MELT DOWN THE FRENCH CONSULATE

VIVA TAHITI!

Within minutes of the French government exploding their first nuclear bomb in the south Pacific, protesters converged on the French Consulate in Edinburgh's Randolph Crescent. By 1 a.m. on 6th September, all three consulate doors were chained and padlocked shut, radiation tape and anti nuclear banners were plastered on the railings in front of the building. Daylight saw more demonstrators arriving and the demonstration continued for 24 hours.

Daylight saw more demonstrators and the action continued for 24 hours. The action had the effect of keeping the consulate closed to the public for the whole period and some courageous protesters, [anarchists from Glasgow] occupied the roof, locking themselves to a chimney stack.

A reasonable response to an horrific act of state terrorism you might say - but shouldn't we be trying to do more? When the police cut the chains and opened one of the three doors, calls to blockade the door were rejected. There was only verbal opposition when, in the afternoon, the police cut the chains on the other two doors. There were only ever a few police present at any one time and if everyone had linked arms in front of the doors they couldn't have got through.

Only macho fools actually like violence, but acting like we're at a New Town cocktail party isn't going to worry the state much. The most effective resistance to the nuclear tests has been the mass uprising in Tahiti, where symbols of French state power and capitalism are burnt beautifully! In some countries demonstrators have occupied French embassies and consulates. Media coverage is good but direct action is what can really change things.

We call on the French state to explode nuclear bombs at regular intervals right through until May 1996. Protest is not enough. Let's get 100's to the consulate next time and do our bit to stop them. The French consulate is at 11 Randolph Crescent, off Queenbery Street, near the west end. TEL: 0131 225 7954

Note: More anarchists from Glasgow occupied the consulate roof for a few hours on the 29th September - to show solidarity with Polynesian peoples and to protest against the French tests, although threatened with arrest for Breach of the Peace, they were cautioned and released. It seems the French do not want people arrested from their roof! So go to it folks!

The Inspiration of "Land & Freedom" depicting the Spanish Revolution 60 years ago.

Chomsky on Unions & Business
Braveheart & igniting Nationalism in Scotland
Local reports from around Scotland
McLibel & Global McDonaldisation
Women and anarchist appeal
We ain't got no Education!
and much, much more........
Braveheart
by Iain MacSorla

Scottish Federation of Anarchists
As We See It

There is no denying Braveheart's power. It is an amazing film, with a cracking story-line and excellent acting which makes it feel far less than its 3 hours length. The film is important as the message of the movie is independent of, for example, trying to include a bridge and river at the battle of Stirling. The film gets the basic story right and that's what is important in this context.

For those who have been hiding up a chimney recently, Braveheart is about William Wallace and his fight for Scottish independence against King Edward the first of England (excellently played by Patrick McGoohan). Edward, after crushing the Scots, was moving to build a vision to Scotland, where he used the in-fighting amongst the Scottish nobility to conquer Scotland. William Wallace, a very minor member of the nobility, took up arms against the invaders and lead a successful peasant uprising against them until he was betrayed by Scottish nobles and hung, drawn and quartered.

Mel Gibson, who both starred as Wallace and directed the movie, does a remarkable job and puts some fine words about freedom into Wallace's mouth, particularly at the Battle of Stirling. It is freedom, however, that the movie raises important questions about. One of the best aspects of the movie is that it is not quite as they get a few more titles and a bit more land. As such, the movie raises the complex nature of national liberation movements as (mostly) cross class alliances. Unfortunately, it then ignores the issue as Mel Gibson astride his horse makes an impassioned plea to them to fight for freedom. "They may take our lives, but they cannot take our freedom."

But whose freedom? The movie does not address the issue. Its clear, from the end, we switch to Bannockburn, 1314, its national freedom. But since we are talking about a monarchy, that means freedom for the Scottish King. For the average peasant or artisan, things would not have changed that much. So the questions that any national liberation struggle must address is: "Freedom for who? Independence for what?"

Nationalism and Nationality

To begin to answer these questions, we must first define what we mean by nationalism. For many people, it is a sense of cultural identity and nationalism is a movement to home, the place they grew up. These feelings, however, obviously do not exist in the artificial mechanism imposed upon society by some which makes secure the interests of privileged minorities within society. Nationalism was created to reinforce the state by providing it with the loyalty of a people of shared linguistic, ethnic, and cultural affinities. And if these shared affinities do not exist, the state will create them by centralising education in its own hands, imposing an "official" language and attempting to crush cultural differences from the state, within its borders.

This can obviously be seen in Scottish history, when English Monarchs banned the pipes, the kilt and Gaelic.

While imperialism often brings about the conscious attempt to construct a border of the world, by the same process going on the other hand, the notion of a nation as well, the example of Braemore in England springs to mind.

This is hardly surprising as the state is a centralised body, invested with power and a social monopoly of force. It preempts the autonomy of localities and peoples and in the name of "nation" crushes the living, breathing reality of a nation (its peoples and their cultures) with one law, one culture and one "official" history.

Anarchism and National Liberation

This does not mean, however, that anarchists are indifferent to national liberation struggles. Far from it. In the words of Bakunin, "I feel myself always the patriot of all oppressed fathers... Nationality...is a historic, local fact which, like all real and harmless facts, has the right to claim general acceptance... Every people, like every person, is involuntarily that which it is and therefore has a right to be itself. Nationality, in this sense, is a legitimate fact, just as individuality is. Every nationality is a small but the incontestable right to be itself, to live according to its own nature. This right is simply the corollary of the general principle of freedom" [3].

Unlike most nationalists, anarchists recognise that almost all "nations" are in fact homogenous groups, and so to some nationality to be far wider in application than just lines on maps, created by conquest. With this in
**Braveheart**

by Iain MacSorla

**Scottish Federation of Anarchists**

**As We See it**

We encourage and assist resistance to all oppression. This includes economic and environmental exploitation and all forms of state and societal oppression, such as racism and sexism.

Mass direct action is the most effective and liberating form of struggle.

Our aim is for mass struggles to develop into a revolutionary transformation, in which societal control of the world's resources and fundamentally re-organise society.

This can only be achieved by the self-organisation of the vast majority, the working class. We oppose all hierarchies and political parties.

We want a free, stateless world, with social wealth owned and controlled by society. Production will be to meet human need and all relationships based on equality and mutual respect.

The full 2 pages plus AS WE SEE IT is reprinted in Scottish Anarchist No. 2. Send £1 for magazine or SAE for photocopy of full text - to POB 1008, Glasgow G42 8AA.

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**Braveheart** is about William Wallace and his fight for Scottish independence against King Edward the first of England. Excellently played by Patrick McGoohan. Edward, after crush- ing 'Saltcoats', turns his full building vision to Scotland, where he used the in-fighting amongst the Scottish to conquer Scotland. William Wallace, a very minor figure in the nobility, took up arms against the invaders and lead a successful peasant uprising against them until he was betrayed by Scottish nobles and hung, drawn and quartered.

Mel Gibson, who both starred as Wallace and directed the movie, does a reasonable job of the ac- count and puts some fine words about freedom into Wallace’s mouth, particularly at the Battle of Stirling. It is freedom, how- ever, that the movie raises im- portant questions about. One of the best aspects of the movie is that it gives some real class interest at play in the struggle for national indepen- dence. All through the film the “Scottish Nobility” are portrayed as a gang of parasites who are use of the word “Scottish” in the movie gets the basic story right about a monarchical, that means freedom for those whose freedom? The moviedoesnot addressthe issue. It’s clear from the end when we switch to Bannockburn, 1314, its national freedom. But since we are talking about a monarchy, that means freedom for who? Independence for what? Nationalism and Nationality

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For many people, it is the natural right for the state to own that which they see as belonging to them. They believe that their nation has a right to possess and control the natural resources of the land. This is a concept that has been propagated by many governments and is often used to justify their actions.

Nationalism is the belief that a particular group of people has the right to govern itself. This can take many forms, from the desire for self-determination to the desire for power and control.

Nationalism is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that has been studied extensively by sociologists, psychologists, and political scientists. While there is no single definition of nationalism, it is generally agreed that it involves the idea of a shared cultural identity and a desire for independence from outside control.

In Scotland, nationalism has been a significant force in political life for many years. The Scottish National Party (SNP), which was founded in 1934, has been a major player in Scottish politics and has won several elections over the years. The SNP is dedicated to the idea of Scottish independence and has been a vocal advocate for the rights of Scotland.

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Anarchists have long pointed out the fundamental difference between society and the state. In fact, in the words of Rudolf Rocker, the "nation is not the cause, but the result of the state. It is the state that creates the nation, not the nation the state." [2] Every state is an artificial mechanism imposed upon society by some group of people and made to secure the interests of privileged minorities within society. Nationalism was created to reinforce the state by providing it with the loyalty of a people of shared linguistic, ethnic, and cultural affiliations. And if these shared affinities do not exist, the state will create them through centralising education in its own hands, imposing an "official" language and attempting to crush cultural differences from the people within its borders.

This can obviously be seen in Scottish history, when English Monarchs banned the pipes, the kilt and Gaelic.

While imperialism often brings about revolutions, these often result in the stagnation of those struggle for national independence. A capitalistic expansion of the type that we see in Braveheart is about William Wallace and his fight for Scottish independence against King Edward the first of England. Excellently played by Patrick McGoohan. Edward, after crushing the Scottish, turns his full building vision to Scotland, where he used the in-fighting amongst the Scottish to conquer Scotland. William Wallace, a very minor figure in the nobility, took up arms against the invaders and lead a successful peasant uprising against them until he was betrayed by Scottish nobles and hung, drawn and quartered.

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It is freedom, however, that the movie raises important questions about national freedom we have to take into account the people who inhabit the nation. How wealth will be disrupted in an important way on society and the distribution of freedom among nations, we hold that we should place human, and we should once and for all time elevate opposition to the oppressor into a call to "support nationalliberation struggles for any national liberation struggle. Braveheart does make it clear that when nationalliberation"movements take on national "liberation"movements, they must operate under the guidance of the national government and not as a means of pressure on the government, and even middle-sized enterprises. This is a given "nationalliberation" movement would likely produce. To do so means to "secure national liberation struggles for instrumental purposes, merely as a means of "weakening imperialism", which leads to "a condition of moral bankruptcy" as socialist ideas become associated with the pursuit of "anti-imperialist" dictatures in "liberated" nations.

The power of global capital has increased massively over the last 30 years, something must be taken into account when discussing the social impacts of self-directed

mind, anarchists think that recreating the centralized state as a smaller area cannot solve what is called the "national question". Further more, as internationalists, we believe that we should pursue a universal justice above all national interests. And we should once and for all time national"liberation"movements that take on national "liberation"movements, they must operate under the guidance of the national government and not as a means of pressure on the government, and even middle-sized enterprises. This is a given "nationalliberation" movement would likely produce. To do so means to "secure national liberation struggles for instrumental purposes, merely as a means of "weakening imperialism", which leads to "a condition of moral bankruptcy" as socialist ideas become associated with the pursuit of "anti-imperialist" dictatures in "liberated" nations.

National identity is a product of social processes. Socialevolution cannot be squeezed into the notion of racial, ethnic, or national identity. As Bakunin noted, with respect to the Polish working class, "national liberation"movements are cross-national. It is what we will term the "Braveheart problem", namely that national movements are cross-national, systems, and our actions. As a result, the "Braveheart problem" may well lead to the creation of new "national liberation"movements. The hands-on experience show us that the distribution of wealth and power, and wealth restriction self-determination for working class people, even if they are free of "nationality".

These vast differences in power and freedom are just as true on the international level as they are on a domestic one. It is imperative to get nosupport from anarchists. Social evolution cannot be squeezed into the notion of racial, ethnic, or national identity. As Bakunin noted, with respect to the Polish working class, "national liberation"movements are cross-national. It is what we will term the "Braveheart problem", namely that national movements are cross-national, systems, and our actions. As a result, the "Braveheart problem" may well lead to the creation of new "national liberation"movements. The hands-on experience show us that the distribution of wealth and power, and wealth restriction self-determination for working class people, even if they are free of "nationality".

The Braveheart problem, as Kropotkin sees it, is the "failure of nationalists movements [...] which lies in this curse of all national movements - that the economic question remains on the side". For Kropotkin, socialists living in a country with a "national" movement have "a major task: to set the question of "nationalism" on an economic basis and carry out agitation against (economic and social) freedom, or, at one with the struggle against oppression (by foreign nations) [...]. The first task is to approach national liberation struggles with that of Leninism, whose approach most commonly used this century.

It is important to remember that although these unselected quislings have no powers to disconnect water supplies for non-payment, the new unitary authorities WILL be doing their dirty work for them by issuing the water bills with other council bills. Another effect of this water privatization will be that all the land around reservoirs and lochs used for water supply will cease to be public land and will be owned by the three quislings.

Since water privatization in England and Wales, charges have increased dramatically and the number of water disconnections increased by 170% between 1991 and 1993. The number of cases of hygiene has rose from 2756 cases in 1990 to 16960 in 1992 (Edinburgh Evening News 5 May 1995).

It appeared that the official unions were to lie down and accept the "hopeless" position of the junior college and merely negotiate away the cuts. Neither the official unions nor the junior college had any autonomy in the process of gathering the signatures. For example:

1) Do absolutely nothing and while people you know are 'taken out' of their jobs, post supportive motions at meetings and then and then do absolutely nothing.
2) Take industrial action

The leaflet asked employees of the college to sign a petition, not an ordinary begging letter but a pledge P to pledge to take strike action should any employee be made redundant. Within a few days 50 college employees had signed the pledge, headed of course by the seven IWW members. All types of workers signed, localers, office staff, cleaners, temporary employees and even some students. Once the magic number had been signed the petitions were placed on noticeboards around the college for all to see including management.

The process of gathering the signatures was not without incident. The son of a leading member of the Trotskyist Socialist Party works at the college and refused to sign the petition as did two other members of this supposedly revolutionary party. The excuse used to defend their not signing was that the IWW was pursuing an "individualist" cause which was deemed to fail. They further argued that members of the IWW should join the "official" unions and campaign for lawful (sic) industrial action, (i.e. clearing the action with the management and the employers, giving them seven days notice).

This was exactly the type of action which the unions had vetoed over in 1994 which led to a collapse in union membership.

Last laugh was with the IWW. No sooner had college management seen the petitions and taken it in the consequences of 10 per cent of the workforce being willing to take illegal action then they quickly contacted the official unions and miraculously found that there was no need to make any compulsory redundancies.

A victory which certainly raised the profile of the union in the college...
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There are many things which can be done. For example:

1. Do absolutely nothing and while people know you are "taken out... and deprived of their livelihood.
2. Be concerned, talk to shop stewards, support meetings at meetings and then and then do absolutely nothing.
3. Take industrial action

The leaflet asked employees of the college to sign a petition, not an ordinary begging letter but a pledge to take strike action should any employee be made redundant. Within a few days about 50 college employees had signed the pledge. The leaflet, headed of course by an "offi-

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Over the summer, Glasgow anarchists took part in a successful international campaign for Mumia Abu-Jamal. Murnia is a black campaigner resulting in his execution being delayed. As a result of this activity, a new Anarchist Black Cross (ABC) group has been set up in the Solidarity Centre in Glasgow. For those who don't know, the ABC is an international network of autonomous anarchist prisoner support groups.

The ABC stands for practical solidarity with struggles prisoners. We support anarchists, revolutionaryists and other working class people who have been incarcerated for their resistance to the repressive acts of the capitalist state and its functionaries. We also support people in prison for trying to survive and those framed by the police. We support and publicise the work of prisoners who are resisting on the inside.

We work through letters, visits, material aid (where possible) as well as demonstrations and spreading information about prisoners, the reality of prison life and the class system which created them.

The ABC tries to create links in and out of prisons. Ultimately we are working towards the creation of a revolutionary, working class based movement that will destroy prisons along with the rest of the capitalist system. We believe that through people working together, without exploitation or bosses, a genuine classless society can be built.

The Glasgow ABC group would welcome more involvement from anyone interested in this kind of work.

For more information, please contact the Solidarity Centre, 0141 226 5066.

THIS COULD BE A.C.E.

The Autonomous Centre of Edinburgh (ACE) is negotiating with the owners of 101 Lauriston Place, the finer details of a proposed lease. If ACE manages to secure the premises for itself, we could write a more positive chapter in the history of the Edinburgh Scottish Anarchist revolution.

Hopefully, the collective will swell in numbers as practical outlets and outlets for subversive/individual/sympathetic/political/analytical/whatever ideas are created.

If you are interested in this project, contact ACE at the address below, or come to the weekly meetings held in the basement of the EAT OUT cafe on Broughton Street every Tuesday at 6.30pm.

We hope the new centre will be able to provide a cheap, cafe, practice rooms, workshops, office space, alongside the ever important advice contact for Poll Tax, council ‘debts’ collecting, grassroots resistance to political injustices, clients rights etc... Obviously the project also needs funding, so if you can spare any cash or could organise a benefit this would be much appreciated.

A.C.E. c/o Peace and Justice Centre, St. Johns, Princes St., Edinburgh, EH2, (0131) 332 7547.

Anarchism in Dundee

Anarchists in Dundee have recently been involved in industrial struggle, the fight against the Criminal Justice Act, anti-motorway protests, prisoners’ support, and the campaign against cuts. And that was when there was just two of them! A fifty percent increase in numbers in October is expected to lead to the formation of a Dundee Anarchist Group, and the holding of regular discussion meetings on lots of different topics. If you live in the Dundee area and might be interested in taking part in these, contact the Scottish Federation of Anarchists.

Arbeit McFry!

The McLibel Trial, began when the $26 billion a year McDonald’s Corporation served libel writs on two unwaged supporters of London Greenpeace, who had been handing out leaflets informing the public of the true nature of McDonald’s. The trial began on 26th June 1990 with the two defendants, Dave Morris, conducting their own defence and Dave Morris, and Jimmy Reid, prosecuting.

What’s wrong with McDonalds?

1. McDonalds contribute greatly to the continuing destruction of tropical rainforests. Every minute 100 acres of rainforest is destroyed by various companies in total.

2. McDonalds enhance Third World poverty by owning land formerly used by the indigenous population and buying food from starving countries.

3. McDonalds exploits its workers. They prevent unionisation and pay minimum wages.

4. The ‘food’ is unhealthy. High in fat, sugar, salt and animal products which can cause heart disease.

The “Black and Red” Club

This summer, the Glasgow Anarchist Group and the Solidarity Centre organised three anti-CJA festivals in Kelvingrove Park, and Queen’s Park. It was suggested that an indoor social club over the winter months would capitalise on all the goodwill and interest that has been generated. Thus the Black and Red club was born.

The plan is to have different events at the club, for example, clubs, discos, cabaret, quizzes, fun nights, themes parties, together with information stalls to publicise what is going on at the Centre and the anarchist groups. We also hope to do some evenings to raising awareness about specific issues, such as prisoner support, anti-road campaigns, local community campaigns, strikes and so forth.

We feel that its important for us to seize this opportunity to establish some kind of club in Glasgow. We know that anarchists in the city are crying out for a place to go to regularly where they can socialise with like minded people. So, if you are interested, check it out. For details, contact the Solidarity Centre (0141 226 5066).

The “Next Generation”

Glasgow Anarchist Black Cross -
Glasgow Anarchist Black Cross - The Next Generation

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Rumours of McDonald’s wanting to pull out of the trial appeared on the back of a 1991 Independent on Sunday article. As June but the defendants are currently unable to confirm this or divulge details of any settlement proposals by McDonald’s. It is easy to see why it is McDonald’s interests to seek to pull out of this case, as it has turned out that their business practices are on trial. Their top US and UK executives have continually been forced to make embarrassing admissions (see Scottish Anarchist No. 2 for the choicest quotes) and at a recent McDonald’s Shareholders’ Meeting it was said that “whether or not we win this case, we are still getting raked over the coals in the media.”

The most recent weeks of the case have concentrated on McDonald’s employment practices and once again, top executives are being made to look like clowns. Giving evidence was Sid Nicholson, McDonald’s UK Vice President, former Head of Personnel and Head of Security who received his excellent people management skills as a Chief Superintendent in the Metropolitan Police force, firstly in South Africa, and then in the Met.

Nicholson has agreed that for workers aged 21 or over the company “couldn’t allow any lower wages without failing full of the law”. He also admitted that in 1993 McDonald’s senior management levels had salaries over £75,000 p.a, plus benefits and perks. At that time the starting rate for crew members outside London was £5 per hour for over 18’s and £2.65 per hour for 16 & 17 year olds.

Other facts to emerge as a result of his evidence include:

- Managers have the power to compulsorily cut or extend any worker’s hours during a given shift. Even breaks could be cut. Though in any event, workers are not paid for meal breaks.
- McDonald’s has never paid overtime rates, despite the Wages Council setting overtime rates for all hours worked over 39 hours in a week.
- McDonald’s would fight any Industrial Tribunal where “an important principle would be decided” but when an ex-worker had challenged McDonald’s refusal to pay overtime, McDonald’s settled out of court.
- Workers failing to have the right attitude “could probably be terminated”. It is known that 1990 annualised workforce turnover at McDonald’s was 196.5%.
- Despite working in a fast moving and hot environment, workers had to get permission to have a drink.
- Mr Nicholson couldn’t, when asked, think of a single right that workers had except where there was statutory protection.

Mr Nicholson though claimed the company was not anti-union and all staff had a right to join one. However, he said that the company was “very, very much in support of performance related pay. These who work very well are paid well.” Arbeit macht frei /freedom to work.

Under questioning he admitted that any McDonald’s workers interested in union membership “would not be allowed to collect subscriptions...put up notices...pass out leaflets...to organise a meeting for staff to discuss conditions at the store on the premises...or to distribute union materials outside the store”. Which would be deemed ‘Gross Misconduct’ and as such ‘summary sackable offence’.

Mr Nicholson appeared confused as to what the company would do if a majority of workers demanded union recognition, first stating “If a majority of the staff of a restaurant had an election and voted to be represented by a trade union, then it would be represented.” He later agreed that “if every single member of a crew in a particular restaurant joined a union [McDonald’s] would not still negotiate with the union.”

Not only are McDonald’s digging themselves deeper and deeper into a hole during this court case - their heavy handed attitude has made the case and the corporation a focus for wider resistance. Over a million of the leaflets which were the original subject of the case have been handed out since the trial began and it seems that where ever in the world Ronald tried to raise his head, protesters and leaflets are there. Last April McDonald’s abandoned public celebrations for the 40th anniversary of their first store opening, due to protests in over 20 countries. More recently, when McDonald’s tried to shoot an advert on location in South London, a small group of students, angry at the fact that police were called when protesters appeared behind him with a banner reading “McDonald’s...
Returning solidarity to Tuzla miners

ANTI-FASCIST AID TO BOSNIA is an anarchist initiative arising out of a hair-raising but uplifting journey to North-East Bosnia. They are determined to create links directly with those engaged in a daily struggle against serb forces, the Police and other authorities in the rump Bosnian state, and amongst those that have been isolated by aid and aid agencies, who are aware of the motives of the Croatian State and of its fascist counterparts in Herzeg-Bosnia.

Dean of AK Press in London acted as a driver in the second (August 1995) “Workers Aid” mission to Tuzla, in North-East Bosnia, whose citizens had sent solidarity aid to the Miners Strike in 1984/5. In a talk to Glasgow Anarchist Group Discussion Forum on 4th September, he outlined what happened on the mission, the situation in Tuzla and the need to create the means for practical libertarian solidarity with the miners working class.

The convoy of “aid” arrived in Split, in Croatia after negotiating the journey across the narrow road corridor from Slovenia and northern Croatia. The Croatian offensive to expel the Krajina Serbs was imminent. They happened on the mission, the situation in Tuzla.

People who identify themselves as ‘pro-porn’ and/or ‘anti-censorship’ often ask, why single out porn and the sex industry from all other coercive, exploitative and oppressive industries that characterise the capitalist/patriarchal project? I say why not? All forms of oppressive practice are open for critique — this is just one of them — but more than that, I would suggest that it is important to understand that not all forms of industry oppress people. The sex industry impinges on the lives of women, men and children and the relationships that exist between them in some of the same but also in quite different ways than for example, mining, farming, shop

Running the Gauntlet

Eventually they were allowed to proceed through the devastated ethnically cleansed villages, where Serbs and Bosnian muslims” had been driven out, their homes torched and looted. The convoy included “delegations” from Unions and solidarity agencies, and “delegations” from Women against Pit Closures and similar groups assisted the drivers and volunteers from the UN delegation were selfless and some even foolish to the extent of being a danger to the convoy.

In one incident near Kalandj, convoys have to proceed along a stretch of road that has Chetnik snipers on both sides, and they have to drive without lights along the mountainous single track dirt road. The delegation from the Communication Workers Union lorry “bottled” the convoy, the headlights & rear light on, the wreckers of capital, and its cargoes of capitalist ends. Aid convoys have also had to reason the U.N.: despised & ineffective. The U.N., and media journalists shun the Hotel Tuzla, never threatened by the Chetnik attackers in a luxurious haven that is blantly at odds with the suffering of the Tuzla working class. Aid convoys have also had to reason the U.N.: many of the trucks which have been driven off the road, interrogations etc. are directly the result of U.N. orders to their army personnel that they tanks and other vehicles have an exclusive right to the limited road space and innumerable attacks they have forced other vehicles physically out of the way.

Continued on page 23

PORNOGRAFY AND THE SEX INDUSTRY

An Anarcha-Feminist perspective by Lesley Boulton

This article is intended to be part of a debate around the issues is raises and as such it not meant to be read as a ‘definitive’ argument. It presents a set of problems and takes a position, which I hope will generate some discussion.

People who identify themselves as ‘pro-porn’ and/or ‘anti-censorship’ often ask, why single out porn and the sex industry from all other coercive, exploitative and oppressive industries that characterise the capitalist/patriarchal project? I say why not? All forms of oppressive practice are open for critique — this is just one of them — but more than that, I would suggest that it is important to understand that not all forms of industry oppress people. The sex industry impinges on the lives of women, men and children and the relationships that exist between them in some of the same but also in quite different ways than for example, mining, farming, shop
Returning solidarity to Tuzla miners

ANTI-FASCIST AID TO BOSNIA is an anarchist initiative arising out of a hair-raising but uplifting journey to North-East Bosnia. They are determined to create links directly with those engaged in a daily struggle against Serbian forces, the Police and other authorities in the rump Bosnian state, and amongst those seen as their collaborators. They also have to deal with a near food-riot when some of the provisions were unloaded.

Thereafter, the various "delegations" went off to meet their practical libertarian solidarity with the Bosnian working class.

The convoy of "aid" arrived in Split, in Croatia after negotiating the journey across the narrow road corridor from Slovenia and northern Croatia. The convoy had to stop off at the city of Mostar to central Bosnia, past "ethnically/isist/fascist forces.

Eventually they were allowed to proceed through the devastated territory, with the houses of the "ethnically cleansed" villages, where Serbs and Bosnian "muslims" had been driven out, their homes torched and looted. It included the convoy "delegations" from Unions and Solidarity against Fascism, "delegations" from Women against Pit Closures and similar groups assisted by the police. The convoy then passed through the Chetnik attackers in aluxtious haven that is now "carrying out attacks against the homes of local (anti-fascist) serbs.

They also explained how the U.N. were "a law unto themselves" and how the aid agencies would only give relief to refugees, such as the recently displaced Brebenesci and Zepa "safe haven" inhabitants. In turn these refugees would only be permitted on the "black list" of the U.N. and unable to drive up the prices for the majority of Tuzla citizens, from working class homes, with water for 2 hours daily, with little or no work to speak of, as mining and only receiving relief from Solidarity initiatives such as Women Aid, the refugees, understandingly small as Childrens Aid and the "ancestral seubjects" of the Bosnian state, and some of them carried out attacks against the homes of local (anti-fascist) Serbs.

The U.N.: despised & Ineffective

The U.N., and media journalists strut around the Hotel Tuzla, never threatened by the Chetnik attackers in a luxurious haven that is wholly reliant upon oppressive/sexist/patriarchal practices and values that they are actively overturning. They are determined to create links directly with those engaged in a daily struggle against Serbian forces, the Police and other authorities in the rump Bosnian state, and amongst those seen as their collaborators. They also have to deal with a near food-riot when some of the provisions were unloaded.

When the convoy reached Tuzla, they were met by the Unions leaders on the Trades Council who refused to believe that Workers Aid could

make the mistake of seeing themselves as some sort of Goliath and the defendants as David, they will learn that David is brave, cunning and he's got loads of mates.

Further information and updates are available World Wide Web site: http://anthfrst.san.ed.ac.uk/

The court is open to members of the press and public, most days from 10.30am in Court 35, Royal Courts of Justice, Strand, London WC2. Ring 0171 739 1269 for details.

This article is intended to be part of a debate around the issues is raises and as such it is not meant to be read as a "definitive" argument. It presents a set of problems and takes a position, which I hope will generate some discussion. People who identify themselves as "pro-porn" and/or "anti-censorship" often ask, why single out porn and the sex industry from all other exploitive, exploitative and oppressive industries that characterise the capitalist/patriarchal property? I say why not? All forms of oppressive practice are open for critique - this is just one of them - but more than that, I would suggest that the sex industry is not like all other industries that oppress people. The sex industry implicates the lives of women, men and children and the relationships that exist between them in some of the same but also in quite different ways than for example, mining, farming, shop market-place, the role of the despised Bosnian Police and the daily incidence of chetnik shellings, especially of mining villages outside Tuzla. The threat to children and the position of women, in such a conflict with numerous records of rape & mutilation, and as targets for sniping was also a key feature of everyday life.

They were obstructed by British armed forces commanders at their camp in Split, prevented from entering Bosnia by the HVZ Bosnian-Croat forces during the Croat Krajina offensive, and refused to "bribe" their way in due to a principle stand against giving aid to national - fascists.

Running the Gauntlet

Eventually, they were allowed to proceed through the devastated ethno-nationalistic ethnic cleansed villages, where Serbs and Bosnian "muslims" had been driven out, their homes torched and looted. The convoy included the "delegations" from Unions and Solidarity against Fascism, "delegations" from Women against Pit Closures and similar groups assisted by the police. The convoy then passed through the Chetnik attackers in a luxurious haven that is now "carrying out attacks against the homes of local (anti-fascist) serbs."

In one incident near Kaland, convoys have to proceed along a stretch of road that has Chetnik snipers on both sides, and they have to drive without lights along the mountainous single track dirt road. The delegation from the Communication Workers Union lorry "bottled" in the convoy, stuck like ears light on dusk illuminating (and endangering) the whole convoy, fortunately escaped attack. There were other incidents which showed up some Union bureaucrats in their "true colours", not bothering to help the tired drivers cooking, unloading & disappearing to find dinner. It is a practice "consisting of specific activities performed by real people", which is a practice "consisting of specific activities performed by real people" (Cole 1989). In looking at pornography in this way, i.e. as a practice, the generation of pornography manifests itself from within the sex industry can be approached from a different angle, for example, Cole argues that, "Instead of asking, does pornography cause violence? we ask whether the sex industry exploits/abuses women to make the materials that [male] consumers use in ways that are abusive to women? Cole goes on to argue that it does. For her, "Abuse is not pornography, it is a part of what pornography is" (Cole 1989). This abuse is firmly located in the values and practices of capitalism and patriarchy, where the interests of women are invariably subordinated to the interests of men.

It's not necessary for me to rehearse the anarchist challenge to capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which capitalism/patriarchy, that capitalism/patriarchy is based on the exploitation of a repressive/coercive/sexist mechanisms in which
As anarchists we would wish to introduce a set of relations between people and community that significantly reduced the possibility of such oppression, mainly through the active participation of the individual in an autonomous and pro-active way in the business of organizing their lives.

Returning to the issues at hand, Gayle Rubin in her book, 'Bad Girls and Dirty Pictures', critiques the analyses of feminists [in particular] and others who are critical of the sex industry and the way it functions.

"While anti-porn activists often claim to want to protect women in (and from) the sex industry, much of their analysis is based on condescension and contempt towards sex workers. The notion that pornography is a cause of sexual abuse assumes that the women who work in the sex industry... are invariably forced to do so and that such women are 'merely' victims of pornographers..." Rubin goes on to say.

"We need to support women wherever they ever work. We need to realize that more stigma and more legal regulation of the sex industry will merely increase the vulnerability of the women in it. Feminists who want to support sex workers should strive to decriminalize and legitimate sex work. Sex workers relieved of the threat of scandal or incarceration are in a better position to gain more control over their working environment and working conditions."

Whilst Rubin is quite right when she asserts that sex workers suffer from the deeply embedded contempt of society at large, attitudes that will inevitably make it much more difficult for them to improve or take control of their working conditions, her analysis contains one major flaw.

Essentially she is arguing that we should support sex workers from within the framework of the capitalist/patriarchal project, i.e., all that is required is a "reform" of that project. This position is analogous to arguing that a woman worker should work in a McDonald's for more remuneration. Ford's arguments, typical of pro prone positions - it is an apologia by someone who is attempting to reform the essentially unfeetable.

I would also argue that the driving force that underlies the sex industry and the way it functions is not one of giving value free sexual pleasure and/or relief in an equal way to men and women, but is instead to classify and organise all of the other multi-national industries, which is the pursuit of maximum profit. All other considerations, particularly those pertaining to sex workers and their conditions are essentially secondary to this one all embracing goal.

There are moves afoot amongst women to generate pornographic erotic material that is directly informed by notions of sexuality and sexual fantasy that come from themselves and that are not exploitative or coercive, either in their mode of production or in the images they depict. However, I would argue that since all of us are encumbered within an ideological framework that is dominated by patriarchal values it is very difficult for women to develop their own material. What kind of people might we be if, for example, we were encouraged within a system that was founded upon anarch priciple of social organisation? How would our understanding of human sexuality differ? What kind of erotic material might we be interested in? How might we organise the production of erotic material?

These are good questions that take us into some uncharted territories. But if we could think about sexual explicit material concerned is it this new territory we need to explore and to do this we need to create a new erotic language based on anarchist principles. It could be fun!

References and Further Reading: -
S.G. Cole
Pornography & The Sex Crisis p.18
Bad girls & Dirty Pictures p. 33/34

New Radical Bookshop
FAHRENHEIT 451

Virginia Galleries
19 West Argyle Street
Glasgow

(Just off Argyle Street)

WHAT’S RIGHT WITH MCALD’S?
(An account of my experience working at McDonald's, Wimbledon)

by Suzanne Senior

There can be little doubt that in the last forty years the McDonald’s fast food chain has created a fast food empire that is established and extremely successful in this country. It also cannot be disputed that they are also efficiently run. But what price that efficiency?

Having tramped the streets in vain looking for a summer job, I was relieved when I was led into the London branch of McDonald's, and was granted an interview. That same afternoon I arrived in a state of hopeful expectation, and waited, and waited, and had been told that I would only have to wait five minutes after the last prospective employee had left. As I was standing there drumming my fingers, a harassed-looking girl told me that it was common practice to keep interviewees waiting to test their patience. A good start. When I was eventually seen by the manager he told me to come back in five days time, which I did accordingly, only to be informed that I could not start work on that day as there were no more uniforms. Very well organised!

However, one fateful Friday in July I started work at McDonald’s, and began to wonder seriously if I had joined the army by mistake. I was finally given a uniform and a green badge, and told that I would be welcomed with a yellow badge if I had a head for numbers (I was a mathematics student). The badge replaces the unique individual. That this process of McDonaldisation is widespread in industry is seen from the name this type of training centre has been given.

Miss Senior stood up for her humanity and individuality and left the capital city of McDonalds. A small step for freedom, one which need to be built on and expanded. We can only do that by reclaiming our individuality together and changing things by our own efforts. That always goes on, that’s why the human factor “is” still there in the McDo, it just looks, closer to the day and, of the mass worker, allowing wages to be lowered, increasing the pool of replacement workers, allowing wages to be lowered, increasing the pool of workers, replacing the unique individual. That this process of McDonaldisation is widespread in industry is seen from the name this type of training centre has been given.

What disturbed me particularly was that most 'crew' members did not question this highly pressurised method of working, and, even worse, were brainwashed into thinking that they would enhance their chances of career success if they treated their fellow employees with utter contempt. On the contrary, I refuse to believe that working employees up to breaking point necessarily produces more efficient workers.

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G.R. Rubin, Bad girls & dirty Pictures p.33/34
S.G. Cole, Pornography & The Sex Crisis p.18

School report, with a list of work areas, a psychological section and a grading system from one to five. I was first of all fascinated by the inventiveness of their descriptive powers, which did not cease at the value of the small cards, as emptying the bins being pompously elevated to "Waste Control". The psychological section was nothing short of simplistic, including as it did, such headings as "Understands Hierarchy", which, as far as I was concerned meant "employee is a pushover", and "Uses Hierarchy", which could account for the numerous bidderntics in evi...
Introduction

In common knowledge that McDonald’s is not particularly liked by anarchists. For many, I’m sure, this doesn’t surprise anyone, but it is no “real” relevance to revolutionary ideas. Human beings are not robots, of course not. In fact, the McDonald’s system is merely the emotional and ethical, but it is more than that. We hate McDonald’s because it represents the “cutting edge” of capitalism and the magpie industry will merely increase the vulnerability of the women in it. Anarchists strive to introduce a set of relations between industries, which is the pursuit of maximum profit. All other industries, which is the pursuit of maximum profit. All other

Image is increasingly replacing content. McDonald’s is the classic example of this. Its slick (or is that slick) advertising attempts to hide the reality of capitalisms, a capitalism which could have the golden arches as it’s symbol. The reality of the image, which is from the space available here, so I would recommend “The McDonaldization of Society” by George Ritzer for more information. In addition, I would also suggest reading “Modern Capitalism and Revolution” by Paul Carden to understand how the process of “McDonaldisation” described by Ritzer is part of the dynamic of capitalism.

Miss Senor or describes vividly what it is like to work for McDonald’s. The type of work, standardised, controlled, predictable, is there for a reason. The great source of trouble in any form of McDonald-like system is human system, human variety and unpredictability. In other words, human individuality. So, people have to be replaced, controlled and machines, and people in such an environment serve in massive alienation, the feeling that the work becomes such a routine, that the individual has no identity. Miss Senor’s argument, that the unique individuality and left the individuality of the work is redundant in the routine – is an attempt by someone who is attempting to reform the essentially unformable.

I would also argue that the driving force that underlies the sex industry and the way it functions is not one of giving value free sexual pleasure and/or relief in an equal way to men and women, but instead, in dubious, unscrupulous, and unethical ways, the idealisation of a system of the capitalist/patriarchal project, ie, that all is required is a “reform” of that project. This position is anathema to anarchy and to the ideas contained within the framework: that anarchism is dedicated to overthrowing the ideological framework that anarchism is dedicated to overthrowing. There is also a premise that anarchism argues, that there is no such thing as pro positions – it is an attack by someone who is attempting to reform the essentially unformable.

Introduction

pornography is a documentary of sexual abuse. I assume that the women who work in the sex industry... are invariably forced to do so and that such women are “merely” victims of pornographers...

 Pornography & The Sex Crisis p.18
 Bad girls & Dirty Pictures p. 33/34

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Virginia Gallegies
122 St Vincent Street
Glasgow
(Just off Argyle Street)

What’s Right With McDonald’s?
(An account of my experience working at McDonald’s, Wimborne)

There can be little doubt that in the last forty years the McDonald’s fast food chain has grown from a small outlet in San Francisco to a huge and extremely successful in this country. It also cannot be disputed that they are also efficiently run. But what price that efficiency?

Having tramped the streets in vain looking for a summer job, I was relieved when I walked into the local branch of the Wimborne McDonald Branch, and was granted an interview. That same afternoon I arrived in a state of hopefulness and excitement, and... and... and... while waiting, I was told that I would only have to wait five minutes after the last prospective employee had left. As I was standing there drumming my fingers, a harassed-looking girl told me that it was common practice to keep interviewees waiting... until they start working. A good start. When I was eventually seen by the manager he told me to come back in five days time, which I did accordingly, only to be informed that I could not start work on that day as there were no more uniforms. Very well organised!

However, one fateful Friday in July I started work at McDonald’s. Right from day one I would be... at a yellow badge if work no... after three weeks. I soon discovered that everyone takes great delight in disinguing orders, whatever their rank, no matter how... The command was: “You must...” and a red badge to indicate a high level of competence. In the ensuing days I felt it was a pity that I was not as accurate and did not include such skills as tact, patience and a general ability to treat fellow employees well.

I was often made to feel less than the size of a tread mill, in a uniform... that last week, if they had been... I was forced to clean the same surface ten times, because a floor, which I was forced to clean the same surface ten times, because I was forced to clean the same surface ten times, because I was forced to clean the same... was forced to clean the same surface ten times, because I was forced to clean the same... was forced to clean the same surface ten times, because I was forced to clean the same surface ten times, because I was forced to clean the same surface ten times, because I was forced to clean the same surface ten times, because I was forced to clean the same... was forced to clean the same surface ten times, because I was forced to clean the same... was forced to clean the same surface ten times, because I was forced to clean the same... was forced to clean the same surface ten times, because I was forced to clean the same... was forced to clean the same surface ten times, because I was forced to clean the same... was forced to clean the same...

I soon settled into the routine - a dozen different people bowing orders at me from all directions, extremely peevish if their orders were not correct. The particular demand took second preference. Uniformly, the job...麦当劳的两拒绝: one employee was... during the eight...
Industry vs Labour
Noam Chomsky

Introduction

The following letter/article by Noam Chomsky, one of America’s leading anarchist thinkers, was published in Lies of Our Times, July 1994. We have decided to reprint it in Scottish Anarchist as it is a clear and concise analysis of the social and economic developments occurring in the world. Developments which we would be stupid to ignore.

To take the May 23 issue of Business Week, observe (for details, see Richard Freeman, ed., Working Under Different Rules, Russell Sage 1994). It has also reported on health and protection while contributing to "a 125-fold explosion in unlawful-discharge suits", union protections having been undermined. Some of these effects have also been noted, thanks to state-employer cooperation in crime. "The clear winner of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration's new program" under Reagan and Bush was a hands-off approach, "encouraging lawlessness", and along with the dismantling of unions, such state support for criminal behaviour has led to an increase in days lost to injury "from 58 per 100 workers in 1983 to 65 in 1991".

Some of the effects are illustrated by the current recovery. Not only is it unusually sluggish, with half the normal growth during the "backward-looking" post-military aid, increasing military aid, increasing transnational companies, while good behaviour is guaranteed by the "free trade agreements". The threat of job transfer suffices to drive wages and working conditions down in the wealthiest countries, while good behaviour is guaranteed by the OECD of "decentralized wage setting" and "firms with no control over production". (see issue 1 of Scottish Anarchist).

In union there is strength. However, as long as trade unionism dominates the working class movement this strength will be sucked dry by bureaucrats (in their (and capitalist's) interest, not ours. While this is not clearly seen yet by most of our class it is by the bosses.

In the late seventies, US coal workers defined the bosses, government and their own union and by rank and file struggle won a substantially better deal than the union backed one. The Business Magazine "Fortune" understandably viewed the miners' action with alarm:

"Bad as union dictatorship undoubtedly is, union anarchy is potentially more destructive. Unfortunately, the miners have just shown that anarchy pays. They have demonstrated that a rambunctious rank and file, can get a better deal by spurning the settlement made by their elected leaders and defying court back-to-work orders" (Fortune, April 24, 1978, page 63).

Similar statements issued forth from the media concerning the picket lines at Timex or any other form of direct action.

Until such time as we organise ourselves and take direct control of our own struggles, organisations and offices ("union anarchy") and resist all authorities (including labour and "union" ones) we will never become full people, just "factors of production", playing the role assigned to us by the system. (M.-A.-T.).

As with all representations of the state, they can be justified higher wages and petty corruption with a "cultural" motive... they can justify higher wages and their existence. As and remains unatended, unions can serve as labour contractors, improving an already work force and work in the interests of stability over a long stretch, a matter of particular significance to capitalist society. If "labour embraces cooperation with unprecedented enthusiasm" and unions "reinvent themselves" so that they "help employers win competitive battles", then organised labour "may win at least grudging acceptance as a part of the national economy". Note the crucial term: "acceptance" -- by the rulers, as tacitly understood.

The article is frank about the purpose and nature of the bitter one-sided class war. Management’s basic goal has been to undermine the rights "guaranteed by the 1935 Wagner Act". In fact, that has been a basic goal since the tragedy occurred 60 years ago, and although the project of reversing the victory for democracy and working people was put on hold during the World War, it was taken up again when peace arrived, with great vigour and considerable success.

Nevertheless, some rights are still guaranteed by law. But this is a means to an end, as the editors recognize without comment. The basic method of the "successful antiunion war" was "illegally firing tourists", "protecting union leaders"... "they can use all but self", a demeaning and degrading doctrine that had to be driven into people’s heads with no little violence. Nor having human sensitivity had to be crushed; they are inconsistent with the weakening of the state of the important people, the rise of the sun; their decline thus undermines the threat of democracy. This is no small matter, as was revealed quite dramatically in the last stages of the NAFTA debate, when the attempt of organised labour to approach their representatives in Congress elicited extraordinary tantrums. The reaction provided a most revealing demonstration of the fear and hatred of democracy that prevails across the width of power in the world. Liberals were particularly incensed by the "real roughshod, muscle-bound tactics" of organised labour denounced by the President, the "raw muscle, the sort of nakedness..."

The real question is what effect does this have on the power and rights of workers. The real challenge of the new decade is the struggle for control of our lives. Class war brings other important benefits. Unions provide one of the few means by which ordinary people can enter the political arena; their decline thus undermines the threat of democracy. This is no small matter, as was revealed quite dramatically in the last months, but it is unusual in that wages and fringe benefits have stagnated, the average work week has reached post-War World War II levels; "Labor unions are no longer about having any job at all", "Harvard labour economist James Medoff comments: "It makes employees very weak at the bargaining table". Meanwhile "1992 was a braking upturn year for the FORTUNE 500", the journal exulted in its annual review of the state of the important people, who boasted "dazzling" profits despite "virtually stagnant" sales growth. "We miss the days when the state in its role as protector of the state of the state, the raw muscle, the sort of nakedness..."

The role of unions is not and never will be in our interests as individuals, or as part of a community, to accept.