

FREEDOM

anarchist fortnightly

Vol. 61 No. 17

9th September 2000

50p

The fire next time?

The preparations have begun. In two cities thousands of miles apart the forces of law and order are polishing their equipment and preparing for battle. Next week sees the Pacific meeting of the World Economic Forum in Melbourne, the week after that the annual summit of the International Monetary Fund with the World Bank in Prague. Both have become the most recent focus of the international anti-globalisation movement.

In Australia the protests promised by the S11 coalition have worried the government so much that police have been given extra riot shields, shin pads and helmets. A policeperson's Aladdin's cave. More worrying, legislation has been passed giving the army powers to shoot civilians during periods of unrest. The Czech government meanwhile has been anxiously taking advice from the FBI and Chief Inspector Plod of the Yard, while Prague hospitals have made emergency plans and local franchises of multinational companies have ordered replacement glass, just in case. After J18, N30, May Day and the 'Battle of Seattle' neither governments nor corporations are taking any chances this time, it seems. We know it's in the nature of power to fear the slightest challenge to itself. This was certainly shown by the bludgeoning response of the state to

those earlier demonstrations. Will this time be any different?

Any violence which does occur will involve a small number of protesters. But *Freedom* confidently predicts that it will be seized on with relish by the mainstream media. Anarchists will be the subject of damning accounts and outraged editorials, and questions will be asked in parliament. As both the actions have been organised by broad coalitions, with the Trotskyist left heavily active, this seems rather unfair if also a little flattering.

Anarchists have every reason to be involved. The World Bank is at best inept, the IMF openly heartless. It takes no great leap of the imagination to see both of them as a conspiracy designed to keep countries of the third world in their place. The World Economic Forum (its meeting place fixed to give chief executives and their poodle politicians an-excuse to attend the Olympic Games in Sydney, by the way) is downright sinister. These alone are excellent reasons for opposing the lot of them. But are there other reasons for being involved too? Can we overthrow capitalism this way? Or is this instead a form of propaganda, drawing people's attention to the iniquities of the system under which we live? Can it be anything more than a means of venting our collective

rage against a society which stops us being free?

Like the earlier events, Melbourne and Prague are the work of alliances of groups, coming from different political traditions. It should come as no surprise therefore that the

declared enemy has often been the narrow one of globalisation, rather than the wider one which is the whole way our society is presently run. Many of these groups after all see nothing that can't be improved by replacing the old bosses with new personnel (i.e. them). But to only attack globalisation like this is, we suggest, a mistake. If the IMF were disbanded and the World Economic Forum destroyed, it would be a good start. But it would only be a start, nothing more. The poor would still be poor, capitalism would still be big and nasty (and global, come to that). The best reason for getting involved now is to spread anarchist ideas and to promote ways of organising without bosses ordering us around. By joining a mass movement for change we begin to show how an anarchist society would work, individual human beings joining together as only like this will we truly be free.

But we need to be wary as well. This newspaper pointed out at the time the happy coincidence May Day provided for politicians as they struggled to ram a repressive Terrorism Act through parliament. We still haven't been told why else police didn't move to save the 'terrified' MacDonalds staff until the photo-opportunity (sorry, damage) was well and truly done. This time too there's lots of politicians and media barons, editors and police, all itching to fit us up – not to mention the aspiring leaders of the working class on the look out for members of the working class to lead. So let's be warned. We must protest, of course we must. But we should also remember that not everyone has the same goal as we do. Anarchists are against the IMF. But incontrovertibly and most positively of all, we are for freedom.

RSG

Prague: <http://www.destroyimf.org>

Melbourne: <http://www.s11.org>



Prague – coming to a television screen near you ...

anarchist fortnightly

Freedom

Vol. 61 No. 17

9th September 2000

50p

The Human Rights Act 1998 will shortly come into force ...

Gifts of the State

On 2nd October 2000 the Human Rights Act 1998 will come into force. The Act will incorporate the European Convention on Human Rights into English law, creating, according to Liberty's John Wadham, "a number of new rights and remedies for those who allege their rights have been violated". The Act prohibits any public authority from acting in a way that is incompatible with a convention right. The convention – as interpreted by the European Court and Commission of Human Rights – will be applied in domestic courts and they must take into account the relevant judgements of Strasbourg authorities in determining cases in which human rights issues arise. Wadham tells us that "this Act is a major achievement by this [New Labour] government". Gareth Davies, a barrister and law lecturer, was moved to declare, in the pages of the *New Law Journal*, that the opportunities afforded by the Act "spreads out a glorious vista of creative and original legal action before the adventurous lawyer" (*New Law Journal*, 2nd June 2000). If lawyers had cash registers they'd be ringing like the tills of Oxford Street during the January sales. The Human Rights Act will doubtless make a few pin-striped pockets bulge even more than usual, but the rest of us needn't get too excited.

The Human Rights Act represents a recodification of UK law in line with the Convention. Article 25, which gives individuals the right to petition the European Court, and Article 46, which gives the Court its jurisdiction, have been effectively accepted by all the member states of the Convention since the 1950s. In one sense, access to the European Court will be made more difficult by the adoption of the Act, in that the UK courts will be, in the first instance, charged with construction of the law in relation to the Convention (including having the power to declare legislation incompatible with the Convention) and thus, access to the European Court would depend on an applicant showing they had exhausted all domestic remedies, and that the basis of any Convention challenge had been made initially in the domestic courts. Moreover, the European Convention is a juridical smokescreen for the exercise of the power of the state, not a restriction on that power.

As an example of this, the question of the nature and extent of the powers of state surveillance has been at issue in relation to the use of surveillance evidence in major trials, and the extent of intelligence agency surveillance of the day to day political activities of individuals. Incorporation of the European Convention will mean that privacy can only be lawfully interfered with if it is necessary to do so, and if it is carried out in accordance with the law. This latter means, in effect, that surveillance has to be regulated by statute if it is to comply with the Convention. The result of this move to compliance is the Regulation of Investigatory Powers Bill,

which covers the interception of communications, the power to demand communications data and decryption of unintelligible material, the use of covert operations and surveillance, and the establishment of a complaints tribunal. Authorisation procedures for surveillance under the Bill will be on the basis of a warrant issued by the Secretary of State – refusing to concede even the pretence of independent examination offered by the power of approval of a High Court judge. The scope of any warrant issued will now expand to include mobile telephones, e-mails, etc. The complaints mechanism established under the Bill mirrors that established under the Interception of Communications Act 1985, following the European Court ruling in the case of *Malone v UK* (1994 7 EHRR 14), wherein a violation of the Convention was found to have occurred because the UK's system of telephone taps was not regulated by law. The tribunal system set up fifteen years ago has to date never upheld a complaint. The tribunal established under the Regulation of Investigatory Powers Bill will meet in secret, with a limitation period for applications

of one year, and will not give reasons for its decisions. Applicants will not be allowed to be present at tribunal hearings, or have access to documents upon which the tribunal may rely in reaching its decision. The "decisions of the Tribunal (including decisions as to whether they have jurisdiction) shall not be subject to appeal or be liable to be questioned in any other court."

One of the fundamentals that has been ignored in the debates provoked by the introduction of the Human Rights Act is that, contra right wing opinion, the Act does not challenge the sovereignty of the state – rather it cements it. One way in which this is revealed is in the confused and blinkered debate which has taken place around the question of 'horizontal' rights. Gareth Davies has argued that the Human Rights Act is "structured towards achieving one particular goal – forcing the state and its emanations to respect human rights. However there is another effect that it may well have which goes somewhat further than this ... it may also apply to private bodies. Individuals, companies and other organisations may have

to respect human rights too" (*New Law Journal*, 2nd June 2000). Davies' argument is based on a reading of section 6, which holds that the courts may not act in a way that is incompatible with the rights in the Act. "The argument is that to turn away a claimant complaining that his rights have been violated is not compatible with those rights, at least not if he is correct. Therefore, the judge must hear the case. If the claimant is correct, the judge must vindicate his rights. No other course could be described as compatible with ... section 6. Thus it becomes possible to found a case on a violation of rights. However, if a violation alleged is by the state, then the claimant has no need to use this section – the Act provides elsewhere for the illegality of such acts ... section 6 opens up the possibility of what is known as 'horizontal' effect – the use of rights in actions between private parties." The problem is, though – it doesn't. The Court of Human Rights doesn't hear actions against individuals. It is limited expressly to hearing complaints of violations by signatory

(continued on page 2)

A tale of sub-democracy

President Vladimir Putin seems to be a slow learner when it comes to performing the act of a 'democratic' leader when a human crisis hits the headlines, as happened when the Kursk submarine sank last month. He didn't seem to understand the requirement for crocodile tears until it was almost too late.

by tapping on the hull. But later officials said the tapping stopped on the Tuesday, later still it was again backdated to the Monday.

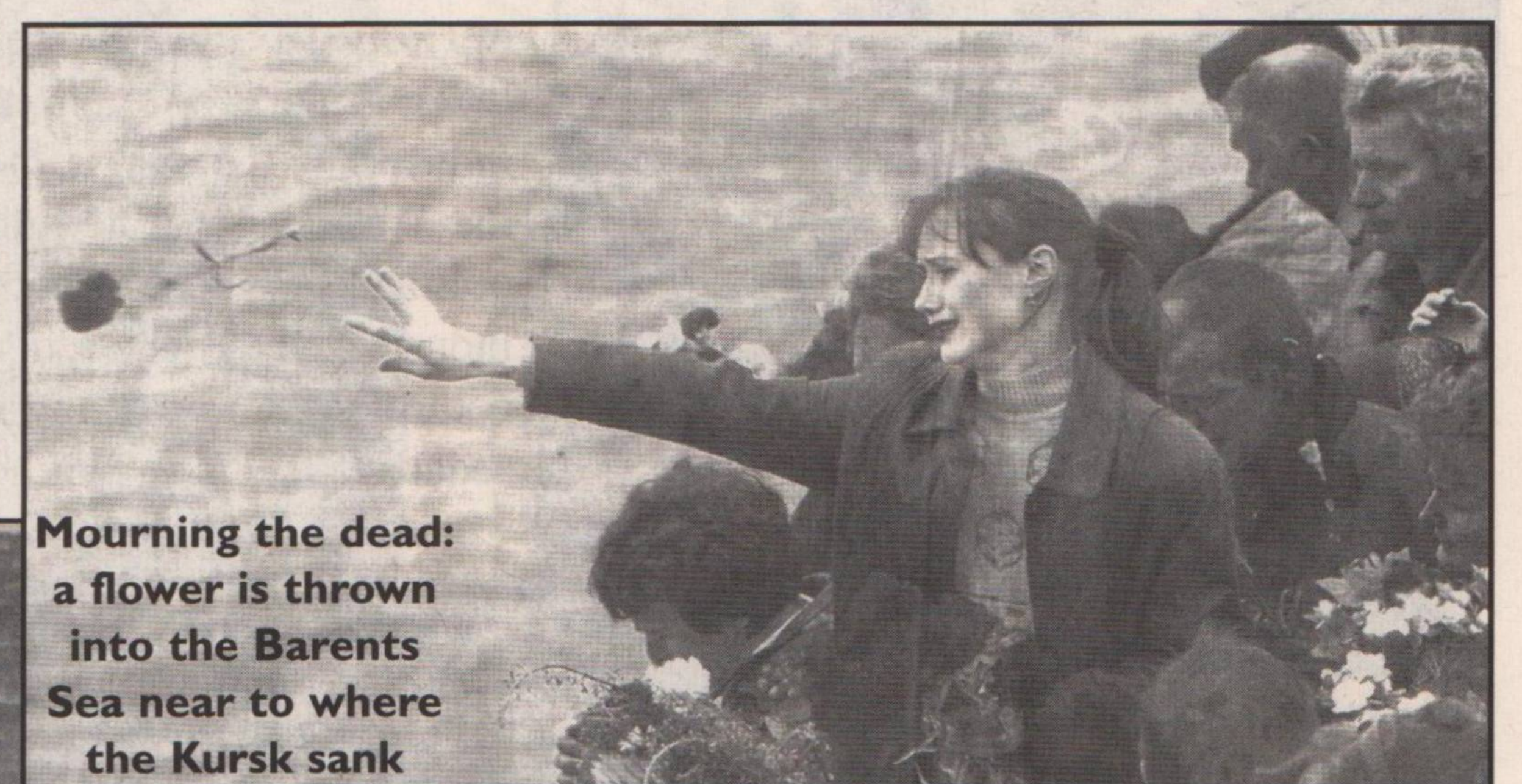


A Russian submarine similar to the Kursk

It took a week and a half after the tragedy, before Mr Putin met with relatives of the dead sailors and told them: "Words are not enough, they are difficult to find. I want to howl."

In that week and a half, the Russian people saw a drama fit for comic opera unfold. The Russian Navy initially said the submarine sank on Sunday 13th August, but it later became clear it went down on Saturday 12th August. Then Russian officials claimed emergency oxygen and power had been linked up to the Kursk by rescuers, another claim that turned out to be false.

Until the following Thursday, the Russian authorities said, the crew were communicating



Mourning the dead: a flower is thrown into the Barents Sea near to where the Kursk sank

Russia's best rescue submarine was held back, and only used after several other submersible vessels had failed to dock with the Kursk. Presumably they were frightened of losing it in the earlier bad weather conditions.

President Vladimir Putin, himself, stayed on vacation, swimming and learning to water-ski in a Black Sea resort. Meanwhile, families of the sailors ran around trying to get money to travel to Murmansk to await news.

The Norwegian and British crews arrived the following Saturday, after the Kursk had already been on the sea bed for a week, and two days after President Putin reversed his

original decision to reject foreign help. The Norwegians succeeded, in a day and a half, in doing what the Russians had failed to do in a week. The *International Herald Tribune* correspondent Daniel Williams writes: "Their

ability to enter the Kursk is sure to raise questions about why Russia did not use its own divers, either military or commercial."

The exact whereabouts of the Russian naval divers is in dispute. Admiral Motsak claimed some were under contract with private oil companies helping to repair ships. "We earn money wherever we can," he said.

This kind of performance has led to uproar and cynicism among the relatives of the sailors and some of the Russian people generally. "They simply murdered those boys," claimed Lena Ukolova, a housewife.

As I write, some Western newspapers have published photos purporting to show a nurse

(continued on page 2)

(continued from page 1)

states. In the cases cited by Davies in support for his argument (*Young, James and Webster*, 13th August 1981, no. 44; *X and Y v the Netherlands*, 25th March 1985, no. 91) the defendant before the court has been a state although the primary harm was caused by the action of non-state bodies. In each case, as Davies acknowledges, "the Court has found the state guilty of a violation because it failed to provide protection for one individual from another". Recognising that states have positive obligations though, does not lead towards a gradual deepening of the conception of rights such as to embrace 'horizontal' rights. It explicitly pushes in the opposite direction, by holding that rights are limited to relations between individuals and governments, not between individuals and other individuals or groups. The infringement of rights becomes a matter exclusively for the state, because rights, as conceived by the Court, are the gift of the state. In appearing to protect the rights of individuals the Court in fact erases them, and thus covers over the constituent power of the citizens of a member state in relation to that state. The court appears to protect individual rights but in fact denies them. In his 1690 *Two Treatises of Government*, John Locke asserted that man was "subject to no Body", but surrenders his equality in Nature to "join in society with others". Herein is the great trick of bourgeois law: it obscures the constituent power of men in relation to the state by transforming the coming into being of the bourgeois state into a surrender of rights – of constituent power – to that state. Rights which were originally

conceived as 'inalienable' become gifts of the state. The founding act of Locke's free men, in coming together "for the mutual preservation of their Lives, Liberties and Estates, which I call by the general name Property" becomes the power of a few – those men of Property – to treat as belonging to them alone, the liberties of all.

Susan Buck-Morss has argued that: "From the perspective of the end of the twentieth century, the paradox seems irrefutable that political regimes claiming to rule in the name of the masses – claiming, that is, to be radically democratic – construct, legitimately, a terrain in which the exercise of power is out of control of the masses, veiled from public scrutiny, arbitrary and absolute. Modern sovereignties harbour a blind spot, a zone in which power is above the law and thus, at least potentially, a terrain of terror. This wild zone of power, by its very structure impossible to domesticate, is intrinsic to mass-democratic regimes" (Susan Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe*, The MIT Press, 2000). This 'wild zone' is, as she contends, the exercise of violence in order to demonstrate the state's "monopoly of the right to establish law". The European Court has signally failed to act to challenge the 'wild zone' of liberal democracy. More than that – it has moved to legitimate it. Article 10 of the Convention asserts that "Everyone has the right to freedom of expression". This 'right', though, is not absolute. It may be "subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society".

In practice, this has meant that the Court has handed down rulings such as that in *Handyside v United Kingdom* (7th December 1976, no. 24 1 EHRR 737) wherein the publisher of the *Little Red Schoolbook* (a book for teenagers containing advice and information about sex, contraception, children's rights, etc.) was found not to have had his Convention rights breached by a conviction under the Obscene Publications Act. In the *Spycatcher* case, the Court refused to hold that interference with convention rights was necessary after the material authored by Peter Wright was in effect in the public arena, but held that such interference would be 'necessary' to protect national security where such material had not already become so available. In light of New Labour's moves to extend the Prevention of Terrorism Act, it is the Court's approach to such matters which ought to cause us most concern. A state may secure relief from its duties under the Convention by exercising the right to derogate from Convention obligations under Article 15. By this provision, "in time of war or other emergency threatening the life of the nation" a state may take steps to derogate from its Convention duties. In *Lawless v The Republic of Ireland* (1st July 1996, no. 3 1 EHRR 15) an Irish citizen was detained without trial for five months in 1957 because of IRA membership. The Court held that the Irish government's breach of his Article 5 rights was legitimate because the Irish government had notified the Secretary General of the Council of Europe of its intention to use special powers to deal with the threat of terrorism and

hence could be construed to have derogated its duties as per Article 15. A similar derogation was considered by the Court and upheld in the case of *Brannigan v United Kingdom* (26th May 1993, 17 EHRR 594) concerning detention for questioning under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The Court has held that "it falls in the first place to each Contracting State ... to determine whether life is threatened by a 'public emergency' and, if so, how far it is necessary to go in attempting to overcome the emergency. By reason of their direct and continuous contact with the pressing needs of the moment, the national authorities are in principal in a better position than the international judge to decide both on the presence of such an emergency and on the nature and scope of derogations necessary to avert it."

In the recent case of *Murray v United Kingdom* (1996, 22 EHRR 29) the Court ruled that an inference drawn by a judge in a Diplock (no-jury) court on the basis of the silence of the accused during police interview was not incompatible with Article 6 (right to a fair and public hearing) because the judge was "an experienced judge who was obliged to explain the reasons for his decision to draw inferences". For the European Court then, a Diplock trial might well be fairer than a jury trial!

Even were it the case that the Court were prepared to limit the force which underpins the 'legitimacy' of the contracting states, it would not amount to reason enough to welcome it in the manner of the liberal left. As Alexander Berkman long ago pointed out: "Liberty is an empty sound as long as you are kept in bondage economically ... Freedom means you have the right to do a certain thing: but if you have no opportunity to do it, the right is sheer mockery. The opportunity lies in your economic condition, whatever the political situation may be. No political rights can be of the least use to the man who is compelled to slave all his life to keep himself and his family from starvation" (Alexander Berkman, *What is Communist Anarchism?*, Phoenix Press, 1989). Equality at law is meaningless separated from economic equality. Under New Labour the pay of Britain's top bosses rose by 16.5% in the last year. More than 110 senior executives received more than £1 million last year. Vodafone executive Arun Sarin took home £21 million in 1999. Meanwhile, New Labour have achieved a minor miracle. Unemployment has fallen to 1,070,000 (6,000 below the total for May 1979 when Thatcher came into office) while earnings growth fell from 4.6% in the three months to May to 4.1% in the three months to June. The inverse relation between wage levels and unemployment is known to economists as the Phillips curve – when unemployment is high, wages are low. The fear of the bosses is that wages rise despite unemployment, due to the strength of working class militancy – as happened during the period of stagnation in the 1970s. New Labour have managed the reverse – low wages and low unemployment, by using the low paid *in work* as a drag on wages. So much for economic equality.

The danger inherent in the liberal frenzy over the Human Rights Act is that it helps obscure the essential fact – that 'rights' are gains of struggle not gifts of the state. At a time when working class self organisation and militancy are so low, and wage levels consequently also falling, when the state's interference with our right to organise is manifest in the Terrorism Act and the Regulation of Investigatory Powers Bill, it would be a fatal error to allow ourselves to be conned into seeing the Juridical arena as our prime site of struggle.

Nick S.

(continued from page 1)

injecting a female relative, at a conference with the Russian deputy Prime Minister, with a powerful sedative as she remonstrated with him. The woman was screaming at the



minister and demanding that the top naval brass take their epaulettes off. Later the Russian authorities said it was normal practice to calm people in this way when they lost their temper at meetings.

Of course, what is now 'democratic' Russia came out of the most monstrous dictatorship of the twentieth century. One in which intellectuals and other dissidents were sent to lunatic asylums or scientifically worked to death in labour camps. However awful that regime was, it did appeal to some intellectuals and others in the West, especially in the 1930s.

One can't help but be struck by the contrast between the Russian 'democracy' and the jamboree type of 'democracy', across the

pond, in the USA. Noam Chomsky argued that the old Soviet Union was a country at the "opposite end of the spectrum" from the USA. He said "that's a country run by the bludgeon" and he declared: "It's a command state, the state controls, everybody basically follows orders."

In a country like the USA, Chomsky claims "the bludgeon" type of control is not an option. In the Western 'democracies' indoctrination through the public relations industry is the state's method of control. In the West we are all lulled and deluded by political spin doctors and the public relations industry, hence according to Chomsky, crude control such as stuffing some protester with sedatives is simply not necessary.

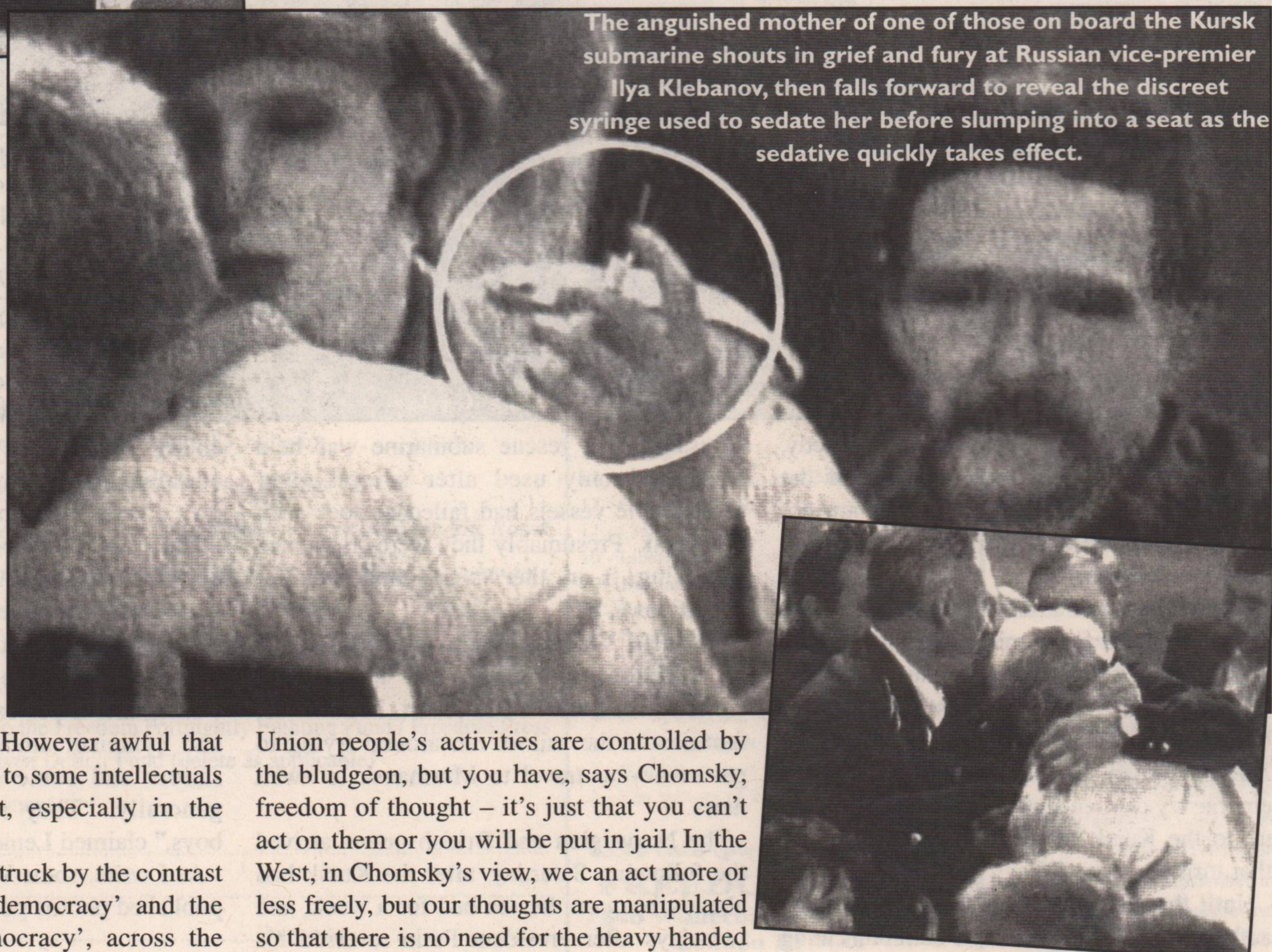
In rough-neck regimes like the old Soviet

State with the bludgeon. And no need to inject us with sedatives in front of the television cameras if we throw a 'wobbler' at some political meeting. Professor Chomsky's view offers us an interesting slant on the distinctions between our own 'liberal democracies' and state controlled 'democracies' like Russia.

Of course many of us live under sub-democratic regimes of one kind or another. That is, in the eyes of anarchists, all state systems are at best substitute democracies for what we would see as the real thing. But call me old fashioned if you like, I'd rather risk having my head pumped full of cobbles by the spin-doctors and public relations people than have very nearly an armful of some strong sedative pumped into me as in Mother Russia.

Blasco

The anguished mother of one of those on board the Kursk submarine shouts in grief and fury at Russian vice-premier Ilya Klebanov, then falls forward to reveal the discreet syringe used to sedate her before slumping into a seat as the sedative quickly takes effect.



Union people's activities are controlled by the bludgeon, but you have, says Chomsky, freedom of thought – it's just that you can't act on them or you will be put in jail. In the West, in Chomsky's view, we can act more or less freely, but our thoughts are manipulated so that there is no need for the heavy handed

Whitehall standstill simulates Iraqi society



Photos: Ippy D. - Peace News

from ARROW (Active Resistance to the Roots of War).

Later Dr Margaret Jones from Bristol was arrested at the US embassy for walking up and down outside on the pavement distributing leaflets. She was offered a formal caution on a charge of highway obstruction, which she refused. She was released without charge and now plans to sue for wrongful arrest.

In Washington five hundred protesters, among them Martin Sheen, gathered to protest the sanctions. Of these, 114 were arrested for trespassing on the steps of the White House.

Protesters from Trident Ploughshares 2000 and Women in Black gathered in Helensburgh Main Square at noon to protest the sanctions.

Economic sanctions were first imposed on

Iraq on 6th August 1990. In the decade since then, hundreds of thousands of children have died of starvation and disease brought on by the sanctions.¹ Two former UN Humanitarian Co-ordinators for Iraq, Denis Halliday and Hans Von Sponeck, have resigned in protest at the effect sanctions are having on ordinary people in Iraq. Halliday stated that "we are in the process of destroying an entire society. It is as simple and terrifying as that. It is illegal and immoral." Both have called for the economic sanctions to be lifted immediately.

The London demonstration was sponsored by a number of prominent groups and individuals including Dr Rowan Williams, the Archbishop of Wales, Denis Halliday, Hans Von Sponeck, Harold Pinter, Nabil Shaban, Jeremy Hardy, Mark Thomas, MPs Alice

commemorated the Iraqis killed by ten years of economic sanctions, our Government's deadly weapon of mass destruction. Whitehall came to a standstill, just as Iraqi society has for the last ten years."

Those arrested were Gabriel Carlyle, Andrea Needham, and Dave Rolstone, of Voices in the Wilderness, and Emily Apple

In London, over three hundred protesters gathered peacefully at 1pm in Whitehall on Monday 7th August as ninety 'died' on the doorstep of the Foreign Office, bringing traffic on Whitehall to a standstill. Among them were Ms Caroline Lucas MEP (Green Party), Reggie Norton (former Oxfam Field Director and trustee) and Dave Rolstone, who on Sunday climbed up the London Eye. Four protesters were arrested for highway obstruction. After occupying Whitehall for ninety minutes the group held a minute's silence and laid wreaths at the Cenotaph in memory of the people killed by ten years of sanctions.

Dr Nadjie al Ali, lecturer in social anthropology at the Institute of Arab and Islamic studies, University of Exeter, who was at the London protest, said: "Today on the doorstep of the Foreign Office we

Mahon and Alan Simpson, Pax Christi and Red Pepper. The demonstration was organised by several groups including Voices in the Wilderness, Women in Black and Youth CND.

For more information: Richard on 020 8554 2205 'On the street' mobile: Nadjie on 07801 931869

Caroline Lucas: contact Green Party press officer Peter Lang on 07769 970691, 020 7407 6281/80

For photos: Rob on 07977 275 563

Scottish protest: 01436 850522

Washington protest: (cellphone) 001 202 258 4958

1. UNICEF reported in 1999 that had the decreases in child mortality in Iraq in the 1980s continued into the 1990s, there would have been half a million fewer deaths of children under five in the years 1991-98. According to University of Columbia epidemiologist Dr Richard Garfield, most of these deaths were primarily due to sanctions. (UNICEF, *Child and Maternal Mortality Survey 1999*, Preliminary Report).

The law is an arse

"Being human is not a crime. My right to be human has been violated" said Vincent Bethell to the *Evening Standard* outside the court (22nd August 2000). He had been arrested by police after another appearance at the same court a week before. His 'crime' on both occasions was walking naked through the streets of the West End. Naturally this was all too shocking for blushing officers of the Metropolitan Police, whose could only preserve their modesty by nicking him for public order offences. Their brave attempts at apprehension were made harder by members of the public who insisted on congratulating him on his campaign.

Magistrate Nicholas Evans had a keener sense of the threat to public decency than members of the public themselves did, apparently, imposing a £100 fine with £75 costs. With an admirable attitude towards the forces of the state, Vincent missed sentencing because he refused to wear clothes in the dock. And he appeared undeterred as he left the building soon after. With no clothes on.

Vincent Bethell sounds like a decent man to us. His actions are a reasonable and harmless moral protest. Any bare-faced cheek displayed in the court that day came from the police and the prosecutors who presumed to tell him what to do with his own body.

Johnny M.



COPY DEADLINE

The next issue of Freedom will be dated 23rd September, and the last day for copy intended for this issue will be first post on Thursday 14th September.

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).

Oil pollutes academia

Oil is a filthy fuel. Wars are fought over it, millions of seabirds and fish are regularly suffocated by it, its exhaust fumes saturate the air we breathe whilst the atmospheric CO₂ it creates disastrously disrupts our climate. Yet the global oil corporations have no problem securing academic expertise to assist in their filthy trade, to defend its economic imperialism and to obfuscate its catastrophic environmental effects. Money talks and oil freely flows through the hallowed halls of academia.

Dirty and deadly

For a century and a half, industrial societies have been moving underground reserves of coal and oil into the air. Today about 175 billion more tonnes of carbon are circulating in the atmosphere in the form of CO₂ than before the industrial revolution. The 'greenhouse effect' created by this atmospheric CO₂ ensured that the last decade was the warmest of the last millennium. Eight of the last eleven major disasters involving global relief agencies were due to climatic extremes and the number of such climate-related disasters has been doubling every decade since the 1960s (*Guardian*, 15th May 2000). Mudslides, cyclones and inundations followed by disease and starvation are serious threats that demand serious study and a determined response but the lessons are unlikely to please the oil giants who prefer to just pay the piper (or professor) to play a different tune.

Paying the piper

The oil corporations channel funds into universities by sponsoring a thousand research and development (R&D) projects each year, at a cost of about £67 million. The leading recipient of oil money in Britain is Imperial College, London, which currently carries out around 150 R&D projects for the oil industry. Other big players are Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh and the Universities of Newcastle and Southampton, and not forgetting University College, London. To help the oil companies' money go further, funding for these research projects is topped up by the treasury. *The Universities Statistical Record* (1994) indicates that sponsorship seldom fully covers the University's actual research overheads and so oil industry R&D is estimated to receive a hidden subsidy, from public funds, of about £36 million per year (*Corporate Watch*, 1999).

Donations

July 2000

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund

London, BK, £3; Thornhill, JG, £3; Totnes, TM, £2; Sowerby Bridge, GL, £6.

July total = £14

2000 total to date = £619

Freedom Press Overheads Fund

London, BK, £5; Thornhill, JG, £2; Totnes, TM, £2; Wolverhampton, JL, £2; Clifton, RS, £8; London, RM, £8; Portsmouth, MC, £3; London, WJMcE, £9.

July total = £39

2000 total to date = £820

Raven Deficit Fund

Thornhill, JG, £3; London, BK, £3; Totnes, TM, £2; Wolverhampton, JL, £2; Weston-Super-Mare, KAF, £5.

July total = £15

2000 total to date = £298

Caring corporations

This may not be sinister. Perhaps the oil companies are genuinely concerned about pollution and determined to engage the most talented academics in a responsible search for environmental solutions and renewable alternatives. In your dreams! The largest single category of sponsored research is 'geological' (460 projects), which essentially means researching how, and where, to discover new oil fields. Further research is devoted to the development of new technology and drilling techniques, enabling industry to extract oil from increasingly marginal areas – such as the Atlantic Frontier. All of this research serves to expand available oil resources and enable the industry to continue its deadly growth. To demonstrate its 'caring and sharing' side the industry does indeed sponsor some R&D aimed at improving its safety and environmental performance but this amounts to less than 6.5% of the total number of sponsored projects. Similarly, universities receive some sponsorship to research the viability of renewable energy sources but funding is but a fraction of that going into reducing the costs and expanding the capabilities of the oil industry. This gross imbalance serves to further strengthen the economic advantages enjoyed by fossil fuels over renewables.

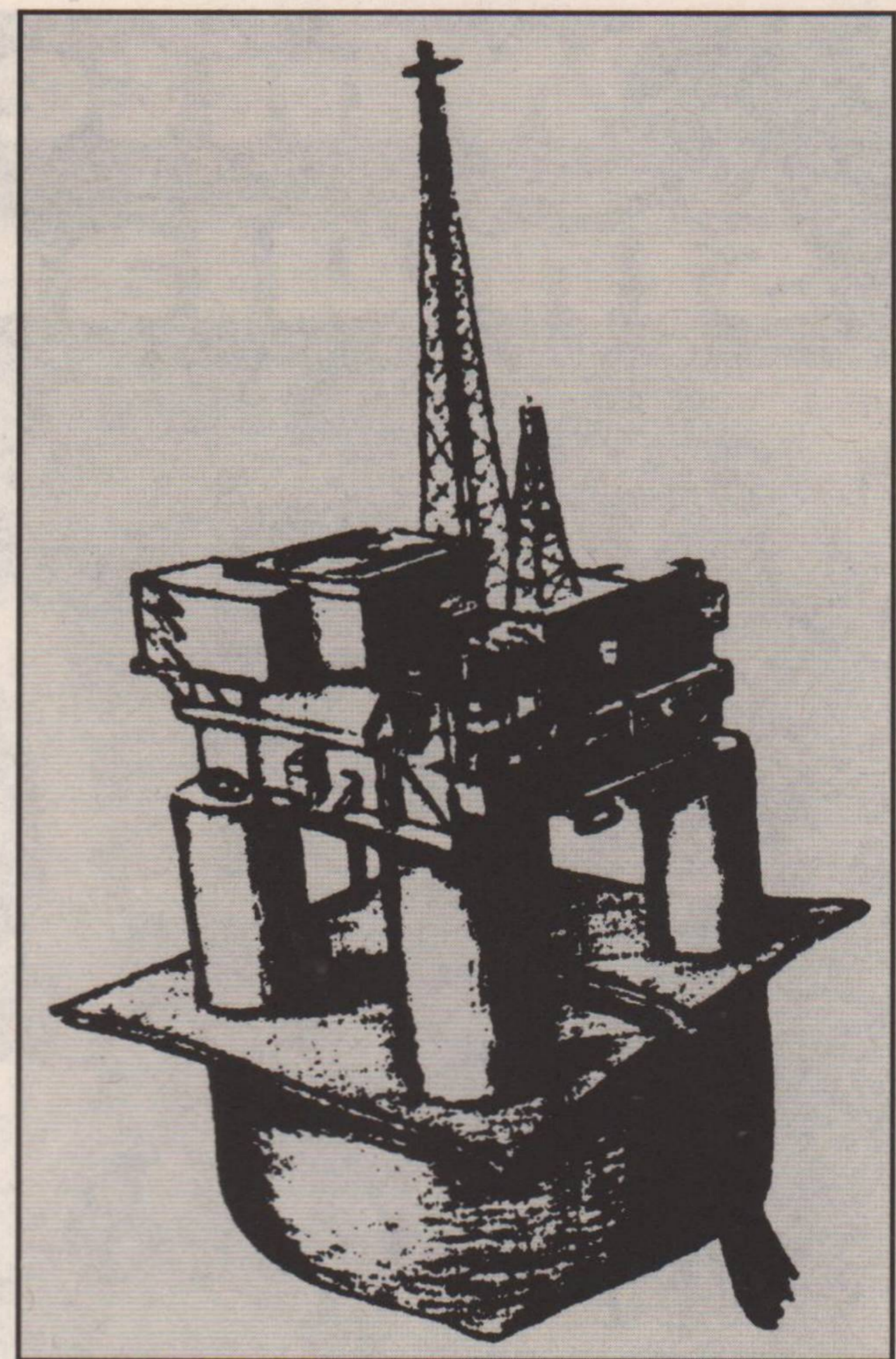
Slick operators in ivory towers

The oilmen don't just sign the cheques, they've slipped into the ivory towers and are hob-nobbing with the management. They've done spectacularly well at Imperial where, in a very real sense they are the management, for the Rector, Sir Ronald Oxburgh also serves as a director of Shell Transport and Trading plc! John Cadogan, Director General of Research Councils, was previously BP's research director. Robin Nicholson, a non-executive director of BP, is a member of the

government's Council for Science and Technology, which advises ministers on science issues. John Avery, formerly of Esso Petroleum, is now head of Real Estate Management at the Higher Education Funding Council for England, where he's responsible for a capital budget of £100 million. Personal links with the industry are particularly well developed at Robert Gordon University and the University of Aberdeen, where relationships are facilitated by their situation at the heart of the UK's oil capital. The nurturing of personal links enables these two universities together with Heriot-Watt and Imperial, to provide half of all recruits, sought annually, by the UK oil industry. The intimacy of these relations is well explained by the Principal and Vice Chancellor of Robert Gordon University, Professor William Stevely, "Industry input does not stop at initial course content; the University ensures that these courses are kept up-to-date and fully in-line with the industry's requirements by consulting a Course Advisory Board containing representatives from major drilling companies and asset managers within the oil and gas industry" (*Petroleum Review*, 1998).

Lies, damned lies and convenient opinions

Besides the covert cosy relationships, the lucrative career moves, the sponsored research and collusion on the curricula the industry can boast of more flagrant demonstrations of its power, influence and branding of academia with 'The Enterprise Oil Building' at Heriot-Watt, 'The Shell Department of Chemical Engineering' at Cambridge, 'The Mobil Lecturer in Production Geoscience' at Aberdeen, 'The Elf Senior Lecturer in Earth Resources Engineering' at Imperial, 'The BP Professor of Information Engineering' at Oxford, etc. Valentine Cunningham, Professor of English at Corpus Christi College, Oxford



observes that "our current academic scene has become a field of corporate naming, a semiotic of trade names, a map of corporate logos, a loud tribute to the power of capitalistic imperialism." Can such a thoroughly commercialised academic environment really be relied upon to conduct unbiased research into climate change and the viability of renewable sources of energy? Nigel Woodcock, professor of Geology at Cambridge points out that "geologists have more feel than most for how the earth works. We see the geological record littered with the debris of past climatic extremes. We, of all people, should be able to spot the threat of a slow catastrophe beginning to happen; to see the climate-modellers' writing on the greenhouse wall. [Yet] there are many geological jobs in finding fossil fuels so we are therefore reluctant to admit the link between fossil fuels and global warming. People in glasshouses don't throw stones."

Christopher Draper

(with thanks to *Corporate Watch*)

Shirin Neshat at the Serpentine Gallery

Shirin Neshat is an Iranian artist, born in 1957, who works with both photography and video installations to explore the contradictions thrown up by the 1979 Iranian revolution, focusing on the tension between the glimpse of liberation, the moment of awareness of constituent power which is the foundation of the revolution, and the denial of rights to women and the closing of the space for dissent which embodies its reality under theocratic rule.

Neshat's *Women of Allah* photographs move to subvert the contradictions. Guns are present in many of the photographs, sometimes held by women, sometimes aimed at them – suggesting both the disempowerment of women in Iran, and the possibility of liberation.

Three short films continue Neshat's critical engagement with the fundamentalist betrayal. In *Rapture*, a group of men act out rituals of collective activity, the rituals breaking down into theatrical squabbles, then coming together again, watched, sometimes mocked, by a group of women. Eventually the women move *en masse* to the coast and the large group moves to help a smaller group sail off in a wooden boat. As they struggle to depart, the men cease their ritualistic squabbles and begin to wave, but whether to dismiss or to seek to recall is left ambiguous.

In *Turbulent*, a male singer delivers a slick routine to an appreciative male audience. On a second screen, the magnificent voice of Sussan Deyhim engages in a stunning

performance, a barrage of wordless fury, raging, then ecstatic, then mournful, articulating all the delirium of life drained from the formal banalities of the male performance. Deyhim performs in an empty auditorium.

In *Fervor*, a man and a woman exchange flirtatious glances as they pass on the way to a meeting. At the meeting, segregated, they continue their flirtation while a cleric rages against the sin of lust. Eventually, the woman leaves the meeting while the audience are led by the cleric in a denunciation of 'Satan'. Later, the two pass again as they leave.

Herbert Marcuse once wrote that "a work of art can be called revolutionary if, by virtue of the aesthetic transformation, it represents, in the exemplary fate of individuals, the prevailing unfreedom and the rebelling forces, thus breaking through the mystified (and petrified) social reality, and opening the horizon of change (liberation)" (Herbert Marcuse, *The Aesthetic Dimension*, Papermac, 1978) It is not to claim too much for Neshat's sly, deceptively simple works to contend that they meet the challenge to revolutionary art that Marcuse set out. The possibility of change flickers in every surreptitious glance exchanged in *Fervor* and resounds in Deyhim's glorious celebration of the right-to-voice in *Turbulent*.

Iran now leads the world in the number of suicides of women per year. Neshat's work stands midway between the perspectives of both Islamic and secular feminism, a contribution to a necessary dialogue at a time

when ever larger numbers are brought in to opposition to the fundamentalist Republic. One sign of the extent and rigour of the variety of forms of opposition is in the popular success of the women's press in Iran (journals such as *Zanan* and *Jens-e Dovvom*) and the vigorous debate between Islamic feminists and secular feminists both in Iran and in exile. As the Iranian feminist Val Moghadam observes "Women and not religion should be at the heart of that theory and practice. It is hard to defend as feminist the view that women can attain equal status only in the context of Islam. This is a fundamentalist view, not one compatible with feminism. And yet, around the world women will pursue different strategies towards empowerment and transformation. We are still grappling with understanding and theorising these diverse strategies" (V. Moghadam, 'Islamic Feminism and Its Discontents' in *Iran Bulletin*, Summer 2000, from *BM Iran Bulletin*, London WC1N 3XX, £3.50 per issue). Both as a contribution to this process and on its own terms, Shirin Neshat's work is, by turns, witty, confrontational, poignant, always provocative, and deeply affecting.

The haunting, beautiful music of Sussan Deyhim, which accompanies Neshat's work is also available on a CD from Crammed Discs, titled *Madmen of God*, a collection of classic texts from the Persian repertoire – songs of love, desire and pain, reworked by Deyhim in New York.

Nick S.

Death and the Imagination

“Repetition is Abhorrent to Nature” – Dachine Rainer

The writer, poet and anarchist Dachine Rainer (born 13th January 1921, died 19th August 2000) was also an editor of considerable talent, although as far I know, once she left America and came to settle in England she had mainly concentrated on her own writing of novels, essays and poetry.

I have in front of me *Prison Etiquette: the convict's compendium of useful information* by The Inmates, with a preface by Christopher Isherwood and with very moving and sharp illustrations by Lowell Naeve who also contributes a very vivid chapter.

This is how it was in the United States, the treatment and thoughts and tribulations of conscientious objectors. The book of course is a masterpiece among books, an impossible exercise in defiance. Not just what these men-against-war did, but the manner in which they did what they did – indeed the etiquette of being in a prison.

What was their crime? They refused to go to war. They could have left the jail at any given time as long as they signed a piece of paper and they would not have been called up at all.

Do this, do that, do the other. In whose name, whose authority?

In a very important footnote Dachine Rainer made the following comment: “Any body of men, by virtue of their numbers and organisation towards a common end is able to coerce the single man. It is by this democratic fallacy – which insists that numbers equal RIGHT, when numbers merely signify POWER, that the family may have evolved into a group, the group into the state, each with its inviolable right to judge and to coerce.”

Dachine Rainer edited this book with her companion Holley Cantine, and they together also edited the important American anarchist periodical *Retort*. Their method of printing was part of their determined stance against conformity. The books were handset and printed by the editors on a “Gordon footpedal press in an edition of 2,000 copies”. A heroic enterprise if there ever was one.

Dachine Rainer did not just write but also lived her anarchism. Her most controversial act was to have instigated the founding of the Committee for the Liberation of Ezra Pound with the help of others such as Dwight and Nancy Macdonald, W.H. Auden, e.e. cummings and Marion Morehouse. This saved Ezra Pound from execution.

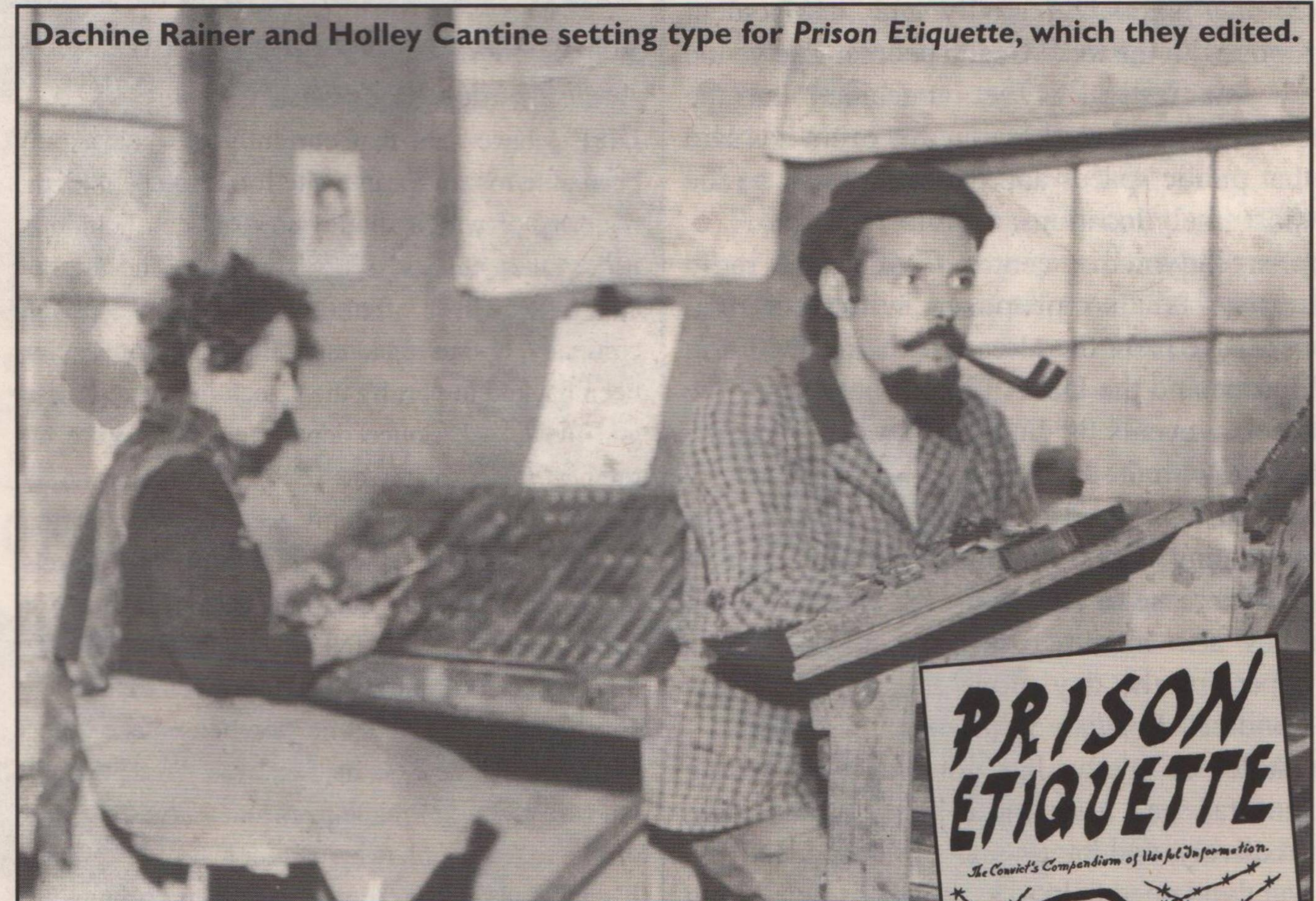
I met her in the '60s and still remember her accurate assessments. Those who have power, she said, need no other justification,

we who have to restrain them somehow are faced by the energy of concentrated power, immoral, unethical and unrelenting.

Her funeral, which took place on the 30th August, commenced with a memorial gathering in Mortlake and then her coffin was taken to Highgate cemetery and was lowered into the grave of James Edward Ballantyne who

to engorge the root system of ground elder, proliferating inside your grave on Highgate Cemetery.”

Then significantly: “I chose that site – it overlooks a Constable landscape – for our last concert on earth! so when I arrive to bed, I find your eyes intense with blue wonder still”.



was her devoted companion until his death in 1968. She was sung out by the beautiful soprano voice of Mr Laurence Fine, whose father was by a remarkable coincidence a postman in the Bronx who delivered the post to the Rainers.

The huge tombstone was held back by ropes tied to the very elder tree which features in Dachine's exquisite poem 'My Foreigner's Voice Erupts in Venezia' ('Giornale di Venezia', 1996, Salzburg University – a remarkable publishing enterprise which is now alas kaput).

I quote: “It is unimaginable that your body which meant so much to us ... should have disappeared swallowed by worms and slugs,

What a poem! She forecast her own manner of death with something approaching accuracy. A quibble that might have amused Dachine, who was never so careless as to be without a sense of fun at all times. Had she not told a young doctor of philosophy and literature quite recently: “Young man, you are very badly educated, but at least you have enthusiasm”. And the young man was at her funeral in the company of family and friends who included Beethoven, Debussy and Chopin.

Dachine Rainer

The poet and novelist Dachine Rainer has died in London at the age of 79. She was a link with the generation of anarchist propagandists in the United States who were active in the Second World War and whose publications filtered through to the Freedom Bookshop in those days.

Apart from *Politics*, edited by Dwight Macdonald as he progressed towards an anarchist position, there was *Why?*, which later became *Resistance*, published in New York by a marvellously talented group whose sole survivors today, both living on the West Coast, must be Audrey Goodfriend and a long-term Freedom Press supporter, David Kovan.

The other English-language journal from those days, pioneering a new approach to anarchism was *Retort*, which was edited, printed and published by Holley Cantine and Dachine Rainer from Bearsville, New York. All these people were, in those days, just names to the Freedom Press group of that period, but years later they became dear friends.

Retort was an excellent magazine. Some of Paul Goodman's wartime essays, reprinted many years later in his book *Drawing the Line*, first appeared there, as did Richard Wilbur's marvellous account of Aristophanic

pacifism, reproduced twenty years later in the Freedom Press journal *Anarchy*.

Only those who have undertaken the now obsolete task of hand-setting, making ready, machining and distributing type, know the amount of effort involved, and the continued appearance of *Retort* was a tribute to the steadfastness of Holley and Dachine and their Gordon upright foot-pedal press.

In 1950 they produced in the same way the book *Prison Etiquette: the Convict's Compendium of Useful Information* in which they edited and introduced the testimony of American war-resisters of the Second World War. They printed two thousand copies on half a ton of paper donated by James Laughlin, and the book later became a kind of underground classic of prison literature,

A contribution from Dachine Rainer is included in the Freedom Press volume

Visions of Poesy:

an anthology of twentieth century anarchist poetry

edited by Clifford Harper, Dennis Gould and Jeff Cloves

(available from Freedom Press at £8.00)

But let me not forget the quibble. It happened as Dachine imagined it. Nature and Art combined to make this poem true, proving the anarchist point that what you finally cannot do others will do for you as long as they also wish to and by doing so cause themselves no harm but on the contrary derive pleasure in being able to enter your world of fanciful anarchist honesty.

Some random quotes on Dachine Rainer:

“Dachine Rainer's *The Uncomfortable Inn* ... best first novel” – Rebecca West

“U hv the root few hv” by the misunderstood humourist Ezra Pound.

From an appreciation by the playwright Shane Connaughton: “Her anarchism and pacifism she imbibed in Tribeca, New York where she grew up. The event that gripped the people all around her in the 1920s was the arrest and subsequent execution of the poor fish peddler and the cobbler, Sacco and Vanzetti ... Her insights and wisdom was profound. She never raised her voice but such was her effect I actually saw people explode with rage. A visiting poet was so angry that he had to be restrained from tipping the dinner table over.”

Incidentally, she is buried two graves away from Frank Ridley, the philosopher and historian. Down the slope is the gloomy massive head of Karl Marx.

She wrote that “the most important aspect of endurance is to maintain as much as possible one's sense of being an individual”. This was about enduring prison, but I also read it as standing up to oppression.

John Rety

We wish to thank Thérèse Cantine for the loan from her family album of the historic photograph we reproduce here.

Use your head!

How did you vote in the last election?
With my heart (i.e. Labour)

How will you vote in the next election?
With my head (i.e. I won't)

Pete Wylie, lead singer in Wah!, quoted in *Guardian Weekend* (26th August 2000).



Portrait of Dachine Rainer by Katherine Church

quoted in all the criminological textbooks, even though its editors explained that they published it “neither because we want to reform the prison system, nor merely to honour the valour and integrity of its contributors”. They said they wanted to provide a helpful manual for prisoners, but what they produced was really a manual on the ultimate nature of the State.

By the early sixties, Holley and Dachine had parted, and she had moved to England with their daughter Thérèse, to whom we send our sympathy.

Freedom Press Bookshop

(in Angel Alley)

84b Whitechapel High Street
London E1 7QX

— opening hours —

Monday to Friday 10.30am - 6pm
Saturday 11am - 5pm

Books can be ordered from the above address.
A booklist is available on request.

— ORDERING DETAILS —

Titles distributed by Freedom Press (marked*) are post-free inland (add 15% postage and packing to overseas orders). For other titles add 10% towards p&p inland, 20% overseas.
Cheques/PO in sterling made out to 'FREEDOM PRESS'

PRAGUE report from the international meeting

Individuals from affinity groups, collectives and organisations throughout Europe and the US held an international meeting in Prague on 16th to 18th June. Discussions centred around the impending International Monetary Fund/World Bank's Annual General Meeting this September.

The central organising group, INPEG (the Initiative Against Economic Globalisation) gave a report of several working groups set up specifically for the September actions.

After several days of discussion and deliberations, a consensus was reached on many issues – particularly surrounding the planning and execution of actions on 26th September.

The morning of the 26th September will see a diversity of affinity groups and individuals gathering to perform their own autonomous actions such as blockades, street theatre and banner drops to disrupt the open ceremonies of the meetings. There will also be legally allowed demonstrations in various squares in central Prague which will be used as information points for affinity groups and the general public to share info on the day's events.

The early afternoon of the 26th September will see a publicly announced mass convergence and consequent descent upon the IMF congress centre. This will be a public display to represent the fact that we the people create rights, not authoritarian institutions. Alternative actions are being planned in the event that the meetings are stopped.

In conjunction with the action will be a counter-summit from the 22nd to 24th September comprised of teach-ins, workshops and speaking engagements housed in various universities, halls and conference centres throughout the city.

The list of speakers is not yet confirmed but a variety of academics, philosophers and writers will attend. The counter-summits' structure will be an 'anti-thesis' of the agenda of the IMF and World Bank. On the last day of the counter-summit will be a merging with the 'Arts and Resistance' festival.

Police training action against demonstrators during IMF meeting

The former military airport in Milovice, central Bohemia, saw several hundred police training for possible actions against demonstrators during the international Monetary Fund (IMF) conference due in Prague in September, the Nova television and the *iDnes* internet magazine reported.

The event was originally to be kept secret. Prague police officers, dog handlers and mounted police attended the training. "Similar events have been held for three years already, and another one will be certainly held before the conferences" Gabriela Bartikova from the Interior Ministry told *iDnes*. According to Bartikova, the officers did not train in methods of physical violence against demonstrators, but tactics to be taken during the closing of the building.

The police expect up to twenty thousand opponents of globalisation to demonstrate against the IMF and World Bank meeting in Prague. Left-orientated organisations have published invitations to Prague on the internet. The police monitor the internet due to threats of violence, the television said. The police are to be reinforced by some five thousand officers from special units during the conference. They did not, however, take part in the exercise.

Prague (CTK)

The Arts and Resistance Festival will start on 21st September and run through the entire week up to the 28th. It will include subversive artists, street theatre groups, samba bands, sound systems, and puppet makers. The focus will be on making the 26th September actions as colourful and noisy as possible.

This festival is especially seeking the support of international creativity and involvement along with the local Czech people. The venue for this festival is yet undecided but the cultural group working on this event has said that public spaces and the streets will be the most likely locations.

An indymedia centre (IMC) and radio station is also proposed with technical expertise from the already existing IMC's in Europe and the US. An important part of the week's events is building support for the action with the local Czech working class.

INPEG's media group are currently producing 2,000 monthly bulletins which will increase to 10,000 for the week's action. They also intend to produce a spoof news paper for the day along the same lines as London's *Evading Standards* and *Maybe*.

A lot of energy has gone into organising thus far, and a lot more help – financially, creatively, and hands-on – is needed. INPEG want and need help in making this week-long action a reality.

September 26 Collective

Security measures for IMF on internet from July

Information about security and transport measures planned in connection with the IMF and World Bank meetings – will be available on the internet from 1st July.

From 1st July, important information and advice both for the city's inhabitants and businessmen, and for tourists, will be posted on the Ministry of Defence website under the address www.mvcr.cz, said Gabriela Bartikova, press spokeswoman for the IMF at the Ministry of Defence.

According to her, the advice will be on matters such as how to act in a crisis situation, how to defend property, etc. "It's not our intention to alarm people, spread frivolous information and exaggerate the whole affair, but forewarned is forearmed."

One of the measures will be the bolstering of internet communications, and the network of fixed and mobile telephones, particularly lines for emergency calls. Restrictions, on the other hand, will be of a nature that will cause as little disruption to the life of the city as possible. For instance, services in Vysehrad metro station at the Congress Centre will not be cancelled. The security zone in the immediate vicinity of the Congress Centre will not be impenetrable, and people will still be able to move around the area.

"The security zone will be delimited by the street 'Na Bucance' in front of the Congress Centre and by 'namesti Hrdinu' behind it. Police will patrol this area and will require everyone to state where they are going and why. We will not prevent anyone from passing through, said the director of the Prague police force Radislav Charvat. He added that there were two hundred businesses within the zone and that there were roughly 6,000 people living in it. Prague municipal police officers will also take part in the operations.

According to their chief, Radim Chyba, about 400 of their number will be earmarked for duties linked to the IMF meetings. Their role will be a supporting one, they will be primarily concerned with safeguarding a variety of buildings.

Pravo

AUSTRIA Vienna, loose coalition of groups going to Praha. **FINLAND** Finnish anarchist / autonomist network and Friends of the Earth-Finland have decided to participate in Prague mobilisations. **FRANCE** 'sans titre' network of grassroots organisations proposed mobilisation to Prague. **GERMANY** NIX DA 2000 caravan of bicycles and wagons from Hannover to Prague in September 2000, Euromarsche: European marches against unemployment, unsafe occupation and social exclusion. **IRELAND** Revolutionary Youth plan transport to Prague. **ITALY** Ya Basta! Milan. The mobilisation to Prague is being discussed. The recent protests involving the 'white overalls' have inspired ideas for non-violent mass actions in Prague. **NORWAY** Nature & Youth and several other organisations are getting together and planning transport to Prague. **PORTUGAL** Commission for the Abolition of Capitalism is planning different activities both locally and mobilisation to Prague. **RUSSIA** Moscow S26 Collective Planned event: There is a collective based in Moscow calling for local S26 events all around Russia. Also planning transport to Prague. **SPAIN** RCADE, the Citizens Network for the Abolition of the External Debt decided at their third gathering to focus on Prague as the next target of their campaigning. **UK** S26 Collective(s) mass mobilisation to Prague. EF! action network going to Prague. **ASEED** are doing support work for the activities in Prague. **EYFA** are mobilising to Prague and many more groups on in Latin America us Africa and Asia are organising local actions.

Accommodation update

INPEG have said that currently they have only been able to rent a camp site for 1,500 people, the majority of which should go to Czech people as it'll be the cheapest option for them. The Strahov stadium has been offered to activists by a private company. It should be noted that this proposal has been backed in part by the Czech interior minister and the Czech police department. Therefore not the best place to stay at! INPEG's position on the accommodation for non-Czech activists is that they will provide us with information on hostels, campsites, pensions, etc., but that we have to sort it out ourselves. The INPEG website has regular updates of accommodation (inpeg.ecn.cz).

No doubt nearer the time warehouses and empty buildings will be reclaimed but it's vital that people who are going to Prague form small affinity groups of five to ten people who can look after each other. It's also advised also to bring sleeping bags and heavy clothes. Another possibility is to stay with a Czech family who usually hand out leaflets at railway station advertising rooms in their homes. They offer cheap accommodation and are pleased to have foreigners stay.

Mobilising info

The September 26 collectives in London will be providing coaches for people who want to travel for one week arriving in Prague on Friday 22nd September and returning to London on Thursday 28th September. The journey to Prague by coach takes around twenty hours. We have chosen to go by coach because it seems the most practical and cost effective. For more information e-mail the S26 collective mobilising group for London (S26London@hotmail.com).

It needn't be the only way to get to Prague. German activists have proposed a 'free train' to Prague which could be a cheaper, but riskier, method. The idea being to see it as legitimate to use train transport for free to go to a protest. Contact infocen@wnet.bos.nl.

People in the UK and on the continent have been discussing a 'Critical Mass' cycle ride to Prague which will hopefully pick up more riders as the journey progresses and will also link in with the planned caravan to Prague from Hannover. For more info contact wagen.list@gmx.de.

Low cost airlines GO have tickets from around £100 return.

The sentiments from the Czech activists at INPEG are that it doesn't matter how you get there as long as you come on 26th September – show up and take part!

Action ideas

One of the characteristics of so-called 'anti-capitalist' demonstrations has been the creativity of the protesters, none no more so than Ya Basta! in Italy. In three significant protests this year in Milan, Genoa and most recently in Bologna, the 'white-overalls' (which they have been termed in the Italian media) have proved to be extremely successful in ensuring the continuation of protests under attack by riot police. The 'white-overalls' basically involve organised affinity groups which are heavily protected with shin pads, motorcycle helmets, gas masks, mattresses and white overalls. It has so far inspired a lot of direct action activists

and might be part of the planned protests against the IMF and World Bank in Prague. One element of September's action is a publicly announced action to stop the meetings taking place.

To find out more you can e-mail yabasta@tin.it or visit the Italian indymedia centre at <http://italy.indymedia.org>.

Czech police, security and affinity groups

The 26th of September is emerging as being an important date not only for the anti-capitalist 'movement' but also for the effectiveness of state repression in deterring any form of active dissent amongst the populace. The reported presence of 11,000 police has been known for months to scare off gullible sections of the protest movement. At every major demo the state use fear to control people, fear of what will happen to them if they go against the system. Apart from the police, state aided mercenaries, the FBI and BiS (Czech secret police) will also be active leading up and during that period. It's good to be cautious of who you meet, but this shouldn't make you paranoid not to meet people. The BiS (better known as the 'anti-activist police!') whose numbers have been recently boosted to 190 agents for the week of action are trained for under cover work and repression but they usually stick out like a sore thumb when trying to follow you. Their main aim will be to disrupt the preparations of the protest before S26 by trying to intimidate people. The September 26 Collective has discussed the importance of being in affinity groups *before* you leave for Prague. Therefore we're planning to organise affinity group training (hopefully) in mid-August and September. These will also include legal info, medical info and accommodation details. Their will also be a day for training direct action trainers so we can build a network of trainers in this country. To get involved contact michael_bakunin@hotmail.com.

What is the S26 Collective?

The S26 UK collective is a UK-wide effort for facilitation and networking. It is hoped that people from other groups be it Anarchist, Marxist or whatever would use the proposed UK meetings as a sharing of info about planned transport, resources, teach-ins and general anti-IMF and S26 related stuff. This bulletin along with the list server is one way of facilitating this but we also need help organising meetings around the country. UK-wide meetings are important not just because it's nice meeting new people but if we are ever going to co-ordinate the overthrow of capital then we have to start communicating better with each other. The idea of having collectives was that it was a way in which people could organise on a local level and at the same time be part of a UK wide mobilisation rather than just confined to individual groups or regions. This makes it completely decentralised in its structure and also highly dependent on people's initiatives. This network should be as inclusive and transparent as possible. Everyone should be given the opportunity to participate in this mobilisation.

Naming and Shaming

Dear *Freedom*,

I have recently seen pictures on television from the anti-paedophile protests in Portsmouth. They seemed good demonstrations of direct local democracy engaged in direct action. The irony of them was that the only people around on the side of decency were the police.

Nick S. (*Freedom*, 'Naming and Shaming', 12th August) is almost certainly right to see significance in the fact that the majority of the anti-paedophile protesters are working class women living in socially excluded communities. And he must be right when he says we (anarchists?) have been content for too long with talking to ourselves, and that we have to show real solidarity and "conduct our arguments as debates within, not against, working class communities." But I think Nick is quite wrong to see "the mobilisation of large numbers of working class women around the issue of child abuse" as "in part a step towards a solution, rather than a problem in itself." Nothing that includes, for instance, young

women among a crowd of protesters shrieking with delighted hate when they manage to connect to a suspected paedophile on their mobile 'phone can be considered a solution to anything.

Francis Ellingham is surely right too when he says humanity's problem is in the human psyche ('The Greeks had a word for it – psyche!', letters page, 29th July). He implies he does not know the solution. I don't either. But it certainly does not lie in the glorification of democracy or 'the people'. At roughly the time James Bulger was killed there was a

practically identical case in Norway. The reaction was horror, as it was here. But in every other respect, on the part of both the community as a whole and the authorities, it was the reverse of the hysteria, hate and vindictiveness displayed in Britain. Why was this?

I do not believe we can ever really be sure of cause and effect in history. But one can at least look at some of the striking differences between the two countries. There were no executions in Norway after 1876, and the death penalty was abolished in 1905. In contrast to this country, I think you would find very few people there who would advocate its return. This in turn possibly has something to do with the fact that Norwegians have had very little experience of war in the last 200 years. And it is perhaps crucial that they enjoy greater social justice. Over here I suspect that the decline of the trade unions has helped to weaken the principle of solidarity and changed attitudes generally for the worse. But whatever the reasons for their different behaviour, the Norwegians show that it is possible for communities to change their attitudes fundamentally.

The trouble is that humans are mostly trapped in a vicious circle. Behaviour won't change till attitudes change. Attitudes won't change till some crucial circumstances change and behaviour changes, and they will very likely not change till attitudes change. The working class women Nick talks about almost certainly do not dispute the basic social and political system that discriminates against them. It is not the achievement of 'real democracy' that will make them question it, nor the encouragement of irrational popular

hatred. What they and all of us need is a gentler ethos without hate, a general acceptance that there are certain things that nobody has a right to do to others, whatever those others may have themselves done. And that every individual is important and needs support. Maybe solidarity *with* those women might help to achieve such a morality; aiding them to band together *against* others in hatred will certainly not, and will very likely help to make the world an even nastier place.

Making the expression of that solidarity practical, though, is another matter. We are back in the vicious circle.

Amorey Gethin

Dear *Freedom*,

An important addition to your article on 'Naming and Shaming' and 'Child Murders' in the 12th August issue concerns the widespread reporting of a suspect's name in the Sarah Payne case. This included the BBC news. The man, whose name I did not hear in police statements, was subsequently released without charge.

Howard Millbank

Alex Comfort

Dear *Freedom*,

Brian Bamford's letter attacking Alex Comfort via George Orwell, which is paired with my letter in the *Freedom* of 1st July, needs some clarifying response. Comfort's letter to *Horizon* (May 1942) is a five-page response to an essay by Stephen Spender criticising English writers, especially the younger ones, for failing to deal effectively with the war. Comfort, then a 22 year old young poet and extremely vocal opponent of the war in print and in speech, writes a detailed and careful answer to the criticism as well as a clear statement against the war, a position even more strongly argued in other places such as in *Art and Social Responsibility*.

Orwell, verging on 40 and by then a supporter of the war, is clearly riled by Comfort, and his selection of a couple of sentences from Comfort's long letter is taken out of its context to make a personal attack on Comfort, as were his comments in *Partisan Review* under the general heading of 'loss of nerve' and his other attacks on 'Western pacifists' at the time. I recommend that any readers, including Brian Bamford, who are interested in what Comfort had to say read the whole of the *Horizon* letter, or better still, some of the selections from David Goodway's collection of Comfort essays, *Writings against Power and Death*, especially 'Social Responsibility in Science and Art'. Personally, I think *Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State* is the best work on the issues under debate.

However, the most important clarification required by Bamford's letter is that by 1942 Comfort had not yet written most of his novels, including his two best: *The Powerhouse* and *On This Side Nothing*, neither of which could be described as 'propaganda tracts dressed up as novels'. Orwell, though, must have forgotten his criticism when he later published his own propaganda tracts dressed up as novels: *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty Four*.

As for Bamford's comments about 'exact sciences' and 'dressing up' science, I think my own letter and the quotations in it answer that attack. With a lot more reading, a lot more thought, and even more anarchist tolerance, such letters as these would not be necessary.

John R. Doheny

[This correspondence is now closed – Editors]

Insight

Dear *Freedom*,

Occasionally we get an insight of the inferno that we're all living in, and the heat of it disturbs and raises our grey beards. And occasionally we get a glimpse of the type of thinking that can lead to the creative act that is needed to counter those who are stoking the furnace. The recent article by John Rety ('Education Otherwise') was one of those rare glimpses (that used to be more frequent) that we get in *Freedom*. Flexibility to situations and people is our strong point, and flexibility of thought is what will allow us to offer effective resistance, predictability is not only dull and uninspiring it is also very easy to counter, and *Freedom* seems too becoming very predictable lately.

Dave Rolstone

Flowers for Homestead

Dear *Freedom*,

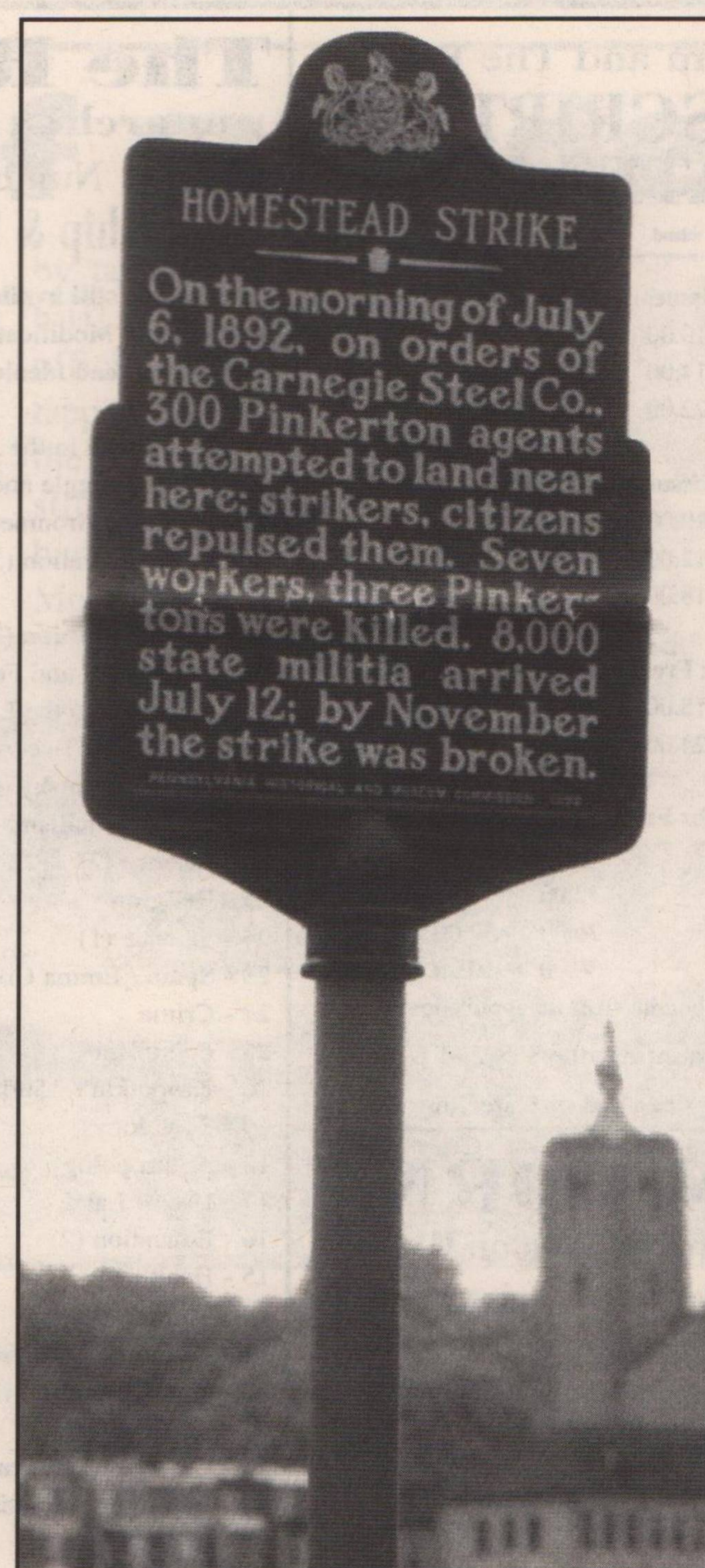
The article you published recently on the dispute at the Homestead steelworks interested me. I recently visited Pittsburgh. My host, Joe White (the biographer of Tom Mann), took me to the site of the bloody struggle. I went round the Pump House where the armed workers and their families confronted three hundred armed Pinkerton guards.

What I had not properly realised before was that the American right to possess weapons means that they can be used in industrial disputes. Indeed, at Homestead the workers made the armed strikebreakers see the force of 'reason' when they brought forth a cannon. It made me wonder what the outcome might have been at Orgreave had the miners been thus equipped.

The steelworkers, however (much like our own miners), were defeated by politics. The Democratic Party controlled the State. It flooded the Pittsburgh area with soldiers. It saw to it that the steelworkers became – and remained – non-union. Only with the massive wave of militancy in the 1930s did the CIO secure a footing and put union organisation on a firm footing again.

From the enclosed handbill you will see that the memory of the Homestead dispute stays very much alive. The Pump House and adjoining buildings have been restored. They have been made into a working-class museum. Links between people in America and this country should be encouraged.

I went as a guest to one of their meetings. They gave me a video about the strike entitled *The River Ran Red*. It is one of the best films on an industrial dispute that I have ever seen. It led me to ask them whether they had seen any of the work of British filmmakers. To my surprise, they had never heard of Jim Allen, and Ken Loach was only known because he had just made a film on



the exploitation of emigrant labour in California.

It seemed to me that a fitting tribute to Jim Allen would be to try and introduce a new audience, an American audience, to his films. While I was in Pittsburgh, radicals held a fortnight-long film festival. No British film was shown.

Raymond Challinor

Poor Marx

Dear *Freedom*,

I suspect that NW was referring to the Marxist concept of revolution when he said that workers were not revolutionary ('Poor Marx', 12th August). The Marxian version of revolution is one that is totalistic, a complete overthrow of society usually involving violence. Workers were supposed to actively and aggressively seek such a revolution. Of course they haven't. They have more bloody sense! (Furthermore, society doesn't change in this manner. Marx misunderstood the nature of the French Revolution upon which he based his concept of proletarian revolution.) The few times they have mounted the barricades have been in response to some action of the ruling elite (military coups or loss in war) or some other class (peasant revolts). Even in the few examples of so-called proletarian revolt, only a minority of the class was involved and none of the uprisings aimed at establishing Marxist communism. There is, however, another sense of the term revolutionary.

This is the sociological one and not the Marxian pipe-dream so loved by alienated upper class intellectuals. Revolution is seen as significant political, economic or social change. Thus we have the Industrial Revolution, the demographic revolution, etc. While working people have carefully avoided the Marxist utopia, they have rarely been passive consumers of social change. Through trade unions, mutual aid societies, pressure groups, co-ops and a hundred less formal means, workers have actively sought deep and fundamental (i.e. revolutionary) changes in society. The fact that we no longer die of old age at 40, live six to a room, and work 14 hours a day is a tribute to these revolutionary workers. It is upon this concept of revolution that we can anchor contemporary anarchism, and not a secular religion and pseudo-science. We don't need Marxism, period.

I would add that the reason Nick S. gives for the ascendancy of social democracy is very simplistic and is in fact the usual Marxist excuse for the failures of their cult. Anyone who thinks that we have merely been frightened or bought-off really doesn't understand working people in the least. This lack of understanding is the root cause of the failure of marxism and not the machinations of the wicked ruling elite.

Larry Gambone

FREEDOM fortnightly
ISSN 0016 0504

Published by Freedom Press
84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX
Printed in Great Britain by Aldgate Press,
London E1 7RQ

Freedom on the World Wide Web

www.ecn.org/freedom
e-mail Freedom Press at
freedom@ecn.org

a-infos

daily multi-lingual international
anarchist news service

To: majordomo@tao.ca
Subject:

.....
subscribe a-infos

Freedom and The Raven SUBSCRIPTION RATES 2000

	inland	outside Europe surface	outside Europe airmail	Europe (airmail only)
Freedom (24 issues) half price for 12 issues				
Claimants	10.00	-	-	-
Regular	14.00	22.00	34.00	24.00
Institutions	22.00	30.00	40.00	40.00

The Raven (4 issues)

Claimants	10.00	-	-	-
Regular	12.00	14.00	18.00	16.00
Institutions	18.00	22.00	27.00	27.00

Join sub (24 x Freedom plus 4 x The Raven)

Claimants	18.00	-	-	-
Regular	24.00	34.00	50.00	36.00

Bundle subs for Freedom (12 issues)

	inland	abroad surface	abroad airmail
2 copies x 12	12.00	13.00	22.00
5 copies x 12	26.00	32.00	44.00
10 copies x 12	50.00	60.00	84.00

Other bundle sizes on application

Giro account number 58 294 6905

All prices are in £ sterling

The Raven anarchist quarterly

Number 41 Censorship & Social Control

Back issues still available:

- 40 - Genetic Modification
- 39 - Culture and Ideology
- 38 - 1968
- 37 - Anarchism in the Americas and China
- 36 - Class Struggle and Social Protest
- 35 - Urban Environment / Psychoanalysis
- 34 - Communication (3) : Language
- 33 - The Arts
- 32 - Communication (2) : 'The Net'
- 31 - Economics and Federalism
- 30 - New Life to the Land?
- 29 - World War Two
- 28 - Noam Chomsky on Haiti
- 27 - Fundamentalism
- 26 - Science (2)
- 25 - Religion
- 24 - Science (1)
- 23 - Spain / Emma Goldman
- 22 - Crime
- 21 - Feminism
- 20 - Kropotkin's 150th Anniversary
- 19 - Sociology
- 18 - Anthropology
- 17 - Use of Land
- 16 - Education (2)
- 15 - Health
- 14 - Voting
- 13 - Anarchism in Eastern Europe
- 12 - Communication (1)
- 11 - Class
- 10 - Libertarian Education
- 9 - Bakunin and Nationalism
- 8 - Revolution
- 7 - Emma Goldman
- 6 - Tradition and Revolution
- 5 - Spies for Peace
- 4 - Computers and Anarchism
- 3 - Surrealism (part 2)
- 2 - Surrealism (part 1)
- 1 - The History of Freedom Press

£3.00 each (post free worldwide)

FREEDOM PRESS
84b Whitechapel High Street
London E1 7QX

Meetings & Events

London Anarchist Forum

A non-factional, open discussion group for all anarchists, and those wanting to discuss anarchism, libertarian theory or related issues. The LAF is run on a collective basis, facilitated but unchaired and based on free speech and informal dialogue. Meets Fridays around 8pm to 10pm at Conway Hall, 25 Red Lion Square, London WC1R 4RL (nearest tube Holborn). Admission free but voluntary contribution is suggested to cover cost of room.

— MEETINGS FOR 2000 —

8th September Open Debate: anarchy and the sexual revolution (with guests)

15th September Reformist? Revolutionist? (speaker Ron Bailey)

22nd September Prague debate

29th September Monthly free dialogue (any topic)

Anyone wanting to give a talk or facilitate a discussion should contact Steve Ash, or any other regular, at a meeting, giving topic and preferred dates. A contact address will be available soon. Monthly free dialogues may be cancelled at short notice and used for scheduled talks if necessary.

LAF@anarchic.co.uk www.trak.to/LAF
Steve Ash for London Anarchist Forum

the big pre-prague benefit bash

Saturday 16th September

with karaoke • disco • quiz • raffle • prizes ...

Arsenal Tavern, Blackstock Road, Finsbury Park

8pm to late • admission £5 waged, £2.50 conc.

Café Philosophique presents

Heaven on earth: is utopia possible?

an examination of two utopian communities -

A.S. Neill's Summerhill and Robert Owens's New Lanark

A talk by **Bryn Purdy**

at Scarthin Books Café, The Promenade,

Cromford, Derbyshire

on Saturday 30th September from 7.30pm

entrance fee of £2 includes refreshments

info: 01629 823272

Northern Anarchist Network

Autumn Festival & Conference

Starting on 30th September at 10.30am

Bury Unemployed Centre,

12 Tithebarn Street (off The Rock)

*Introductory meeting and social for home
educating families and people interested in*

alternative methods of education

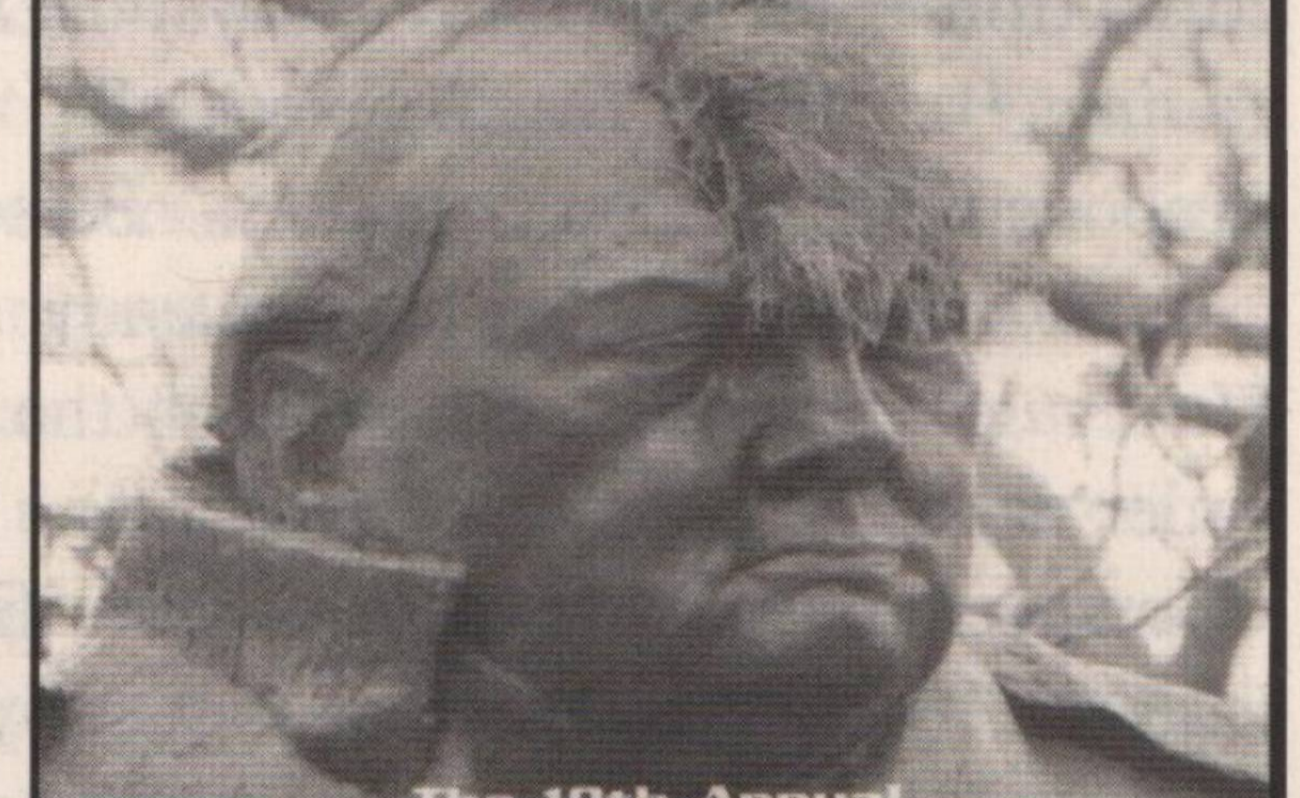
Monday 25th September, 1pm to 5pm

at Friends Meeting House

St Helen's Street, Derby

contact Elaine on 01332 200655

His finest hour!



The 19th Annual

Anarchist Bookfair

Saturday 14 October 2000

10am-6pm

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square,
London WC1 (Holborn tube)

Books, CDs, stalls, meetings, videos,
creche, food and loads more

http://freespace.virgin.net/anarchist.bookfair

A talk by John Zerzan

The author of *Future Primitive*, *Elements of Refusal* and *Against Civilization*, anarcho-primitivist writer/activist John Zerzan will be speaking about the green anarchist movement in the US, the recent anti-WTO protest in Seattle and the growing international opposition to the totality of civilisation.

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London

on Friday 22nd September at 7.30pm

for further info: BCM 1715, London WC1N 3XX

tel: 0836 223646

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

To Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

- I am a subscriber, please renew my sub to *Freedom* for issues
- Please renew my joint subscription to *Freedom* and *The Raven*
- Make my sub to *Freedom* into a joint sub starting with number 41 of *The Raven*
- I am not yet a subscriber, please enter my sub to *Freedom* for issues .. and *The Raven* for issues starting with number 41
- I would like the following back numbers of *The Raven* at £3 per copy post free (numbers 1 to 40 are available)
- I enclose a donation to the Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund / Freedom Press Overheads Fund / Raven Deficit Fund (delete as applicable)

I enclose £ payment

Name

Address

..... Postcode