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## A right royal farce

The generosity of the monarchy knows no bounds. Year in year out, they've relieved us of the terrible burden of deciding whether to invest millions in health or education, thanks to the civil list. Now, as a reward for years of giving one of the richest families in the world millions, we finally get payback: two days holiday. Talk about value for money. So use the holiday wisely – we've earned it. Don't squander two days of freedom from wage slavery by condoning past tyranny and its legacy. Tyranny? Yes, tyranny. Monarchy is just

the old name for dictatorship. Its history is the history of oppression, exploitation, and rule by one person. But unlike the serfs of the past we can show our disgust at the remains of absolutism and the monarchs' insulting claims to rule over us, without having to worry about being hung, drawn and quartered for treason. So let's do it. Let's celebrate real history, the history of resistance, rebellion and revolt from below.



A holocaust awaits

### Resistance of the oppressed

The history we're fed at school and by the mainstream media is history from above, the acts of an elite few who govern and exploit the rest of us. Why celebrate parasites who've happily sent their subjects to die in wars to make sure their rule continues? Why waste a holiday celebrating an institution that's an insult to our intelligence and liberty?

On 3rd June, the Golden Jubilee, why not celebrate history from below, the struggles of working class people like ourselves who fought to change society for the better? Instead of 50 years of Queen Elizabeth, let's celebrate this – our history, the history of liberty, the history of resistance!

A minimum of three million people will be killed if even a 'limited' nuclear war breaks out in Asia, the New Scientist warned last week. Undeterred, Pakistani and Indian bosses continued their headlong charge into their deep bunkers.



**1381, England:** In Gravesend, Sir Simon de Burley charges a man with being a serf. This touches off the Peasants' Revolt, which begins the next day, led by Wat Tyler and John Ball. Tyler demands that all rank and status be abolished and social equality established.

1647, England: The parliamentarian army kidnaps King Charles I. After beheading the king two years later, Cromwell turns on the "switzerising anarchists" on his left, the Levellers, saying that their demand for radical democracy "tends to anarchy."

1793, France: Marat addresses the Jacobin club on the insurrection of 31st May. Organised by directly democratic neighbourhood assemblies ('the sections'), the people of Paris rise in revolt. Marat later says the *(continued on page 2)*  iverpool City Council is to have one of the most expensive and extensive surveillance operations in the world, in an operation that wouldn't look out of place in any high security prison. City residents are supposed to jump for joy, but we 'subjects' are starting to ask what's coming next. Cameras poking through bedroom windows?

It's said that privacy and freedom walk hand in hand. But losing freedom because there's some risk to my car or my handbag is far too high a price to pay, even if it did actually cut property theft (and all it really does is move crime elsewhere or change its form).

It should be noted that these plans for super public surveillance are drawn up, city bosses say, to protect us against crime. But it's the same council that's installing them, along with the government and the licensing magistrates, which has helped turn the city into an alchohol-fuelled bedlam.

The Home Office's own statistics say that four out of five assaults are alcohol-related, just like 80% of criminal damage and 65% of homicides. Yet alcohol sales have quadrupled in the past two decades, and so has violence and the fear of it.

Today, nearly every corner sweetshop and supermarket is licensed to sell the hardest spirits. Many drinks come in child-friendly flavours, in order to attract ever younger adolescents. Alcohol addiction is on the rise, especially among young people. These problems spill on to the streets and into society as a whole. Strapping CCTV to the heads of those under the effects of alcohol wouldn't stop a single punch, kick or headbutt, as the authorities well know. But there aren't any plans for meaningful alcohol education to help prevent binge and addictive drinking. There are no state initiatives for regulating the booze industry.

Magistrates will continue to issue alcohol licenses like confetti – or should I say, CCTV cameras? The streets will carry on getting more dangerous, while at the same time our civil liberties will be neutralised more and more. And all the time, the authorities watch and record anything that moves, at our expense. Who's going to watch the watchers?

**Linda Watson** 

FREEDOM 
Ist June 2002



### Freecom anarchist fortnightly

Anarchists work towards a society of mutual aid and voluntary co-operation. We reject all government and economic repression. This newspaper, published continuously since 1936, exists to explain anarchism more widely and show that only in an anarchist society can human freedom thrive.

### (continued from page 1)

rising gave "a great impetus to the Revolution" and that it aimed to secure "happiness and comfort" for the working class, the sans-culottes. The ensuring struggle between the sections and the Jacobin government becomes the struggle for the heart of the Revolution, the struggle of the working class against the rich.

1871, France: On 18th March, the Parisian working class rise up and start a 'Communal Revolution'. Seeking a free society of free individuals, the Commune proclaims its autonomy and starts to form co-operative workplaces. It creates the "permanent intervention of citizens in communal affairs" by the mandating and instant recall of delegates and free federation from below.



### What anarchism means to me

n post-pubescent naiveté, l discovered a living anarchism. Its liberating nuggets mined inside a late forties dissent East Lancashire sub-culture; to be further refined and sculptured in early fifties London bohemia. Myriad anarchist theoretic then further extended this new libertarian mindscape and helped explain and explore its physical terrain. Political anarchism then promised a viable alternative to traditional working-class deprivation and its deep-rooted puritanical cancer. It also seemed to avoid the complementary juxtaposed shackles of indiscriminate hedonistic indulgence.

Youth and early middle-age remained fuelled and directed by such monochrome cerebral video. That deluded certainty of truth and knowledge; lightly garnished by judgemental pomposity and hypocrisy. Life and anarchism are, of course, simultaneously much more complex and simple than that.

1896, Spain: Isaac Puente is born. Years later, in 1933, he's arrested in Zaragoza along with other members of the Revolutionary Committee for his part in organising a popular revolt. This came about as part of his activity as a militant of the anarchist CNT union. In 1936, the CNT leads the resistance to the fascist coup of 17th July. After defeating the army, millions of people start to create anarchism, taking control of their own fates. Workers kick out their bosses and organise libertarian collectives in industry and agriculture. They organise democratic militias to liberate the parts of Spain ruled over by Franco. The Revolution breaks down sexual and social barriers, introducing a fraternal character to social relations. But betrayal by Communists, Republicans and the western democracies soon ensures Franco's victory.

1900, US: The International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) is founded. In

Not their finest hour - sad gits at the last Jubilee, 1977

1917, Russia: The first All-Russia Congress of Workers and Soldiers' Soviets opens. This is a symbol of the revolution from below which is sweeping Russia. In March, the Tsarist monarchy is overthrown by demonstrations and mass strikes. The Russian workers form councils ('soviets') in its place, made up of mandated and instantly recallable delegates whose job is to carry out decisions. In other words, they take the first steps towards creating anarchy. In the workplaces, committees are formed to introduce workers' self-management of production. Peasants seize the land. This ferment from below continues until it's crushed by the Bolsheviks, who seize power in November. Lenin and the other Bolshevik bosses quickly gerrymander the soviets, and crush working class protest in order to remain in power. This culminates in the Bolshevik crushing of a rebellion at Kronstadt in March, 1921, when sailors and

actions and showing the power of working class direct action and solidarity.

1944 Italy: The first trade union is created in liberated Italy, the Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro.

1968 France: Over 3,000 militants are assembled in Paris by the 'Permanent Factory Mobilisation' Action Committee, to support workers who are striking and occupying their factories across the country. This is the legacy of the near revolution of May that year, which saw hundreds of thousands of people practising direct democracy and direct action across France.

These are just a few examples of history from below, the history of struggle, the history of our class and its power, the history of liberty. History is made by the masses when they unite and fight for their liberty against the rulers, whether political or economic. So celebrate liberty, celebrate the power of working class people to change the world celebrate life! Let's finish the work of rebels past. Their actions point the way forwards direct action, solidarity, self-organisation from the bottom up, self-management, both of the struggle and of the new society. These are the principles of anarchism. Join with us. We have a world to win!

Organised anarchism today is inevitably burdened by faction, schism and doctrinal dogma. To avoid such collective conformity, many dedicated free spirits have ceased to identify themselves as anarchists. Changing self-description and identification, however, rarely manages to alter any kind of essential reality. So it is still country-simple anarchist for me. Just another collection of flesh-body atoms in a situation where everything is made up of the same essential building blocks. Microcosm is macrocosm and everything which exists is mutually interconnected and dependent. Potentially wise or ignorant, right or wrong, as any other human animal.

Being anarchist to me is a celebration of individuality. It is also a manifestation of self-discipline and respect for others. A potential manifestation of openness and freedom. Anarchism is the essential antidote to assumed authority, pretended superiority and external control (by self or others). It is a basic avoidance of rigid mindset. Not to get stuck in imagined absolute truth. Fundamentalist religion (be it any variety of Islam, Christianity, Marxism, fascism or anarchism) will inevitably lead to a new personal or wider Dark Age.

1909, it organises a strike of 20,000 workers in New York. A mass meeting demands that a general strike be declared. Workers in more than three hundred workplaces gain their demands.

1906, Mexico: After two days of rioting that follows the outbreak of a strike, workers in Cananea seize the town. The strike stimulates nationwide labour protests, and the alarmed Mexican and US governments begin a concerted effort to break the anarchist PLM and its revolutionary ideas before it's too late.

workers demand free elections and basic liberties for the masses.

1921 Russia: Workers rebel against Bolshevik tyranny in the Ukrainian town of Ekaterinoslavl. Labelled a 'mini-Kronstadt', strikers raise similar demands to those of the Kronstadt rebels. They also raise the demand for 'free soviets', a slogan popularised by the anarchist insurgent army, the Makhnovists.

1936 France: Two million workers across the country occupy their workplaces, winning significant concessions by their

Edited extract from the Black Flag Mayday Special, produced for Mayday in Glasgow. To obtain the current issue of Black Flag, see ordering details on page 5.

More golden moments

For more information on all these events (and so much more) visit the Movement Against the Monarchy website at www.fuckthejubilee.com or call 07931-301 901.

#### Bristol

### Hereford

Tuesday 4th June: There'll be a night of punk rocking and anti-royalist madness with Eastfield, Intention, Dogshit Sandwich and Flyboy, starting at 9pm at Legends (under the football stadium). All proceeds split between MA'M and the Anarchist

throughout the day, ending up somewhere safe for an evening's entertainment.



**Dave Cunliffe** 

### **Freedom Press**

**84b Whitechapel High Street** 

London E1 7QX

e-mail FreedomCopy@aol.com

Saturday 1st June: Meet at the Bristol Centre (St Augustine's Parade) for a Jamboree against the Jubilee. Contact black\_cat\_collective@yahoo.co.uk

#### Dumfries

There are plans for an alternative event, details to be confirmed. Contact colin.west@start.com.au

#### Glasgow

Monday 3rd June: Plans are being made for an alternative street party. Contact Owen, the\_chaotic\_1@linuxmail.org

### Hebden Bridge

Saturday 1st June: Come to the Never Mind the Jubilee cricket festival, with live music, fun, frolics, stalls, food and drink. This is being organised by the Zion Housing Co-op, in association with Hebden Bridge Cricket Club. Salem Fields, Hebden Bridge, £2 entry. Contact 07960-055 846.

Federation. Contact dodgydeals@tesco.net

### llkley

Monday 3rd June: A demo is taking place at the train station, starting at about 3pm. Contact larissa456@hotmail.com

### London

Saturday 1st June: The planned anti-jubilee party in the streets around Kennington Oval has been under threat from cop harassment. Contact the Movement against the Monarchy for details on whether it's going ahead.

Monday 3rd June: There's another street party, this time at Stoke Newington's Radical Dairy, midday onwards, at 47 Kynaston Road. Contact 020 7249 6996 or theradicaldairy@hotmail.com

Tuesday 4th June: This'll be a big one. The Execute the Queen street party starts at Tower Hill at 10.30am. The party will carry on

This is the official monthly publication of Mannequin Republic, a direct action collective. This first issue contains articles on Mayday 2002, the likely attack soon to be launched on Iraq, the police occupation of Barcelona's Can Masdeu squatted social centre at the end of April, other news and events listings. To subscribe, send £7.50 to cover a year's postage (cheques and postal orders payable to Josh Hall) at Black Star, 2 Combe Farm Cottages, Alldens Lane, Godalming, Surrey GU8 4AP. Email black\_star\_news@hotmail.com

### HOME NEWS

FREEDOM 
Ist June 2002

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# Denting Devon's nukes

### Plymouth

new Trident Ploughshares affinity group was established at the end of March. The group represents part of a growing resistance to the Trident nuclear weapons system, based at Devonport Dockyard. This resistance began in 1993, when Devonport Management Ltd (DML) beat Rosyth in its bid to win the contract for maintaining Britain's "independent nuclear deterrent". DML was helped by local Labour Party bosses, who'd previously claimed to oppose nuclear arms. They agreed to use local taxpayers' money (which had been set aside to promote diversification away from the weapons industry) to fund 'battle' buses and trains putting the case for Plymouth being awarded the contract. Trident was officially dubbed "the people's bomb" as part of their marketing campaign. They didn't care that they were also setting worker against worker with this 'battle' between Devonport and Rosyth. Those of us who'd been in the anti-nuclear movement since the 1960s weren't in the least surprised at these political shenanigans, though we were dismayed by them. But we knew the time for protest would come round again and that, when it did, fewer people would trust the politicians' strategy of being



### Potters Bar firm 'bang to rights'

On Friday 10th May, the last carriage of a WAGN Railways train derailed at Potters Bar railway station in Hertfordshire. This followed a points failure. In the labyrinth of subcontractors working on railway maintenance, it took several days before Jarvis, the main subcontractor, admitted that it directly maintained this section of track and didn't subcontract it to anyone else. Cops haven't found any evidence of sabotage. But this hasn't stopped Jarvis, a firm that's grown fat on privatised rail, road and building contracts, using it as their excuse – especially as they'd inspected the

wolves in sheeps' clothing. We knew that, in future, more of them would want to be involved in direct action.

Nuclear bombs and submarines in the middle of a city of 250,000 inhabitants can hardly be ignored. When the dangers are pointed out, any inhabitants with an ounce of sense oppose Trident out of self-interest, if nothing else.

Most of the groundwork carried out recently has concentrated on environmental pollution. Increasingly, tritium has been dumped in the River Tamar and Plymouth Sound.

There have been demonstrations based on these issues, and the involvement of regional CND has ensured that nuclear disarmament has been raised despite the local media's reluctance to tackle it. Resistance is growing, and Devonport has become a focus for national protest.

### Sandra Leslie

Trident Ploughshares Plymouth Affinity Group, c/o 77 Notte Street, The Barbican, Plymouth PLI 2AQ Call Richard on 01503-250 215 points the day before the accident.

An RMT insider told *Freedom* last week that Jarvis were "bang to rights". But typically, this bunch of murdering cowboys are going to be given a hand in ruining the tube under Labour's privatisation plans.

Former railway engineers have told the media that there's a lack of experience in the track and engineering companies. This is because firms keep only a bare minimum of permanent trained staff, bringing in casual labourers when they're needed. The RMT railworkers' union has called for a public enquiry into the causes of the tragedy and the "shambolic way in which infrastructure maintenance is organised".

M.H.



The SelfEd Collective is part of the Solidarity Federation. We come from a diverse range of backgrounds, including people with and without a state and university education. We want to develop practical skills for anti-capitalist activity, as well as developing knowledge. Knowledge is power, and we want to share power amongst everyone in society. That means sharing and developing our knowledge collectively. The SelfEd Collective is dedicated to providing materials and structured learning environments that people can use to improve their awareness through individual study and thought, and through discussion with others. The SelfEd Collective is a group of

facilitators, here to help people find out more and develop their ideas. Our education methods are based on libertarian principles. We practise what we preach. We've produced a booklet, *Skills for Action: talking and writing*, and developed *The History of Anarcho-Syndicalism*, a 24-unit course that spans history from the roots of capitalism and the resistance against it to the present day. The course and booklet can be accessed free via the internet. Contact the SelfEd Collective at selfed@selfed.org.uk or visit www.selfed.org.uk where you can download the units of the course for free.

1994, expects to be released on licence in the near future. He hadn't been given a definite release date by the start of this week, but supporters say he will most likely be freed in the last week of June or on 5th July. Tilly, a representative of the Justice for Mark Barnsley Campaign, last week asked activists from around the country to come to the prison for the occasion.

Mark is currently held in HMP Whitemoor, Cambridgeshire, but he might have been moved to a prison closer to Sheffield by the time he's let out. Mark says he wants a big crowd of people outside to meet him, and to discourage the authorities if they plan to rearrest him at the gate. This has happened before to prisoners who've been released on licence but who, like Mark, have refused to sign conditions on their freedom. If the release goes ahead as he and his supporters hope, Mark says he wants to go for a celebration breakfast nearby.

**Report from the Justice for Mark Barnsley Campaign** On 8th June, it will be eight long years since the nightmare of injustice started for Mark Barnsley. To highlight his case and show our support for his ceaseless struggle for justice, we're declaring it a Day of Autonomous Action in solidarity. There are now literally thousands of people throughout the world who know about Mark's situation and the terrible injustice he continues to suffer. On the day we want all of them to get out and do something about it. Together, we can make a difference. The only limits are our imagination and commitment. We're asking people to write, fax or phone newspapers, magazines, MPs and phone-ins. They could organise protests in their towns and cities, or do stalls and leafleting. We need people to make posters or stickers, or even just to wear a campaign t-shirt.

who control your every movement; to be told when and what you can eat, what you can wear, where you can and can't go; to be separated from your family and friends, addressed only by your surname and reduced to nothing more than a number; to be locked inside a tiny cell for up to 24 hours a day. On 8th June, Mark Barnsley will – through no fault of his own – have existed in a nightmare world worse than we can imagine, for eight long years.

Contact Justice for Mark Barnsley, PO Box 381, Huddersfield HDI 3XX www.freemarkbarnsley.com

**Solidarity Federation** *PO Box 469, Preston PR1 8XF* 



Imagine what it would be like to have all the rights you normally take for granted



### Bristol

15th May, Robert King Wilkerson stood before an audience in Easton Community Centre to tell his story. He talked in a quiet voice about the struggles he and his comrades have faced in their fight against a system overwhelming in its power and desire to crush them, not for their alleged crimes but simply for being black and radical. Yet despite fit-ups, brutality, racism and 29 years of solidarity confinement, before us stood an unbowed man telling his story. Robert King Wilkerson is one of the Angola Three, a group of Black Panther Party activists who undertook the task of struggling against the prison system from within one of the largest and most brutal regimes in the US prison system – Angola State Penitentiary in Louisiana. Angola is a

5,000-bed capacity maximum security prison. Around 85% of the inmates who are sent there will die there.

King described both the racist-twisted judicial system that had incarcerated him with a 35-year sentence for robbery, and his continued struggles against his imprisonment while he was inside. He made multiple escapes, all resulting in his recapture, and even more attempted escapes.

In prison, he discovered the radical politics of the Black Panthers, and it seems likely that if he hadn't embraced their progressive politics, he would've been a free man sooner. As a radical prisoner, the state set out to get him - at any cost. King talked of being investigated for the murder of a prison guard, even though he wasn't even in Angola when the killing took place.

Next they accused him of the murder of an

inmate, even though the actual killer (who'd been acting in self-defence) said he had acted alone. The state produced two witnesses to the murder, and hit King with a life sentence. In the first trial, his ability to defend himself was somewhat restricted by the fact he was shackled and had duct-tape over his mouth. As time has passed, the inmates who testified against him have recanted their testimony and said it was "given under circumstances of extreme duress". Despite the evidence of his innocence, it still took many years before he was finally freed.

During his talk, King spoke at length of his two comrades, Albert Woodfox and Herman Wallace. They were also hammered by the state on charges of murdering a guard (the same killing that King was 'investigated' over). They were convicted without forensic evidence, on the dubious testimony of a prisoner who was offered rewards for testifying. In Bristol, King described the physical punishments, the mental tortures and the legal loopholes all three have faced (and continue to face) in proving their innocence. Albert and Herman are still locked up, and need our support.

King ended his talk with a commitment to carry on his struggle against the prison system and on his comrades' behalf. With powerful words, he vowed to be a thorn in the side of the Louisiana prison system. "I may be free of Angola, but Angola will never be free of me", he said. Stirring words from a brave and compassionate individual. He deserves our support.

**Bristol Prisoner Support Group** 

For more info see www.geocities.com/bristol\_abc or www.prisonactivist.org/angola



### London

Members of Unison who work in London's local government went on strike on 14th May. They were acting in support of their claim for £4,000 in London weighting. This currently stands at £1,359 to £2,556 a year. Given the absurd cost of living in the capital, and the fact that many council workers can leave a job on Friday and be back in it via an agency (and better paid) on Monday, the need for such a payrise is clear.

But the last major pay dispute in local government was won by the old NALGO union as long ago as 1989. NALGO, for all its faults, actually organised for months before it took any action, and had enough grassroots activists to argue for taking it. Since it was formed, Unison has spent more time victimising activists than building any grassroots presence. It did very little work to build this strike. Conditions faced by today's workforce are very different to what they were in the late 1980s. In 1989, most workers were employed by the council. Now, many services are contracted out. Any action taken by workers in these privatised services is classed as secondary action. This means it's illegal under Britain's anti-union laws.

ment workers, they'd benefit if they won. As an anarchist, I'd like to see these union members picketed out, but I have to admit that the strength isn't there to back them if they face disciplinary action from employers. In fact, the scab leadership of my own Unison branch gleefully sent out letters to all privatised workers, telling them to cross picket lines.

### M.W.

#### **Report from SolFed**

Members of North and East London Solidarity Federation leafleted council workers in Haringey in the week leading up to the strike. The leaflet they gave out emphasised the need for temporary workers to join the action, whilst emphasising that permanent workers need to support temporary workers and fight for permanent contracts for all staff. Councils are relying more and more on temporary staff. This puts temporary workers in a position of power. But it's a power that

## News in Brief

• Hereford Anarchists in the town have been getting organised of late. A new group has recently been set up, Hereford Anarchists. We've already done extensive flyposting, produced a newsletter and begun production of a pamphlet. We're planning a mass leafleting in the area, and we're organising an action on 4th June against a popular British figurehead (see page 2). Get in touch for more information.

### Spaniel

Herefordanarchists@hotmail.com

• Mill Hill Activists are still in the reclaimed barracks in north London (*Freedom*, 18th May), and they still need help. One of them, Chris, said last week that their goal was to provide a place for young people to carry out fulfilling and fun activities. "We want to see lots of small projects, developing consumer-friendly products we can feel proud to sell at fair prices in order to support letter to self-defence, from arranging land collectives to community organising. Discussions will focus on past, present and future UK campaigns, the implications of the globalised economy and how to build international resistance to it.

The philosophy behind Earth First! is that of non-hierarchical organisation and direct action to confront, stop and eventually reverse the forces responsible for the destruction of the earth and its inhabitants. It's not a cohesive group of campaigns – rather a convenient banner for people interested in these ideas.

### Earth First!

Visit www.eco-action.org/gathering or mail summergathering2002@yahoo.co.uk



But because most of them are still on the same terms and conditions as local govern-



In our next issue we begin an exclusive series of reports from the Mexican state of Chiapas, home of the Zapatistas can only be used if unity exists.

It's worth knowing that it's unlawful to sack a worker for taking official strike action. Despite this one piece of legal protection, temporary workers face constant uncertainty about their future employment. If you don't have a secure job, it's harder to get a mortgage and it's necessary to rely on insecure privately rented housing. Temporary workers employed by agencies don't usually get sick pay.

All workers need to fight together to end the use of temporary contracts. This will be an essential part of our long-term struggle for better pay and conditions. Our demand must be that all temporary workers in local authorities be given permanent contracts, unless they're taken on to cover maternity leave or long-term sickness. North and East London SolFed, PO Box 1681, London

N8 7LE

the centre", he said.

"The place is huge, there are 80 threebedroom houses on three small streets. That's a lot of space, and we need people to utilise it. Our plans our open to new ideas. We want to get people active, but doing what they want to do in life".

Visit the project at 60 Ross Avenue, Ingles Barracks, Mill Hill, London NW7 1PH

• **Devon** This year's Earth First! summer gathering is taking place from 10th-14th July. The event, which takes place every year, is an opportunity for anyone interested in non-hierarchical environmental direct action to get together and spend five days learning new skills and discussing campaigns.

There'll be a range of practical workshops and theoretical discussions on everything from carrying out an office occupation to facilitating meetings, from running a news-

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## Check 'em out



Black Flag issue no. 221, £2.00



Conway Hall on 19th May. Unsurprisingly, the lecture told us more than we ever knew about Nicolas. It's the obvious starting point for a future collection of his anarchist writings.

Nicolas remembered



Nicolas Walter

Goodway has already compiled two collections of other anarchists' writings, both published by Freedom Press. Alex Comfort's Writings against Power and Death and Herbert Read's A One-Man Manifesto and other writings both came out in 1994. These two writers, like other anarchists, were "highly successful in recycling already published material". But Nicolas, despite his vast output of journalism, was reluctant to produce a book.

I used to argue with him, pointing to the scarcity value of anarchist propagandists and telling him that we've an obligation to stretch our material as far as possible. He would laugh at my alleged quotation from the composer Handel: "if you've been lucky enough to find a good tune, for heaven's sake make the most of it". More than one publisher has told me that Nicolas turned down commissions to write a popular account of anarchism, and Goodway rightly said that the book which became Anarchy in Action was originally asked for from him. Misplaced perfectionism was the Walter enigma. Goodway stressed that most of us especially miss the deluge of letters to editors, sent off by Nicolas under a dozen pseudonyms. He remarked, truthfully, that while the astringency of his extensive book reviewing "contributed to an erroneous public persona of a dessicated and negative crank", he was in reality "the exact reverse - warm, generous, humorous, loved by children, a wonderful friend". Plenty of people at the meeting shared that kind of recollection.

Argentina, politics after 11th September, mass strikes in Italy and Nigeria, and more. It's all very inspirational and there's now a definite Scottish flava.

This is a sparkling and committed 40 pages,

featuring Iain McKay's well-known parody

of the SWP's Marxism event, discussion and

reports on Genoa and what's happening in

The paper has been irregular in the last couple of years, but its editors say they want to get back to quarterly publication soon. But it feels very current despite the long gap since the previous issue. A page full of contacts completes the job. Recommended. R.A.

Black Flag, BM Hurricane, London WCIN 3XX

**The Northeastern** NORTHEASTERN Anarchist ANARCHIST issue no. 3, £2.95 Despite the Tragedy of eptember 11th Ne Still Remain

archists Against the Wa

**Colin Ward** 

Nicholas Walter's About Anarchism (£3.50), David Goodway's compilation of Alex Comfort's Writings against Power and Death (£5.00) and Herbert Read's A One-Man Manifesto (£6.00) are all available from Freedom Press (post-free in the UK, add 90p for each title towards postage and packing overseas).

or even Colin Ward and his Anarchy magazine. But what Marwick writes about is worth reading. He is quite knowledgable on the 'Events in Paris' of 1968 and tells the story mainly from Cohn-Bendit's angle, from Nanterre to the occupation of the Sorbonne. But how he can tell the story without a single mention of an anarchist involvement is easily answered: he has not consulted any of the important sources.

He is especially interested in the visual arts and is enthusiastic about Yves Klein and others, but neither is this book a complete historical account of the sixties nor can he



Unsurprisingly, this issue of the NEFAC paper is dominated by the 'war on terrorism'. The federation take a clear position against the war as they do against the terrorism of groups like al Qaeda. Unlike some north Americans, they're also critical of appealing to the United Nations. This issue also contains a discussion of tactics in the light of a campaign in Ontario of



This book is about the facts underlying If ordering by post from Freedom Press add p&p George Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four. It is crammed with facts, from Eric Blair's

'Airstrip One', recognising at once that it referred to the continued occupation of England by the United States Air Force. The remark in the introductory chapter of The Larger Evils, that "the problem that some in the West have found with Nineteen Eighty-Four as a satire is that they cannot immediately see the grain of truth" suggests that the book, though published in Scotland, has American readers in mind.

### DR

£1.50 UK, £3.00 overseas.

economic disruption against the provincial government's Thatcherite policies.

One article which particularly caught my eye was Wayne Price's analysis of the collapse of the Love and Rage Federation. This was particularly good because Price himself is an ex-member of a sometime Trotskyist group, some of whose members joined L&R. The people who rejected anarchism and ended up following Maoism hadn't previously been part of the authoritarian left. Britain has a history of platformist groups that join authoritarian parties, so any lessons are worth repeating. Also worth reading is Lorenzo Komboa Ervin's 'No Palestinian ever called me nigger'. Martin H.

The Northeastern Anarchist, PO Box 230685, Boston, MA 02123, USA

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ancestry among eighteenth century owners of a plantation in Jamaica, to the sudden conversion of the Community Party from the "People's Peace" to the "People's War" in 1941, to Eileen Blair's work as a censor for the Ministry of Information, to the unpublishability of Animal Farm as long as the Soviet Union was a wartime ally. A good read if you have plenty of time, and fun to dip in at random.

It might also be useful as a reference work, if the index was better. Sometimes it directs us to pages where the topics we want aren't mentioned, and some topics discussed at length, such as the Daily Worker, do not appear in the index at all.

Everybody in Britain who read the book when it was published knew that Nineteen Eighty-Four was about Britain in 1948. Readers grinned, for instance, at the idea of England as an outpose of 'Oceania', renamed



This nicely printed book, subtitled Cultural revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States, c.1958-c.1974, is a massive 902 pages. I was asked to review it and naturally turned to the index, but in it I found no names known to the anarchist movement. Not only Donald Rooum, but Alex Comfort, Arthur Moyse and Philip Sansom are missing. Not one entry for either Freedom or anarchy,

justify the term 'cultural revolution' in the subtitle. Nor, for that matter, was what took place in China any such thing.

The style of writing is adequate journalese. Here's a taster. "For students of a politically activist turn, the main vehicle had been CND. The continuing emotional commitment to this cause was shown by the large number of students and other young people who wore the CND badge; but the marchers themselves were coming to seem dated and pervaded by the scruffiness of an older generation of pacifists and left wingers" (my italics).

This was the time of the Cuban missile crisis and (as now on the Indian subcontinent) the people, scruffy or not, opposed militarism and nuclear annihilation politics. And they still do.

### **John Rety**

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FREEDOM 
Ist June 2002



# Just an article of faith

In recent issues we've published a discussion on anarchism and class. Here two writers continue the debate.

The impression I get from several of your contributors is that class is actually a cultural, rather than an economic, political or ideological grouping of people. For example, Nick S. reveals a contempt for "the 'alternative culture' bullshit" and campus life ('Desperate measures', 4th May). The culture he identifies with, according to the same article, is characterised by football hooliganism and convictions for theft and violence. But there are problems in assigning class a cultural basis. For a start, it's not clear how a culture can be shared by people throughout a nation (let alone internationally), without either extensive personal contact or mediation through third parties. In other words, if you're a bit insular then your view of (inter)national culture is at the mercy of the mainstream media.



definitions, incidently, currently present us all as innately and inevitably capitalistic animals.

Class is a red herring – a way of splitting us up that serves capitalism only too well in its attempts to divide and rule us. Divesting ourselves of the armour of such cosy simplicity needn't reduce us to affecting a similarity of outlook where none exists (a shallow love-in).

It's up to us to muster sufficient ingenuity to elaborate new systems of relation. The anarchist emphasis on decentralism and voluntary federation is the best way forwards - there's no line to be toed. This isn't an idealist confusion of words for reality, just a recognition that, while calling someone your friend it's no guarantee that they are, calling them your enemy will almost certainly make them so. And of course, it's of the utmost importance that we accurately identify our enemies. The means are the ends internecine class war now can only give rise to further class war in the future. One of the things that drew me to anarchism was its uniquely flexible outlook, and its refusal to adopt too-ready classifications. At its heart lies a process of de-classification. Max Weber saw the origins of socialism in the evolution of the proletariat as a class. This resulted, he thought, from the modern capitalistic organisation of (allegedly) 'free' labour under regular discipline. This organisation is a global phenomenon, which applies to the majority of the middle class just as much as it does to the working class. If all this seems rarified, a more compelling argument is the empirical one. Much as I resent the demeaning simplification, I'd be categorised as middle class. But I'm also necessarily a worker. Many of my friends would be categorised as middle class too. But they're also, of necessity, workers. Whenever I've spoken to them about anarchism, I've been surprised to find my words falling on sympathetic, even enthusiastic, ears.

Secondly, it's a subjective point who belongs to a mainstream culture and who doesn't (it's easier, though not straightforward, to categorise people on the basis of occupation).

Thirdly, subcultures, cultures originating from other lands, new and developing cultural movements and so on are excluded, with the emphasis on a backward-looking "true to our cultural roots" fixation.

Fourth, people may actually belong to several cultural groupings, either distinct or overlapping. These can include families, peer groups, workplace and leisure groups,

'Know your place' - is class a red herring?

political parties and so on.

This last point is also reflected in society at a national level. Instead of a simply capitalist state, we can apply several overlapping models at once. We see capitalism most clearly in the corporate sphere, democratic structures at various levels, tyrannies, communes, kinship groups, patriarchies and matriarchies, monarchies, oligarchies and so on.

What this means in practice is that people adopt a variety of roles throughout their lives. Even when they are in a group with an agreed purpose, their psychologies may be quite different.

In a previous installment of this discussion, Freedom printed an apt photograph of workers and police separated by a wall. The outward appearance of the two groups suggests a simple and polarised division between the two, but if you could read their individual thoughts you'd probably find them far less regimented.

Each of us, in other words, has a different world view from that of our neighbours. It's precisely when people get together and focus on their shared beliefs that these differences are revealed and sometimes exacerbated. There are great and many divisions within

what might be termed the UK working class

- religious, national, sporting, aspirational and the rest. While there are cultural aspects to all of them, I don't think the concept of class, used in the way Nick S. is trying to use it, explains anything at all. It is just as much a supernatural article of faith as a supreme being or a chosen people would be.

**Tavis Reddick** 

The class struggle should be a struggle against class itself, not an internecine struggle between classes. The attribution of certain beliefs, interests and capacities to members of each 'class', quite apart from being a clumsy representation of reality, is as prejudiced – and ultimately as self-fulfilling – as definitions of human nature itself. These

People are interested in what anarchists have to say. Why risk excluding them on the grounds of shop-worn prejudices foisted on us from the top down?

Scott Wakeham



I have to go along with the sentiments of Linda and Paul Maguire in their criticisms of this year's London Mayday.

Whilst these actions at least had the intent of getting over libertarian ideas, even if weighed down with New Age baggage, the march organised by Globalise (or Demobilise) Resistance and the South East Region TUC was an unholy alliance between Trotskyists, trade union bureaucrats and Stalinists, designed to return Mayday to the same old boring blah, blah, blah. This was about diverting attention away from anarchistinspired activity. And they felt they were successful. SWP members and Globalise Resistance spokespeople (the same thing) were able to appear in the mainstream media and gloat about what was, in a nutshell, business as usual. At the same time, this fulfilled their objective of setting themselves up as the voice of the direct action and anti-capitalist 'movement' in general. Next year, we need to have emphatically anarchist actions, ones that get our ideas over to people a bit more effectively than this year's unfocused and aimless events.



### SCIENTISTS' FRIEND

Tony Blair last week promised to take a stand against the 'misguided' people who oppose 'science'. Apparently, he wants to make Britain safer for vivisectors and GM crop growers. The public need to be protected from scaremongers who suggest that it's profit and not science that drives these things. He's especially critical of those who blame scientists for BSE. But though scientists can't shirk their share of the blame for that disaster, the real cause of it was our old friend, capitalism, and its relentless attempts to screw more profit out of every area of life. And is our beloved leader even consistent in his pronouncements on science? When he was asked recently about schools which teach the irrational, pernicious nonsense of creationism in place of boring, scientific old Darwin, I heard only evasion. In fact, Blair wants to hand more schools over to religious groups. Are we to believe that science only matters where profits are involved?

Martin H.

### COPS IN CLASS

The reinforcement of the 'rule of law' since September 11th goes on. Now the government

Since when did anarchism have anything to do with radical yoga? Since when was yoga radical, come to that?

Similarly, while I agree that imaginative actions should replace the same old boring routinist marches from A to B, the overall impression this year – because of a lack of outward-looking propaganda in the form of posters and flyers for the 'general public', and the lack of other actions – was of a circus of clowns.

Sure we need to get away from the black-clad image of anarchism, but replacing it with one of clowns really isn't a credible replacement. The impression given by actions like these (and the accompanying sticker, which was plastered around London) is that anarchists shouldn't be taken seriously, they're just a bunch of clowns. Please, less of the pagan bollox and more of the meaningful activity and propaganda.

Nick Heath

wants to introduce cops into some of the country's most deprived schools. Why?

Because children are young and susceptible, that's why. Bosses want younger generations to get a very clear message from their schooling – they've got to learn to behave, obey and be good. This is authoritarianism, pure and simple, and a blatant class attack at that. The emphasis is deliberately on schools in poor areas.

This isn't about preventing truancy or bad behaviour in schools. It's about making the young working class kids aware of their place in the capitalist system, making them fear authority instead of simply ignoring it (which is what a lot of young people are growing up to do). This is another layer of conditioning, implemented with the sole purpose of creating obedient members of society. We must resist.

**Callum Berlin** 

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### FREEDOM Ist June 2002

## What we say ... Readers' letters

### No asylum crisis

apitalism has always created for itself an enemy within. That's the working class. A system which is based on the exploitation of labour by the property-owning few will always have to watch its back against the millions who work to produce the wealth that never trickles down to them.

In order to distract this enemy within, capital is forced to manufacture enemies without. New Labour has turned its hand to the job with enthusiasm. Tony Blair (with his successive Home Secretaries, Straw and Blunkett) has played the 'race card' almost from his first day in office, five years ago. The latest government proposals take this strategy to a new level. Blair, together with Spanish boss José Maria Aznar, last week announced their proposals for withdrawing EU aid from poor countries that fail to crack down on migrants or take them back with sufficient humility. Among the countries to be targeted are Somalia, Sri Lanka and Turkey. Other plans announced in an official paper they drew up (and which was promptly leaked) include using Royal Navy warships to intercept 'people traffickers'; employing the RAF to carry out bulk removals of 'failed' asylum-seekers from Afghanistan and Somalia; putting a limit of twelve months on the period of 'exceptional leave to remain' granted refugees from these two countries; drawing up a 'white list' of countries from which applicants' claims will automatically be judged 'manifestly unfounded', and building yet more detention centres.

### **More on the BNP**

### Dear Freedom,

Brian Bamford's article brought to life an issue the authorities try hard to bury ('Burnley: failure of the left', 18th May). In Oldham, I saw Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian people joining together to attack the BNP.

What got me was the police, politely directing BNP members when they marched. When anarchists attend a demo, the pigs attack us. This just goes to show where the police stand – on the side of the rich. BNP boss Nick Griffin went on primetime television with a gag on his mouth during the last general election, an act of pure theatre. Much better to have put it over his eyes – like a firing squad would.

middle class students, "today's revolutionaries, tomorrow's bosses"?

Gary B.

### More on Nick S.

#### Dear Freedom,

I've always respected articles by Nick S., even when I haven't entirely agreed with him. But like other correspondents (letters, 4th and 18th May) I really have to disagree also visited it, and found it fascinating. One interesting thing about the show that Katy didn't mention was the attempt to have it banned, supposedly on the grounds that it would cause distress to the parents of dead children whose body parts were removed in the Alder Hey scandal.

Whilst not minimising their distress, I suspect that much of the reaction was really straightforward prudishness. The parents' real distress doesn't take away the fact that we all have bodies and are entitled to know about them. That's what the exhibition was about. There's also a certain irony in the fact that the show is held ten metres from Hanbury Street, the site of one of the Jack the Ripper murders. The unfortunate involved in that certainly didn't give permission for donation of her body parts.

What Blair really wants is for all the disenchanted working class voters who failed to turn out for him in last month's local elections to believe there's an 'asylum crisis' taking place. And naturally it's only his government that can save the day.

### Anti-fascist

#### Dear Freedom,

Nick S. says the fact that some BNP members have done time shows the party's successfully connected with the white working class ('Desperate measures', 4th May). He's right. But I want to make some other comments on the convictions of party members.

To begin with, information on BNP convictions comes from Searchlight magazine. But how do they know, particularly about old, spent convictions? The only explanation is that Searchlight has access to police files. And how can capitalists condemn violence? They get away with it all the time - it's called law. It's only working class violence that's called a crime.

It also seems weird that Trotskyists, who

with his argument that we should support the Palestinian suicide bombers.

Anarchists can't support either the religious fundamentalists of Hamas or the nationalists and Leninists of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. We have to look for instances of self-activity, precious few at the moment, of the Palestinian masses rejecting both Israeli incursions and the state structures of the PLO and the Zionists. Revolutionary anarchists don't condone nationalist agendas.

Nick Heath

### Dear Freedom,

I agree with your other correspondents. A call to arms in the Mayday issue of Britain's oldest anarchist paper wasn't a good move. We're all aware of the tragedy of global violence. The function of an anarchist publication is to help prevent it, not perpetuate it.

### **Body talk**

**David Peers** 

### A correction

### Dear Freedom,

Natasha Walter is mistaken, and Donald Rooum repeats the error in his review of About Anarchism ('What anarchists think', 18th May). Nicolas Walter was jailed for shouting "hypocrite" at Foreign Secretary George Brown, not Prime Minister Harold Wilson, at the Dorset Gardens Methodist Church in Brighton in 1966.

Brown had just read the lesson. Nicolas R.M. was in the upper gallery, I was on the floor immediately below. His interjection provoked a strange silence – then all hell broke loose ... **Bob Potter** 

What he doesn't mention, of course, is that as many white Australians and New Zealanders arrive every day for 'working holidays' as refugees. They aren't fleeing persecution, just coming to earn some cash and travel the world. They're economic migrants, properly so-called, but nobody gives them a second thought.

Meanwhile, Blair says he'll put Pakistan on the 'white list' at the same time he's withdrawing embassy staff from the country because it's too dangerous. He says he'll increase visa restrictions on people from Zimbabwe at the same time he's condemning Zimbabwean boss Mugabe's flagrant abuse of human rights.

So the 'crisis' isn't really a crisis at all. State attempts to focus on 'bogus asylum-seekers' are aimed at creating an external enemy to sidetrack the internal one - us.

Capital knows no borders and makes 'globalisation' its rallying cry. 'Illegal' immigrants

see nothing wrong in the suppression of Kronstadt or in supporting the IRA, should Dear Freedom, attack fascist 'lawlessness'. Why is the I was interested to read Katy Andrews's 'revolutionary left' so obsessed with criminal review of the Body Worlds exhibition ('Mysteries under the skin', 4th May). I've records, any way? Is it because they're just

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Readers are asked to keep their letters short. Letters may have to be cut for reasons of space.

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serve a useful role in the globalising agenda. They survive as cheap labour in the services and construction industries.

They provide workers without even basic employment rights, the cheapest labour in town. Some arrive here fleeing persecution, others come because they want a better life. That dream, of a better life for them and their families, ought to be turned into a right.

As anarchists, we argue for the free movment of labour and the closure of all detention centres. We support refugees against their persecution by the state, whichever state is doing the persecuting.

Most importantly of all, we try to integrate their struggles into the concerns of the wider labour movement so that working class people in Britain see immigrants from Afghanistan and Somalia as allies in the struggle against capitalism, rather than as enemies in the daily battle to survive.

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### SOCIETY OF THE SPECTACLE

contact: theradicaldairy@hotmail.com or 020 7249 6996

Sunday 2nd June from 2.00 to 4.00pm All welcome to bring a copy of Society of the Spectacle by Guy Debord to our reading group at 56a infoshop, 56 Crampton Street, London SE17 (near Elephant & Castle)

### **BOLLOCKS TO THE MONARCHY!** Tuesday 4th June starting at 10.30am Here's a little street party with a difference. All we're doing is saying that Royals are parasites, undemocratic, useless and encourage backward ideas of deference. So we want to celebrate the end of the Royal soap opera with better ideals. Execute the Queen street party at Tower Hill, London Come appropriately dressed with drinks, etc. The Movement

### **TYNESIDE RADICAL FILM FESTIVAL**

Wednesday 12th June at 5.30pm and 8pm Frontiers of Dreams and Fears (Mai masri, 56 minutes, 2001) Two Palestinian cousins live constantly under military and economic oppression in separate camps in Lebanon and Bethlehem. Despite the overwhelming barriers the girls manage to communicate and finally meet. The Side Cinema, Dean Street, Newcastle Upon Tyne contact radical.filmfest@tesco.net or Paul on 0191 2724635

### **NOUGHT FOR CONDUCT FILM CLUB**

Thursday 13th June at 7.30pm **Blue Collar** 

This is a powerful film about racism and the role of unions on the Detroit assembly line, and is followed by discussion. Organised by the Anarchist Federation (London) Marchmont Community Centre, Marchmont Street, London WC1 (Russell Square tube) AF, Box 2, 84b Whitechapel Street, London E1 7QX

### LONDON ANARCHIST FORUM

LAF meets on Fridays, 8pm at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London EC1 (nearest tube Holborn) 14th June: General discussion (free food and drink)

### **REFUGEE WEEK OF ACTION**

Saturday 15th June from midday demonstrate against imprisoning innocent people at Harmondsworth detention Centre, Heathrow Saturday 22nd June from midday national demonstration against attacks on asylum seekers, assemble at Malet Street, London W1, for march to Waterloo detention centre. Also during the week there will be local actions, street parties, socials, rallies, workshops, picnics, etc. see www.defend-asylum.org / www.barbedwirebritain.org.uk www.ncrm.org.uk / www.ncadc.org.uk LIBERTARIAN SOCIALIST

Against the Monarchy will supply the guillotine. Meet by Tower Hill tube station for a day of anti-Royal celebration. Contact 07931 301901 or 07946 687192 on the day for details of where we will be for even more celebrations later on. see www.fuckthejubilee.com contact: guillotine66@hotmail.com or 07931 301901

### **STOP THE MILITARY!**

Friday 7th and Saturday 8th June

A protest at the Manchester Military Tattoo at the MEN Arena. Meet on Friday 7th June at 6.30pm at the Post Office by Victoria Station. Contact CND for details of picket on Saturday. contact: Manchester CND on 0161 273 8283

### NCADC AGM

Saturday 8th June from 12 noon to 5pm National Coalition of Anti-Deportation Campaigns are holding their AGM at Hinde Street Methodist Church, Thayer Street, London W1 (Bond Street tube) www.ncadc.org.uk

28th June: Bring a Book evening - bring something that has influenced you and share it

LAF, Box 4, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

### PARTY ON THE MOOR

Saturday 15th June

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info: 020 7700 2393

### PALESTINE DEMO: MANCHESTER

### Saturday 15th June

Assemble at 10.30am in Whitworth Park, Wilmslow Road info: 07760 224 580 / CND 0161 273 8283

### **CLOSE DOWN HARMONDSWORTH**

Saturday 15th June • 12 noon to 2.00pm Protest at Harmondsworth Detention Centre, Colnbrook Bypass (A4 north of Heathrow) as part of the Refugee Week of Action. contact: info@defend-asylum.org or 07941 566183 closedownharmondsworth@hotmail.com or 07960 309457

### **DISCUSSION GROUP**

### Tuesday 21st June at 8.00pm

The Libertarian Socialist Discussion Group meets monthly

(every third Tuesday) at the Hare and Hounds, Shude Hill,

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### **CAMDEN GREEN FAIR 2002**

Sunday 23rd June from 12 noon to 6.00pm The Camden Green Fair will be held at St James Gardens,

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to book a stall contact: John Jopling on 020 7722 3710

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