

anarchist fortnightly **Freedom**

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FIFTY PENCE

*"No man can profit
except by the loss of
others and by this
reasoning all manner of
profit must be
condemned"*

Montaigne
in his *Essays*

BETTER A FEW PETTY FRAUDSTERS THAN A NATION OF NARKS!

It is not the first time that Tory governments invite the 'patriotic' tax-paying public to denounce the petty 'fraudsters' who claim all kinds of benefits while at the same time making a 'fortune' moonlighting, probably mugging old ladies and not declaring the proceeds to the DSS!

Full marks to *The Independent* (6th August) which covered half the front page with the main heading "Watching me, watching you" and the by-line "call to shop benefit fraudsters is the latest attempt to turn Britain into a nation of informers". But the two eyes in colour over six columns were *too warm and honest* to be considered an illustration of the headline.

It is surely incredible that in the very week that yet another massive government fraud is revealed over the sale of a chunk of privatised British Rail only six months after it was virtually given away to a consortium of former BR managers,¹ the govern-

ment has the nerve to spend a million pounds to invite people to denounce their neighbours to the authorities – and they don't need to leave their names.

According to *The Independent's* writers, the estimated annual 'fraud bill' is £3 billion. Considering the defence budget is £23 billion, we ask who the hell wants to invade these islands? Surely the whole so-called 'defence' budget is one big fraud. If we had diamond mines, oil galore and if we still had coal mines, then there might be an attraction for an expanding eastern third world power. But we import our coal and our diamonds and the oil is – our rulers only hope – in the Falklands some eight thousand miles away: *pace* Argentina.

Forgive us if we appear facetious. In fact we are very serious about the prospect of a 'nation of informers'. For those of us old enough to recall the

rise of fascism and nazism in Italy and Germany respectively, we are aware that part of the power of these regimes was among *the young* who they nurtured with all kinds of 'goodies' which increased for those who passed on information about those antis – the Reds – *and including their parents*.

Denouncing the political 'cheats' was the patriotic thing to do under the Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin regimes. Under Major, Portillo and Lilley and hanger-on, bugger the politics! What matters is money, and if the poor get away with a bit of 'fiddling' *they* get all het up and moralistic (as if capitalism is anything *but*) and are prepared to spend millions on narks to ferret them out.

Needless to say, *The Independent* article is more than wishy-washy, as was to be expected when it was a case of taking up a definite position. But what perhaps was more surprising for this writer was the reaction of Liberty. We quote:

"It all sounds quite sinister, but should we be worried? According to those one might expect to raise fears over civil liberties, the answer is no. Liberty, formerly the National
(continued on page 2)

'CATS', 'FAT CATS' AND NOW 'THE FATTEST CATS'!

There is no need to go into details. Briefly, the government sold yet another chunk of British Rail for a relative pittance. Wouldn't you think so if somebody sold you something for £527 and within six months you were able to sell it for £825? You would say that you had done quite well and even praised your business acumen. *But* we are not talking about hundreds of pounds but *millions!* The government in its wisdom (and we will later refer to expert advisers who made a cool £465 million for their *bad* advice) sold a chunk of British Rail to a consortium of BR managers for £527 million. Within seven months these devoted managers sold out to Stagecoach for £825 million – a mere £300 million of which surely the government *advisers* (who have already cost the taxpayers £465 million) should have been more expert than two Stagecoach *entrepreneurs* who were laughing their sides off in the Sunday papers at their bonanza. They had twigged that far from privatisation meaning what it says, it means for

them that "£1.6 billion of revenues are guaranteed for the next ten years by the government subsidies that the private train operators get to pay Porterbrook's leasing charges".

But surely the scandal is not of the 'quick buck' merchants but of the government, which not only never makes a quick buck but which obviously connives for others to make the quick buck. This is built-in corruption and unfortunately even the so-called Liberal press does not, after the exposure, draw the conclusion that the government is deeply involved in all the corruption – whether directly or otherwise, it makes no matter. As anarchists are always pointing out, the economy – capitalism – is in the hands of the transnationals and multinationals. And they operate independently of whichever political party is in office.

That's why anarchists go on protesting in the wilderness until the victims of capitalism realise that without their effort, and even sacrifice, nothing will change.

IN THIS ISSUE

Latest Anti-JSA News

The Ploughshare Trial report

'Law and Order – a Misnomer'

Colin Ward

and much more...

Our next issue will appear in three weeks time, dated 7th September. Our printers, Aldgate Press, will be closed on the August Bank Holiday when *Freedom* would normally be printed. Subscribers will still get their 24 issues by the end of the year. Copy date for the next issue is first post on Friday 30th August. The Freedom Press Bookshop will be closed on Bank Holiday Monday 26th August.

ANOTHER AFTERMATH OF THE GULF WAR

A soldier of the Royal Horse Artillery has admitted causing actual bodily harm (two black eyes) to his four-month-old son, an offence which would usually fetch a prison sentence. He has been sent for psychiatric counselling instead, following a plea in mitigation that his experiences in the Gulf War in 1991 "turned him from a sensitive and caring man into a drunken brute".

He said in evidence at Teesside Crown Court, on 5th August, that he could not deal with the fact that the armed conflict was so heavily weighted on the allied side. He said he went out expecting to fight a war but found that it was a massacre of teenage Iraqi conscripts. And he was having to advance with his unit through fields of dead bodies.

We stay-at-home civilians remember how the Gulf War was reported here. Official news, fronted by a grinning General Schwarzkopf, concentrated on how easy it was for 'our' side. British deaths numbered fewer than thirty – including eleven killed by 'friendly fire' from an American aircraft, and five members of the SAS parachuted by mistake into the wrong part of the desert. This was hailed as a triumph for peace and democracy.

Events since the war include dreadful suffering among the ordinary people of Iraq, from economic sanctions imposed by the

victorious allies in the hope that this would cause Saddam Hussein to be replaced by another, less anti-American military dictator. They also include suffering among the non-Kuwaiti inhabitants of Kuwait, and Kuwaitis who criticise the restored absolute monarchy.

We also hear of 'Gulf War Syndrome', a varied group of medical symptoms associated with prophylactics administered to allied soldiers. And this latest development, a soldier who claims to have been brutalised by his experience of taking part in the massacre.

We cannot share the soldier's view that the war would have been tolerable to a sensitive and caring man if only the other side had been better armed. All wars are horrible.

Nor can we take sides in a war. Governments like those of America and Britain are easier to live under than the present government of Iraq, but all governments are prepared for war and when war comes they are all equally nasty.

The way to end wars is to get rid of governments, by which we mean bosses of every kind. A world without war can only be what anarchists call 'anarchy' where all organisation is on the basis of voluntary co-operation between individuals.

All who work against war must have anarchy as their objective. Nobody says it's easy, but there is no alternative.

PRIDE

Pride – "a high or overbearing opinion of one's own qualities, attainments or estate. Inordinate self-esteem ... arrogance, haughtiness" (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

This is usually listed as the first of the seven deadly sins, but as avarice was covered in the first of these occasional articles (*Freedom*, 22nd June) it appears here as the second.

Obviously pride in the form of an appropriate level of self-respect or satisfaction in achievement is no bad thing, but in this article we are looking at the other kind, and just recently the media seem to be giving a lot of space to individuals who appear to be so puffed up with self-importance as to lose touch with reality. Over the past fortnight or so whole forests have been obliterated to provide the newsprint to cover the cricketing drama unfolding at the court in the Strand. For those readers who are not aficionados of our national game, two middle-aged men, Botham and Lamb, brought a case for libel against a third, Imran Khan. All three are retired international cricketers – that is to say that they have achieved global fame and riches by being amazingly good at playing a game involving a leather ball and a few carved pieces of wood. Botham alleged that Imran, interviewed in a low-circulation Indian magazine, had accused Botham of cheating by altering the condition of the ball and that furthermore both he and Lamb were racist and low class. The court proceedings that followed were hideously reminiscent of those primary school squabbles that go 'Did', 'Didn't', 'Did so', 'Ner, ner ner ner, ner', except that the entire interchange was accompanied by a frenzied ringing of cash registers as the lawyers raked in their fees. In the event the jury (sensible people) found for Imran who had offered to apologise through the columns of *The Times* before the case came to court. The plaintiffs were left to find costs amounting to almost half a million pounds (as usual, our learned friends were the real winners) and Botham's comment was "Oh well, I suppose I'll have to do a couple

more roadshows" – possibly the tackiest form of entertainment ever devised.

During roughly the same period Diana Spencer was also in the news, as when is she not? Not satisfied with a divorce settlement which included a sum the size of the annual budget of somewhere like Uganda, she appears to be obsessively concerned to retain the prefix HRH. It is difficult to imagine why anyone who want to commemorate their links with a family so discredited in the public eye, unless they were blinded by 'inordinate self-esteem'. Diana, who values her personal appearance above all else, should remember what happened to the Duchess of Windsor who was never allowed to use the magic letters and spent the last forty years looking severely disgruntled.

Moving to another branch of showbusiness, Elton John, singer and songwriter, has been more visible than usual in a television documentary which showed a fly-on-the-wall video made by his lover. Elton threatened to cut short his grotesquely expensive holiday in France because a female fan waved at him while he was playing tennis. This is a man whose very existence depends on the oxygen of publicity provided by people like that woman.

Finally, the celebrated but not very competent criminal (a total of forty years inside at the last count) Mad Frankie Fraser appeared on a television programme called *If I were Prime Minister*. During the course of this he gave us his considered views on the penal system, pensioners and immigration. He didn't say how he would deal with the leader of the opposition!

It is a sad commentary on the way the world turns when characters like the above strut like peacocks while the masses applaud. These celebrities do not seem to realise they are well known simply for being well known and that oblivion can come at the touch of a button.

... A NATION OF NARKS!

(continued from page 1)

Council for Civil Liberties, said yesterday that it was unconcerned about the growth of informing. "We don't see it as a breach of civil liberties of a human rights issue", said a spokeswoman."

Before using this quote we telephoned Liberty and spoke to their press officer. She confirmed that this was their position. So today Liberty is not concerned about a society where we are encouraged to inform on our neighbours. What a nice prospect for the 'community spirit' of 'loving thy neighbour'! Surely to make our society, our world, peaceful and prosperous materially and morally we need to learn how to get closer to each other and share our problems, *whatever* they may be. The government's nark campaign aims to divide the under-privileged community more than it already is, and we are shocked that organisations such as Liberty apparently cannot see that this is the case. We hope they will be bombarded by protesters!²

1. See 'The Fattest Cats' on front page this issue.
2. Liberty, formerly the NCCL (National Council for Civil Liberties) has obviously been influenced by various political lobbies. During World War Two they were dominated by Stalinists, so much so that when the editors of *War Commentary* (*Freedom's* predecessor during the 1939-45 war years) were arrested for *sedition* the NCCL refused to defend them.

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96 pages ISBN 0 900384 82 4 £3.50

PRIVATISE MAIL AND INVITE CAPITALIST CHAOS

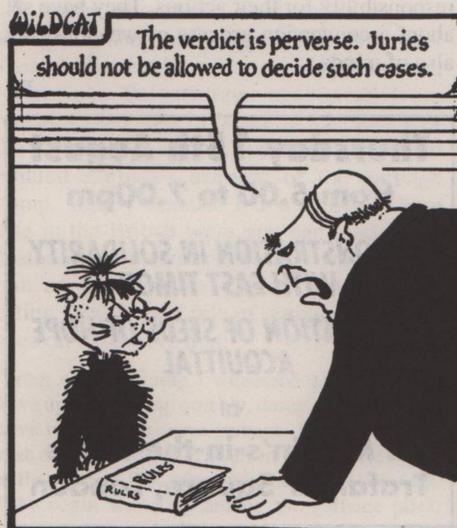
If ever there was a service which functions so efficiently as the postal service, we would like to hear of it. Can you imagine a service which delivers, in a capitalist system, from Lands End to the Orkneys at one price; which delivers to and receives from all over Europe by air mail at the first class postage rate ... what would happen if the government's threats of privatisation – as their reply to the postal workers' threat of more strikes to win their demands, which are so modest – went ahead?

If we were capitalist supporters (let alone capitalists) we could not understand what the fundamental intention of the government was in privatising the postal system. In capitalist

terms it defies logic. Today you post letters and packets not only for London or for the Orkneys but to the four corners of the world. And even the capitalist system has learned to accept that we haven't to count how many letters are coming from Timbuctoo and how many more or less from there, and so on for the rest of the world. Privatised the mail and will it be the same rate for letters from London to Oxford or the Orkneys? The same price for letters to Europe?

In an anarchist society we won't need the stamps. But we think the world's postal services are the most anti-capitalist and human services we enjoy.

Libertarian



ROOMS WITH ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO SOUALL AND BERNIE BREATHED

SEEDS OF HOPE PLOUGHSHARES TRIAL

On 29th January Lotta Kronlid, Andrea Needham and Joanna Wilson disarmed a Hawk fighter aircraft by beating on it with household hammers as it stood in a hangar at British Aerospace's factory in Warton, Lancashire. It was due to be delivered to Indonesia where it would be used against the civilian population of East Timor. When the plane was no longer a danger, the women let BAe security know via the press agency and waited in the hangar in order to explain their action and take responsibility for what they knew was a legal and justified act. Angie Zelter was arrested for conspiracy to commit criminal damage as she was publicly on her way to Warton, hammer in briefcase, to disarm another plane.

One cannot always have such confidence in a judge's grasp of justice, but despite fears that the might of the military-industrial system would do its utmost to crush the trial, the four women were acquitted by a Liverpool jury in a majority verdict.

After their arrest in January the women applied for bail "in order to continue their disarmament work". This was turned down and they spent the next six months in jail working on the anti-Hawk campaign. Lotta told me she liked to rest on Sundays, however the remainder of the week was filled with the struggle for justice in East Timor, justice inside the prison, and being a focus for a blossoming of peace and solidarity groups, particularly in the North West.

Soon after the Seeds of Hope action the news reached the people of East Timor through the underground, and they were uplifted and amazed – amazed that after twenty years of inaction by the United Nations, four women could stop a terrifying and powerful weapon so easily. José Ramos Horta, their representative at the UN and spokesman for the imprisoned leader Xanana Gusmao, wrote: "We shall always remember you. In twenty years of resistance we were never able to shoot down an aircraft. You did it without even firing a single shot and without hurting the pilot. Keep up your courage. A big hug to you all." The news also told them that people of the West do care about their plight, enough to risk their liberty.

The East Timorese instructed Ramos Horta that he should do all he could to help Andrea, Lotta, Angie and Jo. He spent a week in Liverpool waiting to give evidence at the trial, pacing up and down outside the court, never able to meet the women. It was a powerfully emotional vigil waiting for justice. He told a



Andrea Needham, Lotta Kronlid, Angela Zelter and Joanna Wilson

public meeting that the East Timorese population in Portugal had already planned to occupy the British Embassy in Lisbon if the Ploughshares women were sent down.

The women were also putting together their legal defences in prison. It was hard to do since on one wing they were a high security risk (at Michael Howard's directions), banged up for 23 hours a day and unable to meet, and on another wing they had compulsory education and were obliged to do jigsaws and forbidden to read law books. Three weeks before the trial they applied for bail in order to have freedom to prepare their case and were heard by High Court Circuit Judge ('Wackem') Wickham. He refused bail and told them that "professional troublemakers like you should be sent down for a very long time". He also arranged for himself to take over the case from Judge Lynch.

Andrea, Lotta and Angie were defending themselves and Jo had the legal services of Gareth Pierce and was represented in court by Vera Baird. The women used moral argument and legal defences. They cited the general legal principle of necessity or duress – that the circumstances were such that they were obliged to act in the way that they did. This principle is recognised by the Criminal Law Act 1967 that you "may use reasonable force in order to prevent a crime" and in the Criminal Damage Act that you "may use reasonable force to protect property". The crime they were preventing was British Aerospace's crime of conspiring with the

Indonesian government to commit genocide. The Genocide Act was incorporated into the British Statute in 1969. The property the women were protecting was the property of the East Timorese people which is being destroyed by Hawk bombers. Vera Baird's example for the jury of this principle was that to slash the tyres on a van would be criminal damage, however if the van was carrying the Manchester bomb then the act would be lawful. They also invoked the Nuremburg principles that individuals must be held responsible for their actions and that 'I was told to do it' or 'I followed government guidelines' is no excuse for mass murder.

The judge did not disallow these defences at any point in the trial. The judge said that he and the prosecution accepted that the four women's belief that they were preventing a crime was genuinely held, and since they were being tried on their subjective view of circumstances they did not need to prove the truth or otherwise of genocide occurring. This would have prevented the women calling their expert witnesses or giving much of their own evidence. However, Vera Baird succeeded in arguing that the jury had to be sure that:

- i) there was a crime to prevent;
- ii) that the force used was capable of preventing the crime;
- iii) that the amount of force used was reasonable.

So John Pilger and Ramos Horta gave evidence about genocide in East Timor. Carmel Budiarto of TAPOL, the Indonesian human rights organisation, gave evidence about the Indonesian regime, and Paul Rogers, Professor of Peace Studies at Bradford, gave evidence on the use and destination of Hawks in Indonesia.

Jo, Angie, Andrea and Lotta gave powerful testimonies about their growing awareness of the situation in East Timor and their long history of letter-writing, lobbying, meeting with BAe directors, direct action, etc., and how they came to decide that if all else failed they would disarm the planes themselves at the eleventh hour. They told the jury about long days spent watching the aircraft with binoculars to discover there they were being kept; of studying cockpit plans and weapons systems; of their belief that in desperate circumstances such as these where the powers of government and industry and collaborating in ferocious atrocities, ordinary women and men must take responsibility and do whatever they can to stop them. Most importantly, they emphasised that they did not run away from their actions because they wanted to take responsibility – that's where justice starts. They knew that in all law, morality and humanity they were right.

The Crown prosecutor didn't have much of a role in this trial. The only line of argument open to him was to prove:

- i) That the women weren't really sincere enough in their disarmament – why didn't they disarm more planes? Well, they replied, we would have done but there was only one bound for Indonesia in the hangar.
- ii) They only did it for publicity, not actually to prevent a crime. Well, said Jo, in that case

I would have stripped naked and got my picture on the front page of every newspaper, rather than two inches in *The Guardian* for a Ploughshares action. The barrister did not challenge them on whether genocide was occurring in East Timor.

The four women cross-examined the prosecution's witnesses. Andrea asked the manager of BAe Warton if he cared more about the aeroplane than about human lives, and he replied 'Yes'. Angie questioned all the policemen on why they had failed to investigate the report on 29th January that a crime as serious as conspiracy to commit genocide was taking place at Warton.

All the while the public gallery was packed, and a row of Carmelite nuns eyeballed the judge. Every morning 70-200 people gathered at St Luke's Church, a ruined memorial to the blitz, and proceeded in silence through the city wearing the names of East Timorese dead. On arrival at the court a huge circle was formed and a speech made, or songs sung or rituals enacted, and the genocide was remembered. The people of Liverpool embraced the action and the trial. Old ladies spent seven hours a day on their feet leafletting. Shopkeepers would ask for a daily update and send good wishes. A long-distance lorry driver called from a telephone box to say how terrible and wrong it was that the women were in prison. The people understood justice.

Although three of the four women are not religious, religion had its part to play. A Buddhist nun chanted for a day to the grim façade of the courthouse. A Catholic priest had spent weeks preaching about Ploughshares every Sunday and his parishioners had been radicalised by understanding the Seeds of Hope action. They apologised that the trial clashed with their annual pilgrimage to Lourdes, but they arranged for the Cathedral in Lourdes to hold a mass for the women. The judge really didn't have a snowball in hell's chance.

Wickham did not discount the defences in his summing up. He straightforwardly gave both sides' legal arguments and told the jury that it was up to them to decide. Contrary to what you may have learned in the big papers or on Radio 4, it was not a 'perverse' verdict. The jury did not go against the judge's directions, they followed them.

Andrea, Jo, Lotta and Angie have challenged the country and the anarchist movement with their Ploughshares action and their moral strength. They have shown the world a fundamental anarchist principle in action – that for humanity to live together in peace and productivity each individual has to be responsible. They challenged BAe's responsibility from the top to the bottom level of workers, the police's responsibility as individuals and law enforcers and the government's responsibility as so-called representative of the people. The power of their challenge came from the willingness of four ordinary women – a nurse, a town councillor, a gardener and a mother – to take responsibility for their actions. They have set about a conversion process of weapons, but also of minds.

EJ

JAIL SENTENCES FOR HAWK PROTESTERS

Five people were found guilty of £200 worth of criminal damage by the stipendiary magistrate at Pocklington on 6th August. Protesting against the export of Hawk aircraft to Indonesia, they had cut holes in the security fence of the British Aerospace factory at Brough, but had been apprehended before they could enter.

Two of them, Richard Smith and David Durham, were asked if they would agree to be bound over to keep the peace, and when they refused were each sentenced to one month in

prison. The magistrate said "The last thing I want to do is to send particularly nice people like you to jail", adding that they should not consider themselves martyrs because the sentence was not for the attack on BAe but for contempt of court in refusing to be bound over. After the trial, the men gave notice of appeal and were released pending the appeal hearing.

The other three convicted, Jen Parker, Tracy Hart and John Lynes, were conditionally discharged.

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CORNER CUTTING 'CUPIDS'

New examples of pressures on benefit staff owing to the onset of the Job Seekers Act are showing. Recently a man in Bury, Greater Manchester, was urged to move in with his girlfriend to cut down on his benefit claim. That's what happens when you set targets and pay benefit officers incentives to get results.

DOLE DOESN'T DENOUNCE DECEPTION

A claimant in Yorkshire last month was advised by his benefit adviser not to reveal on job applications his educational qualifications. The claimant's academic record may put off employers offering manual work. Failure to disclose full education qualifications on job applications has, in some cases, resulted in dismissal for fraud. Despite this, the spokeswoman for the Employment Service refused to condemn the advice, and did not see anything improper in withholding educational details.

ARMED RESPONSE ON TYNESIDE

Reports are reaching us claiming that an armed response team was sent in to deal with an occupation earlier this year of Employment Service property by Groundswell members on Tyneside. This was the response to exaggerated claims, by the Employment Service, of the kidnapping of a manager at a Job Centre.

SOUTH EAST OCCUPATION

Groundswell reports that the Employment Service at the regional office in the South East was 'having kittens' last month when the JSA Implementation Manager's office was occupied by demonstrators. This was part of the nationwide Groundswell action against the JSA Implementation Managers (JIMs).

WEST LONDON 'LEAD TEAM'

Groundswell reports that West London is now a 'lead team' pilot area - basically between now and October they are running the structural side of the JSA (i.e. Benefits Agency and Employment Service integration, plus active signing). Plans are afoot to counter this, including possible strike action by Shepherd's Bush Job Centre staff.

There will be a march in West London on Saturday 7th September, assembling at 12 noon at Shepherds Bush Green.

THE OCCUPATION OF ONTARIO HOUSE

On 31st July, a small team from Groundswell, Manchester, occupied the reception area of the Employment Services building of Ontario House on Furness Quay, Salford, for the best part of an hour. This action was planned by Groundswell in June, to start to target the Implementation Managers of the controversial Job Seekers Allowance. Groundswell is a national federation of unemployed groups.

John Raftery is the JSA Implementation Manager for the North West. On 31st July an Executive Officer speaking for Mr Raftery claimed he was on leave, but refused to comment on the demonstration taking place in the building. John Raftery is one of the ten JSA Implementation Managers in this country. The others are based in Newcastle, Edinburgh, Leeds, Nottingham, Birmingham, Cardiff, Bristol and there are two in London and the South East.

During the Manchester action at Ontario House the security guards were taken totally by surprise. In the heat of the moment one young guard started lashing out, and pushed a demonstrator down some metal stairs leading to the first floor. Employment Service personnel joined in to assist the security officers, who were trying to confine the demonstration to the reception area. The Employment Service staff were then leafleted (see article to right).

this is the third such occupation of Employment Service property in the Manchester area by Groundswell and other sympathetic groups. The other two have taken place in April and July at Cheetham Hill Job Centre, where a JSA pilot scheme is in operation.

Groundswell (Manchester)

MORE NEWS FROM ANTI-JSA CAMPAIGN
EMPLOYMENT SERVICE
PROTECTION RACKET

The month of August started with strikes at benefit agencies throughout the country. Staff were protesting about the coming Job Seekers Allowance, which they claim could place them at risk from disgruntled claimants who have been cast off benefits.

At the end of July, Groundswell - the campaign group for unemployed claimants - called on its members to demonstrate at the regional offices of the JSA implementation managers. In Salford and the South East, the offices of the regional Job Seekers Allowance implementation managers (JIMs) were besieged by small teams of anti-JSA demonstrators. In Edinburgh a bigger protest took place at the regional 'JIM' and some Job Centres.

We have seen documents which suggest that some senior managers in the Employment Service are unhappy with the government's handling of the Job Seekers Act.

With managerial moles in the Employment Service anxious about the administration of the JSA, to staff concerned about violent claimants, and claimants worried about bullying benefit officers, it seems that this new government Act is getting off to a bad start.

LEGALISED BULLIES AND THEIR VICTIMS

Recent campaigns by Groundswell and other claimant groups are forcing the Employment Service to open regional 'helplines' for staff. This step followed the adoption by Groundswell of the 'Three Strikes and You're Out' policy, reported in previous issues of *Freedom*.

The 'Three Strikes' campaign seeks to spot dole managers and staff who are 'over zealous' and 'harass or intimidate' claimants or other staff in the introduction of the JSA. Identified individual 'bullies' would then be warned twice about their behaviour. Failure to improve could then result in public exposure for the bully.

The Employment Service document says the: "ES [Employment Service] takes the protesters and their proposed course of action very seriously. ES seeks to ensure that no-one is put in a position where they feel intimidated or threatened during the course of their official duties. We are currently liaising with our BA [Benefit Agency] colleagues to ensure a co-ordinated approach."

As reported in *Freedom* earlier, the Employment Service is determined to stop information being leaked to the press from inside the dole offices. At Cheetham Hill Job Centre in Manchester, the staff were threatened with the sack in May if they were caught talking to the press or claimants groups like Groundswell.

The document we have seen says: "ES employees may feel under pressure to release information and details about managers and colleagues involved in JSA implementation". It suggests: "Employees in this situation must tell their manager if they are being threatened ..." And it adds: "People should also guard against unwittingly giving information which could be used ... by the campaigners."

In the nature of the document is the spirit of 'Big Brother', and it asks staff to inform on the utterances and behaviour of claimants.

'INTENTIONAL HARASSMENT'

Recently when I tried to get Mary Maiden of the Department of Employment Centre for Information in the North West to say how much police time had been used up in call-outs to Cheetham Hill Job Centre since April, when the JSA pilot scheme was introduced, she said she didn't know. When pressed further she admitted there had been a police presence "when there are demonstrations and other incidents". Mary Maiden was clearly trying to play down the amount of police involvement at Cheetham Hill Job Centre.

Our perusal of the Employment Service documents suggest that public order and

police patrols at Job Centres are about to become a central concern. With reference to the campaigns of unemployed workers against the Job Seekers Act, one spokeswoman for the Employment Service declared: "The ES will not hesitate to involve the police and pursue appropriate legal action whenever an individual feels threatened by the protesters or their actions".

The Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994) is invoked, reminding staff at Benefit Offices of the new criminal offence of 'intentional harassment' which enables the police to pursue people 'who harass others'.

The Employment Service proclaims its policy that "the police should be encouraged to prosecute on all occasions".

In cases where the police refuse to prosecute, we are told that "the ES will, in appropriate cases, pursue prosecutions of assailants in the name of the Secretary of State on an employee's behalf".

So much for Mary Maiden, mouthpiece of the Employment Service Centre of Information in the North West, and her complacent comments on peace in our time at the Job Centres.

WHO IS SINCERE ABOUT STAFF SAFETY?

If there is an attempt to reassure dole staff going on, it wouldn't convince me. On the one hand we have public relations people, like Mary Maiden, and government spokesmen during the recent strikes shrugging off our anxieties about violence at Job Centres and the indications of growing crisis in the dole queues. Then we have the accounts of the security guards of KS Group Security at Cheetham Hill, who say when they are not

dodging computers being thrown by claimants they have to duck the hypodermic needles wielded by drug addicts.

Now we have guidance from the Employment Service itself on how staff should survive 'intimidation and harassment' during protests by opponents of the Job Seekers Act.

Groundswell, and its allies, would deny any intention to either intimidate or harass staff at the dole. The campaign is about the promotion of civilised behaviour in public life, and to overcome a brutalising piece of legislation - the JSA.

We must wonder if the Employment Service top brass are serious about their offer of guidelines and 'helplines' to protect staff. Are they not just soporifics intended to pacify disturbed staff? This thought is reinforced by the knowledge that we at *Freedom* have had sight of the documents proposing to deal with the national protests against the Job Seekers Allowance, but some of the Job Centre staff who we have since interviewed have not yet seen them.

Jane Clark, for the Employment Service JSA Press Office in London, insists that these advisory documents have been "circulated to all Job Centres in England". She was "not sure" if they had been made available to Benefit Agency staff, who might have to do most of the dirty work once the Job Seekers Act is in force. Nor did she know if dole staff in Scotland and Northern Ireland had been informed.

This Employment Service notice was issued in July 1996. We are now well into August. Some staff have not seen it. The Employment Service Press Office doesn't know "for sure" how widely it has been circulated.

Faced with this evidence, we are bound to ask, is this material a bit of a gimmick designed to satisfy the 'Health and Safety' concerns of striking benefit staff? Following this *Freedom* investigation into the sincerity of the Employment Service claim to support staff safety, we are consulting with the unions representing Job Centre and Benefit Agency staff to see what can be done about it. JA

FOR ALL EMPLOYMENT SERVICE AND BENEFIT AGENCY STAFF:
RESIST THE JOB SEEKERS ALLOWANCE

Whether you've a permanent job or are one of the increasing number of casuals, the Job Seekers Allowance is going to make your job worse. Thousands of jobs will go - up to 30,000 nationally just in the Employment Service. Already grades are disappearing; people are having their job descriptions changed and offices are being reorganised so that less people are doing more work. Why are your management going back on national agreements and forcing people to administer the new system under conditions which they find unacceptable?

Resentment and hostility from claimants is already on the increase. Assaults on staff have risen by 240% in the last three years. This is in response to the stricter benefit regime and the massive increase in suspensions and disqualifications, not to mention things like the all work test.

Unemployed people don't want just any job, and why should they - can you blame people for getting irate when they've worked for years, got skills and qualifications, but their jobs have been destroyed and now they're being told they've got to go and skivvy for employers that offer nothing but poverty pay, insecurity and poor working conditions? The more they are forced into low paid work the more it undercuts everyone's wages and conditions, including yours, because the next thing you know management may bring in reluctant casuals off the dole at £2 an hour to do your job!

It's wrong to force people to apply for jobs they have no chance of getting, or to send them on crappy patronising schemes/courses to test/improve their 'job search' activities. It's all about meeting the targets for getting people off the unemployment register and in most cases does nothing to get them the job they really want.

IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE LIKE THIS

We can't run away from the JSA - it has to be faced and stopped. The plain fact is that Employment Service and Benefits Agency workers hold the key, because if you refuse to co-operate with the JSA it will fail. Nationally ES and BA workers have already slowed down, disrupted and even stopped stages of the JSA implementation by taking strike action through the CPSA union, which is officially opposed to the JSA. At the end of 1995 opposition to the JSA led to 11 of the 21 pilot schemes around the country being abandoned or delayed. Threats of strike action have stopped the JSA pilots in both Middlesbrough and Hackney. If the local union doesn't want to know, you and your fellow workers can still actively oppose the JSA. Do whatever you can to throw a spanner in the works. Refuse to go along with meeting targets for disqualification, make sure claimants are fully aware of their rights, pass out any information you can, in confidence, on local implementation, target problems, managers who give staff a hard time, etc. Speak out against the 'us and them' mentality. Every little bit helps and others will be encouraged to join in.

On the other hand, if you believe the unemployed are feckless and workshy and that there are loads of golden opportunities out there, then get a life! Claimants will support any ES/BA workers who are prepared to fight the JSA, but we will not lie back and get walked all over by power-crazed jobsworths and those who think they are doing us a favour.

We call on all Employment Service and Benefits Agency workers to take courage, show solidarity and join us today in actively opposing the implementation of the JSA

Groundswell (Oxford)

— ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

TRICKLE-DOWN GARBAGE

One of the ways in which the affluent justify the increasing gap all over the world between the incomes of the rich and the poor is the idea of 'trickle-down'. The spending-power that comes with wealth purchases goods and services and is said to provide an income for people further down the pile. They in turn expend their purchasing power at a more modest level, and this trickles down to the level of casual employees at junk-food outlets, fruit-pickers, car-washers, office cleaners, and their equivalent in far-away countries growing luxury foods for export while their subsistence crops fail.

How grateful we should all be for the rich and their big demands on the world's resources! There is, however, one field of life in which wealth really does trickle down, and we call it garbage. At one level it is called scrap instead as most metals, even in times of economic recession, are worth recycling. Eighteen years ago, the chairman of the British Scrap Federation said that his industry's turnover was estimated at over a hundred million pounds, saving twice that sum in foreign exchange.

But for most commodities the sorting and collection of materials other people throw away is not a commercial proposition, except for the very poor to whom nothing else trickles down. Of course, we all pay for refuse collection and a relatively small but rich country like Britain is running out of holes to dump it in. Reducing the sheer quantity of stuff we dump has an economic value of its own.

However, throughout Latin America, Africa and Asia, garbage-picking has been the one way in which riches trickle-down to the poorest of the poor, while the very fact that the labour-intensive and dangerous occupation demands so much of their time is a way of ensuring that they remain poor. (So the rich have invented a whole folklore about the garbage-picker who made a fortune, stuffed into his lousy mattress, from other people's refuse.)

And of course sociologists and students of the informal economy have given fascinating accounts of life on the dump. A famous example is Chris Birkbeck's essay on "Garbage, Industry and the 'Vultures' of Cali, Colombia",¹ with its memorable conclusion: "The garbage picker may work hard, may have a shrewd eye for saleable materials, may search long for the right buyer; in short, he may be the near-perfect example of the enterprising individual. It will not get him far."

There are also stories of extraordinary human ingenuity. You may have seen a 'green' television documentary about the world city with the best record for waste recycling. It is Cairo, a city which has long overgrown its capacity for providing ordinary municipal services and relies on about 30,000 people called the Zabbaleen (garbage collectors). An absorbing report by Andrew North describes how:

"The Zabbaleen trace their origins back to Coptic pig breeders who migrated from Upper Egypt in the 1940s. They collected food waste to feed their swine, but selling recycled materials proved more lucrative. They have a growing recognition abroad, winning a UN global 500 award for environmental achievement last year, but are largely shunned at home. It is baffling for the Zabbaleen: 'The government wants to have a western system for the rubbish but foreigners come to learn from us', says one Zabbaleen community official. 'What would Cairo do without us?'"²

North explains how Cairo's sixteen million inhabitants produce 6,000 tons of waste a day and the Zabbaleen collect half of it. In comparison London, with half Cairo's population, produces 6,600 tons a day and recycles 3%. And he raises an interesting point for those who think that the West could solve Cairo's problems:

"Would not Cairo be better served with a western-style central waste management system?"

No, says Mounir Bushra, an environmental consultant who had advised the Zabbaleen since 1980. 'In the west the polluter pays and householders contribute through taxes to rubbish collection. But not all Cairo's people can afford that'.

Needless to say, this is not the way the Zabbaleen see their work. It is simply the one, unpleasant job as there is no other work around. True to the trickle-down ideology, they prefer to collect from wealthier districts where rubbish has a higher recyclable value. "Plastic, paper, compost, glass, metal and textiles are the main earners. Some is sold straight to factories, but the Zabbaleen themselves produce finished products like coat-hangers, boxes, ornaments and carpets."

We can wipe away our indulgent smiles when we shift a little further east and consider the Palestinians. Readers may need reminding that from long before the founding of the state of Israel there have been minority factions in Palestine from both Jewish and Arab populations who have sought *human* co-operation and social justice rather than religious or nationalistic animosities. One of the voices of this secular cry for mutual aid rather than mutual hatred is an English language journal *News from Within* with an advisory board of well-known names which, to select those familiar to readers, include those of Noam Chomsky, Stanley Cohen and Edward Said. Its current issue chances to have two powerful contributions on garbage. One is its report of a play produced for schoolchildren in the Gaza Strip, by Theatre Day Productions, and built around what are known as 'the Gaza Community Garbage Folktales'. The journal explains that "the play deals with the Gaza garbage crisis. Garbage seems to be a theme that reaches the bones of community life in Gaza. It is not just a physical or hygienic problem of the overcrowded Gaza Strip, but an ever-present reminder of a social

situation, be it down the streets of the city or down the halls of the hospital. There is not one aspect of community life that is not (in some way) connected to the garbage problem."

Community drama may provide catharsis, but another story from the same journal presents realities on 'Working the Garbage Dump'. It is reported by Khaled Zighari, a photo-journalist who, it is explained, "was shot with rubber bullets by the Israeli army in thirteen occasions while photographing events in the occupied territories". He is writing about the settlement of Maaleh Adumin, population 15,000, two kilometres from Jerusalem, on land which was confiscated by the Israeli authorities from their Palestinian owners. He explains that:

"The land was not confiscated just to build settlements, expand them and/or to pave by-pass roads for them, but also in order to locate the Jerusalem municipal garbage dump there. If you go there, you will see dozens of garbage trucks unloading their 'cargo' on the lands belonging to the villagers of Al-A'zariya, which adjoins Jerusalem. The garbage which has been collected from all over Jerusalem, especially from its western part, is now thrown onto these confiscated lands in a place traditionally known as *Al-A'vdali*, but which has come to be called *Al-Mahraka* (the place of burning) or simply: the junkyard.

Since 1967, the year of the defeat, the City of Jerusalem chose to locate the municipal garbage dump in the residential area of Al-A'zariya – and the dirt, pollution and industrial waste piled up until it presented severe health hazards to the local residents. Then the city decided to choose another place, located at the end of Al-A'zariya, to dump its garbage, and the areas *awdia* (desert valleys) have turned into hills and mountains of trash.

During the closure in early 1993, many Palestinian workers who used to work in Jerusalem, but are now denied access to the city, were forced to go to the area called *Al-A'vdali* or *Al-Mahraka* to look for pieces of metal and aluminium, electronic equipment and anything useful ... even fruits and other food. The longer the closure went on and unemployment grew, more and more Palestinians were forced to come to the junkyard to 'work' – more than 300 people a day. The junkyard has become the sole source of livelihood for hundreds of Palestinians who were prevented from

(continued on page 8)

LAW AND ORDER

Almost everyone accepts the need for law and order – even those who violate the law from time to time, even those who claim to be revolutionary minded and abhor the practices which are perpetrated in the name of justice. They may wish to have some laws abolished which protect the interests of the privileged classes and replace them by other laws, but not the abolition of law as such. This illustrates the hollowness of their thought. To them we have only to soften the blow of law until we are educated to the extent that there will be no need for law.

Their interpretation of education to make law unnecessary is an evolutionary and deterministic approach. To use the scissors and cut a large lump out of history, I'll just refer to our own contemporary framework of society which is termed a capitalist society. These so-called revolutionaries declare that capitalism is the cause of all our social ills – poverty, misery, degradation, war, homelessness and a host of dastardly crimes perpetrated against the vast majority of the people who work for their living when allowed to do so. They are allowed to do so when the capitalist class can earn a profit from their labour. Yes, these revolutionaries condemn the results of the capitalist system, but they suffer from a split-minded mode of thought. Whilst condemning capitalism they say it is a necessary historical phase to pass through in order to attain the essential soil where socialism can fertilise. In other words, capitalism has a historic mission to perform. It's the role of capitalism to produce the means whereby the needs of all can be attained. The means of production and technological advancement have at present superseded by far the expectations of these 'pseudo-revs'. Now the capitalist system not only curtails production, and sabotages it by destroying its output to maintain profit, but even prohibits potential production. A classic example is the payment of farmers by the government *not* to produce certain foods. Could this be termed a sophisticated dole hand-out? It would seem that even from a 'pseudo-rev' standpoint, capitalism has fulfilled its historic mission. The objective conditions: the immense advances in technology and science have put abundance on a plate for us. What is lacking are the subjective conditions: the lack of consciousness in most of the people of the need to destroy the capitalist monster. It won't die a natural death. It's death will be homicidal, but it will be justifiable homicide. With its demise government and its laws, which protect this modern

dinosaur, will die by starvation as with its mother being extinct it will no longer be fed.

Law and order. What is it? It means going cap-in-hand begging for a job, begging to be exploited – a euphemism for begging – to be legally robbed. It means going hungry or being underfed whilst food is being destroyed. It means thou shalt not transgress on land and beaches which have been appropriated by violence and rapine by the ancestors of the aristocracy. It means some people being homeless whilst there are huge disused office blocks. We are told there's a housing problem. There is no housing problem in isolation – the housing problem is part and parcel of the general poverty problem. If you have sufficient wherewithal any building society will be obliged to build you a house almost anywhere you wish. They will even install a telephone in every department for you. Ask Fergie, the Duchess of York. She even has one installed in her bathroom.

Law and order means you can be called to the colours to defend a country which you own no part of. It means being subjected to a multiple of obscenities. The most recent one as I write, is to be asked to pay a fee to enter into a palace which some of your forefathers had built, a palace with all its obscene wealth gained by plunder and judicial violence. Is it not nauseating to observe that the present inheritors of this dastardly obscene wealth can pay five hundred pounds per night to reside in the most luxurious hotels, whilst some old working-class grannies and grandads die of hypothermia. This is all sanctioned by law and order.

Some of them don't live by their own moral standards. Witness the behaviour of big-lugs Charlie, Fergie the toe-sucker lover, get the finger out Philip, Diana the circumventor tormentor.

Law and order is a misnomer. It should be law and disorder. Law is the mother of disorder; it is the creator of some of the worst disorders. In the fifth commandment we are warned 'thou shalt not kill'. In wartime this is transformed into 'thou

shalt not kill unless in just wars'. The people are so indoctrinated and inculcated by chicanery, lies and deceit that the Orwellian language of 1984 is appropriate. Black becomes white, foul becomes fair, base becomes noble, cowardly become valiant, old becomes young, immoral becomes moral and unjust becomes just. To paraphrase a paragraph from *General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century* by Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, law and order is to be inspected, spied upon, regulated, indoctrinated, censured, sermonised, estimated, appraised, molested by creatures without knowledge or virtue. To be ruled by law is disorder, to be registered, to be noted, counted, admonished, reformed, redressed, corrected, conscripted, directed. This is done on the pretext of public interest and in the name of the common good, to be put under contribution, held to ransom, exploited, concussed, pressured, mystified, robbed; then at the least sign of resistance and complaint to be repressed, fined, vilified, vexed, hunted, exasperated, assailed, garrotted, imprisoned, shot, judged, sold, condemned, deported, sacrificed, tricked; and to finish off with, hoaxed calumniated, dishonoured and despised. Such is law and disorder. Such is legalised crime perpetuated by government against civil society. Think about it deeply, don't just gape at it.

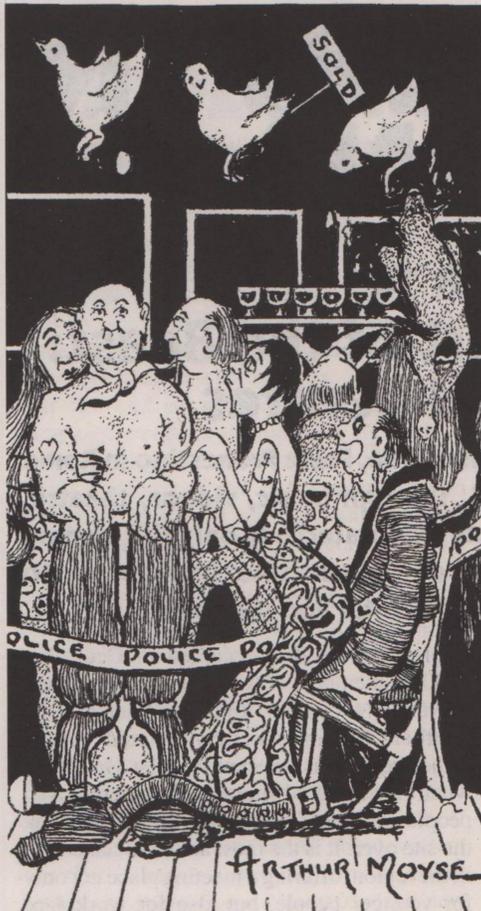
When an assailant administers a blow on a victim which is fatal, we call the deed manslaughter in England. In Scotland we call the deed culpable homicide. If it can be established that the assailant knew in advance that the blow would be fatal, we call the deed murder. It follows, then, when millions of people are condemned to live in slums and poverty, subjected to malnutrition or inadequate diet, enforced toil, excessive hours to eke out a meagre living and meet a premature death; or be sent to almost certain death or serious injury by being sent abroad by governments to kill or be killed by other workers in uniform, that deed is also murder judicially sanctioned. It does not seem what it is because in many cases the deed is one of omission rather than commission. Nevertheless, murder it remains, or perhaps genocide would be a more appropriate term.

Raymond Chandler and George Orwell, two men who had little in common, were united in one thing, and that was that 'murder as a fine art' was no longer a matter of national pride. No longer easy-reading on a summer's day within a book-lined study while the wine sought room temperature, and no longer a matter for the amused smile, the nodding grey head and the pursed lips, but a time for the enactment of the ancient cliché 'I threw the book away in disgust'.

Chandler body-lined his copies of any novel centred on an English murder mystery, for the creator of Sam Spade argued that the English murder had run its bloodless course and Lord Elpus lying kaput on the study's Turkish carpet with a curiously embellished Eastern dagger doing a BUPA open-ended exploration of the aristocratic gut was now no more than a junior lead for the puppets Bunny, Bobby, arthritic Mrs Clog the cleaner and a lovable Inspector Kray, wide-eyed at every new revelation by Bunny and Bobby when you and I and Chandler and Orwell know, nay knew by page three, that it was the butler who had taken an early holiday *mit* the family silver à la Ma Thatcher, the French maid and the bottles of Claret. Chandler's Sam Spade had walked down too many dark alleys in search of the ol' moral obligation to the client, and with only a gat gripped deep in the pocket of the shabby trench-coat, rightly 'threw up' at the English murder mystery.

For George Orwell it was with a sense of sadness, for he had a nostalgia for the old Victorian working class domestic murder. A time of gas-light, coal-fire, shadows on Hitchcockian walls, mad-cow-free roast beef and roast potatoes and the *News of the World*. Those days when for a penny one could spend a night within a music hall, buy a Post-Impressionist painting, spend a night in bed with a Post Office messenger boy, dine and wine within the Café Royal, exchange a witticism with the painter Whistler and ride home in an hansom cab with a wave to the prowling Jack the Ripper, and still have sixpence change left.

Brian Masters is in danger of becoming an authority on mass murder by virtue of his books on Dahmer and Nilsen, both boys given



to quantity not quality, but his books are well researched and extremely readable. The point that Masters hammers through is his argument that certain rules of evidence were brushed aside, that Rosemary West's guilt was automatically assumed and that, despite her signing drear documents agreeing to be Frederick West's sex slave, she was not, within or without the legal framework, a participant in the slaughter of these unfortunate people. That Frederick West is given the Gold Medal for all these sexual, sadistic killings is accepted by the rank-and-file but, brushing the bleeding hearts aside, accepting that Frederick West would never fiddle his bus fare, he was stark raving and Rosemary, whether implicated or not, should never be left near a bacon-slicer on a dull day.

DISHONEST VULGARITY

What does one do with these unfortunates – and the murdered dead should be given the overwhelming sympathy – by those among us who advocate an 'anarchist society' except to play the hypocrite and bowdlerise our language even more in the PC swamp by calling the prisons 'secure hospitals' and 'banging them up'? An answer used to their advantage by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The honest, decent working class in the matter of domestic murder are economic victims in relation to disposing of the late unloved. For Sam Spade it was three shots in the dark, the brim of the hat pulled low and the casual walk away with morality avenged, and for the rich it is no more than the highly-paid team of lawyers, a demand for the return of the ornate Eastern dagger and a week in an open prison waiting for the hired quack's sick note and freedom. But for we, the vulgar poor – and I write as one who has sat on many a kerb eating chips out of a greasy newspaper – there is no way of discarding the carcass except in the old, honoured and traditional method of taking it out to the back-yard and planting it three feet down next to the outdoor loo. This was always so for we the lower working class, and its performance is no more than Marxist economics.

This is the position that Mr and Mrs West had to put into operation, assuming that Rosemary, via Brian Masters, was involved, but the books will be written, the books will be written, and we are the vulgar poor in that we have become High Camp Art in that our vulgarity in relation to our bad taste is magnified to amuse the minority seeking to turn High Camp into High Art, and no one has succeeded better than Claes Oldenburg at the Hayward 'State' Art Gallery. Claes leaped through the hoop into the public gaze in the swinging '60s and it was fun, you devils, fun, fun, fun. For Oldenburg's 1980 was the flirtation with the 'texture of poverty' and the pain of the poor became Camp Art. Claes has now moved into 'Giggle Art' when

commercial vulgarity has become an illusionary art form in that he takes the junk of our commercial society, such as a peeled banana or an apple core, and models and paints it to the size of the human form. It is a plaything that one can perform *ad infinitum*. It is a crowd-moving money-making trivia that the Americans have made themselves masters of, and the Old World has always dismissed it as no more than American bad taste. Cheap, shoddy, commercial mass vulgarity. But with concrete, chicken-wire and paint the Americans built their restaurants in the shape of bowler hats, dog kennels and Disney mini-castles with low neckline maids of honour serving the hamburgers and french fries and the Old World fro' up in disgust at American lower order vulgarity. But now it is Camp Art and the Town and his giggling frau have kissed their garden gnome a brief farewell to hot-foot it to the Hayward to sup of the art of the hour. I in my fashion have no greater desire than to join that illustrious company of low-level creative 'artists' and for that I would provide my own plaster, chicken-wire and bright 'natural' paints and I would model, human size, a human turd, all soft browns and yellows, with varnish to give it a dysentery sparkle, and if it is mounted in the centre hall of our great state art galleries I know that masters of the pen lacking understanding will flock to their typewriters to explain to the world and his wife why I have created the week's masterpiece and it was ever so ever since the Restoration comedy hit the boards.

My life-size, six foot tall sparkling coloured turd, common, nasty, vulgar and brutish, but why should these things be the sole attributes of we the working class. By the nature of the beast we are there to be exploited. They took our naive art, our primitive art and our labour, so let them take our vulgarities.

Arthur Moyses

She Must Have Known by Brian Masters, published by Doubleday, £15.99

A MISNOMER

So the violence of the individual is called crime and the violence of government is called law. I cannot let the 'pseudo-revs' off lightly. I said that they claim that capitalism had a historic mission, a mission to advance the productive forces in order that a future society may be able to work freely according to their ability and receive according to need. They have eulogised division of labour and the capitalist mode of production as being progressive. As I stated in my pamphlet *Vote: What For?* this is analogous, or on a parallel, with primitive man knowing not the causes of rain and so attributing it to the sacrifice he has immolated before the feet of his clay idol. Progress has been made in technology, science and industry not because of capitalism but in spite of capitalism. Observe division of labour. Don't merely gape at it. A man operating a machine day after day becomes an automaton. He produces a nut and a bolt, a nut and a bolt, a nut and a bolt. Finally you don't know whether he is a nutter from the bolt factory of whether he has bolted from the nut factory. Economists always start with production and then treat with consumption. Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* initiated the reverence for division of labour. David Ricardo developed Smith's work and postulated that the exchange value of all marketing goods were determined by the amount of socially necessary labour applied for their production. Karl Marx accepted Ricardo's postulation and in his major work, *Capital*, volume 1, he also starts with production. On page 1 it states the wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities, its unit being a single commodity. Our investigation must therefore begin with the analysis of commodity.

You may say it's logical to start with production, for before you can consume you must first produce. Yes, but before you produce must you not feel the need to consume? Wasn't it the need that first drove man to hunt? Does man exist to further science? Should science not be dealt with to further man's welfare? The latter question should have a positive answer. So

then consumption should govern the purpose and methods of production. This is in keeping with a healthy attitude towards science. The apologists for capitalism point to the period of 100 to 150 years ago and contrast it with today, crying 'look at the immense progress we have made'. They attempt to conceal the fact that at that period labour had sunk to its lowest economic level for more than a thousand years or so. During the period in question modern British capitalism was getting into its full stride and in order to attain speedy supremacy reduced the workers and peasants to almost unbelievable depths. To get a more truthful comparison of conditioning we must go back some five hundred years.

Professor Harold Rogers in his *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, illustrating the wages of the mid-fifteenth century, takes as example a recorded building job at Oxford from 1449-1450. The head mason was paid four shillings a week and the other masons three shillings and fourpence a week. What could be bought with this then? Rogers gives a list of average prices for that period: Wheat five shillings and tenpence a quarter; oatmeal five shillings; beef five shillings and a penny per hundredweight; mutton four shillings and sixpence; pork five shillings; geese fourpence each; fowls a penny-halfpenny each; pigeons fourpence a dozen; candles one shilling and a penny the dozen; eggs fivepence threefarthings for ten dozen; firewood one shilling tenpence farthing the load; shirting sixpence a yard and cloth one shilling and fivepence farthing. Thus a weeks wages could purchase 112 pounds of beef or twelve geese or 96 pounds of butter, and so on. Rent – now the largest item in a worker's budget, often one third of his income – was in the fifteenth and earlier centuries about a halfpenny or less per week. The peasant for two shillings a year rented a cottage and a large garden; he had also a share in the common pasture; he was able to keep poultry, pigs and a cow. He had the concession of collecting loppings and wind-wood from the woodland.

Rogers demonstrated that the working day was eight hours. The American capitalist class judicially murdered the Chicago

Martyrs during the struggle for the eight-hour day. Only in our own recent times have we achieved the eight-hour day, so we have only strived to recover an eight-hour day like our ancestors worked five centuries ago. Contemporary capitalism was not the necessary phase to come through, as our 'pseudo-revs' would have us believe. It was during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when great discoveries were made – especially that of atmospheric pressure, fully supported by a series of advances in natural philosophy – and they were made under the medieval city organisation; once these discoveries were made the invention of the steam engine and all the revolution which the conquest of a new power implied had necessarily to follow.

I have tended to drift from my thesis, so I must speedily return lest I get involved in the politico-economic labyrinth which would be beyond the scope of this short treatise which has space limitations. Let's assume that in order to reach the land of milk and honey we have to go through a capitalist stage of development; to experience highly sophisticated warfare resulting in the devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki or the atrocities of Vietnam; the mass judicial murders in Hitlerite Germany and Stalin's Russia; the famines; the homelessness; the mass neurosis; the various economic and social anxieties; suicides; the misery of meagre incomes and a thousand other ills and infamies. Would it be worth it? Let's take a peek at a non-capitalist society not a thousand or even a hundred years ago, but in our own contemporary period. In the Trobriand Islands the children know of no sex repression or sex secrecy, children engage freely in a sex life which corresponds to their age. Result: there is no sexual perversion, no functional psychoses, no psychoneuroses, no sexual murder, there is no word for theft, homosexuality is to them but an unnatural and imperfect means of gratification – it would be a biological defect rather than being a cultural cause, as in our society. The Trobrianders are therefore spontaneously clean, orderly without compulsion, intelligent and industrious. The socially accepted form of sex life is monogamy without compulsion, a relationship which can be dissolved without difficulty, and thus there is no promiscuity. Question: what would your choice be? Order without law or disorder with law. My choice is made.

R. Lynn

A NARCHY IN ACTION?

— NUMBER 10 —

Living in the Heart of the Beast: Italy's Social Centres

This 1st May, as with each 1st May since 1986, Forte Prenestino in Rome hosted the 'Festival of Non-Labour'. Through music, videos, theatre, good food and debate, its occupants celebrated not only the coming of spring but the ongoing efforts of people like themselves to challenge and overturn the rhythms of capital and the state ...

Forte Prenestino is an enormous edifice lung across eight hectares of land on the south-eastern edge of Rome, not far from the Viale Palmiro Togliatti. As its name suggests, the Forte had originally been built a century ago as a military base. In the '60s it had been abandoned, left to stand empty like so many of Italy's publicly-owned buildings in this time of property speculation and public corruption.

Despite a recent wave of gentrification, the nearby suburb of Centocelle is still best known for its high levels of unemployment and heroin addiction. When a group of mostly young people from the neighbourhood decided to occupy the Forte on May Day nine years ago, they were inspired not by the legacy of Togliatti – a famous Italian communist leader who had effortlessly blended stalinism and social democracy – but by a determination to establish and extend a radical, self-managed alternative to the marginalisation which life on the city fringes held out to them.

"All of a sudden, we were inside, 'running' the place – we who had never managed anything except our unemployment, our homelessness", they would later comment wryly. "Many people are convinced that the Forte is run by just a handful of people, a management committee that makes decisions in the name of and on behalf of everyone else. Such people simply can't conceive – whether for reasons of ideology or cynicism – that a micro-society of equal persons can survive and prosper..."

Today Forte Prenestino plays an important role in its local community. It houses an exhibition gallery, practice rooms for bands, space for theatrical performances, a dark room, gymnasium and 'tea salon'. African dance classes are held on Tuesday nights, yoga on Mondays and Wednesdays, a gym class on Tuesdays and Thursdays. There are regular film nights, courses on design and sculpture, a documentation centre. Outside Rome, the Forte is probably best known for its music label, which distributes the work of local rap and reggae bands. It also produces the journal *Nessuna Dipendenza*, which not only documents the Forte's activities, but engages in discussion and debate concerning projects against capital and the state both in Italy and beyond.

Forte Prenestino is only one of about fourteen 'Occupied Self-Managed Social Centres' (CSOA) in Rome. There are about hundred or so CSOA elsewhere in Italy – the precise number is impossible to determine, as any given week over the last five years has

brought news of a new site or two established, or an old one evicted. Their origins go back to the mid '70s, a time when the extra-parliamentary left played an important part in Italian youth culture. Even then, the CSOA were often established in reaction to the growing conservatism and authoritarianism of such groups, whether these be the little parties formed after the Hot Autumn of 1969, or the apparently more radical collectives known as *Autonomia Operaia* (Workers Autonomy).

By the end of the decade, the organised far left had largely been pulverised, caught between extensive State repression on the one hand, and a flight into private life or terrorism on the other. Within the country's workplaces, a decade-long battle for control over working conditions came to an end in the same period, with the massive 1980 lay-offs at Fiat flagging an impending victory for managerial prerogative throughout Italy as a whole.

The CSOA that survived the chaos of those years eked out much of their existence during the early and mid-eighties as little bastions of an 'alternative lifestyle'. 'Transgressive' identities – from those associated with punk music, to more traditional anarchist or autonomist politics – played a central role in holding many of the remaining social centres together, in the face of an Italy where opportunism, fear and cynicism apparently reigned supreme across the emotive landscape.

A revival of social conflict from the late eighties onwards has helped to confound many of the glib arguments that class war in Italy is passe, or that all possible futures have been reduced to a choice between 'export or death'. Beginning in 1987 amongst school teachers and railway staff, a growing dissatisfaction with the inability of existing unions to defend pay and working conditions has spread to other sections of the workforce, creating a small but lively current of rank and file groups and 'alternative' unions pledged to fostering direct action and self-organisation in the workplace. Unrest within the student population of Italy's schools and universities has brought a similar cycle of mass action since 1990, with occupations 'under self-management' a frequent occurrence of late.

Much of this activity in the workplace and school has fed into the revival of the social centres during the nineties. As dozens of abandoned buildings have been seized up and down the Italian peninsula, the social and political identity of the CSOA has become richer, more complex. Here are brief descriptions of three of the newer social centres, taken from an account published in 1994:

"PIRATERIA DI PORTA is the most recent of the Roman CSOA, and the first to be established in the city centre. Born in December 1993, it is housed in a large warehouse near the Porta Portese Sunday market. With an emphasis upon youth concerns, it offers many activities for children: films, dance classes, martial arts. In February 1994 it was shut down by the police, only to be immediately re-opened by the occupiers."

"OFFICINA 99 can be found in a former garage in the working class suburbs of eastern

Naples. It was first occupied in December 1990 by members of that year's mass student movement (popularly known as Pantera – the Panther) but immediately evicted by the authorities. It was reoccupied on 1st May 1991, when five hundred students and unemployed people marched from the university and took the site over. It is the most active social centre in the region, offering a meeting place not only for younger people, but also for workplace rank and file groups and the local unemployed movement. Its strength lies in its activity within the surrounding community, particularly over the questions of jobs and the fight for a guaranteed income. The first floor of Officina 99 offers a lovely view of Vesuvius, and was used by the filmmaker Gabriele Salvatores (director of *Mediterraneo*) as a location for his film *Sud*. The social centre has also spawned the popular political rap group 99 Posse."

"BAROCCHIO is a spin-off from another of Turin's CSOA – El Paso – with which its members continue to work. It was occupied in October 1992, on the initiative of a local anarchist group. Both a social centre and a living space, Barocchio is best known for its music scene. For reasons of space, its annual

film festivals have been transferred to El Paso."

While two computer networks – the European Counter Network, and CyberNet – play an important role in keeping the social centres in touch with each other, the CSOA's biggest risk continues to be that of closure from the rest of society. This problem has expressed itself in a variety of forms: amongst the most immediate, the difficulties involved in drawing the thousands who regularly attend concerts and other public activities within each centre into the daily work carried out by the dozens (often hundreds) of 'regulars'. Beyond this, there is also the challenge of communicating with, and learning from, social protagonists outside the social centres' 'natural' constituency of urban youth. Interestingly enough, some of the more important initiatives taken by many of the CSOA in recent years have involved alliance-building in their local community and cities: around questions such as housing, jobs, racism, the lack of parkland in many urban landscapes.

Recently, a sympathetic observer of the CSOA from within an older generation of Italy's radical left stressed the importance of the social centres as practical examples of direct democracy in action. "This doesn't necessarily mean", Bruno Cartosio went on to say, "taking the social centres as a model, but rather of seeing, in their structure – in their very existence – an example not only of a necessity, but also of an opportunity from which to begin anew any overall political project". Primo Moroni, another veteran of the '60s and '70s and unofficial chronicler of Milan's radical scene, disagrees. Whilst conceding that "a formidable transformation" is presently underway within the CSOA, he has expressed some concern that the social centres remain "zones of defence", the product of "a generation which has decided to prolong its adolescence ad infinitum". Perhaps he is right. Or could it be that, in an age when "almost everyone lives in a state of terror at the possibility that they might awake to themselves" (Vaneigem), a self-conscious prolonging of adolescence might yet have its merits?

Steve Wright

Northern Anarchist Conference

The report in your 6th July issue on the recent Northern Anarchist Network Conference in Sheffield did its best to be fair to our contribution on the subject of 'Beyond Anarchism and Marxism' in the space available, but it might have confused some people.

For the record, we think it is only a *small minority* of both the Anarchist and Marxist traditions that have maintained a consistent revolutionary opposition to capitalism and the state. It is *this* minority today which, in our opinion, would benefit from working more closely together and moving beyond both Anarchism and Marxism as represented by the other 57 varieties.

Our criticism of revolutionaries' preoccupation with 'democracy' in all its forms is at heart a criticism of the sacrifice of *content* to *form* in revolutionary change. As we made clear at the time, we see revolution as something far more 'drastic' than simply *changing* politics and economics – for us, the revolution will actually *abolish* politics and economics as separate categories, along with both dictatorship and democracy. It will create instead a genuinely human community in which people behave towards each other in a 'communist' or 'anarchist' way out of 'natural' inclination, rendering superfluous any notions of democratic structures erected 'above' society.

Subversion
Dept 10, 1 Newton Street,
Manchester M1 1HW

[We are happy to set the record straight. Anyone interested in this discussion should write to Subversion, not to us – Editors.]

BERLIN DIARY 1996

Start at the Brandenburger Tor, walk east a Sbit and turn right into Wilhelmstrasse. Soon your eye is caught by a colourful mural on the outside of a big, dull government building, the Detlev Rodwedder Haus. A quick review of its history is unlikely to undermine an anarchist's beliefs.

Constructed by the Nazis in the late '30s as the Imperial Air Ministry, the building had a mural depicting "the march to the East". After the war, the East German authorities took it over and in about 1950 got around to covering up the Nazi mural. With their communist ally, Poland, just a few miles down the road, it must have been something of an embarrassment.

The replacement 'socialist' mural that you can now see (but for how long?) bears the title "The significance of peace for the cultural development of humanity and the need for combative commitment [to ensure] it" (i.e. peace). The bit about 'combat' is ambiguous in German and the actual images did not strike me as militaristic. The picture is what you would probably expect – workers in a foundry, workers in the field, kids learning, the intellectual pulling his weight (i.e. carrying his briefcase), marchers with banner aloft proclaiming 'Long Live the German Democratic Republic'. The artist was Max Lingner.

What did strike me was the large proportion of characters in the picture with a blonde(ish) Aryan look. Was I being over-sensitive? As you probably know, the best art is that which has been approved in draft form by committees of senior politicians. In the early 1950s they didn't come very much more senior than Otto Grotewohl, the East German Prime Minister. Lingner presented two sets of sketches which Grotewohl rejected. There were two main

objections. For one thing, the workers should be leading the intellectual, and not the other way round; and, for another, the people in the picture were not *German-looking* enough.

If you find it breath-taking or hard to believe that so soon after the war communist leaders in Germany should be promoting the use of images so beloved of the Nazis, here's some corroboration. The father of a friend of mine, a Jewish socialist, had spent the war in Britain. After the war he returned to Germany – East Germany, to support the socialist project. At around the time the mural was being produced, he was expelled (no notice given) in a wave of anti-semitism.

The mural was completed in 1952. On 16th June 1953, Berlin construction workers came out on strike to demand the reduction of the recently increased 'work norms'. The following day the strikes and demonstrations spread to several main cities, prisoners were freed and some 'Volkspolizisten' (People's Policemen) even joined the uprising. Enter the Soviet tanks. And where, on 16th June, did the workers assemble to state their demands? You've guessed it, at the entrance to the House of the Ministries (as the building was now known) graced by Lingner's inspiring piece.

The Stalinist regime finally got what was coming to it in 1989. The former House of the Ministries is now designated to house the Finance Ministry when the German government returns to Berlin. Long live the Deutschmark (or its Euro successor), and its march to the East.

Mike Bloom

P.S. Just a bit further down the road you can visit the remains of the Gestapo headquarters.

IT'S GOOD TO TALK

The basic element of all human communication, indeed of human 'progress', is language and the spoken word. It is the means by which individuals, families, social groups and whole societies pass on their culture and experiences. Yet today the spoken word in its original 'face to face' setting has been eclipsed by the development of first the written word, then the printed word, subsequently the mass media of radio and television and now computerised communication via modems, e-mail and the Internet.

One hundred years ago the political and economic elites did enjoy enormous advantages in the means of communication available to them. They had the support of mass-circulation daily papers, of the established Church and of the machinery of government both local and national. Despite this there was then less of a gap between their means of communication and the political parties, groups and critics who opposed them than there is today. There was still a culture of reading, of attending public meetings and of listening to factory gate and street corner soap-box speakers of which today Hyde Park Corner on a Sunday is but a sad remnant. Political parties and groups of the left could still rely on the political paper, pamphlet and public meeting as an effective way of reaching ordinary people with their ideas and of communicating to significant numbers of people. John Quail in his book *The Slow Burning Fuse* relates how anarchists attending a demonstration in London during the 1890s were able to distribute 100,000 copies of a leaflet to the people present that day.

Today anarchists are attempting to break out of the communications ghetto of small-circulation newspapers, journals and book production. Anarchists are attempting to communicate more effectively to bring anarchist ideas before a wider public. They are doing this through the use of local, regional, national and international publications, by involvement in community and pirate radio, and even, in a few examples, by anarchist radio and tele-video productions. *Freedom* now has a home page on the Internet, and *Kick It Over*, the Canadian anarchist journal, is available via e-mail. Therefore the latest edition of *The Raven on Communication* (2) 'The Net', edited by Neil Birrell, is a timely contribution to the debate on how we can most effectively communicate, both with each other and with the wider world. Birrell has put together an interesting compilation of articles, some short, some lengthy, concentrating on the debate between the technophile and

technophobe viewpoints. This is a debate currently much in vogue. Recently in the aftermath of the arrest of the USA's Unabomber, both BBC2 and Channel 4 carried documentaries about the neo-luddite Unabomber's actions and manifesto. On the Channel 4 programme American anarchist and self-proclaimed luddite Kirkpatrick Sale was seen smashing a computer with a sledgehammer. This edition of *The Raven* attempts to address the 'pro' and 'anti' positions in the information technology debate in a more balanced manner. As the editorial states: "The meaning of technology is more and more contested in radical movements. The archetypal positions are those of technophilia and technophobia ... It seems that an understanding of technology must draw from the best elements of both tendencies whilst rejecting the black and white opposition they each pose. This 'zine collects together four articles which fall in the middle ground where most of us choose to live ..."

There are, in fact, fifteen articles in all, ranging from the fiercely polemical denunciation of Cyber-Slavery by The Anarchist Media Institute, to longer pieces such as Karl Young's interesting essay 'Disturbing History'. This looks at the history of communication, firstly in the development of written communications noting how the early usage and evolution of writing moved from a communal and collective form with reading aloud in groups to a more individualistic and personal form involving reading silently. He argues that this expansion of individual reading, by creating a potential market, paved the way for the later rapid spread and success of the printed word with the invention of the printing press. Perhaps this is comparable with the way the 'big screen' of the cinema paved the way for the success of the small screen of the television. Young goes on to argue that the mass acceptance of the television made the subsequent adaptation to computer-based work and computer-based communications that much easier. Young also looks ahead to the computer-based technologies which may one day largely replace the printed word of book and newspaper. This is not just a matter of CD-ROMs, but includes electronic display devices much the same size and shape as a book, but capable of varying the work displayed, size of type, etc. All very futuristic, but as the character Shevek in Ursula K. Le Guin's *Dispossessed* said when commenting on the use of a new form of communication: "What will you say?"

Perhaps Birrell should have widened the scope of this edition when covering the technology of communication to include the obsolete which is still in daily use? Despite all the above technical progress, there are still groups in this country, such as the British Printing Society, who keep alive the craft of letterpress printing, who have several thousand member enthusiasts and who maintain, restore and use various flat-bed, platen and rotary letterpresses to produce pamphlets, books and commercial work.

One aspect of desk top publishing, word processing and computer text processing many people are unaware of is that terminology from the letterpress days is still in use. Many of the type fonts are the same; there is still use of the old 'point' sizes of typeface even when setting text on a desk top publishing computer screen. The technology may have moved on, but it has taken some of the old expressions and jargon with it. This has happened in other areas of technical progress, and is one of the mechanisms which help humans adapt to change.

The articles about Radio Contrabanda and the Paris-based Radio Liberaire make hopeful reading. Where else in the world can anarchists reach 30,000 people on a daily basis, with news, politics, culture, anarchist ideas and discussion? One million people are aware of Radio Liberaire's existence. Anarchists in this country should follow their example. The degree of organisation is impressive and involves eighty teams of workers producing programmes for a radio station which in twelve years of operation has now put out 100,000 hours of broadcasting. Other articles discussing radio included 'A. Presenter's'

account of problems of local elites censoring programme content in local radio.

In his article on radio Joseph Toscano related his view of the Australian radio scene and the 'hate jocks' who have promoted a far-right political agenda, much the same as the 'talk-radio' presenters in America. He also offers some ideas on how to use local radio for anarchist purposes.

One important omission from this edition of *The Raven* is the work of The Great Atlantic Radio Conspiracy, the American-based group who have produced many programmes on anarchist themes for American community radio and whose taped programmes have been widely available.

However, Birrell does include an article by Gary Moffat which was first published in *Kick It Over*, whose title, 'The More Information the Less Knowledge' reveals Moffat's position in the technophile-technophobe debate. His essay, though, is a useful reminder that while information technologies convey information, they do not necessarily teach the ability to acquire knowledge. To quote Moffat: "Computers have mesmerised a lot of people, particularly young people, and many who wouldn't be caught dead reading a book spend hours daily in front of their computer screens ... Computers are great in making facts available, but do little or nothing to provide the experience, creativity and imagination needed by our intellects in order to assimilate knowledge". This is an interesting edition of *The Raven* and, to use some plain English, buy it and read it.

Jonathan Simcock

The Raven 32 on Communication (2) - 'The Net', Freedom Press, 96 pages, £3.00 (available post-free worldwide)

OBITUARY NELLIE DICK



Nellie Dick (right) with her sister Dora Rosen in 1990.

1916 to prevent his conscription, and emigrated in 1917 to escape the war together.

They settled in the United States, where for more than forty years they worked as teachers in libertarian colonies and schools - at Stelton from 1917, at Mohegan from 1924, at Stelton again from 1928, and then at their own school at Lakewood, New Jersey, from 1933 to 1958. The keynote of their work throughout was a combination of freedom, security and happiness above all, and they were the best-loved leaders in the American libertarian education movement.

Their son James (Little Jim), who was born during a visit to England in 1919, became a paediatrician in New York. Her husband died in 1965, and in 1973 she took up a new career as an activist in the Senior Citizens' Movement in Miami. In 1990 she moved into her son's home in Oyster Bay, Long Island, where a hundred guests celebrated her hundredth birthday in 1993, and where she died on 31st October 1995.

Nellie Dick was a natural anarchist who had no interest in political theory. When I telephoned her in 1986 at the time of the centenary of the British anarchist paper *Freedom*, to remind her that she had spoken at its 25th anniversary celebration in 1911 as a representative of the younger generation of anarchists, she told me that she regretted nothing in her life but that she rejected all labels. When I telephoned her again in 1993 to congratulate her on her hundredth birthday, she said the same thing.

She enjoyed giving interviews in her old age, and while she often got the details of her life wrong she always got its spirit right. When Paul Avrich, the historian of Russian and American anarchism and of the Modern School movement, asked about her educational principle, she replied: "Just being human to the children". A good epitaph for an extraordinary woman who spent more than a century just being human.

NW

TRICKLE-DOWN GARBAGE

(continued from page 5)

working and living in freedom and dignity following the imposition of the political closure of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip since 1993."

Yet another article in the same journal reports on the introduction into Israel since 1993 of large numbers of foreign workers from East Asia and Eastern Europe, especially Romania, to replace Palestinians prevented from reaching their jobs in Israel by the closure of the occupied territories. But I have to return to Khaled Zighari's account of the garbage dump, simply because I don't know where else in the British press you can read it. He hastened there and says he saw what was to him an unbelievable sight: "human beings eating food from a pile of garbage". And he goes on to observe that:

"From early morning I witnessed garbage trucks drive up to the dump quickly, dump their loads and drive off to bring more garbage. I saw 'workers' push each other aside in an effort to get to the object of their desire first whenever the trucks drive up. They begin searching among the garbage piles;

they plunge into the garbage piles until they almost disappear and you cannot see them any longer (something which brought about the death of one child who 'worked' there a few years ago: he was run over by a truck). Suddenly one of them emerges from the pile carrying a strip of clothing and running quickly to the clothes merchant who is present at the site. Some are carrying pieces of metal and aluminium, others sacks of bread. I will never forget an old man I saw carrying a sack of rotten fruit and vegetables because he lacked the strength to push other workers aside in order to grab the metal pieces which would, of course, fetch a higher price."

The saga of the Jerusalem garbage dump is the ultimate parable of affluent consumerism and its results. It has its equivalents all over the globe.

Colin Ward

Notes

1. In *Casual Work and Poverty in Third World Cities* edited by Ray Bromley and Chris Gerry (Chichester, John Wiley, 1979).
2. 'Pyramid Selling: Cairo's daily miracle workers' by Andrew North in *The Guardian*, 3rd April 1996.
3. 'Working the Garbage Dump: the future of Jerusalem?' by Khaled Zighari in *News from Within*, vol. XII, no. 7, July 1996 (Jerusalem/ Bethlehem, Alternative Information Centre, PO Box 31417).

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