

FREEDOM

anarchist fortnightly

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50p

In economic domination ...

Size matters

Since the Battle of Seattle on 30th November few serious commentators on international politics, economics or even moral philosophy have been able to overlook its potential consequences. Alistair Cook mentioned it twice in his *Letter from America* on two consecutive weekend broadcasts in December 1999, stating that you cannot ban the WTO – you might as well ban government itself and join behind that band of anarchists in Seattle with their flaming flag proclaiming ‘Anarchism Triumphant’ and declaring the US protesting steelworkers as ‘Luddites’.

After Thanksgiving the *Seattle Weekly* ran an article by Bill McKibben which proclaimed: “For twenty years the fight to globalise the world’s economy has been a rout. The largest transnational corporations expanded their power in every direction – Japanese conglomerates

cut down forests across the tropics; American grain companies dictated the price of food; *Baywatch* found a billion viewers a week.”

Then, after the protests in Seattle and over the world, even *Socialist Worker* turned its front page over to what it called: “In every continent ... RAGE AGAINST THE SYSTEM”. The Socialist Workers’ Party, which had ignored the Carnival Against Capitalism on 18th June in London, suddenly embraced the 30th November protests. By the end of the year other rags on the antiquarian left in Britain followed with nervous references to Seattle, Euston and elsewhere, but the bulk continued to cover the pantomime of the elections for a Lord Mayor for London in their headlines.

Consumer opposition

The Socialist Workers’ Party tends to be

more acute at sensing ‘sea changes’ in politics, though this has often led to it behaving like a neurotic grasshopper chasing moonbeams. But what is this political ‘sea change’?

Until recently Monsanto and other seed companies seemed about to overturn the agricultural systems that had evolved for the past ten millennia. By spring last year almost half the corn and soya planted in the US Midwest were genetically altered varieties.

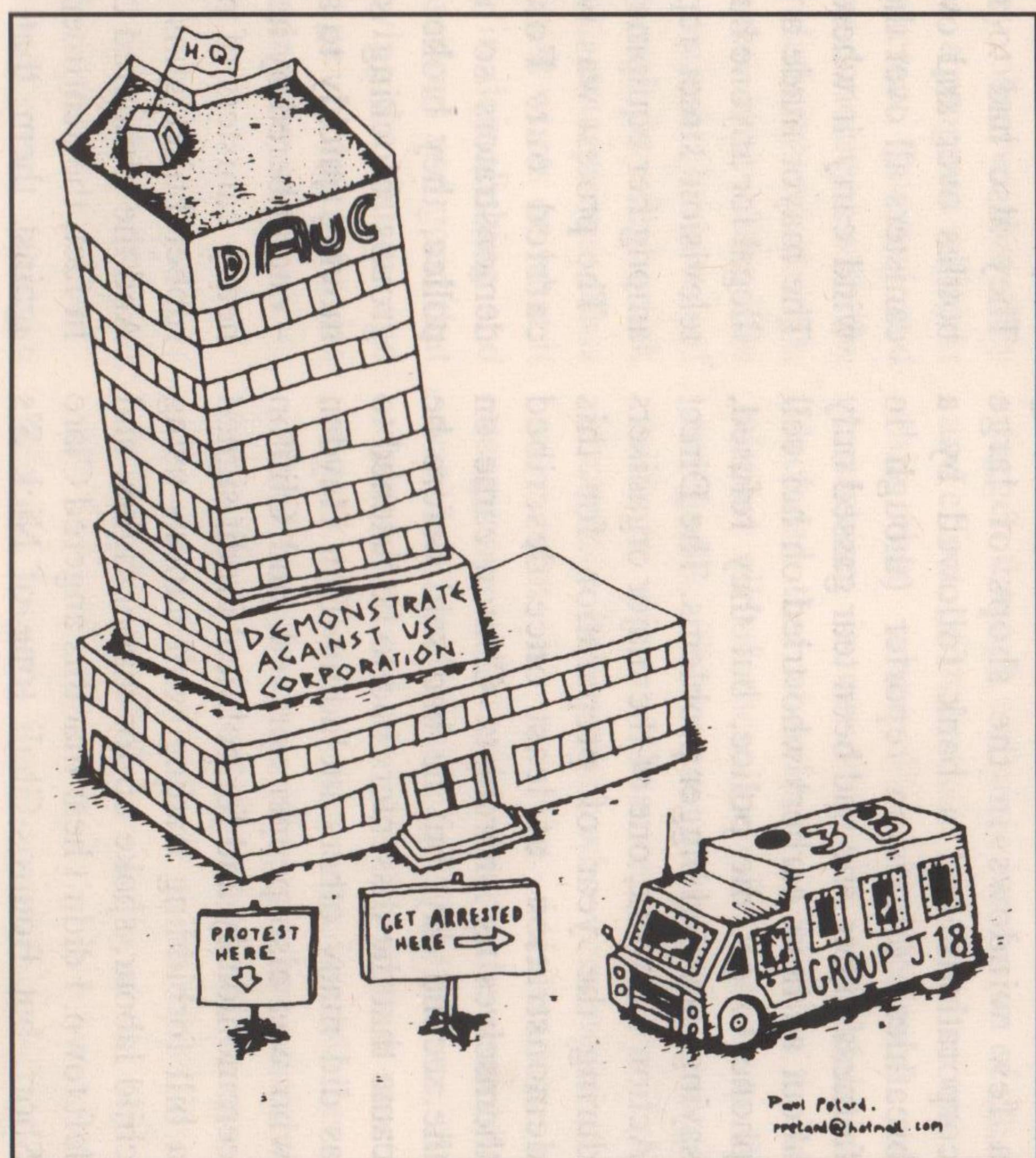
By last spring, according to Bill McKibben in the *Seattle Weekly* of 25th November 1999, “consumers across Europe suddenly woke up to the fact that this exotic technology was taking over their refrigerators and, led by a small number of environmental campaigners, they said no. Within weeks Britain’s big supermarkets were pledging never to sell GM foods and buying up tropical islands so they could guarantee a supply of unmodified bananas; within weeks after that, American farmers were worrying about where they’d sell their crops. Environmentalists, meanwhile, woke up to the threat when a study showed that pollen from the altered corn killed monarch butterflies, something Monsanto hadn’t bothered to test.”

On New Year’s Eve the *Farmer’s Guardian* reported that “major supermarket companies [in the UK] are moving out of genetically modified fed animal products, with the latest, Tesco, pulling out”. Tesco claims it will have ‘outlawed’ GM ingredients from its products by the spring. Iceland says its ban on GM ingredients in feed in fresh and frozen poultry will be in force by February 2000.

Monsanto and its allies plan a big advertising campaign to try to turn the tide, but Bill McKibben says “it may be too late for them”. The current *Farmer’s Guardian* claims that “latest figures suggest that imports of non-GM soya from Brazil are continuing to rise, while US GM soya is falling”.

Bill McKibben argued in the *Seattle Weekly* that peasant farmers in the poor world “had long resisted seed-patenting, agribusiness take-over of land, and the other tools of this new agricultural economy”. Mr McKibben thinks the

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On changes to the Prevention of Terrorism Act ...

The use and misuse of terror

Anarchism has always been illegal in this country. Of course what may be called theoretical or philosophical anarchism – the mere belief that society without instituted authority could be possible and might be preferable to society with instituted authority – is no more against the law than any other mere belief. But real anarchism, what may be called practical or political anarchism – agitation for the abolition of instituted authority, and action to begin such a process – is in clear breach of the laws of treason and sedition, since it aims to overthrow not just the monarchy but the whole established system of government and it leads to divisions and even violence between various classes of the population.

The same is true of all revolutionary ideologies of both right and left, and in the old days many revolutionary leaders of many kinds suffered prosecution and execution or imprisonment for treason or sedition. But during the twentieth century the use of such laws fell out of fashion, because it eventually proved too difficult to secure convictions from juries who became as tolerant of political as of religious dissent in an increasingly stable society. Instead they were replaced to some extent by milder political prosecutions under the laws of criminal libel or public order or mutiny or arousing alarm and despondency or incitement to disaffection or incitement to racial hatred.

However, there were still circumstances in which a more drastic law was needed, and one of these was the renewal of the so-called Troubles in Northern Ireland thirty years ago. The result was special legislation culminating in the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act of 1989, the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Acts of 1996 and 1998, and so on. Such laws gave the Government enormous powers, were always claimed to be temporary measures subject to periodical renewal or automatic repeal, and have been increasingly questioned as the Troubles have been superseded by the so-called Peace Process. There was an official Inquiry into Legislation against Terrorism in 1996 and an official consultation document on Legislation against Terrorism in 1998. Finally a Terrorism Bill was introduced into the House of Commons at the end of 1999 and will proceed through Parliament during the coming year.

The overwhelming Labour majority in the House of Commons and general Conservative support should ensure that it will become law without many changes, but there will be bitter resistance to it by liberal and libertarian interests both in Parliament and in the media. It is also worth emphasising that one effect will be to make anarchism and all other revolutionary ideologies clearly illegal once more.

The main intention of the Terrorism Bill is to extend the coverage of so-called 'counter-terrorist' legislation from Northern Ireland to the whole country and at the same time to

make it permanent; the Explanatory Notes argue that it will consolidate existing measures and add new measures "so that counter-terrorist measures will be applicable to all forms of terrorism: Irish, international, and domestic".

The most remarkable provision is the extension of the legal definition of terrorism. The previous definition in the Prevention of Terrorism Act was "the use of violence for political ends", including "any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public or any section of the public in fear"; the second half was fair enough, though the first half already went beyond the normal sense of the word. The revised definition in the Terrorism Bill is "the use or threat, for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause, of action which involves serious violence against any person or property, endangers the life of any person, or creates a serious risk to the health or safety of the public or a section of the public"; this goes considerably further, since it removes the subjective element of fear which is surely the essence of terrorism, and it adds damage to property which is on a much lower level than violence against people. The new law would cover many recent actions of environmentalist groups which haven't caused anyone any hurt or fear, but which have harmed property and have caused physical or commercial disruption; and it could easily convert ordinary strikers or demonstrators into terrorists liable to many years in prison.

There are elaborate sections on the proscription of organisations by the Government, on financial support for terrorism, and on investigation into terrorism. The schedule of proscribed organisations includes only fourteen paramilitary organisations in Northern Ireland, but the Home Secretary would be able to add others anywhere else in the country; the measures against financial support would make it an offence not only for a person to give such support but also for a person not to report suspicions of another person doing so; the measures on investigation would give the authorities throughout the country the drastic

powers they already exercise in Northern Ireland.

It would become an offence to give or receive instruction or training in the making or use of firearms, explosives, or chemical, biological or nuclear weapons, though it would be a defence to prove that it was for a purpose other than terrorism or for a reasonable excuse; this would allow the main people involved in such activities – the armed forces – to continue their work in these lines. It would also become an offence to possess any article or document or record which might be useful for terrorism, or even to be on the same premises as such an item, though with the same limitation; so it would be risky to visit the home of someone else who might own, say, a copy of *The Anarchist Cookbook*.

It would become an offence to organise or incite so-called terrorism in other countries, though there is a special exemption for people "acting on behalf of, or holding office under, the Crown"; so the Secret Intelligence Service will be able to continue its work in this line, but exiles in this more or less free country who have traditionally been able to organise militant campaigns against tyrannical regimes at home would be caught in the net, whether they were political or any other kind of radicals – so good-bye, O'Connell and Parnell, Mazzini and Garibaldi, Marx and Engels, Bakunin and Kropotkin, Most and Landauer, Lenin and Stalin, Ferrer and Goldman, Kenyatta and Mandela, Recchioni and Berneri, Meltzer and Christie, and so on.

Despite the still popular mythology, most anarchists are not committed to terrorism in

any sense. But if there had been such a law in this country during the past century or so, virtually every anarchist individual could have been imprisoned, virtually every anarchist organisation proscribed, and virtually every anarchist periodical suppressed in the name of counter-terrorism.

The function of such a law is not to suppress terrorism, even in the special sense it claims, but to raise the spectre of terror against all forms of militant dissent. The function of militant dissenters is not to conduct terrorism, in the correct sense, but to keep open the paths of political thought and action so that there is room for radical and rational discourse of all kinds and even for revolutionary campaigns when they seem appropriate, in this as in every other country. We shall not be transformed into terrorists by Act of Parliament, and we shall not be terrorised into silence by a coalition of Old Tory and New Labour, but we shall continue the work we and our predecessors have done for 115 years, regardless of our legal position.

We anarchists can't hope to do much about the passage of the Terrorism Bill through Parliament, but we can at least join all the other individuals and organisations and periodicals campaigning against it, and when it eventually becomes law we must be prepared to break it as deliberately and as frequently as possible, so that it joins the laws of treason and sedition in the dustbin of history.

NW

The anonymously produced graphic below is taken from *The Heretic's Handbook of Quotations*, edited by Chas Bufe (published by See Sharp Press).



Notes in the Margin

The group of anarchists around the Centro Studi Libertari in Milan who publish the monthly *Rivista 'A'*, have for years produced the famous quarterly *Volontà*, founded in 1946 in Naples by Giovanna Berneri and Cesare Zaccaria. This ceased publication at the end of 1996, by which time each of its issues had become an anarchist monograph with a variety of contributors exploring on particular topic so that each issue was book-sized and book-length.

Now they have launched a new quarterly, *Libertaria*, edited from Rome and published in Milan from the same address (via Rovetta 27, 20127 Milano). The first issue, for Oct/Dec 1999 is stylishly produced with 144 pages, 265mm by 190mm, with articles by and about Cornelius Castoriadis, and Noam Chomsky and a variety of anarchist writers.

An introductory statement by Luciano Lanza for the editorial group declares that: "In both its classical and contemporary philosophical form, anarchism contains possible solutions to the problems posed by the final decline of authoritarian communism as well as the emergence of a new hegemonic global capitalism. This rich heritage of anarchist philosophical thought and practice deserves a much wider audience. There is a longing for a more appropriate system of ethical values. We need new concepts and ideals (an alternative social imagination) in order to displace the current all-pervasive statist and/or neo-liberal models ... In the wake of the collapse of communism, with all its attendant horrors, we are now witnessing the emergence of a new, and perhaps even more horrific, system of oppression: neo-liberal totalitarianism. It is becoming more and more difficult to find a means of opposing the all-encompassing fascination of market logic, as well as the increasing consolidation of religious fundamentalisms. Is it possible today to discern resistant, dissident or alternative voices? We think the answer is yes."

Anarchism and Judaism

The Milan anarchists are also organising an international meeting on this topic to be held in Venice from Friday 5th May to Sunday 7th May 2000. Details from Centro Studi Libertari at the above address. Tel/fax 02 28 46 923.

Arthur Lehning

On the occasion of his hundredth birthday on 23rd October 1999, Arthur Lehning, the veteran Dutch anarchist, essayist, social historian and archivist, was awarded the prestigious P.C. Hooft Prize, the premier Dutch literary distinction. The issue for December 1999 of *Nieuw Letterkundig Magazijn*, the journal of the Society of Netherlands Literature, carries an article describing his achievements. Arthur Lehning edited the *Archives Bakounine*, published in Leiden for the International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam, and edited Bakunin's *Selected Writings* (London: Cape 1973).

CW

Bourgeois influences on anarchism

I'll repeat what I've said at other times: anarchists aren't Tolstoyans – they recognise that violence (which is always an ugly thing, be it individual or collective) is frequently necessary, and that no one should condemn those who have sacrificed their lives to this necessity. But we're not dealing with this, but with the tendency, derived from bourgeois influences, of ignoring goals and making actions the primordial preoccupation.

According to my understanding, those anarchists who place an over-riding importance on acts of rebellion are perhaps revolutionaries and anarchists, but they're much more revolutionary than they are anarchist. I've known many anarchists who bother themselves little or not at all with anarchist theory and don't even try to learn about it, but are flaming revolutionaries whose critiques and propaganda have no end other than the revolutionary, that of rebellion for rebellion's sake. And the more fiery and the more intransigent they are, the sooner they abandon our camp and cross to that of the law-based and authoritarian parties – their faith in a rapidly approaching revolution evaporates through contact with reality and their energy is dissipated in far too violent conflicts in their social surroundings.

The minds of men, especially of the young thirsting for the mysterious and extraordinary, allow themselves to be easily dragged by the passion for the new toward that which, when coolly examined in the calm which follows initial enthusiasm, is absolutely and definitively repudiated. This fever for new things, this audacious spirit, this zeal for the extraordinary has brought to the anarchist ranks the most exaggeratedly impressionable types, and, at the same time, the most empty headed and frivolous types, persons who are not repelled by the absurd, but who, on the contrary, engage in it. They are attracted to projects and ideas precisely because they are absurd, and so anarchism come to be known precisely for the illogical character and ridiculousness which ignorance and bourgeois calumny have attributed to anarchist doctrines.

These persons are the elements who

contribute most to discrediting the anarchist ideal, because from this ideal they extrapolate an infinity of false and ridiculous ramifications, gross errors, deviations and degenerations, believing that, on the contrary, they're defending 'pure' anarchism. These individuals hardly enter the world of anarchism when they realise that anarchism as conceived by anarchist philosophers, economists, and sociologists is very different that that which they believe in and learned to love through reading the deceptive writings of bourgeois writers. They discover that the movement follows a course far different than they had imagined; in short, they observe that they have before them an idea, a program which is completely organic, coherent, positive and possible – because it was conceived with the appreciation of the relativity of things, without which life becomes impossible. The serious, positive, and logical character of anarchism irritates them, and they find quick comfort by joining that amorphous mass which doesn't know what it wants or what it thinks, but is relentless in demolishing and discrediting everything serious and good that others do, and in employing the abusive and authoritarian language proper to its temperament and the bourgeois origin of its mental state.

None of these individuals would have come to our camp but for the attraction exercised upon them by phoney, bourgeois 'anarchist' propaganda. The entire bourgeois campaign of invective, calumny and pure invention acts as a mirror for all of these marginalised types – marginalised intellectually, materially, psychologically, and physiologically – who always align themselves with the absurd, the unusual, the terrible and the illogical.

It is true that those who come to us attracted by the clamour of this misleading bourgeois propaganda certainly improve their ideas and throw out much chaff they formerly took for wheat; but it's also true, unfortunately, that due to the temperament which predisposed them to respond to bourgeois propaganda, residues of bourgeois influence remain in them. Among those who take a mistaken

mental direction, there are few who know how, or are strong enough, to rectify it.

And so we have those who come to our ranks in the spirit of reprisal, because of the hatred sown in their hearts by misery and hopelessness, who come precisely because they believe that anarchy is the spirit of violent reprisal and vengeance described by the bourgeoisie; and they have refused to accept the true conception of anarchism, that is to say, the negation of violence and the sublimity of love as the foundation of solidarity. To these individuals anarchism has continued to be violence, the bomb, the dagger, through a strange confusion of cause and effect, of means and ends; and so true is this that when Parsons declared that anarchism is not violence, and Malatesta declared that anarchism is not the bomb, almost all of these people took them for renegades. There are many who strongly wish to correct these errors, these vile bourgeois distortions, who remember that anarchism is not the idealisation of vengeance, that the revolution the anarchists want is a revolution of love, not of hate, that violence should be considered as a mortal venom which is only employable as a counter-venom imposed by the necessities of the struggle, and not by the desire to cause damage. Those who hold these ideas, even though they are the most selfless, are called vile and cowardly by those whose brains are infected with the bourgeois theory that as an iron law violence should be employed.

To sum up, we should ensure that our movement travels its own road, independent of the direct or indirect influence of bourgeois calumny and ideology, independently, be it in the positive or negative sense, of the conduct of the conservatives. And we'll be doing revolutionary and eminently libertarian work, in that libertarian theory shows us that we should emancipate ourselves socially and individually of all influences which do not derive from and do not respond directly to our own interests, to our liberty, and to our desires.

Luigi Fabbri

(continued from page 8)

success of the environmentalists, peasants and consumers against the agents of engineered cuisine like Monsanto, and the derailment of the expansion of the World Trade Organisation through the Multilateral Agreement on Investment in 1998, has created a new current of opposition to corporate power.

World management

In *Freedom* (2nd October 1999) I tried to show the clash between the European and American approach to these matters. In 1946 George Orwell wrote: "Most Americans who think about the matter at all would prefer to see the world divided between two or three monster states which reached their natural boundaries and could bargain with one another on economic issues without being troubled by ideological differences".

The instinct for globalisation has been on track since World War Two. From then on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was regularly re-negotiated to smooth transactions in an increasingly international economy. But in 1995 the GATT agreement was upgraded into the WTO, an actual decision-making body that can enforce its rules by over-ruling the laws of its member states.

This fits in with the American tendency to admire size for its own sake and to feel that

success constitutes justification, which, in 1946, Orwell thought was an "all-prevailing anti-British sentiment". Today, of course, the government of Britain under New Labour, if not the people, have been converted to the US view that 'size matters'.

Bill Clinton wanted China in the WTO for this very reason. Under the WTO Multilateral Agreement in Investment (MAI) developing countries would have lost control of economic policies as much as they have lost control of trade rights. Bill McKibben writes that "financial markets, by pulling vast amounts of money from small nations if they don't do what Wall Street wants, already exert enormous control – but the MAI would have made that *de facto* power into a legal right, would have cemented into place the current power balances".

It seems clear that the so-called 'free market' if international capitalism is going to be dominated by two or three monster regimes of which the United States will be one serious player. Nor is it surprising that the British Labour Party should be converted to this world model. Commenting on welfare policy in the Christmas issue of *The Big Issue in the North*, Professor James Peck remarked that "the real changes – the real influences – are coming from the US. I have never seen a Labour minister share a platform with a policy-maker from ...

Europe. I have seen plenty on the platform from Wisconsin".

In two essays in the Freedom Press book *The Tradition of Workers' Control*, Geoffrey Ostergaard argues that "the sad truth ... is that the Labour Party cannot be expected to formulate any measures to prevent the emergence of a managerial order", because there always was a managerial power worship rooted in that party, and New Labour is merely its latest manifestation. Some of Blair's advisers were formerly Trotskyists, I understand, and if 'democratic centralism' had triumphed in the Labour Party you can bet we would have had ever more gory examples of managerialism. But that's another story.

The protests in Seattle are a set-back for the world's economic managers, but not a defeat. Mr McKibben warns of reforms and little "remedies around the edges". He talks of "a side agreement to calm those hotheaded environmentalists, some codicil to soothe big labour so it will stop complaining about admitting China to the WTO".

Against the monster of a world management carved-up by a few powerful economic blocs is an army of diverse dissidents who, says McKibben, "have a fundamentally different idea of how the world should look". The ultimate outcome is uncertain.

BB

— COPY DEADLINE —

The next issue of *Freedom* will be dated 29th January, and the last day for copy intended for this issue will be first post on Thursday 20th January.

In the light of the events of Seattle and Euston the question is ...

What comes after capitalism?

Is it not about time to take the discussion of capitalism into an entirely new stage? Do not the events of Seattle and Euston demand it? The Blair-Giddens Third Way is not that stage. It is more much-of-the-same with a new cosmetic gloss.

Since the invention of the word 'socialism' by the Owenites in 1829, that idea, variously defined, has been taken to constitute the alternative to capitalism. Over the past 170 years it has yielded nationalisation, the welfare state, totalitarian tyranny and social democracy but has never produced substantial and lasting political and economic structures and functions. It is now used up and we have to do better.

What is capitalism?

It is generally assumed that we all know what capitalism is, i.e. a system in which the employers, who own the means of production, exploit the workers, who own nothing except their labour power, by means of the wages system. The object is profit, regardless of human consequences, and the end-product is a new servitude of the great majority. Plainly such a system is tyrannical and unjust, meriting either constitutional transformation or revolutionary overthrow. Thus the great

debate. What course to take?

But what if the original question and answer were mistaken in the first place? What if there is a deeper matter at stake?

I have spent over fifty years examining this question, especially historically, including the reading of the whole of Volume 2 of *Das Capital* where Marx examines the nature of medieval economics and comes to the conclusion that it was based on 'small-scale production'. Now this was certainly true until about the year 1100 when this country, and the continent of Europe generally, enjoyed a subsistence economy. That means that it was essentially pre-market. Money was just marginal.

In the next two hundred years, the period of the High Middle Ages, extraordinary things happened. The Cistercian monks cleared forests and invented the great sheep farm with flocks of the 5/20,000 order. Others followed suit. Large scale production was born. Spinning, weaving, fulling, dyeing and weaving became industries instead of subsistence crafts. The wool trade transformed Europe, London got its Charter in 1191, freehold and leasehold were invented. Money and the market moved from the fringe of society to its centre. Mercenary soldiers

took the place of feudal retainers. Labour services on the land were transformed by commutation, to quit-rents. Today the wool churches of East Anglia and the Cotswolds are monuments to a new extraordinary affluence.

Capitalism was therefore to be redefined. It turns on the creation and maintenance of money and the market as the pivotal economic institution. It then follows that so long as we need money and the market and have not located any alternative, then so long will we have capitalism, call it what you will.

The question then comes up: 'Does this mean that we shall have capitalism for ever or does it have an Achilles Heel, i.e. some fatal flaw, built into itself?' It does indeed have such a flaw.

As the opening pages of any economic textbook will tell you, capitalism turns upon the fact, the assumption, of scarcity. Use-value is produced by work (given natural resources) but price is produced by supply and demand in the market. And supply and demand pre-suppose scarcity. Scarcity mediates the whole system. Abolish scarcity and capitalism collapses. When scarcity is threatened, drastic steps have to be taken to restore it. Consider the Milk Marketing Board keeping the production of milk down to a quota in order to assure a high, artificial price! Look at the history of butter-mountains and wine lakes. Today we have an impossible surplus of cattle, sheep and pigs reducing stock farmers to desperation.

Signs of change

A new dread word is in circulation in the City - deflation. Last year prices fell by 1%. We have had crises of overproduction before. They lead to financial collapses but, to date, they have always been temporary. Some years of belt tightening, a war to destroy so much that demand returns, and the system gets back on course. But that supposes that there is continuity in technology and trade. Now the IT revolution is disposing of that continuity. The silicon chip and the Internet are transforming production, management and communications. E-commerce has arrived. Does the retailer have a future?

In my supermarket I buy baked beans and cling peaches at nine-pence a tin. On the next shelf the same beans and peaches are on sale, under brand names, at three to four times the price! Notices round the shop say 'Buy one, have one free'. Outside on the High Street the charity shops are multiplying. A pure silk Italian tie, shop price about £15, cost me all of 30p. My next-door neighbour, updating his gear, has just given me a Personal Computer and as many lessons as I may need to work it - free. What will a throw-away society do to the market?

One third of our society is rich, one third is poor and the remaining third is eating well but insecure. Will I have a job this time next year? What happens to the mortgage if I am out of work? Is the company I work for facing a take-over or down-sizing? Challenge is good but chronic stress is sick and there is a great deal of it about. Our whole culture is overhung with apprehension. Conformity stultifies the imagination.

We all know the old axiom that every system contains the seeds of its own destruction. It is a cliché. We need to dust it off and take it seriously over this matter of capitalism.

We are now going through a second industrial revolution more revolutionary than the first; that started with the steam engine and worked though the new power sources - gas, electricity, oil and the atom. What happens when China really gets going? The rate of change is itself changing - upwards. There is no levelling-out in sight. We are already into the beginning of surplus, as deflation is our witness. It is perfectly possible that surplus will destroy the market within the next thirty years. That means the end of capitalism as we have known it since the twelfth century. It means that we shall have to devise a new accounting system not based on price and locate new incentives of a non-material order. Writing in the USA in 1930 John Maynard Keynes foresaw this situation when he addressed a paper 'to my grandchildren'. Interestingly what worried him most was not the drastic re-thinking in economics that would be called for, but how would millions of people brought up to live with money and material values cope, when those values cease to have meaning? We face an epoch of bewilderment as we inch our way towards the gift economy of the future.

Peter Cadogan

Krystalnacht

(If it had been a drunk, there would have been blood!)

Two nights ago, the Friday after Remembrance Sunday, my big shop window was smashed. Inside facing out was a poster of Scientific Findings on Threats Posed by Genetically Engineered Organisms. It was there for months, but recently an external denunciation of Genetic Science was rubbed out from the side. Replaced for Remembrance Sunday on the side, in wash-off whitening with: "Why forget 306 Britons and 25 Germans?" Those were the numbers shot for 'Cowardice' in World War One. On the big window it said "Our Heroes died fighting various forms of Fascism: Now Blair's appointees to the upper house will build Fascism in Westminster". That was up for the Parade, was read by the Member of Parliament, and some of the men in uniform.

After the Parade "Learn from Australia: No new members without a referendum offering at least three choices of how they are selected. Prevent Party Creeps being selected" was added.

None of that was rubbed off until the night after the attack.

The previous slogan "Mankind evolved together with animals bred for food and work. Now sentimental do-gooders prevent Elephants working. The jungles are destroyed, and Elephants starve. Restore the Elephants' right to work!" was rubbed off, and animal liberation stickers put on lampposts approaching from the town saying "Shamrock Farm Monkey Prison - Close it Down! Shamrock (GB) Ltd imports monkeys and then sells them on to vivisection labs for cruel experiments. Phone Shamrock and let them know what you think of their vile business [telephone number given]. Save the Shamrock Monkeys, [address given]."

The slogan before elephants denounced the Red Cross for not raising hell over the Indonesian Army using a Red Cross helicopter and emblem to massacre West Papuan villagers the Red Cross had invited to a party. And continuing to employ the Red Cross manager who by failing to fill the negotiated agreement with hostage takers, preventing the release of hostages so being the direct cause of the massacre of innocents.

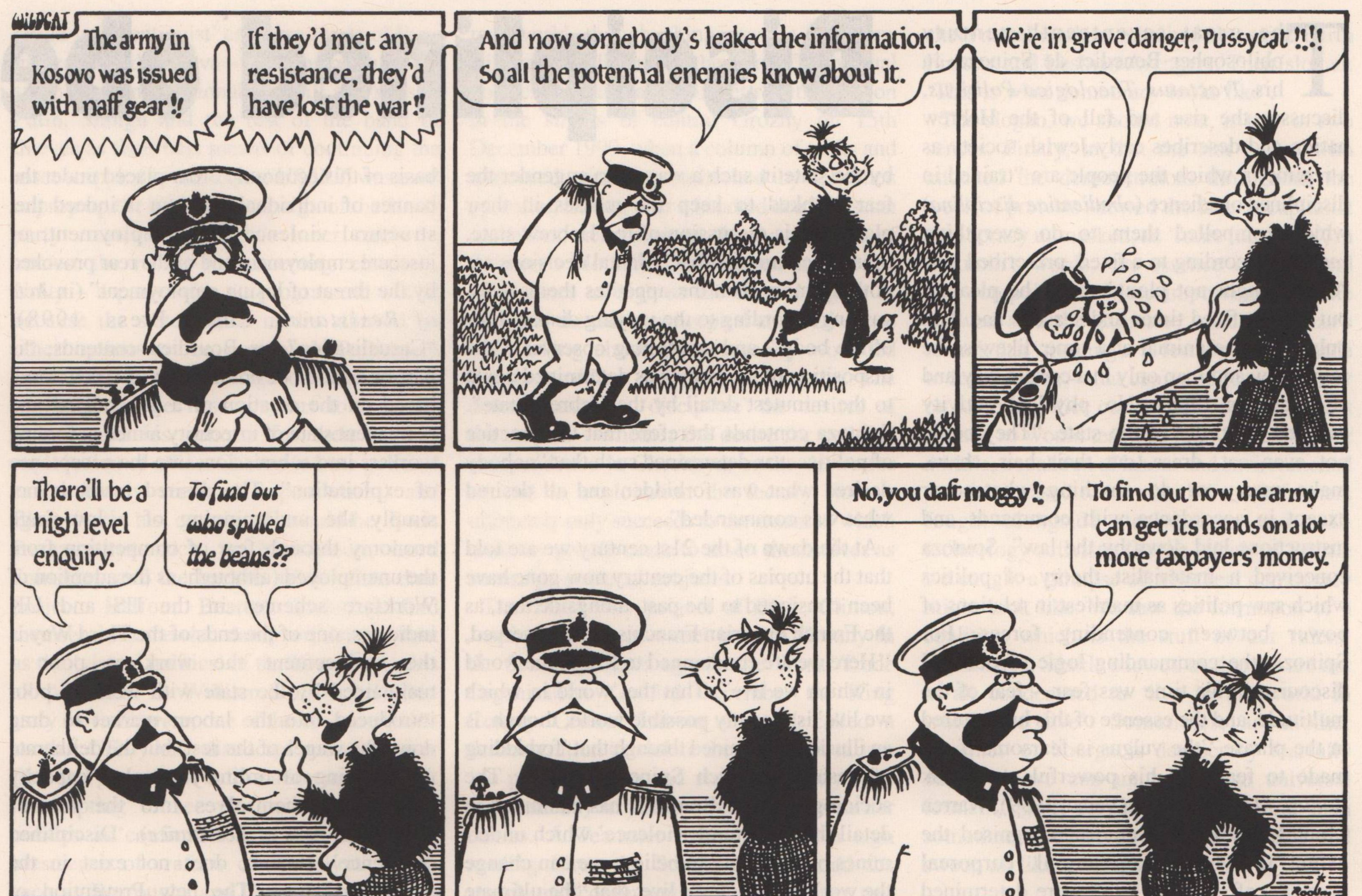
So there are five possible suspects for the Krystalnacht: GM Scientists (the glazier indicates that the anti-GM poster was the point of impact);

New Labour Fascists; World War One officers in the British Army, their children or grandchildren; Red Cross agents in the pay of RTZ; Animal Libbers.

The Animal Libbers rubbed out "Restore the Elephants' right to work", and left their calling card, so it seems unlikely to be them.

Did British Army officers refuse to pardon those shot? Preferring to keep convicted the two hundred and eighty one innocents than pardon the twenty five guilty - a figure easily derived by these who believe the British Army had no more cowards than the German Army. They become third Suspects of this Krystalnacht - after GM Scientists, and Politicians!

Ilyan



A publicity bonanza for the anarchist movement, or a public relations disaster?

Battle in Seattle



Police used gas and pepper spray on anti-WTO protesters huddled outside the Sheraton Hotel in downtown Seattle

The anarchists who rioted at the WTO protests in Seattle have garnered more media coverage for the movement than any event since the Sacco and Vanzetti trial or the assassination of President McKinley. The general public now firmly associates the anarchist movement with smashing shop windows, looting stores, and spray painting slogans on buildings, despite years of effort to get our positive message across, that anarchism is not about violence and chaos, that what we really are about is a society organised through voluntary cooperation, mutual aid, individual freedom, and political equality. After the WTO protests, the public now associates anarchism with masked hooligans on a rampage, venting their feelings of alienation and moral superiority. Some may argue that the property damage

was a response to the police using tear gas and pepper spray on the WTO protesters, but at least one faction of the 'Black Bloc' has said there was not any connection between the two, that they were not going to let the police set the agenda.

I would argue that many of the 'non-violent' protesters were also in the wrong in Seattle. Not content with protesting the meeting and educating the public about the undemocratic structure of the WTO and its impact on workers, consumers and the environment, they felt a need to physically block the delegates from attending their meeting, an act of coercion and a violation of the delegates' right to peacefully gather. These obstructionists were actually the aggressors, giving the police the opportunity to play the role of defenders of order and

civility. If the protesters had been acting to stop an actual WTO-imposed injustice, such as breaking a strike, logging an ancient forest or slaughtering dolphins, they may have been justified to coercively obstruct WTO aggression. But to shut down the city centre and prevent the meeting of a group for political reasons was authoritarian in the extreme. Then the police went on their own authoritarian rampage, using extremely painful chemical weapons, clubs and rubber bullets to break up the non-coercive gatherings of anyone in the area. Imagine if anarchists had been barred from gathering by 'non-violent' statists or religious fanatics.

The anarchist movement has clearly been deeply infected by the aggressive political tactics of the authoritarian left. It's considered 'justified' to break up meetings, destroy literature, silence speakers, damage property, riot, block public movement on the streets, and steal in the name of a good cause. These are not anarchist methods. This does not lead us towards our goal. People who behave like Leninists are not anarchists. Blocking the WTO meeting was even worse than anti-abortion protesters who blockade clinics, because the WTO meeting was just a meeting. We should not be zealots who believe our cause gives us the right to violate the freedom of our opponents. Speech is just speech, a meeting is just a meeting. Save the 'direct action' for responding to concrete acts of aggression.

One side effect of the media coverage will be an influx of people into the anarchist movement who think that rioting is what anarchism is about. Luigi Fabbri wrote about this phenomenon, noting that when the bourgeois press wrote lurid tales about anarchist depravity, hooligan youths were actually attracted to this anti-social, violent fabrication, and were disappointed to find a workers' and freedom movement instead of

well-poisoners and mad bombers. But alas, this process is already well advanced, as illustrated by *Anarchy* magazine, which encouraged its readers to emulate the Unabomber, and a group called the Utopian Anarchist Party, which applauds students who set off bombs in schools. The anarcho-primitivists have gotten much media coverage of their message that anarchists are anti-technology and anti-civilization. Unless we can somehow get our positive message across, these pseudo-anarchist groups will become the mainstream of the anarchist movement, and any hope of becoming a popular movement under the banner of anarchism will be lost.

There are two strategies I can think of to counter this problem. One is a well-publicised split in the movement, in the hope of salvaging anarchism in the eyes of the public by denouncing the anarcho-hooligans. This would involve press releases, ads and press conferences (and volunteers to speak at these press conferences). The other alternative is to abandon the 'anarchist' movement entirely and try to strike out under a different name, such as 'People for a Free Society' or 'Freedom and Justice Movement'. Or we could organise a voluntary cooperativist movement and call it the 'Free Cooperative Movement', 'Land and Liberty' or something like that. After all, the Socialists of the nineteenth century split into Utopians, Marxists and Anarchists. This weakened the socialist movement, but did allow each faction to pursue its strategy in a logical, consistent manner, instead of being entangled in the attempt to reconcile contradictory opinions. I think I favour the first option, but we would have to get a pretty good sized coalition lined up if we are going to make it a real split, instead of becoming a splinter group while most anarchists stay on the fence and take a 'let it ride' position.

Send your ideas to: Ed Stamm, PO Box 1402, Lawrence KS 66044-8402 USA. I'll set up a snail mail discussion bulletin on this topic. If you don't want your letter published, please mark it 'not for publication' at the top.

Ed Stamm

Ed Stamm is the author of the pamphlet *Consent or Coercion, an anarchist case for social transformation and answers to questions about anarchism* (24 pages, £1.20 post free).

The great seventeenth century philosopher Benedict de Spinoza, in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, discusses the rise and fall of the Hebrew nation and describes early Jewish society as a regime in which the people are "trained in disciplined obedience (*obedientiae disciplina*) which compelled them to do everything (*omnia*) according to a fixed, prescribed law. A man might not plough when he pleased, but only at fixed times and seasons and then only with one animal at a time; likewise he might sow and reap only in a certain way and at a certain time". No physical activity escaped the order of the state. "They could not even eat, dress, cut their hair, shave, make merry or do anything whatsoever except in accordance with commands and instructions laid down by the law". Spinoza conceived a materialist theory of politics which saw politics as manifest in relations of power between contending forces. For Spinoza, the commanding logic of political discourse in his time was fear – fear of the multitude, and the essence of this he captured in the phrase "the vulgus is fearsome if not made to fear". In his powerful new book *Bodies, Masses, Power* (Verso, 1999), Warren Montag notes how Spinoza recognised the extent to which the material, corporeal practices of everyday life" were determined

Disciplined obedience?

by the state in such a way as to engender the fear invoked to keep the masses in their place. In his discussion of the Hebrew state, Spinoza comments that "Mental decisions are nothing more than the appetites themselves, varying according to the varying dispositions of the body", and as Montag observes, "the disposition of the body was determined down to the minutest detail by the Hebrew state". Spinoza contends therefore that the practice of politics was determined such that "nobody desired what was forbidden and all desired what was commanded".

At the dawn of the 21st century we are told that the utopias of the century now gone have been consigned to the past, alongside that, as the French historian Francois Furet observed, "Here we are condemned to live in the world in which we live". That the 'world in which we live' is the only possible world, though, is an illusion maintained through that 'forbidding of desire' to which Spinoza referred. The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has examined in detail the 'structural violence' which undermines our capacity to believe we can change the world in which we live; that "the ultimate

basis of this economic order placed under the banner of individual freedom is indeed the, structural violence of unemployment, of insecure employment and of the rear provoked by the threat of losing employment" (in *Acts of Resistance*, Polity Press, 1998). "Casualisation", as Bourdieu contends, "is part or a mode of domination of a new kind, based on the creation of a generalised and permanent state of insecurity aimed at forcing workers into submission, into the acceptance of exploitation". The desired result is not simply the underpinning of a low-wage economy through fear of competition from the unemployed (although, as the adoption of Workfare schemes in the US and UK indicates, one of the ends of the Third Way is the replacement the workless poor – maintained by the state with working poor introduced into the labour market to drag down the wages of the rest) but the deliberate undermining of ordinary peoples' capacity "to project themselves into the future" (Bourdieu, *Acts of Resistance*). 'Disciplined obedience', though, does not exist in the workplace alone. The new Prevention of

Terrorism bill, currently before Parliament, is designed to criminalise any and all effective resistance to the agenda of capital, and to extend the 'security environment' of the Six Counties throughout the UK. It is the clear intent of New Labour to define as terrorism any opposition to its agenda. As John Wadham of Liberty has pointed out, "the bill gives the government the power to 'proscribe' organisations ... If direct action organisations are being targeted as potential 'terrorists' then proscription is the next logical step" (in *The Guardian*, 14th December 1999).

The policing of everyday life, though, extends from the 'symbolic violence' of the fear of unemployment, through the mailed fist of the PTA, to even the most mundane aspects or existence. In the 3rd January 2000 issue of *The Guardian* we learn of David Blunkett's plan to set up "revolutionary adventure-style summer camps for all 16 year olds to develop their self-confidence and help them mature more quickly". Blunkett's scheme is aimed at the "thousands of young people who leave school at 16 without (continued on page 5)

Freedom Press Bookshop

Readers' Round-up

Confusion over the war in Kosovo, class war in Mexico, the prospects for land reform in Scotland and a report on the J18 carnival against capitalism in the City of London grace the pages of *Organise!* (no. 52, 24 pages, £1.50). Also carried are a major article on the global politics of water and 'Why we have changed our name', which is an explanation of the difficulties that led the publishers of the magazine to change their name – not their politics, we are assured – from the Anarchist Communist Federation to simply Anarchist Federation.

Direct Action (no. 13) concentrates on cults – an appropriate target at a point in time that many of them see as the end of a millennium. Those examined include Falun Gong, gurus, The Nine O'Clock Service, and 'Louis Farakhan and the Nation of Islam: Charmed and Dangerous'. The rest of its 36 pages (£1.50) include a section headed 'Blairedvision' which looks at various areas in which the current Labour government has adopted the agenda of the far right. Copies of issue no. 12 on education and Kosovo are also still available.

Several accounts of last summer's J18 frolics, and a piece entitled 'Time to get Heavy with the Countryside Alliance' feature in *Class War* (no. 78), "the paper with a chip on both shoulders" (16 A3 pages, £1). Not



Demo against Irish anti-asylum and immigration laws (picture from *Workers' Solidarity*)

forgetting the usual reports and regular features, such as 'Hospitalised Copper'.

For a mere 75p you can treat yourself to twelve A3 pages of *Workers Solidarity* (no. 58) which concentrates on globalisation as the new imperialism. The continuing fight

against the deportation from Ireland of asylum-seekers and immigrants is contrasted with the 'one hundred thousand welcomes' slogan of the Irish Tourist Board, and 'Anarchism or Barbarism' headlines the paper's analysis of the outrages committed in East Timor under the very noses of the international community. Other pages remember the Portuguese Revolution and examine life in Northern Ireland and anarchism in Japan. Issue no. 56 is still available.

Another useful tool against the capitalist despoilers is *Corporate Watch* (no. 9, 44 pages, £3). This has two lengthy sections tackling, respectively, Corporate Man (inside the executive mind, lifestyles of corporate directors, the psychology of the workplace, etc.) and Genetics (AgrEvo the new biotech baddie, genetics lobbying, GM trees and where all that unwanted soya goes). There is also a piece on the implications of J18 and a critique of the spreading infection that is WalMart, the world's largest retailer, now in the UK and coming to rip up an area of Green Belt near you if their relationship with our great leader is anything to go by. Some back issues are still available.

An interesting mix greets us in *Black Flag* (no. 218, 40 pages, £1.50). A long feature on sexual intolerance in football, an interview with *Observer* journalist Nick Cohen, another long interview with members of the Southall Black Sisters group, sit amongst a history of the black flag of anarchism, a critique of Hayek's economic theories, reports on Iraq, Kosovo, J18, asylum-seekers in Britain and a lot more.

Four Eyes

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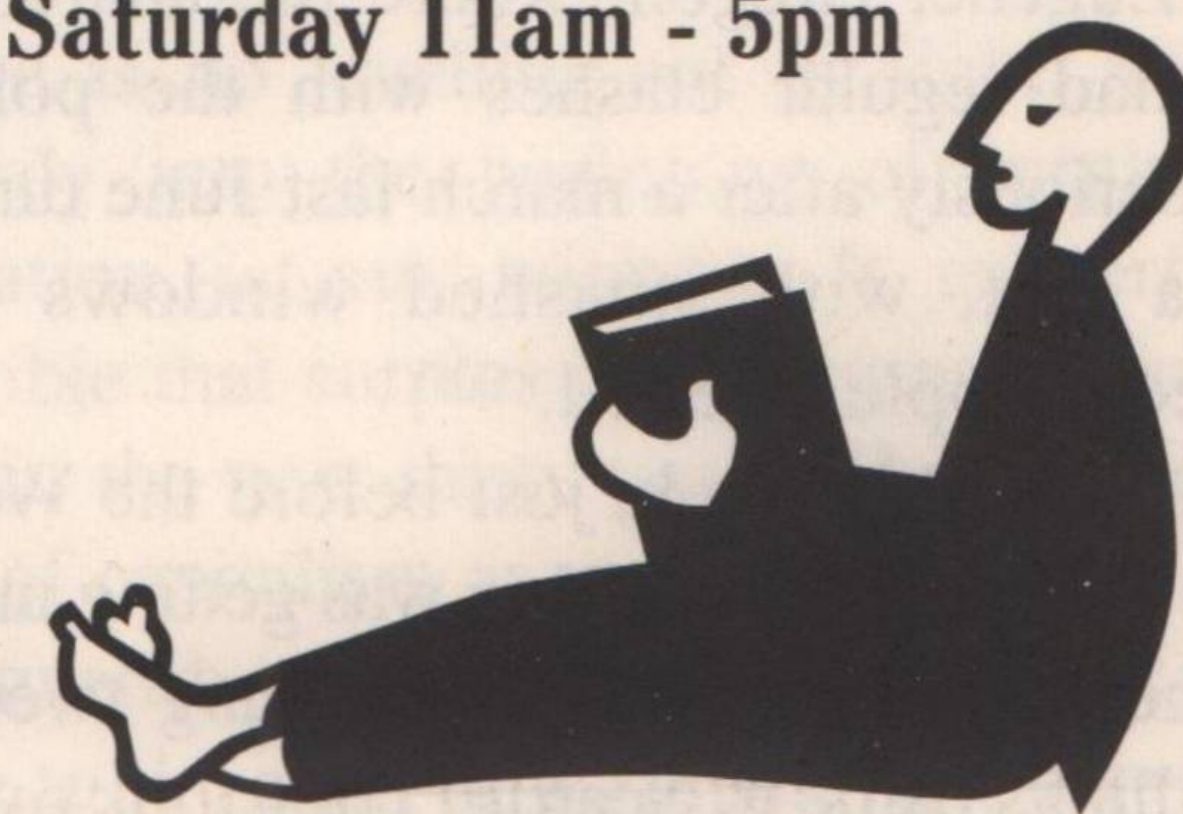
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— OBITUARY —

Martin Terres Andres

Born in Soria, Spain, in 1906 Martin Terres Andres joined the libertarian movement at a very young age. He was imprisoned for his involvement in the conspiracy against the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera known as the 'Sanjuanada' in June 1926. He served other prison sentences, one of which was due to his involvement in the general strike of October 1934.

When the military uprising of 1936 took place Andres was an artillery sergeant working closely with the anarchist group *Nosotros*. He immediately quit the regiment and distinguished himself in the street fighting in Barcelona that smashed the military coup there. He at once joined one of

the CNT columns marching to the Aragon front – the Second (transformed under militarisation into the 25th Division) with Antonio Ortiz at its head.

Andres worked well with Ortiz, and when the anarchists were forced to flee, Andres and Ortiz both went to France. From here Andres moved to Bolivia and finally Venezuela where he spent the majority of his exile. With the death of Franco he returned to Spain, establishing himself in Campello in Alicante, whilst often returning to Venezuela. It was on one of these visits that his health failed and he died on the 24th August in Caracas at the age of 93.

Nick Heath

(continued from page 4)

qualifications and have no plans for further education, training or work". Getting young people ready for the 'adult world' is the declared intent-instilling the discipline of the factory the obvious purpose. (Anyone who doubts this should consider the comments of Nigel de Gruchy, general secretary of the National Association of Schoolmasters – Association of Women Teachers – and no libertarian when it comes to matters of educational practices. On hearing of the scheme De Gruchy slavered "I would send some of the kids away for more than six weeks. Some could do with several years".)

It is easy to imagine the proponents of the Third Way watching with envy the extent and success of the management of reality engineered by Boris Yeltsin and Vladimir Putin in Russia. The prelude to the Russians bloody return to Chechnya was a series of bomb explosions in Moscow, which Putin attributed to Chechen terrorists, although no evidence of Chechen involvement was ever produced and the various Chechen militias denied playing any part in the explosions. The Chechen campaign, conducted with barbarous intent against the civilian population of the region (and save for a few platitudes to maintain appearances has not been challenged by the finest internationalist whose 'humanitarian

interventionist' cost thousands of lives in Serbia and Kosova – perhaps because the same 'new internationalists' still see Yeltsin, Putin, Shoigu and the rest of the band of thieves as their best means of continuing the asset-stripping of the former USSR?) was used to prop up the election campaign of the Unity party created by Yeltsin's inner circle to contest the recent Parliamentary elections. Unity – a party with no programme – won because the state-owned media allowed no other options to be presented. Parliament under control, Yeltsin resigned to hand power to Putin, whose first act was to amnesty Yeltsin and his cohorts for their cynical exploitation of office. Clinton (whose political career barely survived impeachment) and Blair (with his coterie of would-be Boris Berezovskys such as Mandelson, Lord Sainsbury and the backers of the Ilisu dam project, Balfour Beatty) doubtless find themselves somewhat damp with excitement as the 'virtual politics' of the Kremlin carries all before it. In William Burroughs' 1964 story *Nova Express*, one of the characters tells another "They have distracted you with a war film and given false information as usual". It is tempting to see the 'virtualisation' of politics as confirmation of the pessimistic prescience of crafters of apocalyptic sci-fi such as Burroughs and Gibson. Back in the

real world, though, things have a tendency, still, to go belly-up, as they say. The 'virtual politics' of Putin and co. met reality head-on in the streets of central Grozny on 15th December 1999, when a column of tanks and armoured cars was ambushed by Chechen guerrillas, leaving over a hundred dead. Russian casualties, according to the Association of Soldiers' Mothers' Committees, are at least three times as high as the official figure of 550, and the military hospital at Mozdok has been taking about thirty severely wounded Russian soldiers a day from Grozny. The determination to 'discipline' the desires of the masses – whether the desire for national independence in Chechnya, or the desire for an end to exploitation the factory floor – ultimately only succeeds to the extent to which ordinary people cease to assert themselves as sovereign political subjects.

The Third Way project of Blair, Clinton, Jospin and Schroder met its own Grozny in the Seattle protests against the World Trade Organisation. On 3rd December the King County Central Labour Council called a demonstration to violate the city's downtown 'no protests' zone and show solidarity with those already in jail as a result of the earlier battles. A Teamster tractor carried a sign reading 'Free the Seattle 600' headed the march, and contingents of longshoremen and

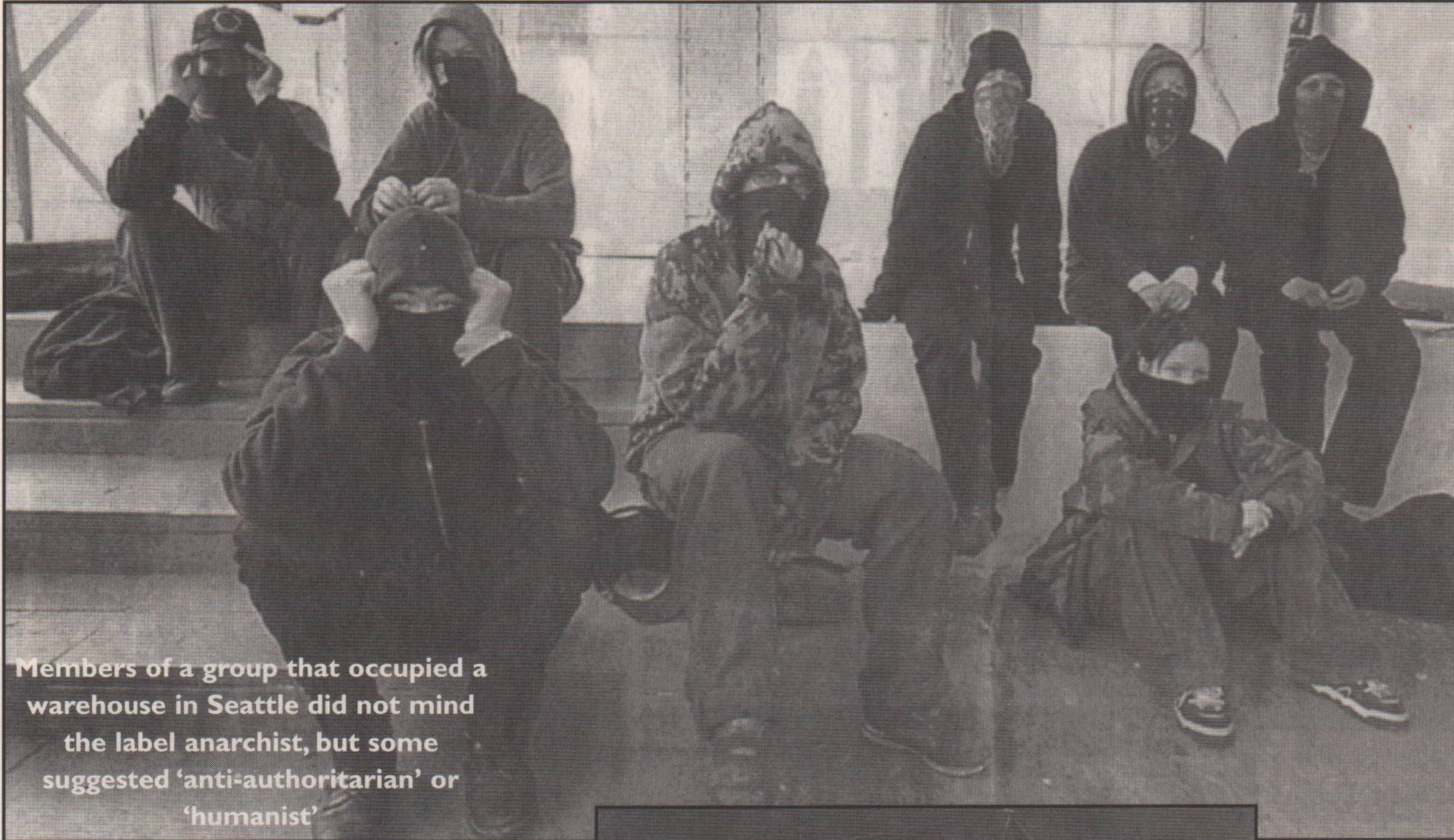
sheet metal workers marched alongside Earth Firsters and Lesbian Avengers. Their slogan: 'This is what democracy looks like'.

The slogan, we should note, is true in two senses. Firstly, in that the riot police who attacked the demonstrators throughout the week of protests showed the face of capitalist democracy unmasked, as 'force incarnate', in Bakunin's words, "its essence is command and compulsion". More importantly, Seattle showed also the extent to which Spinoza's remark that "the vulgus is fearsome if not made to fear" is true – that capital relies ultimately on force to police our desires because it fears us, and so would teach us fear. In Seattle, for a while, a coalition of labour and environmental activists ceased to be afraid. French farmers fought alongside steelworkers and anti-technology activists. On the streets of Seattle we caught a glimpse of what real democracy might look like. We saw the formation of a coalition which is the stuff of our rulers' nightmares. Seattle showed us that we are not at all condemned to 'live in the world in which we live'. Sometimes, as another 'prophet' of bourgeois democracy fearfully observed, we can unite in "one universal ferment, [and] forget respect ... and then sometimes they break in upon the rich and sweep all like a deluge" (John Locke).

Nick S.

Dark parallels with anarchist outbreaks in Oregon

Street Rage



Members of a group that occupied a warehouse in Seattle did not mind the label anarchist, but some suggested 'anti-authoritarian' or 'humanist'

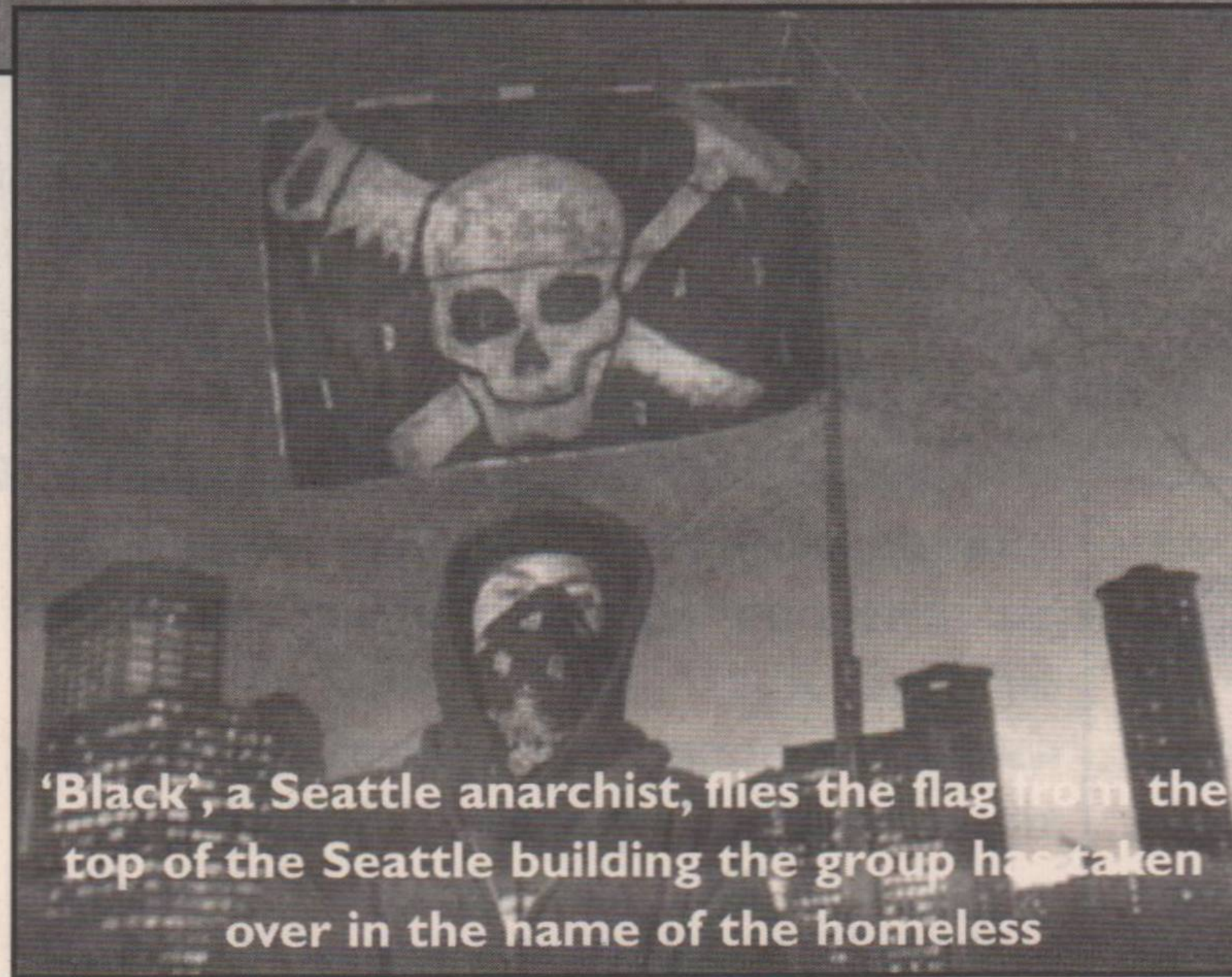
Seattle, 2nd December: They call themselves anarchists, and they go by first names only: Spider, Possum, Nimo, Hawaii, Burdock, Rob. Some come from Eugene, Oregon, where the anarchists have had regular clashes with the police, most seriously after a march last June turned into a riot, with smashed windows and nineteen people arrested.

And early this week, just before the World Trade Organisation meeting was getting under way here, the teenagers and young twenty-somethings came to Seattle. They took over a privately owned, vacant warehouse at the edge of downtown here, which they now call 'the Squat', and proclaim to be their home. 'Rent is Theft', says the sign one posted to a window the other day.

Many are clad head to toe in black, complete with bandannas, and security seems to be a big issue for them these days. 'Security guards' communicated to each other via walkie-talkies as they escorted a visitor along the dark passageways of the Squat and up to their communal meeting room today.

"We're not really into having our identities known" said one young man, who gave his name as Black. Another explained that they hoped to avoid the 'hassles' of a lawsuit brought by the warehouse owner, Wah Lui, who has been negotiating fruitlessly to get his building back while the police, wary of a violent confrontation, have so far held off from storming the building.

While they accepted the term anarchist, some suggested that 'anti-authoritarian' or 'humanist' better expressed their basic belief that all governments and corporations are bad and should be drastically curtailed if not



'Black', a Seattle anarchist, flies the flag from the top of the Seattle building the group has taken over in the name of the homeless

abolished. Many are articulate and evidently well read, but few said they wished to discuss much about their upbringing. All in the group of roughly two dozen meeting today were white. The police in Eugene said many of the anarchists there were young men and women from middle-class backgrounds who congregated in the city after fallings-out with their parents.

With the authorities here blaming young anarchists for causing much of the smashed windows and other vandalism that racked the downtown area on Tuesday, it is not at all surprising that most in the group of squatters here were somewhat evasive about where they were that day and what they did.

A few, in fact, said they might have smashed a window or two, but carefully noted that any destruction they might have committed was against stores representing what they said were 'multinational corporations' like Starbucks, Nike or the Gap. "We didn't hurt any person or any living thing" said a young bandanna-wearing man who would not give his name.

Just what involvement any particular person in this group had in Tuesday's events remains unclear, and Seattle police conceded today that they have arrested only a fraction of the people, many clad in black clothes and masks, who they believe ran wild on Tuesday and caused mayhem even as other protesters shouted "Shame, shame" or even tried to stop the destruction.

Seattle authorities said they could not state that there was a direct connection between the Eugene group and the chaos in the streets, but the police did say they were talking to police investigators in Eugene to learn more about the group there, which is relatively visible in that university town.

Nearly 75 showed up at a Northwest anarchist conference in Eugene in June, and shortly afterwards eight police officers were injured when a march called by the Anarchist Action Collective turned into a riot, in which the

anarchists hurled rocks and bricks through bank signs, shop windows, a hotel and motorists' cars.

"The event they staged here was so similar it is almost spooky", Captain Thad Buchanan of the Eugene police said in an interview today, comparing it to the anarchists' apparent role in the Seattle melée. "We were assured in advance that it would be a peaceful protest, and the next thing we knew they were doing damage all

over the place."

The group's intellectual cheerleader is a 56-year-old author of anarchist tracts, John Zerzan, who has attracted some local attention by carrying on a regular correspondence with Theodore J. Kaczynski, the man imprisoned as the Unabomber.

Mr Zerzan, who was in Seattle on Monday and Tuesday, declined to say whether he knew anyone who damaged property on Tuesday. "I can't be sure" he said in a telephone interview today. "After all, they were all wearing masks". But he did offer a spirited defence of the basic idea of anarchy and of the means that some might choose to achieve it.

"The question is, what does it take to be effective when things are at this stage of crisis?" said Mr Zerzan, citing teenage alienation and suicide, homelessness, environmental degradation as symptoms of the planet's despair.

Anarchists' protests in Eugene have often focused on environmental issues, including a fervent campaign against plans to remove dozens of old trees in the downtown area to clear room for a parking lot and new residential buildings.

Though the young men and women gathered here at the Squat spoke of their desire to get rid of corporate rule, they did not seem at all bellicose during their communal meeting here. They spent considerable time discussing basic issues like how to make their home more livable - "if

anybody here knows something about plumbing, that'd be rad" said one young woman.

Several in the group said they were there to make a stand against homelessness. "Housing is a right, not a privilege, and that's the bottom line", said one man with a green bandanna around his face, who gave his name as Rahhna. Yet, when two homeless men who appeared to be in their forties came by today looking for space in the warehouse, they were sent away by the young squatters, with the explanation that the collective would need to discuss whether they were welcome.

The Seattle police are taking a decidedly hands-off view of the squatters. "The situation is being monitored" said Randy Huserik, a detective with the Seattle Police Department. "Once the WTO wraps up, our attention will probably return there. With the number of people in there, there would be a great deal of tactical issues to deal with" in getting them out, he added. "And we have bigger fish to fry right now".

Mr Buchanan, of the Eugene police force, said he had learned that a "sizable contingent" of Eugene anarchists had made their way to Seattle to participate in the demonstrations. But, as both he and the Seattle police emphasised, they could not say how many from that group had been involved in Tuesday's vandalism.



An ironic comment on the marquee over the icon Grill at Fifth Avenue and Virginia Street in Seattle

And Jan Power, a spokeswoman for the Eugene department, said not all anarchists were bent on property destruction. "There's a core group that's into violence" she said. "But there's a broader group that's just more philosophically into the concept of anarchy".

Sam Howe Verhovek and Joseph Kahn
New York Times, 3rd December 1999

Anarchists' guru says he's proud

Portland: An author from Eugene labelled by some as the philosophical leader of Eugene's growing anarchist movement, said yesterday he was proud of his followers' behaviour at the WTO convention in Seattle.

Two dozen people from Eugene joined the band of anarchists who are blamed for breaking windows, trashing streets and escalating Tuesday's massive protests.

John Zerzan, 56, an anarchist author from Eugene, said he took part in the Seattle protests, but declined to say what crimes, if any, he committed. The bearded author applauded those willing to sit and be pepper-sprayed, tear-gassed or arrested. He criticised protesters who were passive, saying "they're

just accomplices to the system".

Yesterday, nearly 200 people marched through downtown Portland to protest the tear-gassing of WTO protesters in Seattle.

"I'm not afraid," said Lauren Mason, 17, one of the Portland protesters. "I think nonviolence is not the way to go".

Eugene Mayor Jim Torrey said he was disappointed that Eugene apparently was 'exporting' anarchists to Seattle.

"I don't want to be recognised as the anarchist capital of the United States ... [but] that's where we are" he said. "We don't deserve that reputation, and unfortunately this group of anarchists has given us that reputation".

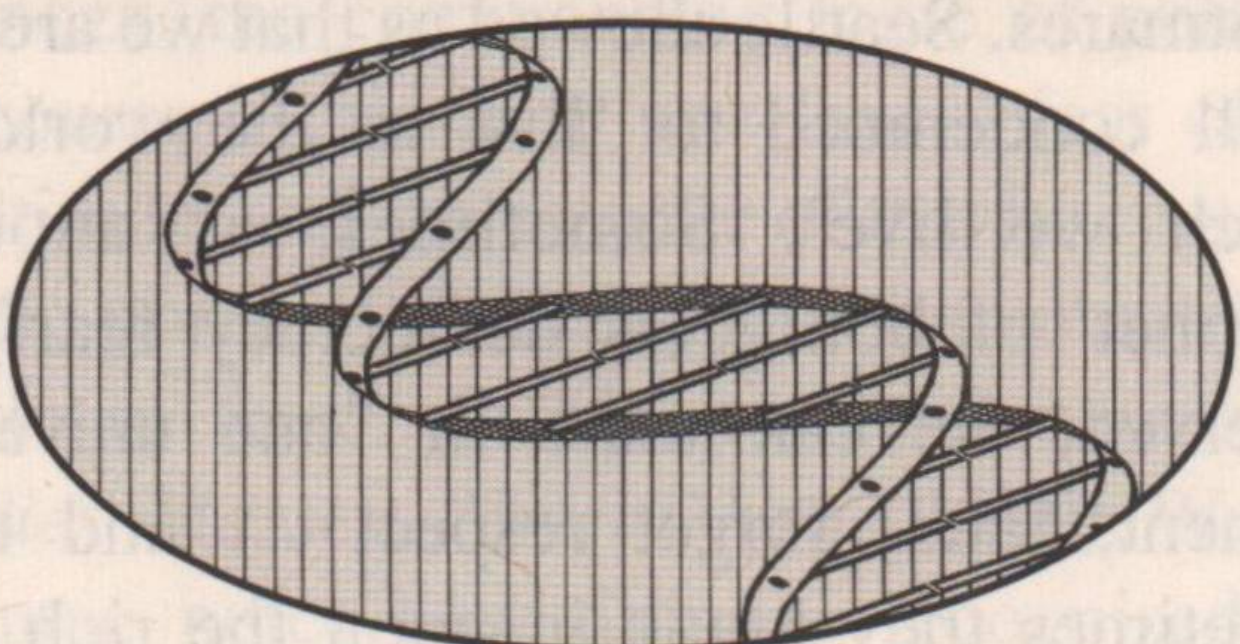
Seattle Times, 3rd December 1999

Number 40 of the anarchist quarterly

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Catastrophic Capitalism ...

Dear Freedom,

Brian Bamford (in *Freedom*, 11th December) is handicapped in his report on events in Seattle by his great distance from the events and uses it as a taking off point for his own usual line. I'd like to fill in with some remarks from a bit closer but still 150 miles away.

I don't know how BB or his source knows that there were no Marxists or the traditional left protesting. There is no way to know even how many Anarchists were there though a small group of them got extensive coverage in printed and television reports, especially the twenty or so who, on the second day, ran down the street, their faces covered, breaking a few windows in the shops of large corporations and a bank followed by a breathless television reporter (though in fairness to her, she had been tear gassed only about an hour earlier) who tried on her cell phone to get the police, but they refused, saying they had bigger problems. The Direct Action Network, one of the major organisers during the year of preparation for this demonstration, at least once described themselves as Anarchists. Clinton came on the second day, but he had said before he came that the dissenters had to be listened to as did many others including Tom Hayden who was also pepper sprayed, and Clinton ceremoniously and for political credit signed a bill forbidding trading with nations using child labour, spoke up for labour rights, and left town. I didn't hear that this angered Clare Short, but Boutros-Ghali (one of Nick S's favourite sources) attacked Clinton for denying third world countries of a source for becoming competitive.

Either BB takes John Vidal's comments out of context or Vidal got it wrong. The demonstration of about 40,000 started at 7.30am. The unions (whose march was authorised with a permit) met on the outskirts of town at noon for a couple of hours of speeches, then marched 30,000-strong into town marshalled through a small corridor by their own orange-helmeted marshals, a corridor kindly allowed by the unsanctioned protesters who had blocked all movement for hours. This march had union big shots showing off in the front rank, and while it was too crowded for them to reach the convention centre, it didn't matter because there were hardly any delegates who had managed to sneak in. The unions then officially went home though many stayed on as individual protesters. The unsanctioned protesters were there for the whole four days and stayed on for a fifth, after the talks had collapsed and the delegates had left town. The protesters vowed to remain at the city jail until all the six hundred who had been arrested, mainly for sitting down in street intersections, were released. The hearings into the actions of the

police still continue, fuelled mainly by the vocal outrage of both protesters and local people not protesting who were tear gassed, pepper sprayed, hit by rubber bullets, physically pushed around, etc. The police chief has resigned.

As for the national guard, only three hundred were called in, and they were not allowed arms except for the three foot long batons which was standard issue for the police as well. The police were always greatly outnumbered and observed by people with television cameras, both official and private, and they were to some extent restrained. They used so much tear gas that they ran out. They also had to refill their pepper spray bottles over and over. They threw tear gas canisters all over the place, often having the wind carry it where they had not intended. The mayor made a law that gas masks were illegal for anyone but the police, so one of the television street reporters had to hide hers among her equipment.

The protest was well-planned and cleverly carried out. For example, since the demonstrators so heavily outnumbered the police, they broke up into smaller moving groups blocking street after street; then moving quickly to another just as the police - encumbered by heavy riot gear, gas masks, heavy canisters of pepper spray, batons, and rubber bullet guns - arrived out of breath. And the armoured cars were much too slow. In fact, the sentiment was generally so much against them that on the third day they stopped trying to enforce their 'no go' area, and offered to escort the marching demonstrators, even trying to make it look like they were after the marchers had refused the offer and changed the direction of their procession several times by rushing ahead on their motorcycles.

The talks did collapse without coming to any resolutions at all. The protest had a lot to do with that simply by calling attention to what the delegates were trying to do and to the police riot which ensued while the demonstrators remained completely non-violent in spite of provocation. However, as one dissident delegate suggested, there is no possibility of 135 countries, most with different directions of proceeding while trying to satisfy their constituents of corporations as well as a now aroused citizenry, can ever agree. Which is exactly what happened.

Tom Hayden, one of the delegates, said that this was bigger and better than the 1960s due mainly to the existence of cybernetics which allowed the organisers to communicate instantly around the world and the eagerness of both written and television media to cover the whole thing unedited. One street television reporter was filmed just as he got a face full of pepper spray, and several were tear gassed more than once. It was also non-violent for everyone to see, which meant that the police efforts to argue for violence against them fell on deaf ears everywhere, even at city hall where sat a black official who had been pulled from his car and threatened with arrest. Another official got some tear gas when he tried to talk to the rampaging police. The mayor is also on the skids from both sides of the debate, and the protesters vow to stop any future meetings whenever they take place.

Local businesses who expected to make a killing with all the officials and their staff in town, took a bath and complain of millions in lost revenue because even regular shoppers were kept away from the expected Christmas shopping rush. Many of them boarded up their windows and had to close down. People who work in the town, when they could get to work and home again, had to do it through

clouds of tear gas, pepper spray, rubber bullets, and some kind of loud concussion grenade designed to frighten people and thrown into the air by riot police. Even on the third day, after the police had made such a mess of themselves that they gave up the riot tactics, their efforts to frighten people away by driving police cars quickly through the streets with sirens blaring only irritated everyone. Finally, they had to content themselves with standing in groups of ten or fifteen at various places with nothing to do.

I enclose some bits from the establishment press to indicate how so many different agendas surround these events.

John R. Doheny

... and Euston

Dear Freedom,

The protest at Euston station on Tuesday 30th November was a new experience for me. I've been to demonstrations before but always felt small and ineffective. This time we were strong and irresistible. Nobody cared too much about the police cameras and video recorders, or the helicopter overhead. They could take all the pictures they liked. The fear has gone - and if our faces appear on the cops website, they appear with pride.

At five, maybe there were eight hundred

people outside Euston. By seven there were perhaps two thousand of us. At first, impatient voices screamed their discontent at the police, but then drums began to beat from somewhere over to the left and we all pushed forward. A man dressed in orange was walking towards us wildly conducting bass drummers and bongos. The effect was fantastic. Immediately there was a roar of voices, and we all started to dance. The party had begun.

Whatever our particular concerns and causes, we were at Euston because we don't want other people ruining our lives and killing our planet. Some people have tried to simplify our opposition: anti-capitalist, anti-WTO, anti-this-and-that. Speakers took the mike to talk about the WTO, desperate conditions in Iraq, black activists facing execution in the US, and we listened patiently. But these are symptoms of a basic wrong: that a few people can push us around, tell us what to do and when to do it. Well not anymore.

N30 was different because opposition to this oppression was going on all over the world. We knew this and are strong because of it. And we gave strength to others protesting that day. The message is clear: streets will be blocked, stations will be closed, entire cities will be brought to a standstill and we will all take back control of our lives. It has started.

AH

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November 1999

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund

Salisbury, RM, £5; Dossenheim, RS, £1; Newport, TP, £6; Cleveland, TH, £5; Troy, New York, DAW, £14; Oban, BW, £8; Morecambe, RAD, £10; London, SH, £2; Perth, ZK, £7; London, RM, £3; Indiana, LO, £44; Manchester, AD, £13; Telford, MGB, £3; Bideford, JE, £2; Chelmsford, EA, £5; London, TS, £10; Hartfield, OM, £3; Hay on Wye, BR, £8; Ryde, SOM, £3.

November total = £151
1999 total to date = £1,002

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Malvern, EW, £1; Weston, KF, £5.50; Salisbury, RM, £6; Dossenheim, RS, £1.50; Reading, AJY, £3; London, SU, £36; Newport, TP, £7; Kirkby, MC, £2; Troy, New York, DAW, £14; Oban, BW, £8; London, SH, £2; Perth, ZK, £7; London, RM, £3; Indiana, LO, £44; Manchester, AD, £13; Telford, MGB, £3; New York, PC, £33; London, TS, £10; Hartfield, OM, £3; Hay on Wye, BR, £8.

November total = £210
1999 total to date = £3,262

Raven Deficit Fund

Salisbury, RM, £5; Dossenheim, RS, £1; Cleveland, TH, £5; Nightcliff, Shell 63, £2; Troy, New York, DAW, £14; London, EH, £2; Indiana, LO, £44; Hay on Wye, BR, £8.

November total = £90
1999 total to date = £701

December 1999

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund

Bury, TS, £5; Isle of Wight, FF, £8; Abingdon, MB, £12; Lewes, BM, £9; Beckenham, DP, £30; Romford, MB, £25; Reading, RB, £1; Walsall, PO, £2; London, WJMcE, £2; Stockport, DW, £5; Bolton, DP, £2; Plymouth, DK, £4; Keighley, RG, £5; Pinner, LOM, £2; Saltburn, JE, £5; Thames Ditton, JJ, £1; Wolverhampton, AM, £2; Cheshire, CJ, £3; St Leonards, CP, £8; Newton Abbot, GH, £6; Clynderwen, DWR, £2; London, NP, £3; London, JR, £2; Stirling, AD, £2; London, PW, £3; Polstead, DP, £9; Oban, BW, £2; Berkeley USA, AG, £3; Bristol, AFC, £4; Tewksbury, PS, £8; London, DL, £26; Poole, JAP, £6; Colchester, TO, £7; Gloucester, TA, £26; Ashworth Hospital, MD, £18; Acharale, GS, £8.

December total = £305
Total for 1999 = £3,567

Raven Deficit Fund

Bury, TS, £5; Abingdon, MB, £12; Lewes, BM, £9; Walsall, PO, £2; Worcester, RS, £30; Cambridge, WP, £6; London, WMcE, £2; Southport, DW, £5; Bolton, DP, £2; Beckenham, DP, £60; Wolverhampton, JL, £1; Keighley, RG, £5; Pinner, LOM, £2; Saltburn, TE, £5; Cheshire, CJ, £3; St Leonards, CP, £8; Alicante, JH, £4; Clynderwen, DWR, £2; London, JR, £2; Stirling, AD, £2; Polstead, DP, £9; Berkeley USA, AG, £4; Vernon BC, HB, £153; Brussels, CW, £4; Bristol, AFC, £3; Colchester, TO, £7; Ashworth Hospital, MD, £20; Ontario, FA, £5.

December total = £372
Total for 1999 = £1,073

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**The London
Anarchist Forum**

Meet Fridays at about 8pm at Conway Hall, 25
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 2000 —

14th January 'Anonymity': the use of
psudonyms and initials in anarchist discourse
and the tyranny of box numbers (symposium)

21st January General discussion

28th January Anarchism and Trade Unionism
(speaker Richard Griffin)

4th February General discussion

11th February Anarchy, Psychotherapy and
Psychological Well Being (a symposium led
by Steve Ash)

18th February General discussion

25th February What is Situationism?
(symposium)

3rd March General discussion

10th March Effective Action: what do you
think we should do on May Day?

17th March General discussion

Anyone interested in giving a talk or leading
a discussion, please contact Peter Neville at the
meetings giving your subject and prospective
dates and we will do our best to accommodate.

Peter Neville for London Anarchist Forum

**Northern
Anarchist Network**

the next conference will be
held in Hebden Bridge
on

15th January 2000

For more information ring
Martin on 0161-707 9652

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would like to wish
a happy new year
to all our readers

**Libertarian Socialist
Discussion Group**

(forming now)

will meet on the second Wednesday of the month
for action and discussion

at 8pm in The Vine, Kennedy Street

(off Fountain Street), near Manchester Town Hall

Joint meeting of the

Bury Unemployed Workers' Association,
Tameside Unemployed Workers' Alliance and
the Libertarian Discussion Group

will be held on 16th December at 1pm
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