

INBREDDOM

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50p

Eye-witness to a 'revolution'

What more can I add regarding the biggest demonstration of 1999 that has not been covered in the media? A main aim of this event was to disrupt, if for only a short while, the business of the City and draw attention to its widespread activities. The most liberal of the media suggested that it was all very nice until the damage started, (a few million pounds worth allegedly), as if the destruction, and oppression caused by the City, could be removed or even slowed down without some physical damage.

Effective legitimate channels no longer exist for us. It is possible that more people under 40 took part in J18 (as this event became known) than voted in the recent Euro elections. It needed more than the vibrant atmosphere we created that day. Maybe I am hypocritical in wanting effective demos, but not fully supporting those who did the trashing, even if I share the pain of their frustration and anger. It might be said that such actions undermine our causes, making it easier for the media to rubbish us. However, I recall a CND peace march in the mid '80s, when four million of us spread from the Thames Embankment all the way into Hyde Park, with not a word about it in the press the following day. Without the trashing on J18 would we have got an inch of coverage?

A carnival it certainly was, with music, fancy dress, face paints, and life-size puppets. At no point could you see the entire number of people as we spread out through the twisting streets of the Square Mile, it was very hard to see how many were where, and what they were doing. And that was the beauty of its tactics, some of which were planned on the internet, leaving the police baffled and out-manoeuvred, but mainly good

humoured, as we walked through their lines without hassle. It was exciting, seeing people climb buildings to string huge banners across the street. One read "our resistance is as universal as capital" (I wish to was, but maybe we are getting there). Other non-violent heroics involved climbers putting bin bags over some of the CCTV cameras that abound in the City.

Unsportingly, some firms gave their employees the day off (perhaps to protect them from our leaflets). What's the point of a mini revolution if the other side do not come?

A criticism of J18 is that it would prevent people who want a legal demo from ever taking to the streets. An answer to this is that the handful of heroes or trouble-makers depending on how you see them, were in the main acting on their own initiatives so that people who did not want to get arrested could keep clear.

The achievements of J18 can be noted. While it is important to act locally, building replacements to the present system, this can be a very lonely road. Regularly, we need to recharge the batteries

of hope and enthusiasm by big events as described above to remind us that we are not alone. Also, the event showed the public our anger directed against a place that does immeasurable harm to people and their environments, while making money to try and cover its tracks. J18, again through the internet, linked our efforts to other similar demos internationally, surely a tool that we can use repeatedly in future, not just to dodge policemen around the Stock Exchange. A third achievement was that J18 showed the stockbrokers that they are far from invulnerable: we know where they are and we shall be back.

If we are going to create a better, freer, less destructive society then all sorts of people and political trends will have contributed to its development. These will include those who believe in smashing up the offices of multi-nationals, and those who still believe in the ballot box. They will be part of our society, with all its conflicts and contradictions because it will be a real place, not a utopian dream.

Martin S. Gilbert

Thousands of demonstrators gather outside the Warburg Dillon Read building at Liverpool Street



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Carnival Against Capitalism

We all know that if the 'Carnival against Capitalism' on 18th June in the City of London had not been accompanied by trashing buildings and fighting with the police, the whole event and the issues it set out to raise would have been largely ignored by the media, or else buried in their usual detritus. To support this argument we point to how, before this hugely publicised event, the media was only interested in what they saw as the 'threat to the City'.

We doubt, however, that the 'organisers' had planned for violence. Normally the only violence on Reclaim the Streets type events comes from the police either trying to stop the establishing of the reclaimed zone, or later, as the event draws to a close, getting their revenge on any stragglers. Where J18 differed was that it was essentially a mobile occupation and in a very special location. In this sense, then, the violence was predictable.

The Guardian quoted Lord Mayor Levene's opinion that the violence would somehow reduce people's sympathy for the issues. We might view this as in line with the media's own proclivity for ignoring real issues and focusing on the dramatic, rather than the response of a normal, thinking person able to separate the violence from the real issue, and link these issues to their common cause – global capitalism.

No doubt some did come prepared for violence. But while no one observer can have seen all that happened, it seems likely that those disposed to attacking the State by violent means on this occasion, are prone, like the media, to exaggeration. The scores of photographers, some of whose work appeared in the Saturday newspapers, apparently failed to capture a wide-angled shot of the types of battles that the press intimated took place. All their pictures involve seemingly isolated individuals, rather than a co-ordinated effort. Meanwhile, anyone who was ten metres from the front line on Upper Thames Street can vouch that there was more partying than rioting there. While at most a half hundred police in riot gear (although there were hundreds in reserve) were able to handle the skirmishing and gradually clear the streets of

several thousands of people.

Admittedly there is a certain thrill and satisfaction to seeing symbolic targets smashed or going up in smoke, and there is something to be admired in the courage and commitment of those involved, and, while accepting that the ruling classes do not peacefully let go their privileges, we feel the need to pose one or two questions about the violence.

Should anarchists be trying to lead or provoke this kind of thing as a strategy? We can't expect to be totally convincing on this matter, but, notwithstanding Bakunin's observation that the urge to destroy is a creative urge and applauding the long and honourable place of sabotage in our history, we might suggest that Reclus's view of anarchy, as manifesting the highest form of order, is more to our purposes. If ordinary people get so angry that they want to smash their oppressors, that's well and good, and fighters might set them an example of how to fight, but it is organisation that will help us towards a better world. Anarchists should be involved in organising practically with people in struggle in the everyday, and not get into exaggerating the importance of this violence.

A not unconnected question is: How is it that so few police can contain so large a riot? We have already intimated that it was not in fact as large as is made out. Nevertheless, it seems likely that if those committed to confronting the police had also been organised, there might have been a good chance of sweeping the police from the streets. But the fact is that surges in the crowd were halted by the police standing their ground and most people did not want to get to grips. A committed, organised group of, say, fifty could have split the police lines and the crowd would have surged to regain the ground. Of course this would have resulted in more police arriving, and a temporary advantage only.

We are not in danger of losing sight of the issues because there was a bit of violence.

issue for anarchists when we compare the ingenuity and tenacity of organisation that went into the happenings of 18th June with the thin spectacle of violence.

The Press

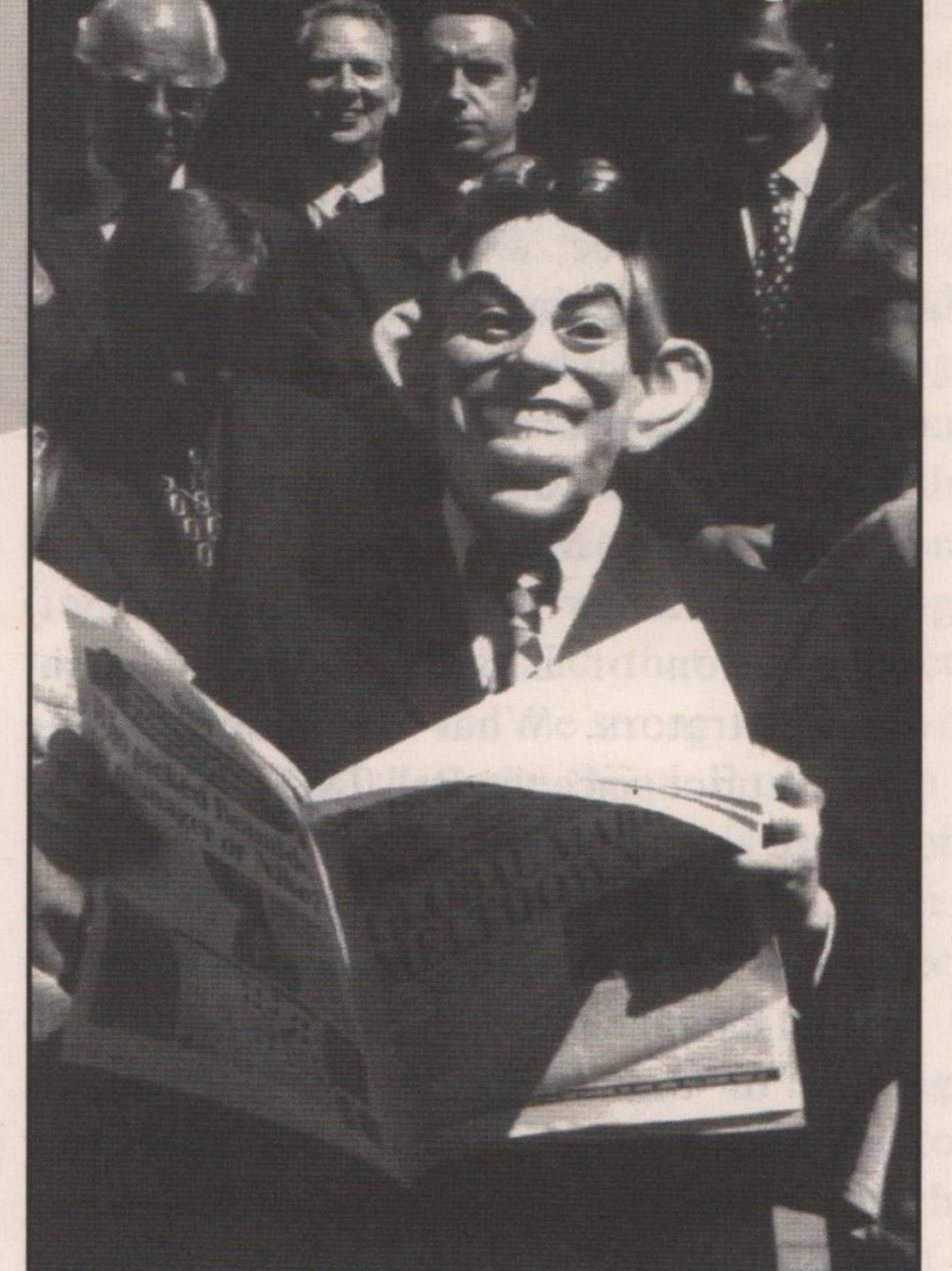
On Saturday 19th June most newspapers led with headlines and pictures on the J18 events in London. *The Guardian* front page "Protest in the City ends in Riot" heading a photograph in which one man in goggles seems to be attempting something rude with a beer can and a cop's posterior, gives us a timely reminder that a picture can be misleading. *The Financial Times* has a photo featuring one man and a cop in angry postures amongst an otherwise inactive crowd. *The Independent* shows a 'rioter' covered in red paint but otherwise doing nothing riotous, and *The Express* screams 'mayhem' and illustrates the point with three men on top of a police van, surrounded by an otherwise calm looking crowd. *The Telegraph* front page has to get the prize for showing the most number of rioters in confrontation with the police, three on three in this case, with *The Sun* on page seven coming a close second with two people which it wants to suggest are engaging the police, but who could just as easily be sensibly backing away from two cops in riot gear.

The Financial Times gets the prize for most restrained and factual reporting, probably as a result of the ruling elite's need for facts, not fantasy, and the fact that their City readers would be able to immediately compare their own experiences to the reporting. So for the *FT* it was a 'siege' of the City, and a 'near riot', and they recognise that the event was anti-capitalist, and not a gaggle of single, unrelated issues. *The Guardian* appears embarrassed to admit as much, so it becomes for them a "long day of carnival ... against world debt, the arms trade, and financial institutions", which rather begs for some informative analysis. To water things down

people to take things into their own hands, unless it be a safe distance away.

The Sun on its front page showed two "evil savages" kicking a broken window. On page two, G8 leaders were hailed for writing off £60 billion of world debt that was not being paid anyway. A solitary five lines on page six linked the issues in this manner: "Radical group J18 boasted on the internet that the action was needed to 'stop the globalisation of misery under capitalism' and protest at Third World debt". The more cerebral *Daily Mail* reported the G8 debt 'boost' directly below "Anarchy in the City as mobs go on rampage". They prefix the "Carnival against Capital" with a "so-called" and according to them the protesters only "claimed" (not 'boasted') to be protesting against morally and politically incorrect companies. No link was made to the debt story directly below. *The Financial Times* does not need to deceive its readers, and they cross-referenced the events in the City to the G8 deal. As did *The Guardian*, but it was still only "unfairness"

'Tony Blair' enjoys his copy of *Evading Standards* outside the Bank of England



and not capitalism that is the main culprit in this naughty naughty world.

Bias is apparent throughout *The Independent's* account of the day, exemplified in the use of crude rhetorical devices: the "self-proclaimed Carnival against Capital" (as if it wasn't); the "supposed evil of the multi-national money men and their impact on the debts of the third world" (how could anyone suppose such a thing?); "financial institutions which they regard as 'morally and politically incorrect companies'" (as if their own pages are not regularly packed with information to support this conclusion, but safely packaged as single and unattached issues). And then we have the downright lies which make us ask ourselves if these reporters were actually there with their eyes open and their brains engaged: "a violent core of protesters" when "fringe" would be honest; a "rent a mob of about 4,000 all-

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Protestors going for a McDonalds



Scenes from London Wall

But we should also not lose sight of the other important farmers faced with threats from agri-business, of which article the taster in the contents list says "when western multi-nationals look to India, they see very, very big money; and Indians see exploitation". It seems that issues can be reported and discussed, but that they should avoid legitimising any attempts by

Police trigger riot in City



Scenes of violence at the J18 day of action

On 18th June, as part of the internationally coordinated J18 global day of action, London was rocked by a range of political protests unheard of in a single day. Activities ranged from a huge Critical Mass bicycle protest clogging City streets; through the AAA's surreal demo against the militarisation of space; to a surprise striptease 'photoshoot' by the Sexual Freedom Coalition at the Bank of England.



disruption of normal business in the City and the replacing of it with something more human. The first aim was a success, however inept (or provocative) policing put pay to the possibility of the latter.

But the biggest and most radical event began at noon when six thousand people set out to reclaim their City from capitalism. The event, billed as a Carnival Against Capital, was not to be a violent invasion though, rather it was a peaceful festival of carnivalesque occupation. The aim declared to be the

The action started at noon with a lively party of thousands of revellers in and around Liverpool Street station (the nearest thing to the expectations of the crowds that occurred all day).

Following this carnival processions fanned out through the streets of London. It was then that things started to go badly. Police in dozens of vans (included some already kitted out in riot gear) began to slowly close in on the crowds. Many streets were blocked by advancing armoured police vans as the processions were herded in some unknown direction. At this point the threatening claustrophobic atmosphere caused the crowd to react and split at many points, to exercise

a non-violent counter action. Their apparent aim to create space by advancing into the police barriers. Thus forcing them into retreat by sheer weight of numbers, slowly reversing back along London Wall the way they came. The sight of police being pushed out of the city encouraged a more enthusiastic response as vehicles were hit by water guns and a few soft cans and other objects. Others climbed onto vans that stupidly stopped, daubing some in graffiti. At one stage humiliated police piled out of vans and apparently tried to baton-

charge the crowd causing brief panic, but seemed to think better of it, secured their vehicles and retreated further. Scenes like this were repeated at various locations while other demonstrators blocked traffic junctions.

Later we heard reports of various stunts through out the City, including one in which phony bank notes were showered down on the crowd by 'construction workers'.

At this stage tensions were still relatively low and some City workers began to join in the fun.

What happened after this is not clear, but the crowd seemed dispersed throughout the City, confused and uncoordinated. The carnivalesque atmosphere began to die out due to the scarcity of any musicians and performers, and the complete absence of any sound systems (the latter being blocked by police perhaps). At previous RTS-type events the presence of these had always put the crowd into a positive mood, but now people were getting bored, and angrier with police tactics. Despite some enthusiastic attempts by the sparse few to get a carnival atmosphere going the main entertainment was increasingly found in drinking and playing cat-and-mouse games with the police, who now began to reassert themselves. Increased numbers of riot police began to move into the area at this stage as demonstrators roamed from place to place. The crowd got angrier and City workers began panicking and reacting against the crowd.

The key event seems to have occurred after a police van ran over a woman demonstrator, who had allegedly attempted to climb on the vehicle. According to witnesses the van accelerated, dislodged her, and ran over her legs. Speeding away the van did not bother to stop and it was left for demonstrators to call for an ambulance and clear a passage for it to get to the scene (with minimal police help).

This potentially lethal act may have been the last straw that triggered the most violent events of the day.

In localised small scale actions buildings were targeted and serious damage occurred. A branch of McDonald's was devastated and the Futures Exchange was attacked by an angry mob. In the latter case a water main was burst outside the building, creating a street fountain, and soon after masked activists smashed their way into the building and briefly occupied it. Later it appears the building partly caught fire.

Sporadic acts of violence (some of which were quite mindless) began to break out throughout the City as tempers flared.

Police allege the violence was organised and premeditated. Perhaps some individuals, with their own agenda, had planned small-scale direct actions, while many more seemed well equipped to defend themselves from the later police aggression, but most of the mass activity I saw seemed driven by anger against the police, with people taking out their aggression on whatever became a focal point of attack. In scenes perhaps unseen in the City since Wat Tyler came to town.

The riot squad then moved in to secure the attacked buildings (to hails of bottles) and increasingly violent skirmishes broke out at various locations between police units and demonstrators.

Ironically at the same time crowds began to party as small sound systems were set up and the carnival livened up at various locations. At one point mini riots were occurring at one end of streets while street parties were underway at the other.

But the police entertained no discrimination, charging through revellers to get to trouble spots, and bringing more people into the

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purpose protesters intent on some serious confrontation" – I suppose you could say it hinges on the interpretation of 'confrontation' but the suggestion is that 4,000 people rioted. If they had, the results would have been far more dramatic than we have seen. In detailing the course of the riot *The Independent* exhausts itself with the following: missiles thrown at police, a water main going up, three men smashing windows at the Dutch Rabo Bank, brawls with traders in the LIFFE (financial futures exchange) building, and smoke bombs, and ten masked 'men' smashing up a McDonalds. The last event they are left with is the (non-violent) occupation of Lloyds Bank by eight demonstrators. What happened to the "biggest riot since the Poll Tax"?

More casual lying comes from *The Telegraph's*, front page lead story, paragraph twelve: "In some of the worst violence, several hundred protesters smashed down the doors of the LIFFE building, London's futures market. They were repelled by security staff who reversed the escalator sending demonstrators tumbling back towards the entrance". Indiana Jones watch out! We are informed that "police believe" there were thirty-four groups behind the protest, but that

only two organised the confrontation, but there is no hint of who. This kind of stuff cries out for parody on *What the Papers Say*.

An early Friday edition of London's *Evening Standard* missed out on the feeding frenzy that had the rest of the media thrashing around and gloated that there had only been "a ragbag of issues but no real anarchy". The commuter snarl up due to repair work on the Circle Line had done more to stop the city than anarchist groups, they suggested. Proud of the "forces of Mammon" and the "money making machine that is the city" they were happy that it "takes more than protest to bring the square mile to a halt". Perhaps because they had nothing yet worth blowing out of proportion they hit on the idea that it was "because the protest had been organised on the internet" and that the organisers refused to meet with the authorities, that the police (and presumably the City) had somehow overestimated the scale of the event. The internet theme was taken up by some Saturday papers, for example, *The Telegraph*, *The Express*, the Scottish edition of which even went so far as to fantasise that it was German militants who planned it all, and *The Observer* which saw the internet as a vital factor in the new phenomenon of the "stealth protest". Whether the event was a success or failure, whatever your point of view, it was the internet that mattered. What this really means is that they missed it because they aren't in the habit of noticing the mass of protests and meetings and posters and stickers that really go into making things happen. Seeing it all as a 'green' thing, in their editorial *The Observer* pose it almost counterfactually that "if you believe that the earth is endangered by contemporary capitalism, things are getting worse, not better. Friday was a salutary reminder".

After their ridiculous efforts at reporting, *The Telegraph* editorial went in for the kill and tried to expose 'anarchy' to the cold light of reason: "Its supporters like to define anarchy as a harmonious condition of society, in which government is abolished and unnecessary. But yesterday's disorder in the City made



The crowds begin to gather inside Liverpool Street station

clear why everyone else regards it as a synonym for chaos, violence and the breakdown of law and order". *The Telegraph* failed to mention that in the daily papers there are constant examples of the latter usage and none of the former. Neither do they mention the constant daily examples of governments' responsibility for chaos, violence and the breakdown of law and order. Relying on scorn and irony they go on to say that "others still hold to the assumption that the work of the City involves shuffling about money that is simultaneously illusory and responsible for real deprivation in the third world". They argue that the protesters are the "beneficiaries of capitalism" and presumably they should therefore shut up and not complain that even if the capitalist method of production does produce things, and therefore wealth, it also produces unnecessary poverty and suffering. We are told that "bankers, traders and stockbrokers are the real working class" even though they don't make things. Finally they end with a reference to Burke's dictum that freedom is the best protection against anarchy, and we would agree if they mean by anarchy chaos and the breakdown of order, but not that "capitalism is the embodiment of that freedom", as they weakly assert without supporting argument. They deliberately or ignorantly compare capitalist freedom to Soviet bloc totalitarian rule, as if this has any relevance at all to the practice of anarchism.

Clearly we in the free west do not need the jackboot to keep us down, when the democratic media are much more effective.

J

— COPY DEADLINE —

The next issue of *Freedom* will be dated 24th July, and the last day for copy intended for this issue will be first post on Thursday 15th July.

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If possible contributions should be typed using double-spacing between lines, or can be sent as text files on disc (with a print-out please).

Anarchy in the City

I travel into the City every day. My train pulls into Cannon Street and I walk the mile or so to Holborn to work. I could do the journey with my eyes shut, except if I actually did I would quickly be run over by the mass of cars, trucks, taxis, buses and lorries which clog up the roads penning me and the other pedestrians onto the pavements!

18th June, 8.30am. My train pulls in as normal but outside the station the police are closing roads around Cheapside as six hundred Critical Mass cyclists bring the centre of the City to a grinding halt. Lloyds, Natwest and McDonalds are occupied. Protesters abseil down Tower Bridge. Every single approach to the City has a road block across it. Police stop vans and lorries searching, no doubt, for the sound system they (correctly) expected protesters will try to get into the Square Mile. Helicopters fly overhead. Outside banks, insurance companies and other financial institutions stand private security guards. Barriers have been erected in front of likely targets like the old Stock Exchange.

The City police (a force in its own right separate from the Met) has warned companies of 'major disruption' as thousands of protesters descended into the City for the first ever Carnival Against Capitalism. By 9.00am it was clear that major disruption had already begun. The police road-blocks on their own cause traffic into the City to slow to a snail's pace, adding effectively to the Critical Mass action. Tube stations were shut and buses re-routed. Roads are closed and, to add to the fun, London Underground in a rare act of solidarity chose this day to undertake some emergency engineering and close the whole



The demo on 18th June

of the Circle Line!

Lunch time. Blue sky, blazing sunshine outside Liverpool Street station. Upwards of five thousand people are gathering dancing, sitting, singing, talking, blowing whistles. Drums beat out a relentless rhythm. It is impossible to stereotype the people who have gathered to protest against capitalism and make the City face the reality and ethics of its actions. Punks and pensioners rub shoulders. Students and City workers. Trade unionists and 'eco-warriors'. Even the SWP have turned up, not that anyone seems that interested. The ACF members giving out copies of *Resistance* seem to get a much better reaction. Anarchist flags and anarchists are prominent. Sunday's *Observer* goes as far as saying that the 18th June "redefined anarchy".

Just after 1.00pm and some brave (?) soul in shorts and trainers climbs up the side of a large faceless office block sitting squat and square next to Liverpool Street station. He carefully unfurls a banner. It reads 'Enough Is Enough'. As it unfolds everyone cheers, claps, shouts and whistles. Enough exploitation. Enough war. Enough poverty. Enough

starvation. Enough environmental destruction. Enough debt. A woman dances on top of a bus behind me and sings *Rawhide*.

Just before 2pm the crowd moves. There is nothing more inspiring than feeling in control. The roads, the space belongs to us. As you move away from Liverpool Street towards the NatWest Tower you cross a wide road - London Wall - which marks the northern limit of the City. Emptied of traffic you get a feeling for how beautiful this could all really be. You feel the space, the air. Not hemmed onto a metre-wide pavement you can notice the buildings. Some ugly, some not. We walk past the NatWest the tallest building in the City, earlier leafleted in an attempt to explain the purpose of the day to the workers inside.

Just past the Tower a Mercedes drives down the road towards us. Amazingly rather than reversing the driver tries to carry on through a sea of six thousand people! He seems to believe we would move out of his way, after all that is how it is meant to work. He drives a big expensive car - we get out of his way. But not today! He soon realises the error of his way and backs, safely, away. Next stop the Bank of England. The Bank looks exactly like what it is built as: a fortress. Its doors are slammed shut. A few plastic bottles are thrown but there's no way into the Bank.

The 'march' moves on past Mansion House and down by Cannon Street station where I started my day. At the side of Cannon Street we stop. Every Reclaim the Street action I have been on RTS (or someone) has managed to get in a sound system and despite the police road blocks they managed it again today, (they also always seem to get the weather right as well).

Upper Thames Street is blocked. The sound system starts and the party began. A fire hydrant explodes into life shooting water high into the air and down on to the protesters bringing some relief from the heat. CCTV cameras are covered with bin bags. Someone has made a huge Monopoly board and they play the game in the road. A volley ball net is spread across the road along with banners. One says 'No Solution but Revolution'. People dance to the techno or to

a punk band who play in the small green space between College Street and Cloak Lane. As Emma Goldman said "if I cannot dance it's not my revolution". For half a mile around the railway station roads are closed, space reclaimed. The carnival is in full swing. City workers join in. As one person put it, "it was great just to show those people in the buildings, in their insular lives, that there is another world, that they can get off the conveyor belt".

Of course if you read the papers on the following days you would have read none of this or about the various other actions that were happening across Britain and forty other countries in protest against the effects of global capitalism. *The Guardian's* headline on Saturday was "The day the City turned into a battleground". I had actually moved on before the violence kicked off and so do not know what triggered it. Reports from people I spoke to later varied. City workers provoking people by waving their Gold American Express cards or fifty pound notes. The police over-reacting or unable to deal with the situation. The worst injuries certainly seem to have been experienced by protesters including one woman ran over by a police van (graphically filmed and shown on the news). *The Observer* said the violence "appeared to come from nowhere". While others claimed it was prearranged. Certainly it was the violence, which included the setting fire of a bank, trashing of a Mercedes car shop and storming of the LIFFE (futures) floor, which grabbed the headlines but, as the distributed spoof version of the *Evening Standard* called *Evading Standards* said, "a single non-revolutionary weekend is infinitely more violent than a month of total revolution". Later people moved on to Trafalgar and Leicester Square and, surrounded by riot police, partied on into the evening party in protest against the latest royal wedding.

The following Monday I got off my train and walked to work as normal. Except things did not seem normal. The City seemed different. On 18th June it became for the most of the day a place for people not profit. There was a glimpse of a possible future.

Richard

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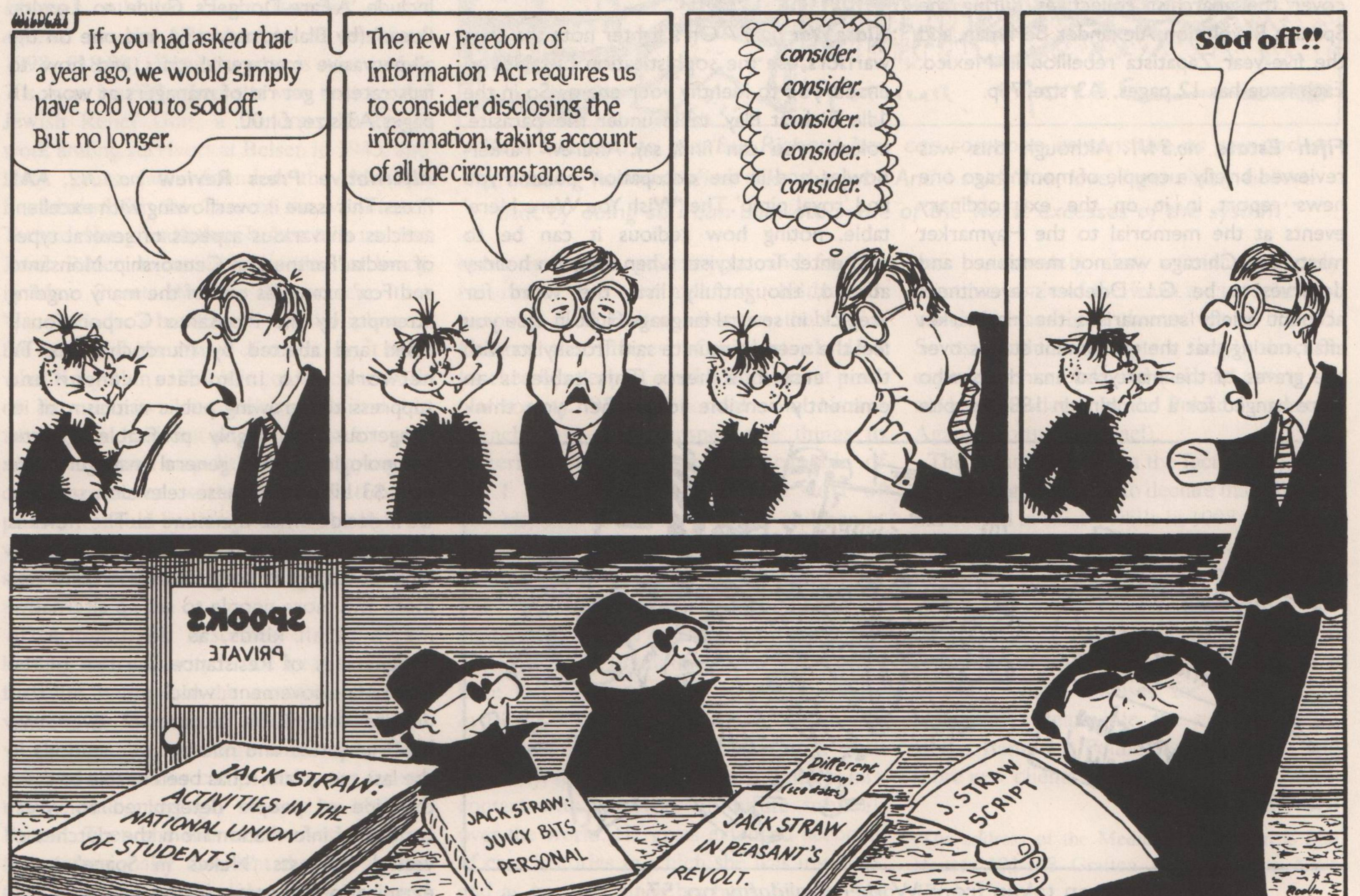
violence. Eventually the party was concentrated around the crossroads and bridgehead of Southwark bridge, with running battles with advancing police in surrounding streets. Police attempted several baton charges into the main area (including a mounted one) but these were driven back, and routed, by weight of numbers in the counter charges (plus various home made weapons), meanwhile the party danced on. Police claimed 'mustard gas' was used by demonstrators at this stage but I only saw a small amount of yellow smoke and some water jets.

Finally as tension built in the early evening, and police gradually forced themselves forward in more solidly organised ranks, the majority of revellers formed a noisy procession westward out of the City, along the only road left free of police. Leaving a smaller group holding the City site. As I left with this group increasing chaos was reported by people running after us. Apparently the police having moved in in force and sparked a full-scale riot at the crossroads. As we entered the Embankment area billows of black smoke could be seen rising from the City and drifting down the Thames, prompting cheers and laughter from some in the crowd.

In contrast to the chaos of the City, the Metropolitan Police operated a low key approach with less police (and no frontline armoured vans or horses) shepherding the revellers into Trafalgar Square where the carnival began again, this time peacefully. One fascist thug attempted to provoke the revellers here, but was swiftly dealt with by police stationed around the Square. The party went on into the night with people gradually dispersing.

What could have been a highly successful peaceful action was turned into the biggest riot since the poll tax by over-zealous policing. Hopefully next time they will learn their lesson. Not quite a revolutionary situation, but in general a good time was had by most of us.

Prometheus Rex



Food for Thought ... and Action!

Corporate Watch no. 8. No fewer than nine pages on various aspects of globalisation grace this issue, including the death of the MAI and the equally nefarious conspiracies being proposed as its replacements; the World Trade Organisation (WTO, otherwise known as 'We Take Over'), the IMF, the ICC and the networks of resistance which are springing up globally against them, such as the Landless People's Movement in Brazil. The other two main features covered are 'Toxic Pollution' and 'The Oil Industry'. Dave Morris of London Greenpeace and the McLibel trial fame writes on DIY justice, and as usual there are loads of reports on anti-corporate actions and campaign updates in its 44 pages. Well written and well produced, it also sports wide-ranging contacts lists of campaign groups and alternative media. £3.00.

Workers Solidarity no. 57, WSM. Two articles on the Orange Order marches, now upon us, set out the anarchist view on these intimidating practices (Joe Black), and a history and analysis of the Orange Order and why it is the enemy of *all* workers, not just Irish nationalists or Catholics (Andrew Flood). After the so-called Asian Tiger economies all talk now is of the Celtic Tiger and its rapid expansion since 1993. Aileen O'Carroll dissects this unprecedented Irish phenomenon and looks at the impetus behind it in 'Is This As Good As It Gets?' With the arrival of Irish local elections and the European Parliamentary elections, a large amount of space is given over to the question of whether to vote or not, wherein Kevin Doyle argues firmly against it, explaining why 'democratic' elections are the very opposite of what anarchists are fighting for. Other articles deal with Kosovo, Captain Jack White, the Mujeres Libres of Spain, and more. We still have copies of **Workers Solidarity** no. 56 with articles calling for the decriminalisation of prostitution following the murder of a young woman on the streets in Dublin; and celebrating the release from jail both of asylum-seekers by anti-deportation actions and of building workers by mass strikes and solidarity. Other pieces cover the anarchist collectives during the Spanish Revolution, Alexander Berkman, and the five-year Zapatista rebellion in Mexico. Each issue has 12 pages, A3 size, 75p.

Fifth Estate no.34/1. Although this was reviewed briefly a couple of months ago one news report in it, on the extraordinary events at the memorial to the Haymarket martyrs in Chicago was not mentioned and deserves to be. G.L. Doebler's eyewitness account briefly summarises the Haymarket affair, noting that the monument stands over the graves of the martyred anarchists who were hanged for a bombing in 1886 in spite

of the lack of evidence of their guilt. Other well-known anarchists and radicals are buried nearby: Emma Goldman, her comrade and lover Ben Reitman, Voltairine de Cleyre, Lucy Parsons, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and many more. Over intense opposition from local anarchists, the US National Park Service held a ceremony dedicating the monument as a federally designated National Historic Landmark, with the participation of the Illinois Labor History Society. "Instead of the small groups of anarchists and antiquarians I had expected, I found three or four hundred trade unionists ... and representatives of various authoritarian political parties ... busy peddling their papers ... A brass ensemble and German-language chorus ... struck up a song. *The Internationale? The Marseillaise?* No, it was *America the Beautiful*. With the triumphant strains of a patriotic ode filling the air, the Communist Party dispensed literature from a table on Emma Goldman's grave. A young actress in turn-of-the-century dress portraying Lucy Parsons ... unveiled the government's small granite marker ... more than glad to do the bidding of the Park Service. This was not the real Lucy Parsons who opened her husband's coffin after the executions and cried, 'Oh Albert, they have killed you!' This was not the anarchist firebrand ... who struck fear into the hearts of Chicago's ruling class leading marches of the hungry and unemployed. The nicely printed programme listed the speakers: the ILHS president, representatives of the Park Service, and an endless list of labour bureaucrats including the president of the Chicago Federation of Labor. Not one anarchist was invited to speak. Not one rank-and-file worker. Even worse, the ceremony opened with a Catholic benediction ... never was it mentioned that the men whose monument was being dedicated were anarchists". Park police and trade union security men kept the protesting anarchists cordoned off. This really is the re-writing of history. If this account is true – and we have no information to the contrary – then one doesn't know whether to laugh or cry. 28 pages, £1.50.

Class War no. 77. On a lighter note the class warriors use the sophistication of tables to enable you to identify your enemy. So in the 'Idle Rich at Play' table under the 'parasite' column you can find, say, Andrew Parker-Bowles, and in the 'occupation' column you find 'royal pimp'. The 'Wish You Were Here' table, noting how tedious it can be to encounter Trotskyists when away on holiday abroad, thoughtfully lists the word for 'icepick' in several languages just in case you feel the need to reunite said Trotskyists with their erstwhile hero. This table is an eminently sensible idea when you think



Picture taken from *Fifth Estate* no. 34/1

about it – after all, you would feel rather foolish asking for an 'icepick' in a Russian ironmonger's when the word you clearly need is 'negopyd'. Other useful articles include 'A Fare-Dodger's Guide to London Buses' (by Blakey, naturally) and one on the all-pervasive managerial class and how to frustrate or get rid of managers at work. 16 pages, A3 size, £1.00.

Alternative Press Review no. 3/2, AAL Press. This issue is overflowing with excellent articles on various aspects of several types of media. 'Partners in Censorship: Monsanto and Fox' examines one of the many ongoing attempts by the Monsanto Corporation – aided and abetted by Murdoch's Fox TV network – to intimidate, censor and suppress the growing public criticism of its dangerous, but highly profitable, genetic technologies. (Fox's general manager: "We paid \$3 billion for these television stations, we'll decide what the news is. The news is what we tell you it is.") This is precisely the kind of arrogant megalomania that drives more and more people to set up alternative media of all kinds, as documented in 'Frequencies of Resistance: the rise of the free radio movement', which points out that despite the FCC's closure of over two hundred pirate and micropower stations in the last two years, it has been unable to stem the tide of people determined to wrest control of information from the clutches of vested interests. 'Nukes in Space' is an examination of some of the historical and

institutional forces – including media deception, censorship and collusion – which have successfully kept the lid on the full extent of nuclear materials in the US space programme, by an academic who has spent years working to expose its environmental and social costs and risks. A good example of a voluntary cooperative community is the Free Software movement, where people write computer programs in their spare time and give them away, often over the Internet, with no copyright. An incisive report on this encouraging phenomenon notes that it is rapidly gaining momentum. It's also a great rug-pulling tactic against software monopolists Microsoft and co. The CIA's secret manual on coercive questioning is examined in a chilling piece on the secret state, which quotes at length from the original 1963 manual, hitherto unpublished but now available in full – yes, you've guessed it, on the Internet, or in book form. As usual there is a lot more in this good value magazine. 68 pages, £3.50.

Language and Politics by Noam Chomsky, Black Rose Books. This massive tome, considered to be Chomsky's major work and consisting of interviews over a number of years on a diverse range of subjects, is finally back in print. Edited by Carlos Otero and running to 780 pages, it is still at the surprisingly modest price of £17.99. It includes notes and the editor's detailed and analytical 60-page introduction.



Cartoon taken from *Workers Solidarity* no. 57

— ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

Talking about Torture

One of Laurie Taylor's more interesting Radio 4 programmes is *Thinking Allowed* which begins with an interview with one of his fellow sociologists. I'm always sorry that the producer's fear of boring the listener cuts short these discussions just when there is so much more to say. He was recently talking to Stan Cohen, with whom he wrote several books in the 1970s, and who returned to this country recently to become a professor of sociology at the LSE after about ten years as professor of criminology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

In the early 1990s Cohen gave a lecture in which he explained how "Living these years in Israel and faced by the mass violation of Palestinian rights in the Israeli Occupied Territories" he had gradually moved from 'doing' criminology to 'doing' human rights, and to examining the crimes of the state, the topic of his forthcoming book *States of Denial*.

Taylor asked Cohen about the apathy to human rights he had observed since his boyhood in South Africa, and Cohen remarked that "we went to school and we'd watch Black convict labour working on our cricket ground, and I would see this as appalling but nobody else seemed to notice it. How do we shut out things that are self-evident?"

He went on to explain that "I helped to found a group called the Committee Against Torture in Israel and got involved in a report on the interrogation methods used by the Israeli security services. There were a lot of suspicions and allegations about torture and I think we documented absolutely clearly that the techniques used were covered by the United Nations definitions of torture. And I think that every single human rights group like Amnesty was in agreement with us. But suddenly, at a press conference and seeing people's reactions, and hearing people in the street after our report came out, what I found was absolutely fascinating and disturbing.

People didn't react. Knowing all this, they were in Jaffa Road, Jerusalem, the main shopping street, walking past and sitting in public across the way from the place where Palestinians were being tortured. I'm not saying that the situation was the same as South Africa, but the problem was the same."

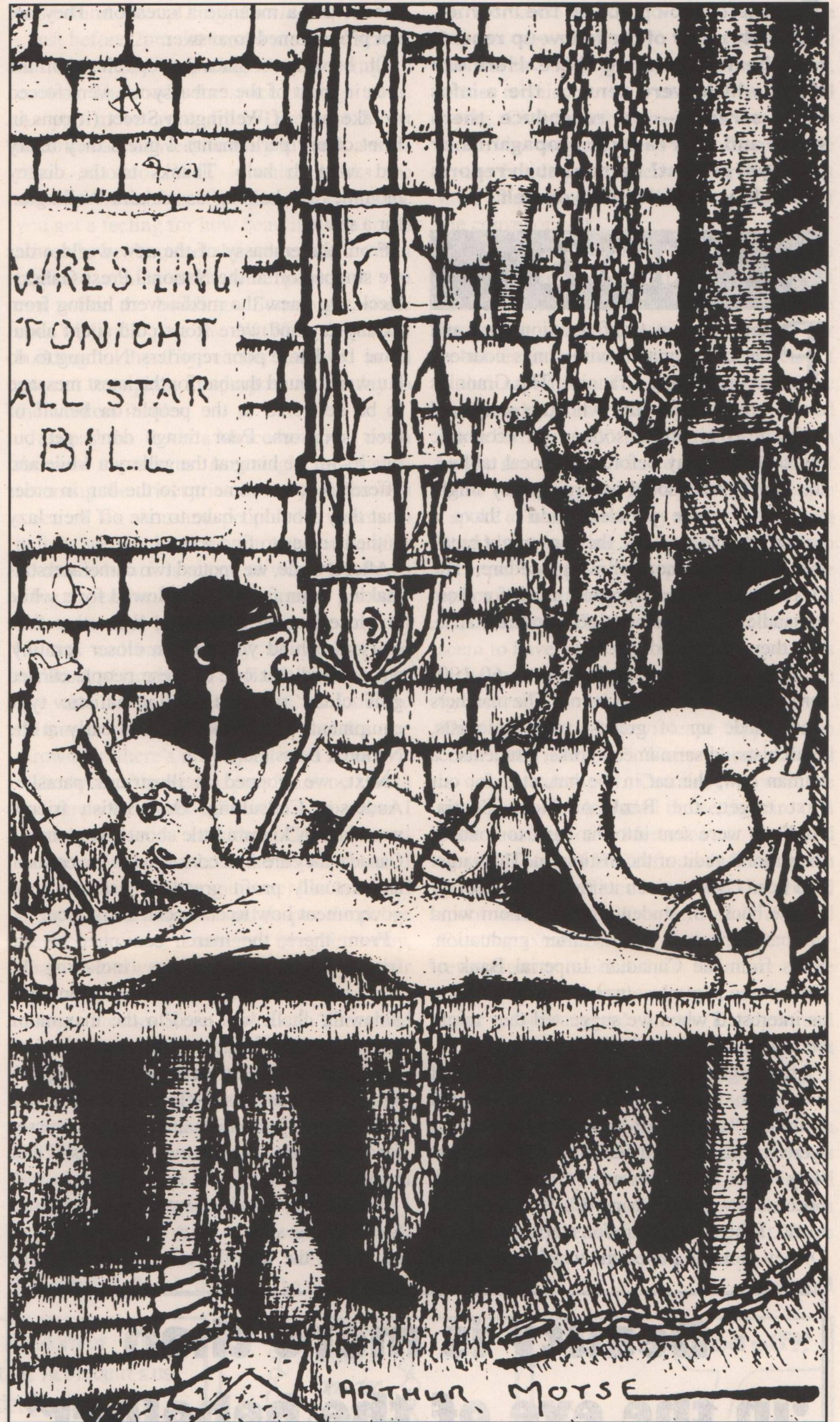
Taylor commented that "even when you made it explicit, even when the report came out even when, I think, the Israeli government virtually admitted that this was going on, it makes no difference anyway because of the processes of denial which are available within the population. I mean, in a way, there was something slightly naive about you doing it and expecting it to make an impact, because the forces of denial were hard at work, and it was never going to do much to change anyone's mind."

"Exactly", Cohen answered, "that's when I realised, to put it pretentiously, that we in the Human Rights Movement, and crusading journalists, were the last survivors of the Enlightenment; that we actually believed that knowledge was going to change people and that if we just put the knowledge and information out there, they will react accordingly. But of course this is not the case. So I got very interested in the deep structure of denial by the government which goes on in a way which I think is true everywhere.

I got involved in a process showing this. You first say 'Nothing's happening: there is nothing like that here: no massacre, no torture, no bodies. It just doesn't happen'. And then, when there are pictures, photographs, and graves are dug up, you change and you say, 'Yes, something is happening, but that something isn't torture. It's not what you say it is. It doesn't fit the United Nations definition, or it's not really genocide, but a sort of genocidal event, as the American spokesman in Rwanda was instructed to say'. Then the third thing was to say, 'Well, anyway, it's justified'.

The same responses and non-responses are noted in passing in a new book which is a biography by Neil Belton, *The Good Listener*, subtitled *Helen Bamber: A life against cruelty* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1998, £18.99). Bamber, who is now in her 70s, was just 20 when she was sent by the Jewish Relief Unit, a London charity, to work among survivors at Belsen in 1945, and forty years later founded the Medical Foundation for the Care of the Victims of Torture. Her grandfather, Belton tells us, was Jacob Bader, an anarchist hairdresser living in Mare Street, Hackney. He explains that "Jacob Bader's hostility to the discipline of the state and his vision of replacing it with what Kropotkin called 'the constructive work of the unknown masses' scandalised his family: it is said that when he died his wife revenged herself on politics by destroying his correspondence with the revolutionary prince. It would be intriguing, in the light of what his grand-daughter became, to know something of Jacob Bader's own ideas about power."

This biography describes a lifetime of battling with authority in one form or another for, after her work in the wastelands of post-war Europe, Bamber became a kind of social worker among teenage boys who had survived the labour camps and were among the handful grudgingly allowed to settle in Britain. Then she was involved in working for professionally dissident doctors against the assumption that helpless patients could



"And Sue said to me, 'But Richard, how can someone as sensitive as you and a practising humanitarian take this job?' And I said, 'Sue, love, I genuinely believe that by doing so I can alleviate some of the worst excesses of the system'."

serve as human guinea-pigs, and for the reform of the treatment of children in hospital. Neil Belton observes that: "For Bamber the images of violent children touched her deepest ambivalence about post-war society. "We had normal - not Nazi - French boys doing unspeakable things to Algerians. What made them capable of it? I can't pretend that this sort of consideration drove my work for children in hospital, but I know that many of us did not want to be part of a society intent on fostering the destructive side of children's characters. Now, of course, I have to wonder what what kind of childhood the perpetrators have had - what makes so much cruelty available to the state".

He goes on to describe her work with Amnesty, how it brought Helen Bamber into contact with survivors of torture from all over the world. He gives extended accounts of case histories in which she was involved, and as he says, since his book focuses "on

one passionately alert woman, it barely mentions some of the worst catastrophes for which humans have themselves to blame". So its concluding chapters simply describe experiences in Chile and in Israel (citing the evidence produced by the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel).

The author reflects on the fact that in 1874 Victor Hugo was able to declare that "Torture has ceased to exist", while in 1998 there were 117 countries where the state uses the methods of torture. And he comments that "attention to the results of torture - the effects on other human beings - is a powerful reminder of the cost of regressing to a situation where excuses for torture seem plausible". Meanwhile the counsellors of Helen Bamber's Foundation see more and more new clients every year.

Colin Ward

(The address of the Medical Foundation is Star House, 104-108 Grafton Road, London NW5 4BD)

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J18 in the Americas

It has been widely claimed that much of the organisation behind the J18 protests took place on the internet. Certainly many of the follow-up reports have been circulating there. Here are three which were sent to the a-infos news service – we reproduce them warts and all. Practical propaganda or pointless protest? Perhaps such reports will help you decide for yourself.

Ottawa

People met in Confederation Park and began the march with songs courtesy of the Raging Grannies. The Grannies are a group of seniors who use song and humour to highlight social and economic injustice. The day before, in a local tabloid, the cops were quoted as saying they might 'overreact' since paraders didn't 'have a permit'. In other words, the cops might break the law and/or not follow procedure. The Grannies, however, were too much for them to handle and they maintained a safe distance, less they be scolded.

Next, marchers (varying from 60-100) throughout the afternoon set off. The marchers were made up of greens, trade unionists, anarchists, disarmament folks, students, a human cow, the cat in the hat, etc., for our first target, the Bank of Nova Scotia. Auditors were sent into the bank to conduct their moral audit of the institution. This target had been chosen given its recent profiteering on the backs of students, many whom wind up bankrupt and jobless after graduation. Suits from the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce kept close watch but didn't seem as interested when we suggested they might be next in line for an audit.

After highlighting bank abuse for a half hour or so, marchers then went on to the US embassy. The RCMP (mounties for Disney) were a little freaked out and told marchers they were not allowed on the sidewalk because it was US 'property'. This was news to us. When we asked for clarification, Mr Disney mountie pulled the usual neanderthal

militarist reply: "I'm not arguing, this is an order". Visitors to Canada beware. You cannot ask a mountie a question. They are not programmed to answer.

Oh, but silly us. Since the cops closed off the area in front of the embassy we were forced to take part of Wellington Street (it runs in front of our parliament). I guess they really did want to help. Thanks to the Disney mounties for helping us reclaim Wellington for a while.

From the embassy of the new world order we stopped off at the National Press Gallery. Heck, we knew the media were hiding from us anyway and were stone cold silent about June 18. Those poor reporters. Nothing to do but wait around the bar for the latest message to be delivered to the people on behalf of their sponsors. Poor things don't get out much. So, we hung at the gallery a while and offered to even come up to the bar, in order that they wouldn't have to rise off their lazy pathetic arses to find a story.

After a while, we spotted two camerapersons making a run for it. We followed for a while in close pursuit informing them that "the story is behind you". Upon closer scrutiny, we realised that one of these people carried golf clubs rather than journalistic type equipment. The weekend starts early at the National Press Gallery.

Next, we stopped at illustrious parasites Anderson Consulting. Our British friends would likely know a little about this group. In Canada, they are well connected to government and actually profit greatly on showing the government how to cut social assistance.

From there, the march continued to our friends Monsanto. Auditors (including the cow) conducted their review of Monsanto. Sidewalk chalk was used to the maximum. The Western Canada Wilderness Society treated us to some street theatre showing how Monsanto uses its influence to see that investigative journalists are fired or harassed for highlighting the onerous and sinister side of Monsanto.

From there, marchers went on to target the Shell filling station in a very busy part of town. On the way there we were joined by

two Pakistani shopkeepers, clearly pissed off at global capital. The filling station was shut down while the owner went nuts. "It's my busiest time of the week!", he screamed. We thanked him for this valuable bit of intelligence which will assist us in future actions. He couldn't have been all that upset, however. We noted that the Shell sign had been converted to \$hell\$. Maybe, like the Disney mounties before him, he was actually helping us out in his own way with this new and unexpected logo. There was also a huge billboard for Captain Morgan Rum towering over us, which, instead of saying 'the captain was here', now reads 'the capitalist was here'. The rum bottle had a \$ sign on it followed by the statement 'people before profit'. Wow, even the Captain is questioning this greedy system!

Onward to the Mexican Embassy. This was a last minute addition in light of more ethnic cleansing in Chiapas. The Disney mounties, feeling smug that they were successful in blocking our path into the embassy were startled to find one of our own find another entrance. He actually asked the Disney mounties to let him out of the embassy. The brave mounties must have been a little astonished to see that they hadn't managed to close the gap. So sad. They could learn much from their colleagues in Chiapas regarding crowd control. In the meantime, a contact from the embassy was invited to speak to the crowd about the latest cleansing. He declined, but did agree to meet with the Chiapas Solidarity network the following Monday, which is another story.

Finally, marchers wound up at Raytheon, an arms manufacturer that makes laser-guided missiles. Raytheon stands to make over a billion dollars in new weapons contracts. They were also the most rude of our targets. They were quite clear they would have nothing to say to us. After all, we don't have a billion bucks. Jack MacDonald, country manager of Raytheon, Inc., said he wouldn't talk to protesters. He was quoted in local media saying "I'm not interested in speaking to anyone about it, it doesn't really matter". How fitting that an arms profiteer would not desire any kind of dialogue. Must be bad for business.

San Francisco

Over seven hundred people carrying flags, giant puppets, dancing, drumming, riding bicycles, performing and protesting participated in a three hour festival of resistance, winding through the looming skyscrapers of San Francisco's Financial District, which was heavily guarded by nearly two hundred Police and Sheriffs.

The days Art Attack began as the Department of Public Art (DPA) wrapped up and shut down Montgomery Street in brightly coloured caution tape and hung hundreds of ties from the web of tape 'tying up' Wall Street West.

Shortly after, hundreds of people gathered in Justin Herman Plaza on the edge of San Francisco's Financial District listening to hip hop spoken word performers, a drum troupe, poetry from a Zapatista organiser from Mexico City, a song from a popular Nigerian musician and words from a contingent of locked-out steelworkers. Dozens of bright coloured flags with words 'Rise Up', 'Reclaim', 'Imagine', 'Resist', fluttered in the breeze.

A fifteen-foot tall puppet of Zapatista Comandante Ramona held a giant ear of corn aloft with a sign reading 'Globalise Liberation, Not Corporate Power'. A puppet of Ken Saro-

Wiwa led the procession to Chevron Oil where Rainforest Action Network and Project Underground activists read solidarity statements from Nigerian J18 organisers and chanted at police-barricaded corporate headquarters. As a former GAP sweatshop worker from Saipan spoke about working conditions, a stilt-walker pied a giant puppet of GAP CEO Donald Fischer. Thousands of leaflets were passed to office workers, enticing them to resist in their workplace and join us in creating a new world. Art and Revolution dancers performed a lingerie-clad dance/spoken-word piece about sexist marketing and sweatshops in front of sweatshop-made women's underwear corporation, Victoria's Secret. A giant scroll was unfurled at Hyundai, pointing out Hyundai's ruthless efforts to bust the independent union organised by Mexican workers at its Han Yung Maquilladora plant just over the Mexican border.

Locked out steelworkers from Oregon Steel in Pueblo, Colorado climbed on the landscaped planter in front of Wells Fargo Bank, denouncing the bank for bankrolling Oregon Steels blatant union busting effort. At Bank of America World Headquarters, people rushed through not quite formed police lines and took over the Plaza in front of the giant skyscraper. The giant stone sculpture in the middle of the plaza was wrapped with a giant chain representing Third World debt, as Jubilee 2000 activists led an encirclement of the plaza.

Finally, carpets, couches, furniture and a tripod were rushed out into Montgomery street to reclaim (and redecorate) the space for a public party. The tripod was rushed by police before it could be fully raised, but the sound-system was up and hundreds were dancing, as others relaxed in the comfy living room of furniture. Bubbles wafted along as people made jump-ropes from the rope police had slashed as a banner was being pulled up from nearby phone poles. Yarn was woven everywhere. Hundreds of people danced as a giant crowd was drawn in to the scene. Slowly, police lines formed around the edges of the party facing off with puppets and the steelworkers contingent. Police loudspeakers repeatedly declared our street party a reclamation an unlawful assembly, and threatened to arrest and club us if we did not leave. As the police lines began to close in the sound-system was whisked safely away and people were pushed back. Two people were arrested, one charged with two felonies because a misplaced cop's billy club had been left in the puppet cart he was unloading as police looked on. Police seized a giant red flying 'Rise Up' Puppet and fifteen flags. As planned, people dispersed as arrest was imminent.

Next step: World Trade Organisation

For many of the participating groups, this action begins resistance to the World Trade Organisation meeting this November 28 to December 3 in Seattle WA, USA.

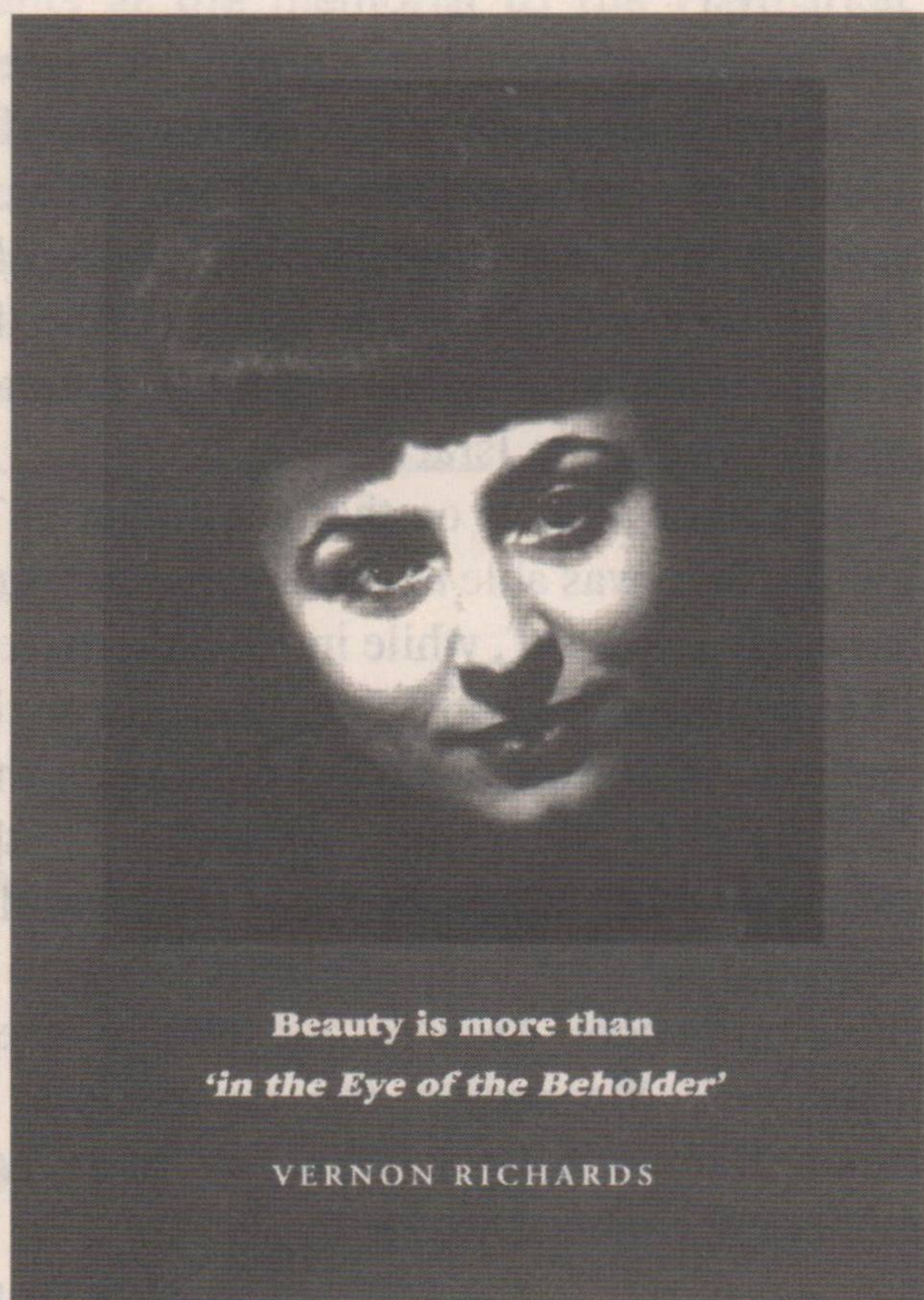
Envision ...

Thousands of people theatrically processing through Seattle with giant images and puppets graphically showing the economic and ecological devastation left in the wake of global capital. Mass direct actions and blockades shutting down roads and highways leading to the WTO. Simple theatre skits for people on the street breaking down corporate globalisation and showing glimpses of the world as it could be – global liberation. Toxic chemical die-ins, dramatised uprisings, and huge props taking over major Seattle streets. Vibrant sounds images of community, life, creativity and resistance in the face of

(continued on page 7)

Beauty is more than 'in the eye of the beholder'

by Vernon Richards



Another book of beautiful photographs, this time of beautiful women. "I want to make it clear", the author writes, "that ... Freedom Press are political propagandists and this volume is born of personal love ... I don't want Freedom Press to be involved in the finances. That must be my responsibility and joy".

Vernon Richards revived Freedom Press in 1936, when it was going through a bad patch, and has played a leading part in it ever since. As Albert Meltzer put it: "without Vernon Richards there would have been no anarchist movement in this country". We are proud of our association, and delighted to be able to show that he is a great photographer as well as our greatly valued comrade.

Freedom Press 88 pages A4 £6.95

(continued from page 6)

hundreds of deadening bureaucrats, business people and politicians at the WTO. Please join us and tens of thousands of others in the street of Seattle.

San Francisco Bay Area J18 site at <http://xinet.com/rts/>

Uruguay

The Montevideo June 18th Network occupied the main square of the Old Town (the financial centre); at about 12:30 a type of trade fair was set up.

Participating groups in the trade fair had stalls on various themes:

- Work, selling cheap labour and focusing on the theme of child labour.
- Education, where public education could be acquired for a modest price and the education reform was questioned.
- Plastic, with a PVC jockey riding the Pollution Plasticsaurus, spotlighting non-returnable bottles and packaging (we're experiencing an invasion of these) and rejecting PVC.
- Local Culture, with a test to see how globalised and how Uruguayan we are. Television as the manipulator of our lives.
- Consumption, showing us how to be perfect consumers and have a clear conscience.
- Communication, criticising the prohibition of community and free radio stations.

Also participating were some trade unions involved in disputes such as Cristalerias del Uruguay, which locked out its employees, leaving them in the street and Uruguay without its only glass factory. They brought along a cardboard factory with an exhibition about glass.

The fishworkers' union also attended with placards protesting about their situation.

Also present were the workers of the 'El Cine' supermarket who have been in occupation of the supermarket for the last two months.

The square was decorated with balloons and posters. A lot of noise was made which attracted the attention of passers-by who had a look at our trade fair. There was music, candombe, musicians playing live.

It's worth emphasising that the majority of stalls were made of materials skipped and recycled from the streets and with posters taken from this year's elections.

The second action of the day was a parade along the main streets, a really lively parade with singing, stilt walkers, jugglers, puppets, the Plasticsaurus and the glass factory occupying the streets and entering into the Stock Exchange, the Banco de Montevideo (to the surprise of the staff) and passing in front of the Ministry of Housing and the Environment and McDonalds, where we stayed for a while singing and getting in the way. The day finished with a puppet show about the media, which ended up with the burning of a cardboard television.

The activities were filmed and photographed. We'll upload the photos onto the web-page but the video is more difficult because we don't know anyone who can upload it onto the computer.

Greetings and well done to everyone!

Santiago
Montevideo, Uruguay

Due to the unprecedented amount of material received after the recent events in the City of London, and which we were reluctant to cut, a number of features and letters have been held over to our next issue.

Anarchism and Communism

Dear Freedom,

Mr Garner quotes (in letters, 26th June) from Proudhon's works to maintain that he (Proudhon) did, in fact, support property in land after all. He quotes from works written in 1851 and 1864 to maintain (yet again) that I am not in fact, "arguing the same point as Proudhon did in 1840". How strange. Even stranger is that even the 'latter' Proudhon also stated his opposition to private property in land. To quote from his *Selected Writings*: "What I cannot accept regarding land, is that the work put in gives a right to ownership of what has been worked on" (page 129). Twenty-four years later, he still agrees with his comments from 1840.

As regards Proudhon's *General Idea of the Revolution* (which Mr Garner also quotes to defend his claim) we discover him stating his reforms would ensure "property will have lost its fundamental vices, it will be transfigured. It will no longer be the same thing. Still, let us continue to call it by its ancient name ... PROPERTY" (page 199). Now, does this not imply that Proudhon was following *What is Property?* but confusing things by calling 'possession' property? We also discover him proposing a decree which, in part, reads: "When the property has been entirely paid for, it shall revert immediately to the town, which shall take the place of the former proprietor ... the towns ... [will] fix ... the boundaries of possessions ... the former proprietors who have held their title by working their properties themselves, shall be placed on the same footing as the new, subjected to the same rental payments" (pages 199-200). Now, does this sound like someone in favour of private property in land? Does it not, in fact, sound like a man opposed to property in land and in favour of possession? Yes, things are confused by Proudhon using the word 'property', but he obviously is not referring to existing 'property' as he clearly states it is "no longer the same thing".

From these quotes, combined with the comments I quoted in my last letter, I would suggest that opposition to property in land was a common theme throughout Proudhon's political writing. Mr Garner's claims fly in the face of this evidence (as well as being irrelevant concerning what Proudhon thought in 1840).

Now, Mr Garner quotes Proudhon's *Selected Writings* for Proudhon's comments regarding the difference between property and possession. What he fails to mention is that these date from 1864 when Proudhon had substantially revised his ideas on the subject! In addition, he fails to mention that in this period Proudhon did not seem to be an anarchist as he explicitly links his new ideas to the *control* of the State, *not* its abolition. Thus we find Proudhon arguing that "property, by creating guarantees for itself that both spread it more equally and establish it more firmly in society, itself becomes a guarantee of liberty and keeps the State on an even keel. Once property has been firmly established ... the power of the State is increased to the maximum ... every citizen is able to make his own judgement on ... the functioning of government" (page 133). In addition, he asks "what force could adequately counterbalance the enormous power of the State? There is only one: property" (page 135). Keeping "the State on an even keel, "increasing the power of the State to "the maximum" and counterbalancing it suggests that Proudhon had passed from anarchism into liberalism. However, some of the old Proudhon remained for we discover him arguing that the 'politics' of property "may

be summed up in a single word: exploitation" and that property is "an absolutism within an absolutism" (pages 134 and 141).

Which brings me to the essential point. Mr Garner claims that decentralisation and communism do not go together. However what he fails to acknowledge is the basic ideas of communist-anarchism. Yes, indeed, a confederation of communist-anarchist communes do possess everything together. However, they do not *use* it together. In the day to day running of a given commune or workplace, those who use the resource manage it. The aim of confederation (i.e. common ownership) is to ensure equal access and equal rights to everyone. To quote Carlo Cafiero, the "common wealth being scattered right across the planet, while belonging to the whole of humanity, those who happen to be within reach of that wealth and in a position to make use of it will utilise it in common ... As part of humanity, they will exercise here, in fact and directly, their rights over a portion of mankind's wealth. But should an inhabitant of Peking visit this country, he would enjoy the same rights as the rest, in common with the others, he would enjoy all the wealth of the country, just as he would have in Peking" (*No Gods, No Masters*, vol. 1, page 250). This effectively answers Mr Garner's comments about communism and who is entitled to have a say on resource use.

As I said in my initial reply, use rights replace property rights in an anarchist society. That implies decentralisation and freedom as functional groups manage themselves and work with others as equals. Perhaps Mr Garner is so in love with 'property' he cannot envision any alternative means of possession? He seems to be applying in the logic of property to communist-anarchism and fails to note its fundamentally different basis in possession. Now contrast this system with property. Under property, as Mr Garner continues to argue, the owners have the right to exclude others. To quote Proudhon from 1864, the owner "can be said to be the property owner on one condition only: he must have absolute sovereignty over it, he must be its exclusive master - *dominis*, it must be his domain - *dominium*" (page 127). Compare this with Tucker's definition of the state. He argued that the state was marked by two things, aggression and "the assumption of authority over a given area and all within it" (*Instead of a Book*, page 22). However, the property owner also has authority (sovereignty) over a given area (the property in question) and all within it (workers and tenants). Thus property and state share a common definition.

Now, consider what would happen in Mr Garner's system of property. The only way of gaining access to the means of life would be to enter into a contract with the property owners. This would mean that the non-property owner would be subject to the authority of the property owner and so they would be governed by another. It could be argued that the wage worker 'consents' to

this government, but this is also the case of the citizen in any democratic state. No one forces you to life in a given state. You can leave and consent to another state. Thus property rather than being the expression of liberty as Mr Garner states, is actually its denial. It generates social relationships which are inherently authoritarian and can be considered the state writ small. As recognised by Proudhon in *What is Property?*: "The Proprietor and the sovereign (for [they] are synonymous) each imposes his will as law and suffers neither contradiction nor control; that is, he pretends to be at once the legislative and the executive power ... property necessarily engenders despotism, the government of arbitrary will" (page 210).


Needless to say, Mr Garner continually fails to mention this aspect of property, an aspect we see everyday under the current system. Given the basic, fundamental, commonality between property and state (monopoly of power over a given area) can an anarchist support it? No, of course not. Now, in a regime of 'occupancy and use' and possession rather than property, this issue does not arise. But as Mr Garner himself notes, he is against possession and in favour of property.

Now, Mr Garner claims that Proudhon argued that property ensured that "a person is answerable only to themselves" and suggests that Proudhon was in favour of the free market. This seems unlikely. Why? Because we discover Proudhon arguing that that mutualism would fix "a maximum and minimum" for "profit margins" as well as "organising of regulating societies" in order to "regulate the market" (*Selected Writings*, page 70). In the *Principle of Federation* we discover him arguing that for an "agro-industrial federation" which is "intended to provide reciprocal security in commerce and industry". The purpose of "specific federal arrangements is to protect the citizens of the federated states from capitalist and financial feudalism, both within them and from the outside". This is because "political right requires to be buttressed by economic right". Thus the "agro-industrial federation" would be required to correct the destabilising effects of market exchanges (which can generate increasing inequalities in wealth and so power). It seems clear that Proudhon was aware that in the market, the strong dominate the weak and that a contract between the weak and the strong will always favour the latter (see the 'Ninth Proposition' in *What is Property?*). Again, this aspect of the free market is ignored by Mr Garner. However, it is part of the reason why most anarchists are communists.

I could go on, but this letter is far too long as it is. I could mention the natural barriers to entry which every industry generates which could encourage the degeneration of a self-managed economy into capitalism as unemployed workers have to sell their labour to survive. I could also mention that Mondragon (the most successful co-op network) has started hiring more wage slaves, thus undermining self-management (the co-op members have exercised their property rights and refused to let them join their co-op, in other words). Would this stop under Mr Garner's system? He gives us no real reason to think it would. In all, I would again argue that private property would undermine a free market based labour-managed economy and send it back into capitalism and that Mr Garner's claims are simply wrong. I feel Proudhon would have agreed with me (as can be seen from his comments regarding the necessity of an "agro-industrial federation").

Iain McKay

Would Iain McKay contact the editor of Freedom please?

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— PROGRAMME 1999 —

9th July General discussion

16th July The Babymilk Scandal (speaker
Edmund McArthur)

23rd July General discussion

30th July Authority and Credentials
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6th August General discussion

13th August The Anarchist Study Project
meets The London Anarchist Forum

20th August General discussion

27th August Anarchism and Ethics
(symposium)

3rd September General discussion

10th September The Nihilist Origins of
Anarchism: a suppressed history (speaker
Steve Ash)

17th September General discussion

24th September Class and Class Struggle:
A Critical Analysis (speaker Peter Neville)

1st October General discussion

8th October Getting Anarchist Ideas Over
(symposium)

15th October Open meeting for any
comrades coming to the Anarchist Bookfair
on Saturday 16th October.

22nd October General discussion

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Neville at the meetings giving your subject
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Peter Neville
for London Anarchist Forum

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Sunday 22nd August

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Storer House car park, Wards End,
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Sunday 26th September

Rutland water. Meet at the John Storer House
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Walk leader Ray.

Sunday 31st October

Vale of Belvoir. Meet at the John Storer House
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