hopefully marks the end of moralistic, good cause politics and the start of genuinely revolutionary action. For many radicals like myself the very term 'social justice' now evokes nothing but nightmarish visions of Tony Blair's grinning face. The events of 6th June were authentic anarchist actions in which people began to reclaim their own space and lives from the incursions of consumer capitalism, the state and the car system. Despite the attempts of the media (and some misinformed or reactionary comrades) to portray the events as an environmentalist protest against the car, they were much more than this. Very few people I spoke to were against cars in themselves (in fact some owned their own) but most opposed the car system. Viewing it largely as a symbol of consumer capitalism, the division of the community and the ongoing crisis of human alienation. The prevailing

view was very close to that of the Situationists, who called for a unitary urbanism and the re-occupation of everyday life. In the words of Guy Debord: "The breakdown of the dialectic of the human environment to the advantage of cars veils its irrationality under pseudo-practical explanation. It is practical and necessary only in terms of a very specific social set-up. The car isn't evil *per se*. It is its massive pile up in towns that has destroyed its role. A balanced town planning would neither suppress the car nor allow it to become a central theme. It would gamble on its gradual disappearance" (from 'Unitary Urbanism' in *International Situationist* no. 3, 1959).

The continuation of this Situationist ethos was also evident in the pro-situ graffiti daubed around the area and in the act of turning part of the road into a children's sand-pit complete with deckchairs, dramatically re-figuring the slogan 'under the paving-stones the beach'. For eight hours London saw the existence of what the Post-Situationist Hakim Bey would call Temporary Autonomous Zones, as the state was effectively dissolved in two small areas. One radio traffic report warned drivers that the whole of North East London had been 'taken over'!

Occupations like the RTS actions are the

ultimate propaganda by deed, they break the spell of urban banality and zombification, awaken people to the realities of their existence, empower them and demonstrate alternatives. In time such temporary 'revolutions' may become more and more frequent until people finally wake up and take their lives into their own hands on a permanent basis.

Prometheus Rex

More on RTS can be found on their website: www.hrc.wmin.ac.uk/campaigns/rts/

— COPY DEADLINE —
 The next issue of
Freedom will be dated
**1st August, and the last
 day for copy intended
 for this issue
 will be first post on
 Thursday 23rd July.**

NET WATCH

Faslane Peace Camp eviction threat

Anti-nuclear protesters are facing eviction at Faslane Peace Camp following a hearing at Paisley Sheriff Court (1st June 1998). In April Sheriff Simon Fraser at Dumbarton Court ruled that moves to evict the Camp were 'incompetent'. However Argyll and Bute Council appealed against this and the decision was reversed by the Sheriff Principal.

Comrades have already prepared extensive defences including tunnels and tree houses.

Faslane Peace Camp for the past sixteen years has been a world wide symbol of the Scottish people's opposition to the bomb. Now that all British nuclear weapons are allegedly based on the Clyde, the Camp's presence is more important than ever.

"Evicting Faslane Pence camp would not only be an attack on the anti-nuclear movement, but a blow to democracy and freedom of speech in Scotland" said John Ainslie, Administrator of Scottish CND.

compiled by JR

Picket of the US Embassy: Saturday 27th June

Members of the London Anarchist Communist Federation picketed the US Embassy, Grosvenor Square, London, on Saturday 27th June between 1pm and 2pm. This picket was called to coincide with a demonstration outside the White House in Washington calling for the immediate release of Leonard Peltier. Leonard is a native American Indian activist serving two consecutive life sentences for the murder of two FBI agents during a shoot-out involving over thirty American Indians and 150 FBI agents and police. Leonard was targeted by the FBI during their infamous COINTELPRO to 'neutralise' activists. He was the only person convicted, despite there being no evidence to link him to the killings. The American government now admits it had no idea who killed the two agents, yet the

parole board refuses to release him.

ACF members held up specially produced placards with a photograph of Leonard demanding his immediate release, and handed out an information leaflet (some to a previous demonstration that was dispersing). Unfortunately no other London comrades attended the picket, although a letter had been sent out.

Write to:

- US Parole Commission, 5550 Friendship Boulevard, Chevy Chase, MD 20815, USA (the letter must state at the top 'for the parole file of Leonard Peltier' or they will throw the letter away)
- President William Clinton, The White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, DC 20500, USA.
- e-mail president@whitehouse.gov

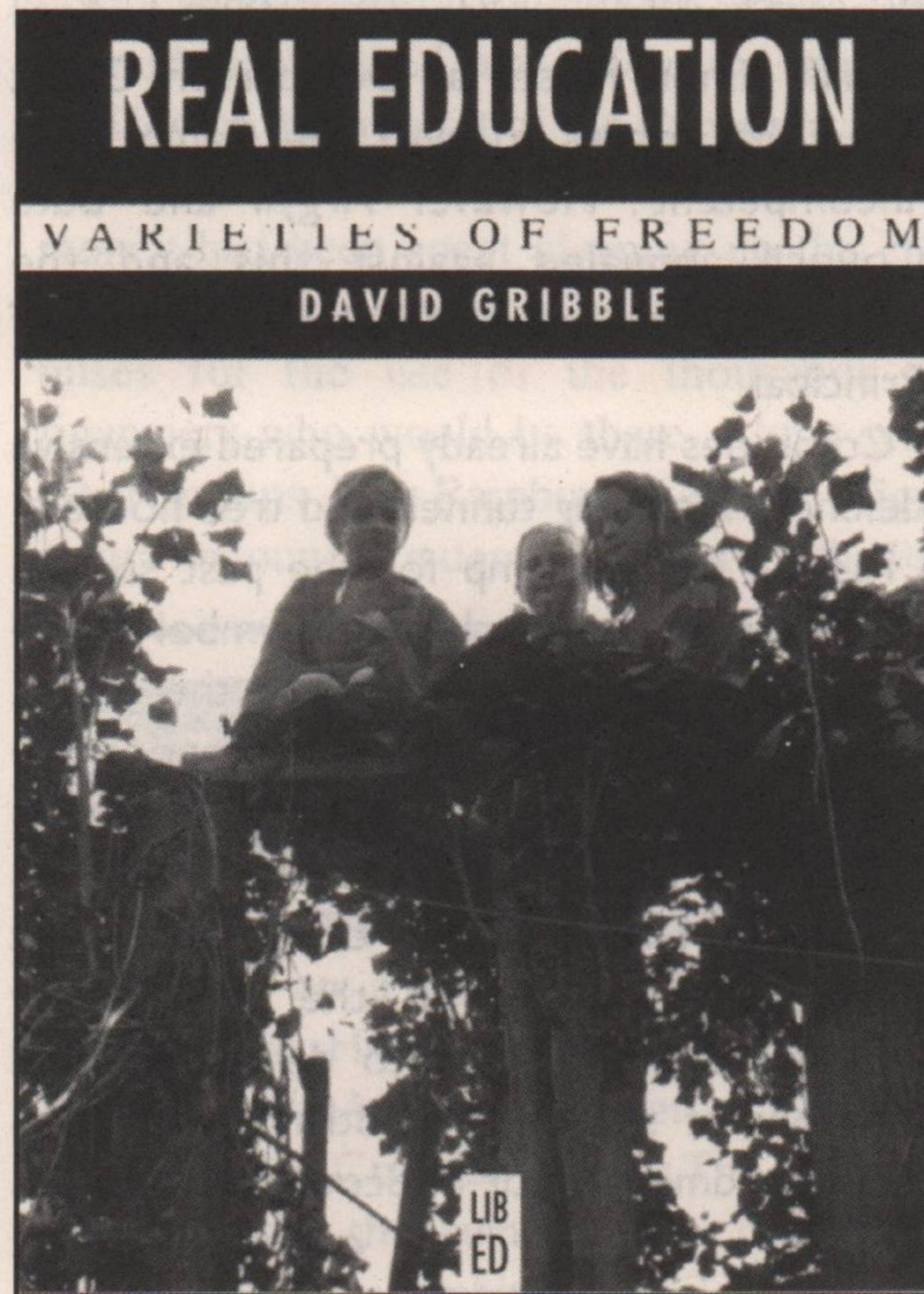


Real Education

Real Education: Varieties of Freedom*

by David Gribble

published by Libertarian Education, 250 pages, 1998, £8.95



The author wastes little time in laying out his stall. One strand of the central thesis of this substantial book is embodied in the first line of the fourth paragraph of the introduction and says: "In conventional schools the children are literally prisoners, the law keeps them in". The second strand too appears almost immediately, halfway down the following page, and puts forward the argument that "the school curriculum is supposed to equip young people for life". Singly and together, these two themes recur again and again throughout the text.

David Gribble examines a mixed bag of seventeen schools. These range from Summerhill, perhaps the mother of them all, founded in 1924 to the Sands School which came into being just over a decade ago. The latter was the brainchild of three teachers (including Gribble himself) and fourteen pupils from the recently defunct Dartington Hall. The sample literally spans the globe, covering institutions in countries as far apart as Ecuador (the Pestalozzi School), Israel (Hadera) and New Zealand (Tamariki). The author visited all of them except Neel Bagh in India and Lufingen in Switzerland, spending about a week in each. The book is well balanced, with a chapter being devoted to each school with the exception of the three Japanese – Tokyo Shure, Nonami and Global, Kinokuni – which are compressed into one, as are Neel Bagh and Sumavanam in India.

The methodology used appears to be mainly based on 'participant observation'. Gribble describes teaching methods, daily routines and interpersonal relationships, and in addition engages in a dialogue with teachers, pupils and others via the medium of unstructured interviews and informal conversations. He also examines the literature pertaining to each institution.

Although these schools are all, to a lesser or greater degree, radical in their philosophical underpinnings, most seem to be integrated with the surrounding educational system. For example, Dartington shared a nursery with the local education authority, Lufingen is a component of an experimental scheme known as 'School in Small Groups' ('Schule in Kleingruppen') run by the canton of Zurich, and Countesthorpe Community College with 1,300 pupils is a state school in Leicester.

In terms of pedagogy, Sudbury in the USA is probably the most libertarian of all the

schools visited, inasmuch as there are no lessons. Despite, or because, of this students educated only at Sudbury are more likely to become university graduates than those who also attended more conventional establishments (52% to 37%). But the most unusual of all are Brambleweed (an alias adopted to avoid unwelcome publicity) in the United States and Mirambika in India. The former was founded as a school in 1969, but nowadays, according to Gribble "it is no longer a place that children visit by the day or by the term: it is a place where children and their parents and other adults live and work together". In other words it is a community and a real life example of the West African proverb "It takes a whole village to make one good child". Mirambika is situated on the campus of an ashram near New Delhi and adheres to the initially startling principle that 'Nothing can be taught'. Translated into western terms, however, this dovetails rather neatly with George Sampson's idea elucidated in his *Seven Essays*: "You cannot teach anybody anything that he does not want to learn".

Overall this book is an excellent piece of work, clearly laid out, nicely illustrated and giving a panoramic view of institutions

which, although they differ in many significant particulars, all believe that adults should have a fundamental respect for children and encourage them to develop naturally as themselves. Nonetheless, I do have a few minor reservations. It would have been helpful if the conclusion had been a little longer and had devoted more space to drawing together the threads of what had gone before and it might have been better formulated as answers rather than as questions. Also I am a little concerned that, apart from Risinghill and Dartington which appeared much earlier, all the schools reviewed were founded between 1967 and 1987. They may, as a result, be manifestations of a trend which has already run its course, and indeed Barbara Taylor (USA) had a life span of only two years.

These strictures apart, *Real Education* does present valuable insights into a widespread phenomenon. Although these schools are the product of vastly different societies, vary widely in their type of location – alpine valley to inner city – and cater for pupils drawn from all kinds of socio-economic groupings, they invariably value the individual over the system. As the author puts it in his closing remarks: "They [the pupils] should be people who care for others because they have been cared for themselves".

Adrian Walker

Food for Thought ... and Action!

The autobiography of Ôsugi Sakae* translated and with an introduction by Byron K. Marshall, University of California Press. This is the first English translation of the story of one of the most flamboyant figures in the Japanese anarchist movement. Born in 1885, he became involved in politics when only 19, earning his first prison sentence only two years later. He has been described as a sort of political Mick Jagger at his public meetings, leaping across the stage in a black cloak shouting "I am Ôsugi!". A disciple of the better known Kôtoku Shûsui, he was forced to go underground, along with much of the socialist movement, during the repression that followed the execution for treason of eleven anarchists, including Kôtoku, in 1911. Ôsugi was only saved from the same fate by being already in prison on one of many detentions at the Emperor's pleasure.

After Kôtoku's death Ôsugi was the best thinker and writer in the Japanese anarchist movement, was an avid reader and a natural linguist, speaking at least six other languages, including Esperanto. By 1906 he had opened his own Esperanto school. With each new prison sentence he would learn a new language, and put them to good use by translating the works of many European writers. To him it was that the Japanese owed their translations of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* and *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, and a number of other scientific works. But he was most influenced by Bakunin and in 1920 he published a collection of essays on his idol.

Like Bakunin, his natural inclinations led him to the heart of any fight, and he was very active in the post-war anarchist revival, including the 'Rice Riots' of 1918. These disturbances continue to be known by this unfortunate euphemism, despite the fact that they were actually open rebellions over a three-week period by about ten million people, and were the greatest mass uprising

in modern Japanese history. Travelling illegally to France in 1923 he experienced a number of adventures, followed every step of the way by Japanese spies. Finally deported to Japan, he was later murdered by a military police unit, and his body dumped down a well. His outraged comrades made several unsuccessful attempts to kill the police chief concerned.

A very welcome illumination of the life of a hitherto obscure personality. 168 pages with chronology and bibliography. Published price £11.00, our price £5.00.

Universities in the Business of Repression: the academic-military-industrial complex and Central America* by Jonathan Feldman, South End Press. A truly astonishing amount of information has been excavated for this bulky guide exposing academia's complicity with militarism and repression in developing countries. It deals chiefly with Central America, but also gives data on Vietnam, South Africa and Israel. Feldman clearly demonstrates that US universities, far from being merely impartial centres of learning are actively involved through funding by the state, big business and the military in the repression of third world peoples. He names the arms companies, the agro-chemical multinationals, the banks and the state agencies from whom they accept billions of dollars every year to do their research and development for them. The results of this R&D – commercial products, military hardware and economic and political policies which poison, maim, kill and impoverish – are then handed over to their paymasters. (Additional information on US policies in Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador and Costa Rica can be found in abundance, for the less squeamish, in Blum's *Killing Hope*, mentioned in a previous *Freedom*.)

But more than just cataloguing the crimes, the book is a handbook for activists, presenting a strategy for disinvestment in these companies, modelled on the successful



Freedom on the World Wide Web

This is a tremendous job and has brought in thousands of 'callers'. One of the most popular sections is reprints from *Freedom* and *The Raven*. Well worth looking at on www.tao.ca/freedom

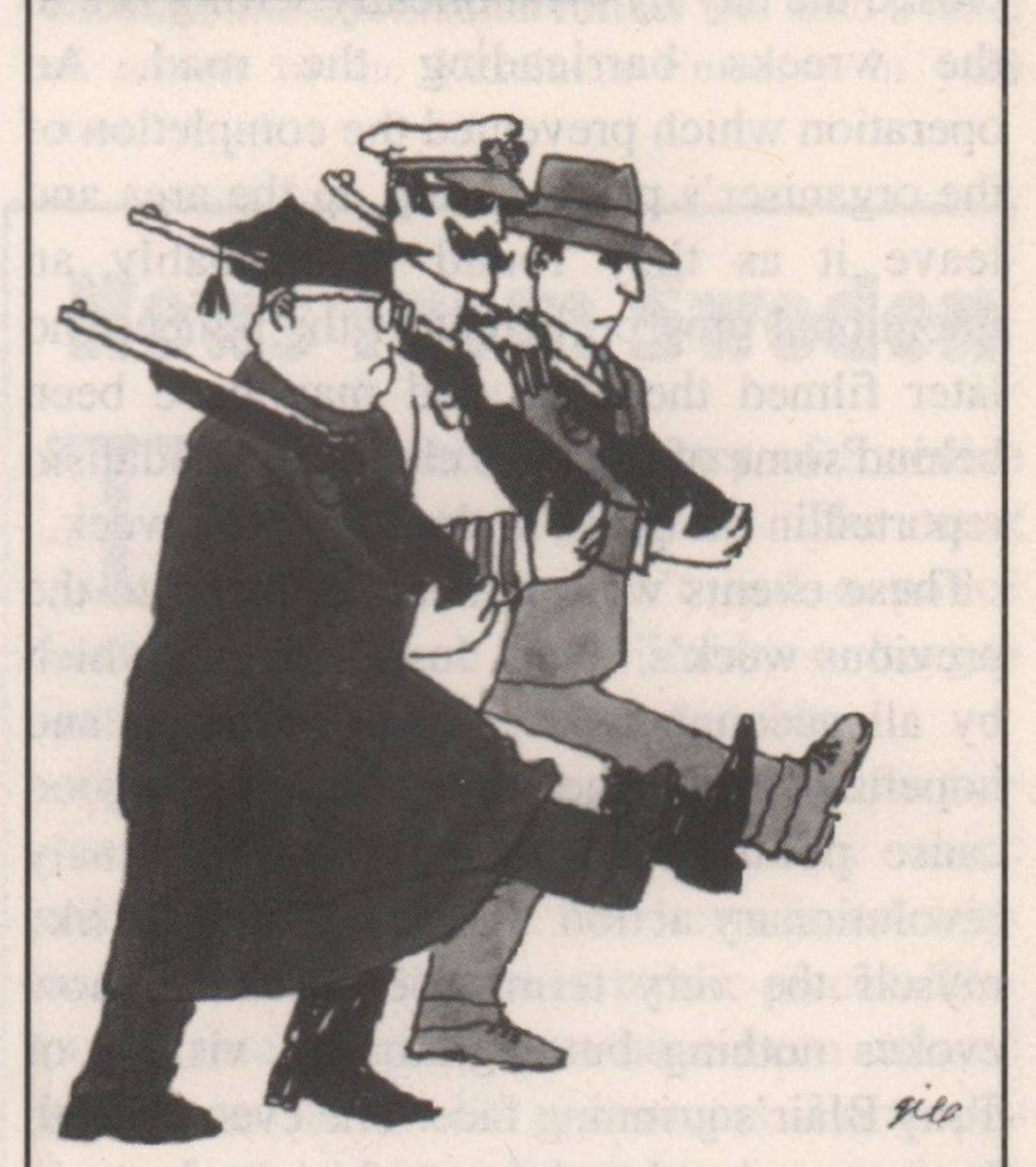
You may have been wondering what tao.ca stands for. It is in fact the benefactor in Canada who has set this fantastic site up for anarchists all over the world. You may think of it as the first anarchist telephone exchange since the heady days of Barcelona 1936 when the CNT was in control of telephone communications in the city.

For *Freedom* to be there at all is a great achievement. Many people do not realise how much this voice of *Freedom* exists in the tao.ca domain. I give you an idea. The thousands of groups which pour their information in each day would fill a Dickens-sized book. Previously we mentioned (*Freedom*, 6th June) the number of languages in which a-infos operate. That should give you an idea.

If you want to know more of what is being planned now, go direct to their number www.tao.ca/sky/ and learn about their plans to set up the Federation of Autonomous Collectives and individuals. JR

Universities in the Business of Repression

The Academic-Military-Industrial Complex in Central America
Jonathan Feldman



accessible books on the subject in detail, and what's more we have it reduced from £10.00 to £5.00, but stock is limited.

Anarchism and the Mexican Revolution: the political trials of Ricardo Flores Magón in the United States* by Colin MacLachlan with foreword by John Mason Hart, University of California Press. Even today in the revolutionary Hall of Fame of modern Mexico, Flores Magón occupies a hallowed place and his memory still inspires new generations of revolutionaries. As an anarchist and pre-Zapata revolutionary he not only took on a

(continued on page 5)

— ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

Tribulations of St George

As Arthur Moysé would say in his comments on art exhibitions, the World and his Wife were there, and we were in a gallery of sorts. It was a big circular space under the dome of University College in Gower Street, called the Flaxman Gallery as it housed a bequest made 150 years ago of the neo-classical sculptures of John Flaxman.

In the middle, several times life size was a man successfully spearing a creature with the top end of a man and the lower end of a reptile. At the hero's feet were laid twenty identical books with the same navy blue cover with a giant 'O' on the front. We were allowed to handle them but a discreet supervision prevented us from slipping them into our supermarket carrier bags.

They were in fact the twenty volumes of *The Complete Orwell* published that day by Random House, the current owners of Secker & Warburg, and although there weren't even any leaflets to describe the contents of the volumes and their price, I can tell you that this *de luxe* corrected edition costs £750, but a mere £650 if you order it before the end of August.

So I decided that the figure towering above us must be St George slaying the dragon, and I remembered that of the incredible number of books about Orwell, one of the most thought-provoking was by an American professor John Rodden and was called *The Politics of Literary Reputation: The Making and Claiming of 'St George' Orwell*. Once I had found my glasses I learned from a brass plate that Flaxman's vast male nude merely depicted St Michael overcoming Satan.

Around the room in glass cases were some nicely nostalgic Orwell memorabilia, a few early editions, his NUJ membership card and his driving licence, as well as some of the evocative 1946 photographs by Vernon Richards, which I am still hoping to see in a Freedom Press book.

The wine we were drinking was actually labelled Jeremy Bentham Red and White, so I guess that our actual hosts were not Bertelsmann who now own Random House, who in turn own the name Secker and Warburg, but the library staff of University College, where Orwell's papers are housed. But apart from the pleasure of meeting all those other survivors, the key to the evening was an address from the editor of those twenty volumes, Peter Davison.

He turned out to be a delightful chap, a 72-



A BBC studio in 1942. The broadcasters are (clockwise from top left) George Woodcock, Mulk Raj Anand, George Orwell, Edmund Blunden and Herbert Read. Photo courtesy of the BBC.

year-old visiting professor at De Montfort University (Leicester Poly to you and me) who left school at 15 to work for a jobbing printer, in the days when the type for any book "was such a weight of metal, and of such physical size, that it was more easily tripped over than lost". By 1981 he was an eminent academic and was asked by Tom Rosenthal of Secker & Warburg to produce corrected editions of Orwell's nine books: "I had to produce one volume a month at a fee of £100 per volume - there were some fifty

variant proofs and volumes to be collated - with an additional £100 if I got all nine in on time. I earned that extra £100: all nine corrected volumes were delivered by June 1982. Rosenthal's aim was to produce a *de luxe*, but corrected, edition to celebrate 1984. You might consider *de luxe* editions of *Down and Out in Paris and London* and *The Road to Wigan Pier* a trifle incongruous, but that is contemporary publishing."

After eighteen months, the new boss at Secker & Warburg demanded the proofs.

Eventually they were found, marked with the date when he had returned them. "They were covered with wine and coffee stains, and a schedule for a skiing holiday. The proofs had never gone back to the printer and so, unsurprisingly, the books had not been printed." Worse happened when they were, because the first three came out uncorrected. "The printers explained, successively, that the errors were the result of 'laser wobble' and 'interference from the radars of ships passing on the Tyne'." The copies were pulped. Peter Davison made the significant observation that, once the nine books actually appeared, "with all the expertise of modern electronics and university-educated staff they had taken five years to publish ... Compare that with the two and a half to three months when Gollancz published the original books in the 1930s."

But meanwhile Secker & Warburg had resolved to produce *The Complete Orwell*, with eleven volumes of letters, essays and so on, in addition to Orwell's nine books. In the seventeen years that Peter Davison has been involved (with his wife and with Ian Angus of University College) on this project, Secker & Warburg has been sold half-a-dozen times, belonging at present to Random House, and twelve different people have been in charge of the project, both here and in America and in both countries it has been continually abandoned and re-commenced, while Davison went on working with what he calls "pata-physical imperturbability".

It took him five years after starting work to get a contract out of Secker's and twelve years before they agreed on the index. Was it all worth it? Obviously it was for Peter Davison or he wouldn't have endured such contemptuous attitudes to scholarship from the publishers, so different from Fred Warburg's approach to Orwell after Gollancz had thrown him overboard. I know that one day I'll go to my nearest university library and will loot these books for nuggets on information. (This has already happened to me in the case of Godwin and Wollstonecraft, many of whose writings were completely inaccessible until they appeared in hugely expensive editions which, nevertheless, I can consult for the price of the bus journeys and my own evaluation of the value of my time.)

The posh papers have seized upon anything sensational in the newly-excavated material to reproduce, but *The Observer* (28th June) prints a piece written under a pseudonym for five guineas in the 1943 Christmas number of *Tribune*. I quote from it this characteristic paragraph: "At the risk of saying something which the editors of *Tribune* may not endorse, I suggest that the real objective of Socialism is not happiness. Happiness hitherto has been a by-product, and for all we know it may always remain so. The real objective of Socialism is human brotherhood. This is widely felt to be the case, though it is not usually said, or not said loudly enough. Men use up their lives in heart-breaking political struggles, or get themselves killed in civil wars, or tortured in the secret prisons of the Gestapo, not in order to establish some central-heated, air-conditioned, strip-lighted Paradise, but because they want a world in which human beings love one another instead of swindling and murdering one another. And they want that world as a first step. Where they go from there is not so certain, and the attempt to foresee it in detail merely confuses the issue."

Plenty of us would say much the same about anarchism and would endorse another sentence in this re-discovered essay, "Whoever tries to imagine perfection simply reveals his own emptiness."

Colin Ward

(continued from page 4)

struggle for freedom in his own country whose importance cannot be over-rated, but also joined the fight for social and economic justice in the United States where, for his pains, he was imprisoned on several occasions, the last of which killed him. Not counting his various incarcerations in Mexico, between 1904 and 1922 more than half his time was spent in jail, where he was tragically and brutally mistreated by the US authorities.

In the repressive atmosphere of the times - the Diaz dictatorship in Mexico and the 'criminal syndicalism' and anti-anarchist legislation in the US were just some of the obstacles - Flores Magón and his supporters formed the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM) which, although appearing to outsiders as a conventional political party, had secretly committed itself to anarchism. Ricardo himself had close links with, and support from, Peter Kropotkin, and Emma Goldman even called him "the Kropotkin of Mexico". She also rounded on the US socialist movement for ignoring the Mexican Revolution when it came, calling it "the most significant social uprising since the Paris Commune".

MacLachlan chronicles Flores Magón's various activities, the arrests and trials, using court transcripts, and he reprints the defendants' court statements in full. After his death Flores Magón's coffin was given a hero's welcome in Mexico - at the people's insistence. In the foreword John Hart, himself a respected writer on Mexican anarchism, calls the book "a landmark treatment of Flores Magón. It provides new information regarding the importance of his early work with Mexican and Mexican-American labour and political issues". It also has a bibliography, index, notes and three appendices. 194 pages. Published price £9.99, our price £4.99.

Also note that ...

The spring/summer issue (no. 45) of *Anarchy* magazine is now available, price £3.50. The price of *Industrial Worker* has increased to 75p, and *Green Anarchist* is now £1.00. *Killing Hope* (see above), the correct price is £12.99 and not £14.99 as it says on our booklist (the distributors' fault, not ours). We now have additional copies of *The Match!* no. 92, still £3.00, for those people who were disappointed first time around. Reported out

of print since we published our latest booklist are: Woodcock's *Anarchism*, Reich's *The Function of the Orgasm* and Home's *Neoist Manifestos / Art Strike Papers*.

KM

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The Ukraine

Troublemakers in the firing line

Since early May the Ukrainian security services have been intimidating and harassing the anarchist initiative group Tigras Negra based in Kiev and the radical ecologist movement Rainbow Keepers. The intimidation started just before the meeting in Kiev of the summit of the European Bank for Regional Development. Huge sums of money had been spent cleaning up the city centre and on luxury hotels or buying in buses for the use of the thousands of financiers who would be there. Along with other groups like Rainbow Keepers, Tigras Negra announced a demonstration for the 9th

May 1998 outside the conference hall for the meeting, in order to protest against the huge spending by a government which claims not to have the funds to pay salaries or to pay 'deserving' students more than \$6 per month and also to demonstrate against the Bank which presents itself as a humanitarian institution whilst in reality it is simply a commercial bank, and finally against the financing of the Chernobyl Nuclear station (even though finance for the project has been suspended because the Ukrainians have failed to honour clauses in the contract the factory still has not closed). For some weeks the security forces had been implementing a clean up policy. Having ejected from the city centre the likes of the homeless and stray dogs the next target was to be potential troublemakers. The following is a statement from Tigras Negra and Rainbow Keepers.

The work of the security forces aimed at avoiding any protest against the economic policies of the EBRD in the Ukraine by Tigras Negra and Rainbow Keepers began long before the summit.

In February ecological organisations along with Rainbow Keepers sent a letter to the head of the bank in which they denounced ploys by the government and other official organisations to misuse monies earmarked for closing down Chernobyl. Because of this letter, the bank, after some verifications, suspended credit.

BURGLARY AND ILLEGAL SEIZURES

On 16th April the apartment of a Rainbow Keepers activist was burgled. The computer, camera (with film) and telephone (along with answerphone) were stolen. The choice of items suggested the security services were playing a role here.

The 23rd April saw the first joint-demonstration of Rainbow Keepers and Tigras Negra to demand that the Chernobyl power station be closed and that new reactors would not be built at Rovno and Khmelnytsky. The powers that be authorised the demonstration. However, the next day, the police carried out an illegal 'drugs' raid at the home of a Tigras Negra activist, Dimitri Mejouiev, where a number of people were staying overnight having travelled in for the demonstration. All were searched and forced to sign a 'statement' at the police station.

On 5th May an officer from SBOu, the security services, called in for questioning Tigras Negra activist Maxime Boutkevitch using the philosophy department at the university where he is studying as an intermediary. During a two hour 'conversation' he was asked, since he was according to the SBOu one of the organisers of possible actions against the EBRD, to refrain from any activities during the summit. The officer also tried to get information about members of Rainbow Keepers who he said were organising protest actions along with Tigras Negra. In addition, the discussion included direct and veiled threats: risk of university exclusion, threat of circulating character defamation particularly with regard to his role in radical politics and suggestions of possible arrest during the summit. The next day, 6th May, the officer demanded two further meetings with M. Boutkevitch asking him not only to collaborate with the SBOu but also to carry out overseas work using contacts he would make available.

These conversations made it clear that phones were being bugged. So in order to avoid 'preventative' arrests some people left their homes. On 8th May one anarchist

discovered that, whilst away, the police had placed seals on his flat. The same day at the home of Nadia Chevtchenko, a Rainbow Keepers activist, the police came for the ID papers of militants who were there at the time and tried to take a Russian national away with them. Again on 8th May the police raided the flat of another anarchist where according to the security forces, anarchists were gathering to discuss their actions against the EBRD when in reality no such 'planning' was taking place. The police claimed a Mercedes had been stolen in the vicinity and were checking all apartments; a check revealed no neighbours had received a visit. The same day a Rainbow Keepers activist, I. Karol was arrested on the underground. After an ID check and a search she was released. Finally that same day the father of one activist – a high ranking civil servant – received information about a supposed blacklist, available to the President, in which his son was named. A little earlier the same information had been passed on to the father of a woman who sympathised with anarchists in Tigras Negra.

THREATS AND ARRESTS

During the night of the 8th-9th May, in a central street, M. Boutkevitch was arrested whilst chatting to a friend (and this just after fixing the meeting by telephone). Although his papers were in order and he had committed no offence he was arrested (although his friend who had no papers was asked to go home). The police first tried to get him for infringing by-laws (being a public nuisance) and then claimed he looked like a wanted criminal. Freed one hour later he had to make his own way home on foot. Not far from the police station four 'civilians' stopped him, threatened to beat him up, kill him or even rape him (since he was wearing an ear ring which they snatched from him) if he 'did anything stupid' like 'going for a walk at night'. They then openly followed him home.

On 9th May there was a protest action against the EBRD financing of the nuclear factories at Rovno-4 and Khmelnytsky-2 organised by Rainbow Keepers and supported by Tigras Negra. Five participants were arrested. The next day during an in camera sitting four of them were sentenced to three days in prison and I. Karol four days for 'failing to obey the police'. Three went on hunger strike and I. Karol also refused liquid. The arrest of the activists even shocked the members of the summit – Ch. Franck – the bank's representative – announced he had called for their release but had been told that 'all those arrested had been released'. However, they were held until it was all over. Other demonstrators were followed after the actions.

On the 10th and 11th May members of Rainbow Keepers distributed pamphlets against the financing by the bank of Rovno and Khmelnytsky and were twice arrested by the police. On the 11th the distribution was accompanied by street theatre and N. Chevtchenko, accredited as a journalist for the summit was arrested by the police who attempted to seize a film which had shots of the action and the arrests.

That same day the SBOu carried out its threat of preventative arrests. Members of Tigras Negra Dimitri Mejouiev and Anna Dovbakh were arrested one evening in a park where they were preparing materials for an action. Surrounded by police their papers were taken from them and they were taken to the police station, where, without being

charged, they were held until the hearing the following day. Their friends only found out where they were one hour before the hearing. In the course of a hearing which was held in camera they were found guilty of 'petty vandalism' and sentenced to five days imprisonment. It should be noted that according to the civil code, hearings concerning 'administrative' offences have to be public. The 'vandalism', according to police officers consisted in shouting obscenities (which is ridiculous and known to be out of character by their friends).

ACTION AGAINST THE EBRD SUMMIT

Despite the preventative arrests and lack of material an action took place on 12th May. The members of Tigras Negra and Rainbow Keepers distributed some small change symbolising the bank's investment in the Ukrainian economy with the text of the 'agreement' on investment conditions. This tongue-in-cheek 'agreement' show that the EBRD represents an instrument of globalisation and neo-liberal policies.

All these events were passed over in silence by the media. Only on the last day of the summit, on one of the television channels, was the arrest of the 9th May and the action of the 12th finally shown. The next day a local channel gave some time to cover the release from prison of I. Karol. On the 14th May only one of the mainstream newspapers published an article about some of the events with an official commentary from the SBOu: some of the facts were denied and it was claimed that 'the security services had acted within the law.'

What happened here shows the real face of Ukrainian 'democracy', the venality of the press, the unchallenged power of the security forces and the complete absence of citizens basic rights. It is clear that the aims of these persecutions was to screen out any negative views concerning the policies of the EBRD. However, there is no certainty that with the end of the summit that the repression will diminish. Our friends are still in prison. This is why we activists with Tigras Negra and Rainbow Keepers ask all those who are interested to lend us their support.

Tigras Negra and Rainbow Keepers

This article appeared recently in *Le Monde Libertaire*. To help people in the Ukraine you can circulate this information further and send a letter of protest to the Ukrainian Embassy in your country.

News from Sweden

The new general secretary of Swedish Amnesty has resigned. The next secretary, who hasn't had a police background, will no doubt find his or her job less turbulent and more comfortable.

Speaking of comfort, according to last year's reports more than every third immigrant in Sweden has been faced with harassment and threats in public places. Two out of three African men have been refused admittance to public restaurants. Forty per cent of other immigrants have been refused work owing to their foreign background. Every fifth immigrant has received bad treatment from the welfare departments, and recently the new Swedish driving licence has to state the holders country of birth. As far as I know, the passports have done so for the last ten years.

The Swedish so-called justice department constantly harping on national identity confronts us now with anti-discrimination laws and liberal attitudes within a capitalist society.

H
Stockholm, Sweden

NET WATCH**Camp in Hungary**

There will be a gathering of ex-Yugoslav anarchists in Hungary during a festival on 17th to 23rd August in Szigetvar which is very near the Croatian border. The site is in a forest near the ruined Zriny castle and there is a very ambitious programme of musical and cultural activities. The e-mail address is zap_zg@zimir_zg.ztn.apc.org for full information (please see also news of Berlin and Austrian camps).

Vanunu's parole-hearing

A week of international protest action is planned for 17th to 24th September to coincide with Mordechai Vanunu's second parole hearing. He was recently released from solitary confinement, but his human and civil rights continue to be abused.

The activities include vigils at Ashkelon prison and a demonstration near the Dimona nuclear plant and a visit to a Bedouin village in the Negev desert, whose inhabitants are exposed to environmental risks from the reactor.

Infiltrator

A very disturbing story has come to light about an infiltrator who has been selling information to multinationals about grassroots organisations on the continent. The story is put out by Jansen & Jans, who can be contacted on respub@xs4all.nl

Basically, a person joined Eco Action France (the French Earth First!) and having gained credibility entered similar organisations. His ploy to make money was to inform multinationals about the violent intentions of the various organisations campaigning against them and for this purpose he set up his own various organisations. The man has been confronted and told to lay off and the multinationals were told on behalf of the campaigns about their adherence to non-violence. So if you are in a grassroots organisation beware of infiltrators.

Libertarian Galaxy

Organised by FAZ (fur andere Zustände -for other conditions), a frontier camp against racism in Forchtenstein/Burgenland in Austria on 10th to 16th August to mark the Austrian presidency of the EU starting about then. It is suggested that you go there after the 3rd Anarchist Summer Camp in Berlin which takes place from 3rd July to 9th August (information acamp@jpberlin.de). The message ends: "See you @gain. Letz move!"

The Austrian e-mail is given as anti_eu@batcomputer.htu.tuwien.ac.at

What a busy camping holiday in different countries and all at the rate of anarchist economics!

compiled by JR

Rich and Poor



Police in Bologna, Italy have seized the computer from the European Counter Information Network, which was hosting material for Freedom Press. This Italian state interference with the transmission of perfectly 'legal' information of news and articles from pages of *Freedom* is a totalitarian measure which we hope the international anarchist movement will not allow to succeed.

The European Counter Information Network is of course a non-profit-making organisation whose main offence would seem to be a belief in freedom of expression. The information carried is in many languages and is from all over the world and in language as succinct as in any other news agency with all contributors duly credited.

By shutting this service they have temporarily cut off communications for more than forty Italian social centres and labour organisations such as the Spanish CGT and the Italian USI and many popular community broadcast stations.

Freedom Press is in very good company among the service users whose work has been curtailed at the behest of the Italian State Prosecutor for Vicenza – Paulo Pecori.

We have reported previously that hackers working for a transnational company put out of action a local server Green-net, which three months later is still suffering the after effects of the destruction.

Now it is the State apparatus of a country within the European Union which has shown its intemperance and fear of the free passage of lawful, necessary and beneficial information emanating from the anarchist press.

Their action also reveals their ignorance. Electronic communication methods are not at all the same as printed material. The state has many times and in many countries constantly persecuted anarchist publications, confiscated the newspapers and on occasion destroyed the printing presses, thus ruining the usually poor anarchist publishers whose distribution was by slow means outside the large commercial channels.

This does not apply to electronic communications. Confiscating one computer is certainly a loss, but because the anarchist movement internationally is now working together with a mutual aid unprecedented in anarchist history, the information is there on another computer, on dozens of different sites. Within minutes of the seizure of the computer in Bologna the communiqué reached all offices and there is not a single country in the world where anarchists are active that the information is not now unavailable.

This is very heartening news indeed. The state has lost its draconian power at least in this important field. Governments with their information systems which rely on heavy propaganda and devious obfuscation of information have not been able to control the free expression of the anarchist internet. As such whenever and wherever the state shows its brutality towards its citizens, the news is spread worldwide and in many instances worldwide indignation has stopped local persecutions and violations of rights.

We offer our solidarity to the European Counter Information Network and we hope that by the time these words reach our readers the service will be back to normal.

One hopes that the whole unfortunate incident will be truthfully documented. There is a lot to be learnt from this episode.

It is remarkable that one of the oldest anarchist newspapers in the world, the one founded by Kropotkin in 1886 – *Freedom* – is in the forefront of the struggle for freedom in the important new electronic theatre.

John Rety

Monopoly Money

Dear *Freedom*,
Larry Gambone (4th July) complains that 'monopoly' means 'one seller', and that it is therefore incorrect to use the term 'monopoly capitalism' to refer to situations where more than one giant corporation dominates a particular market or economy. In economics, however, 'monopoly power' means principally that a firm is not merely a 'price-taker', but a 'price-maker' able to shape the market, and not merely dictated to by it.

I would like to point out that I do not

possess the 'enthusiasm' for the 'theory of Monopoly Capitalism' that Gambone attributes to me (I'm not even particularly enthusiastic about the term 'monopoly capitalism'). I do however believe that Western societies are dominated socially, culturally, economically, and politically, by the giant privately-owned empires we call corporations, and that 'monopoly capitalism' is an accurate *descriptive term* (not a 'theory') for this reality.

Baran and Sweezy's *Monopoly Capitalism* is, in my view, a valuable resource for those who are trying to understand (and resist) these institutions. Having said that, there is of course much to argue about in the book. I think the most fruitful approach at this point is to recover from this text what is useful for us today, rather than trying to score points. (I'm not sure how successful Gambone's critique is: he slates the book for predicting that technological development was slowing down. The only relevant reference I can find predicts that "under monopoly capitalism the rate at which new techniques will supersede old techniques will be slower than traditional economic theory would lead us to suppose" [emphasis added].)

John Rety

Milan Rai

Freedom Website

Dear Editors,
Anyone who has read Chris Atton's review of the Freedom Website in *Anarchist Studies* (vol. 6, no. 1, pages 85-86) should note that the web address he gives is out of date (for current address see back page of *Freedom*).

Instead of sniping from the sidelines, why doesn't he offer his considerable expertise to the anarchist movement? After all, he is somebody in academia with computers at his disposal.

The Rape of Socialism

Dear *Freedom*,
Judging from Brian Bamford's review of *The Rape of Socialism* by Don Pedely, anarchists would be unlikely to gain anything by ploughing through such a huge volume, given that Bakunin raised and answered many of the most important questions in his battles with Marx during the First International. That is, even before the rise of parliamentary socialism in this country. As is well known to anarchists, Bakunin saw quite clearly that social democracy was unlikely to make any headway by electing socialists to parliament and believed that all they could do was to administer the capitalist economy. The workers' organisations, although set up to emancipate the people, are now fully absorbed and integrated into the political system, thereby helping to consolidate capitalism and blocking nearly all opposition. History has long vindicated Bakunin's views, and even when Marx knew he himself was wrong his arrogance was such that he would never admit to being wrong. Bakunin accused Marx of tying the workers to the bourgeois tow-line. How true that accusation rings today! Many writers today compose massive volumes on the decline of the Labour movement, whereas if as much time had been spent reading Bakunin rather than Marx and acted on, maybe we would have seen the end of capitalism as well as the destruction of the labour movement.

For those readers who need to get to the

main points quickly, they could not do better than read a short modern work which covers everything necessary, such as Vernon Richards' book *The Impossibilities of Social Democracy* (Freedom Press).

Neil Fisher

[Perhaps anarchists wouldn't gain much in terms of political awareness, but *non-anarchists* might well like an analysis of the decline of the labour movement in Britain such as Donovan Pedely provides. Anyway, our offer stands for another two weeks – *The Rape of Socialism: how Labour lost the millennium* is at £10 for 500 pages (plus postage 10% inland, 15% overseas). *The Impossibilities of Social Democracy* is an additional £2 (post free inland, 15% overseas). *Freedom* and *Freedom Press's* books are aimed at potential anarchists who may well have spent a part of their lifetime in the labour movement, or even in the Labour Party! – Editors]

(continued from page 2)

conviction was upheld by the court and an application for costs was dismissed. The appeal against the conviction for breach of the peace was dismissed and Mr Bamford was bound over for six months in the sum of £50.

After the trial a jubilant Mr Bamford told me that he is now considering a civil action against North West Trains and the British Transport Police. For an anarchist, Mr Bamford certainly seems to have a penchant for litigation, but his sense of outrage is understandable: who wouldn't be pissed off after spending 23 hours locked up in a Manchester police cell just for travelling on a train with a valid ticket. For myself, I prefer to heed Dr Johnson's warning: "Don't go to English law unless somebody drags you there".

Joe McCarthy

[Dole offices in the north-west of England were occupied by the jobless last year. Readers will recall our photographs of protests with goats on leads (7th June and 21st June 1997). Joe McCarthy's report of the appeal case follows our report of 28th April 1998]

(continued from page 1)

Party establishment around Tameside who are getting away with murder. But do they all mix parmesan with fish?

At present, after talking with Jack Thornley's secretary, we can't confirm the culinary predilections of the other members of this incestuous cult, but we can say that Jack Thornley did threaten to sue UNISON over an occupation of his office by the sacked care workers. Andrew Bennett, the left-wing Tribune MP, told Derek Pattison and others that he was helpless, but didn't reveal his taste in risotto.

The thing about Oldham, Dennett and the Labour bosses in Tameside is that they all blame UNISON, the public service union, for what's happened. Roy Oldham told the council that "the representative of UNISON is not a skilled person, not a professional, like the official of the GMB [General, Municipal and Boilermaker's Union]".

Professional officials like the GMB one dutifully told members to go back to work. He too probably uses parmesan cheese. Amateurs like the care workers and those on the Strike Support Committee don't, and they are clearly giving Roy Oldham and the Labour bosses the run-around.

Wall Street on menu

Here are people who have never heard of the River Café and don't take their ideas from Wall Street or Moscow or any other tinpot town. We can all envisage a future sitting in an old folks home, with the only light coming from a flickering television screen to hide the peeling wallpaper, and a dish of thin gruel between our knees with no parmesan to sprinkle on it. How will some of these New Labour supporters cope with that situation?

That is why these unskilled amateurs in the Strike Support Group, which includes a licorice allsorts collection of trade unionists, radical socialists, anarchists, solidarity federationists, scholars and what-not, can call for a public meeting with relatives and residents on 21st July. These amateurs, who lack the sophistication of parmesan cheese and economics, care more more about people.

As I write this I understand the Labour council has banned this meeting being held in the Town Hall. For more information contact Rose on the Strike Committee on 0411 845507.

The leaflet of the Strike Support Group declares: "Cutting costs means cutting care. Are you concerned about the elderly? Do you worry about the future of your parents and your relatives? Do you care about your future?"

Roy Oldham will not be at this meeting. Roy Oldham last week turned his back on the sacked care workers. Roy Oldham sent for the police to have the Lancashire lasses evicted from the council chamber.

Roy Oldham is a politician and a professional man. But when I saw that turned back with the grey hair framing the bald patch above the pale white neck, I swear I saw the blade of a guillotine pass before my eyes.

Mack the Knife

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**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 —

- 17th July** Social Darwinism and Socio-Biology (speaker Donald Room)
- 24th July** General discussion
- 31st July** Is Professionalism Dead? (speaker Peter Neville)
- 7th August** General discussion
- 14th August** Capitalism (speaker Matt Winfer)

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 26th July

Meet at 1pm at car park of The Bull's Head
public house, Belper Lane End, Derbyshire, for
five-mile walk via pastures and woodland.

**Telephone for further details
01773 827513**

**International
Fast for Life:
lift the sanctions on Iraq**

Vigil begins: 12 noon on Sunday 9th August
Fast ends: 6pm Wednesday 12th August
Venue: 10 Downing Street, London SW1

If you are able to take part in the vigil and/or
the fast, please call David Polden
on 0171-607 2302 to book a shift.

For more information, or to make a donation,
please write to Voices in the Wilderness UK,
1 Hertford Road, London N2 9BX.

Revolutionary Socialist Network
A day conference to be held in Wigan

on
Saturday 1st August 1998
at
The Unemployed Workers Centre
New Market Street
Wigan

Agenda:

- 10.30am
Arrivals and refreshment
- 11.00 to 1.00
Session One:
Towards some lessons: the Liverpool
dockers dispute
- 1.00 to 2.00
Pies, Pies and more Pies
(well, we are in Wigan)
- 2.00 to 4.00
Session Two:
Black people's struggles in Britain
- 4.30 to 5.30
Session Three: Plenary

For more information contact:
Tony on 01942 708694 (leave message)
or e-mail t.m.taylor@cablenet.co.uk

**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.

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

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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