

FREEDOM

anarchist fortnightly

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50p

What a farce

Here are some things everyone agrees on about the US election. Voter turnout was 51%, the third worst ever. \$3 billion was spent on the presidential and congressional races, making this the most expensive election in history. Gore got more votes nationally than Bush did, though by a tiny margin.

Here are some things nobody has denied. Florida's approach to elections is, to put it mildly, relaxed. Several polling stations never opened at all. There were numerous incidents of black voters being intimidated or refused a vote (93% of black people who did vote backed Gore). Billie Young in Tamarac was refused a vote because, she was told, she had been registered dead. Ballot boxes went missing. A manual recount was stopped after a mob paid and bussed in by the Republicans broke it up and chased observers from the building, while Republican officials in Seminole County altered ballot papers by hand after they had been cast. To cap it all there was the confusion of the 'butterfly ballot'. Nobody can deny that this was in a state ruled by George W. Bush's brother Jeb and that the Secretary of State responsible was a Republican politician who fancied a job in W's cabinet. The judges hearing the appeals in state and federal courts were also political figures, in hock to one party or the other. Florida may be the sunshine state, but southern bushes cast long shadows and all sorts of things happen out of the light.

Fraud or incompetence, it made the news only because of the wafer-thin margin between the candidates. It happens in every Florida election but usually goes unreported. What would we find in other states, exposed to the same scrutiny? Hell, it could be like this everywhere, every time, and we'd never know any different.

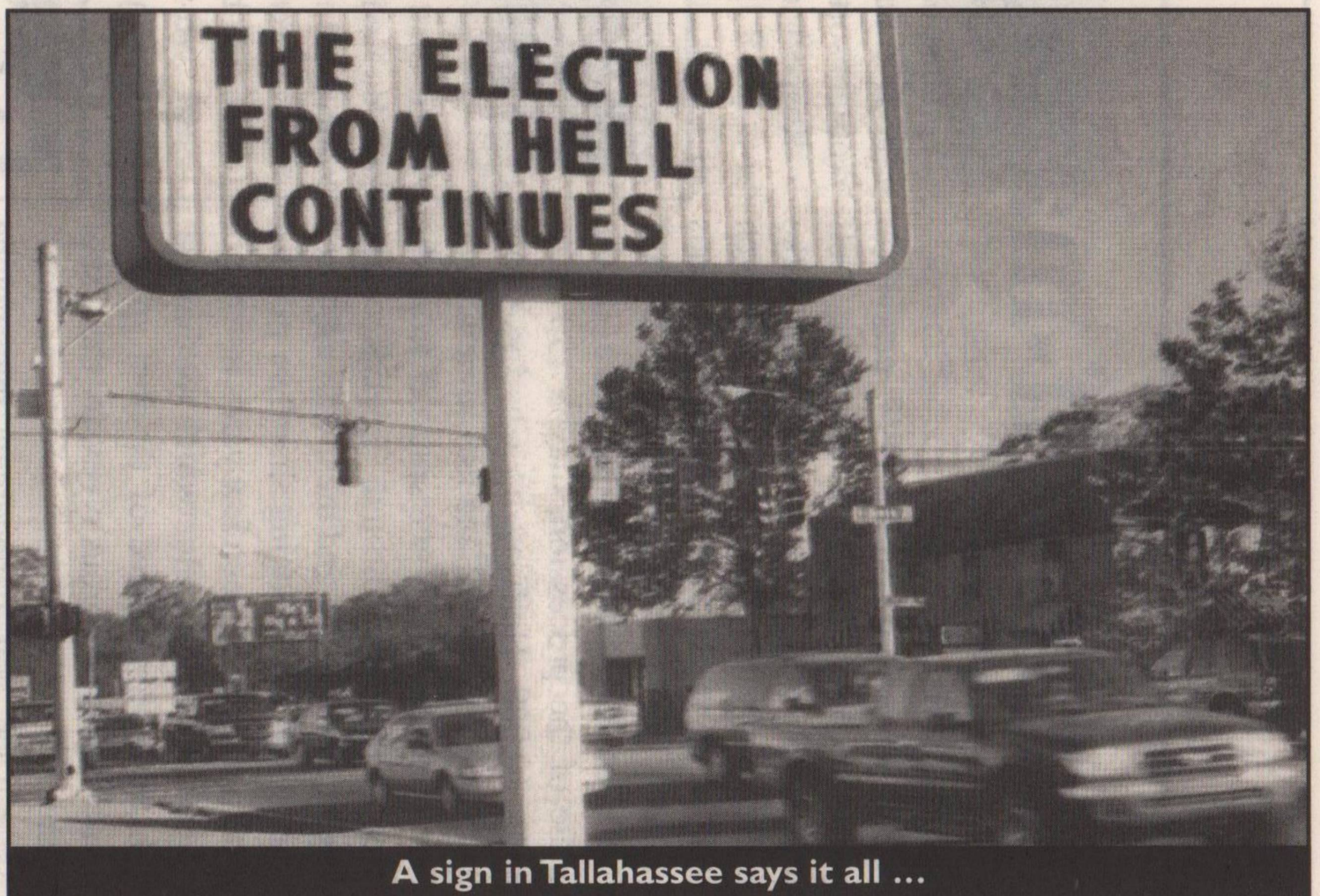
"The people have spoken, but it's going to take a while to work out what they said" was the joke; but almost from the start voices on all sides urged Gore to concede, whatever

the merits of his case. "I want Al Gore to win this election, but more than that I want somebody to win this election ... think of the country, the continuity of its government, its stability". And that was a Democratic senator talking. The inescapable logic is that it doesn't matter what the people want. Just get out of the way for the sake of America. Which is certainly what would have happened, until Gore's surprise court victory at the end of last week.

The inmates of death row in Texas will be happy to see the back of Bush. This blethering buffoon has signed 150 death warrants since 1995. He'll be warmly welcomed in Washington by the oil magnates, gun manufacturers, tobacco giants and evangelical screwballs who paid so much money to get him elected. Like any election, the other real winner besides business is political ambition. When the legal battles began the *Washington Post* said "the test is whether the candidates value anything higher than their ambition" – a daft thing to say. Of course they don't. They're politicians and they'll do whatever they must to get power. During the campaign Gore claimed to

represent the 'little man' from a platform paid for (nearly \$300 million) by big business. Bush claimed credit for a Texas patients' rights law which he had in fact opposed for the sake of the pharmaceuticals industry. They needed the money and business provided it. End of story.

Money doesn't talk, it swears. In this election like in all elections, capitalism has blown a fat raspberry in the face of its victims, the people. By going out to vote, all 51% of them, they gave legitimacy to the farce. But 51% are the majority, and democracy is the ludicrous idea that we go along with something simply because having a majority in favour makes it right. We don't agree. The system is crap, majority or no majority. We don't need bosses to tell us what to do and we reject the right of the majority to impose their low self-esteem on us. The best thing, in our opinion, would've been for Bush and Gore to slog it out for the presidency in a nude mudwrestling match. That would, just conceivably, have been more fun to watch but we still wouldn't want to be ruled by either of them. The real pity is that in the end they couldn't both lose.



A sign in Tallahassee says it all ...

Freedom

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Tying our hands

*Thy country's curse is on thee!
Justice sold,
Truth trampled, nature's landmarks overthrown,
And heaps of fraud-accumulated gold,
Plead, loud as thunder, at Destruction's throne.*

Percy Bysshe Shelley, *To the Lord Chancellor* (1816)

Shelley's words from the nineteenth century could equally come to be read as an indictment of our New Labour government, in the first years of the 21st century. As the rail network collapses around us, Tony Blair and Gordon Brown look forward to the sell-off of the national air traffic control service and the London Underground. (In opposition Blair described the sell-off of the public utilities by the Tories as "the closest thing, post-war, to political corruption". What many of us – even the most cynical – failed to realise at the time, though, was that he appears to have meant this as an endorsement!) Even Jimmy Reid – a man who has spent most of his political life telling trade union militants that the best thing that they could do was work towards the election of a Labour government – appears now to have realised what this government represents. Writing recently in *The Guardian*, Reid condemned New Labour's sabotaging of the inclusion of a section on workers' rights into the European Union's Charter of Fundamental Human Rights, and their subsequent manoeuvring to have any such inclusion be 'non-binding' on member states. Reid notes that New Labour is now recognised as "the arch enemy of trade unionism in Europe" and condemns the "sales pitch for encouraging investment in the United Kingdom" – "Come to Britain, under New Labour, and get yourself a shackled and tamed workforce". More importantly, he goes on to argue that "New Labour now has the gall to ask British trade unions to give an additional eight million quid to its war chest for the next election. It

stabs them in the back; it stabs them in the front, while taking their money. That's mugging by another name. For the unions to give this lot a penny would be an act of masochism and not trade unionism. To give them eight million would be lunacy."

We've called many times for trade union activists to fight to pull the plug on a government that has sought to preside over the low-wage anti-union economy (with, at the end of 1999 according to Joseph Rowntree Foundation figures, a quarter of the population living in poverty). To find that call echoed by Jimmy Reid feels like a minor miracle. (Luckily the response of a succession of trade union bureaucrats writing in response killed any nascent belief in water into wine, healed lepers and the resurrection of the dead. MSF General Secretary Roger Lyons rushed to drool over "this Labour government [which has] delivered many new rights for working people. These include the national minimum wage ... increased employment and increased investment in public services". The minimum wage is set below the EU poverty threshold, public spending is down on the Major years, and job creation under New Labour has been predominantly low paid and casualised. Still, Roger's probably got 'wet-brain' from the 'expenses' he'd poured down his neck out of his members' subs, so perhaps too much to expect him to grasp any of this.)

There could, though, be no better illustration of that combination of opportunities and authoritarianism which is New Labour's hallmark than its response to the tragic death of Damilola Taylor. No sooner had the ten-year-old's blood begun to dry than Jack Straw descended like Nosferatu onto the streets of Peckham seeking to use the child's death as a platform to launch New Labour's electoral pledge to introduce curfews for teenagers and force children under ten to sign 'acceptable behaviour contracts'. (As Damilola was

stabbed at about 4.45 in the afternoon it's difficult to see what difference a curfew would have made, unless Straw wants children curfewed fifteen minutes after they leave school!) New Labour intends to scare the middle classes into voting for them again by promoting its proposed attack on 'job culture'. By 'job culture' we're presumably to conclude is meant something other than the culture of the bourgeoisie – perhaps a kind of cultural fungus that grows in the stairwells of housing estates like the North Peckham. Strange then that the breakdown of solidarity on the North Peckham can be substantially attributed to the deliberately-engineered unemployment of the Thatcher years, and the dismantling of state welfare provision and disinvestment in working class estates which began under the Tories but continued under New Labour, and was overseen (and 'overseer' is perhaps the most appropriate term for the mentality of some of Southwark's councillors) for the most part by a Labour council. Whatever communal solidarity remained was destroyed by Southwark council's 'regeneration' of the area, which resulted in the bulldozing of the North Peckham estate and the mass decanting of tenants without any proper consultation with those tenants as to the future of their community. Is it not also the case that the promotion of 'gangsterism' as a youth culture is engineered by entertainment empires like EMI and Epic and that the growth in conspicuous consumerism (and hence street robbery) owes as much to the advertising budgets and exploitative intent of Motorola, Orange, Nike and Adidas as any 'culture' peculiar to the streets of such areas?

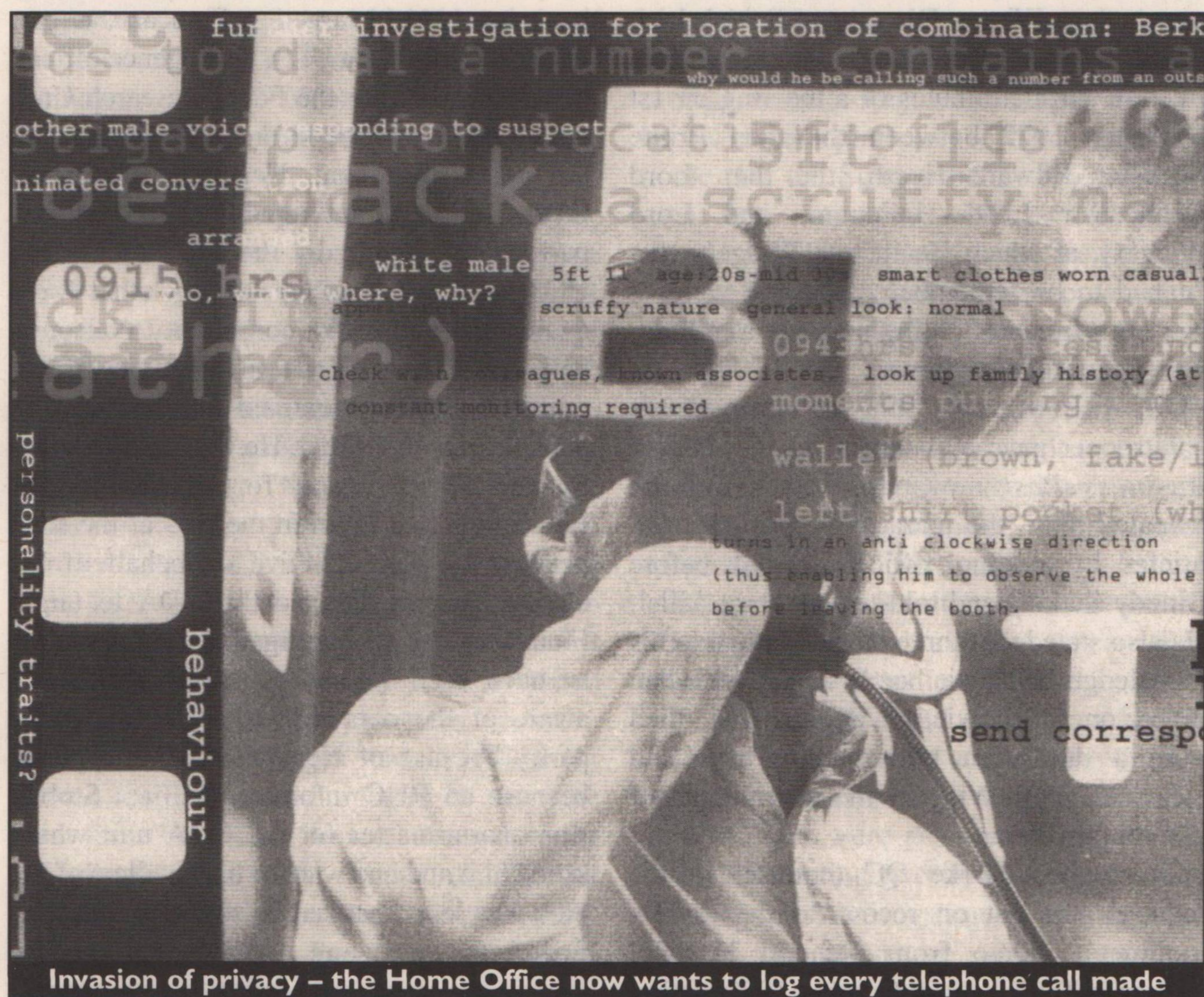
Up the Oswald Boateng-designed sleeves of our New Labour lords and masters next time round are such libertarian delights as fixed penalty fines for drunkenness, police powers to seize bottles, glasses and cans, local council powers to ban drinking in public places, and measures to introduce a 'two strikes and you're out' approach to benefit fraud. The DSS and Inland Revenue will also be given wider powers to access bank, utility firm and insurance details in pursuit of such fraud. If the policy of the Tory years was, in essence, to re-discipline a 'desubordinate' working class through the smashing of its organised manifestation in the trade union movement, the essence of New Labour appears to be the re-tooling of the state (Terrorism Act, Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act, Mode of Trial Bill) to ensure it has the upper hand in any social conflict to come, and the manufacture of a climate of social authoritarianism such as to ensure that such 'desubordination' is disciplined out of the workshy poor. For New Labour, there is no aspect of social life beyond the reach of the state.

Taking this to the point of absurdity, Britain's intelligence agencies are now circulating a paper within the Home Office which argues for powers to log every telephone call made and store the information for up to seven years. The document is

written by Roger Gaspar, the deputy director general of the National Criminal Intelligence Service, and argues that such powers are necessary to tackle the growth of 'organised crime'. The move to increased surveillance in the UK is matched by increased efforts to develop an EU-FBI telecommunications surveillance system (as at, for instance, the 27th-28th May 1999 meeting of the EU Justice and Home Affairs Council), increased exchange of Europol surveillance data with non-EU states, a reported increase in telephone-tapping and mail-opening in England and Wales by the intelligence agencies – 1,763 warrants in 1998 (the highest ever recorded), and a new three-year £153 million CCTV programme announced by the Home Office in 1999. Capital, in seeking to free itself, as we're so often told, from space and time (but really from face-to-face conflict with organised labour) has moved to bring about the denial of all non-surveyed space. Space is potentially space to organise, and such space has to be closed down.

There follows from all of this a simple conclusion. It is not, though, a conclusion that the pro-state left have begun to draw. The state, as Ricardo Flores Magon once explained, exists to "maintain disorder, that is, to maintain political and social inequality, to maintain the privileges of the ruling class and the submission of the ruled". The capitalist state, therefore, has two tasks – to facilitate the organisation of the ruling class and the disorganisation of the exploited class. Bourgeois democracy rests on a fraud of participation, which masks the fundamental inequality of capitalism – inequality of property – with the fake equality of the ballot box. Increasingly, as deterritorialised capital realises it is more vulnerable, not less, to the actions of the working class, it combines the democratic pretence with an expansion of its formerly 'exceptional' powers into the sphere of everyday life. Hence the increase in, for instance, state surveillance. We can comment cynically that, under new Labour, such mass surveillance as is currently proposed will end in farce with the whole project subbed out by the Home Office to some champion of inefficiency as IT-Net. The point is, though, that in consideration of all of the above – to seek to lobby the state, to reform it, to plead with it to respect our privacy – is the politics of fools. To subvert the state, to seek to outwit it, to frustrate its attempts at surveillance and, ultimately, to abolish it is the politics not of utopians but realists. If the state is the guarantor of the exploitation of man by man, any challenge to such exploitation must also be a challenge to the state and if it sees the state as a vehicle to pursue the end of exploitation it will be doomed from its inception. So too any attempts to negotiate to set different limits for the invasion of our privacy by the state. It amounts to asking the enemy to engage in combat with one hand tied behind them and, in the illusions sowed by asking, ties our hands instead.

Nick S.



Invasion of privacy – the Home Office now wants to log every telephone call made

ORGANISED VIOLENCE

Max Stirner once wrote that “the state calls its own violence law, but that of the individual crime”. The current inquiry into the murder by the British state of thirteen unarmed demonstrators on Bloody Sunday, 20th January 1972, has already made public sufficient information about the events leading up to the deaths to have made the extent to which law exists as a gloss over the violence of the state explicit.

We should remember that the current inquiry has resulted entirely from the years of campaigning of the relatives of the Bloody Sunday victims, who have refused to accept the earlier report of then Lord Chief Justice, Lord Widgery, which concluded, against all the evidence, that “as many rounds were fired at the troops as were fired by them”. The Bloody Sunday deaths took place in the context of a civil rights march organised by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, which had brought between 15,000 to 20,000 onto the streets to protest at the process of internment without trial which had been introduced in August 1971. Involved in the ‘policing’ of the march were 1,800 British soldiers, including 320 members of the 1st Battalion of the Parachute Regiment. The troops had been used to prevent the demonstration entering Derry town centre. Groups of young men who hurled stones at the troops were met with CS gas, rubber bullets or water cannon. (If all of this smacks of the kind of treatment meted out to civil rights demonstrators in the American south or apartheid South Africa, that just might be because the Six County state was, like them, a gerrymandered state founded on the systematic discrimination against and suppression of a section of its population – in this case the Catholic communities of the Six Counties.)

As the rally got under way, at 3.45pm, British soldiers began suddenly to fire on demonstrators at William Street, injuring two (one of whom, John Johnston, died six months later). Fifteen minutes later, the Paras swarmed into the Bogside and opened fire, killing thirteen and seriously wounding fourteen more.

In the House of Commons the next day, Home Secretary Reginald Maudling lied to the House in telling it that British troops only opened fire after being fired upon themselves. Bernadette Devlin MP – who had been due to address the rally at Free Derry Corner – tried to intervene but was denied the opportunity to speak. Eventually, sickened by the whole affair, she crossed the floor to the front bench, struck Maudling, and walked out of the House. The Widgery inquiry was an attempt to respond to the international outcry which followed Bloody Sunday by putting the blame for the killings back on the nationalist community, with the establishment closing ranks and sticking to its line that some of those killed were on a security force ‘wanted list’ and that, in any event, ‘our boys’ came under fire first.

Unfortunately for the British state, not everyone was prepared to play ball. At the inquest into the deaths in 1973, the Coroner, Major Hubert O’Neill concluded: “This Sunday became known as Bloody Sunday and bloody it was. It was quite unnecessary. It strikes me that the Army ran amok that day and shot without thinking what they were doing. They were shooting innocent people. These people may have been taking part in a march that was banned but that does not justify the troops coming in and firing live rounds indiscriminately. I would say without hesitation that it was sheer unadulterated murder. It was murder.”

Information in the Coroner’s Report suggests it is possible to go much further that O’Neill allows – all the deceased were men and the majority of them died as a result of single, aimed shots to the head or upper part of the body, indicating, as writer and human

rights activist Bill Rolston has observed, “this did not look like a situation which got out of hand but rather like a premeditated and ruthless military operation” (Bill Rolston in *Unfinished Business*, Beyond the Pale Publications, 2000 – Rolston’s book is the most comprehensive attempt to date to detail the extent of British army/RUC/Intelligence involvement in killings in the north of Ireland).

Were it not for the tenacity of the relatives of those killed, the Widgery Report would have allowed the British state to absolve itself of responsibility for the thirteen dead. The Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign was formed in 1992 with three aims:

- that the British government should publicly and unambiguously exonerate those killed and injured;
- that the British government publicly repudiate the Widgery Report;
- that those responsible for the murders and attempted murders on the streets of Derry on 30th January 1972 be brought to justice.

On 29th January 1999 Tony Blair finally announced a new inquiry into Bloody Sunday, to be chaired by Lord Saville of Newdigate. Hopes of the families of those killed that the Inquiry would result in any kind of justice were quickly diminished when, after Saville ruled that soldiers who gave evidence to the inquiry would not be allowed anonymity, the seventeen soldiers who had fired live rounds on the day took their case to the High Court, which overturned Saville’s decision. The soldiers were backed in their campaign by then Defence Secretary (now NATO secretary) George Robertson (so much for impartiality – New Labour concedes the inquiry, but its ministers immediately rally to the cause of those whose conduct the inquiry ought to seek to question). Lt Col Derek Wilford, the officer in charge of the Paras on the day, told the *Daily Mail*: “I have no regrets about what we did. If that situation existed again, I would do the same.”

As the Saville Inquiry began it was revealed that most of the weapons used to fire live rounds in 1972 had been destroyed by the army. There were ten military photographers on duty on Bloody Sunday. The MoD had destroyed all photographs taken of the march. Jane Winter, Director of British Irish Rights Watch, unearthed in the Public Records Office minutes of a meeting on 1st February 1972 between the then Prime Minister Edward Heath, the then Lord Chancellor Lord Hailsham, and Lord Widgery, at which Heath told Widgery that “it had to be remembered that we were in Northern Ireland fighting not only a military war but a propaganda war.”

On 16th March 1999 an anonymous paratrooper gave a statement to the *Sunday Business Post* newspaper in which he revealed that the paratroopers had been briefed by a senior officer the day before Bloody Sunday and told to ‘get some kills’. He also stated that three of the victims to his knowledge had their hands in the air when killed; one of the victims at least was killed with a dum-dum bullet; the Paras had concealed from Widgery the real number of live rounds fired.

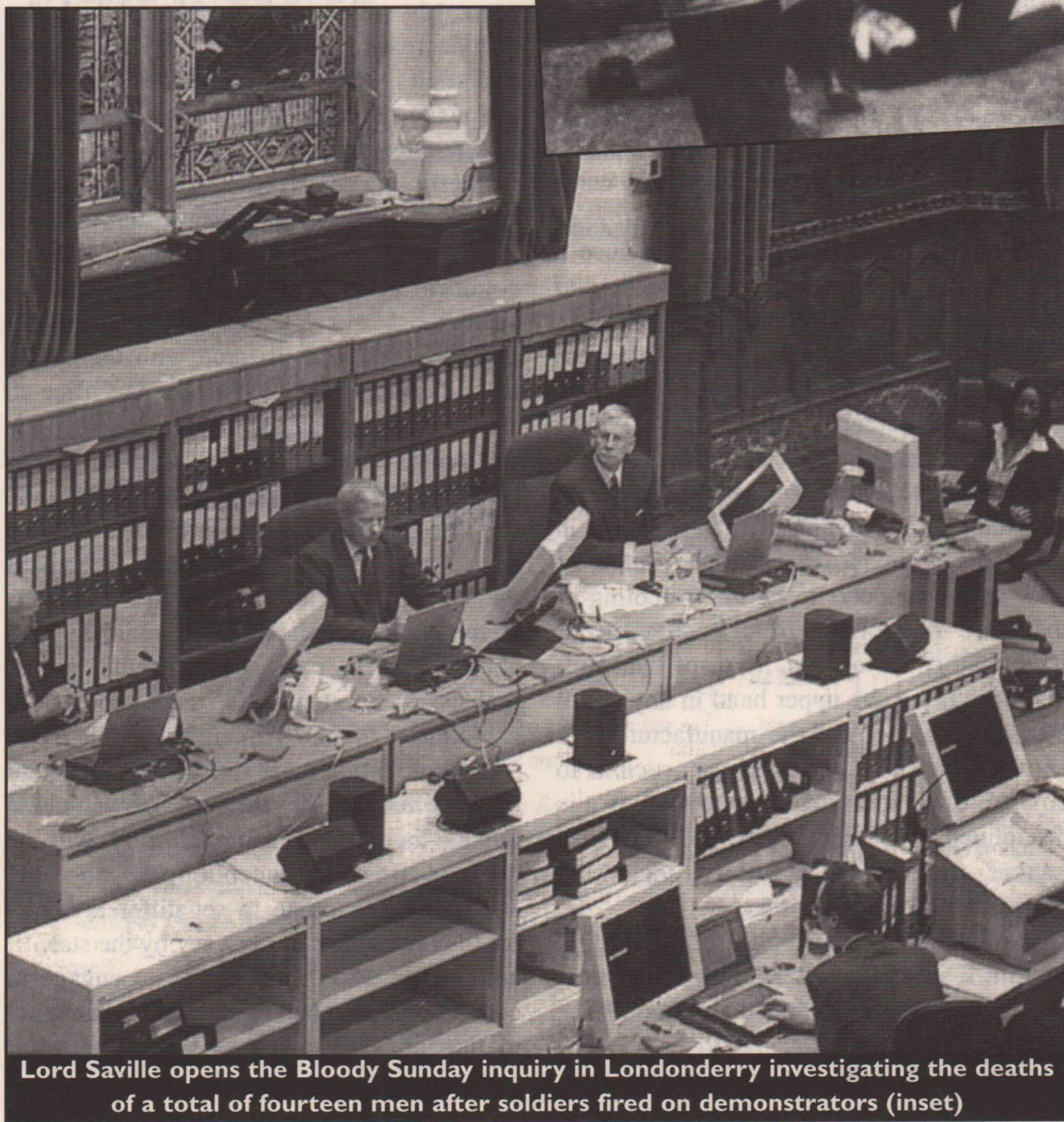
Christopher Clarke QC (counsel to the inquiry) has put on record to the Saville inquiry a memo from General Michael Carver to Ted Heath in October 1972 stating

that: “It may become imperative to go into the Bogside and root out the terrorists and hooligans.” Clarke also detailed a memo by General Robert Ford after a visit to Derry on 7th January 1972 in which Ford states: “I am coming to the conclusion that the minimum force necessary to achieve a restoration of law and order is to shoot selected ring leaders amongst the DYH (Derry young hooligans) after clear warnings have been issued.” A local Derry man gave to the Saville inquiry tapes he had made of British army radio messages including one in which a British officer tells a soldier “Shoot him dead” when the soldier sees an unarmed man he suspects of involvement in rioting.

Lord Gifford QC, representing the family of one of the victims, Jim Wray, has quoted to the inquiry testimony from a former Para as follows: “One night in January 1972 I was sitting with the rest of my muckers of the anti-tank platoon in the barracks when our lieutenant informed us that we were due for an operation in Londonderry the following day ... We were all in high spirits and our lieutenant said let us teach those guys a lesson and get some ‘kills’ tomorrow. To the mentality of the blokes he was speaking to that was tantamount to an order.” Perhaps most significantly, Gifford has referred to a further memo from General Ford – then second in command in Northern Ireland – to Sir Harry Tuzo, general officer commanding in the province, in which he states that in shooting “selected ringleaders” the army would merely be reverting “to the methods of internal security found successful on many occasions overseas”. In other words, the British state’s response to a revolt by the citizens of one part of what was – as the likes of Heath, Callaghan and Thatcher never tired of reiterating – “still part of the British isles” – was to revert to the counter-insurgency techniques practised against anti-colonial struggles in India and against the Mau Mau in Kenya – to deliberately employ lethal force against a section of the ‘British’ population.

Nor is it the case that Bloody Sunday was a one-off. The killings of solicitors Pat Finucane and Rosemary Nelson have attracted some (minimal) press coverage because the evidence of state involvement in directing Loyalist assassins in these cases is too great to ignore. Pat Finucane was a successful and committed Belfast lawyer. On 12th February 1989 two Loyalist killers sledge-hammered down his front door and shot him once with an automatic rifle and thirteen times with a Browning 9mm pistol. In 1992 a British agent, Brian Nelson, revealed that he had been involved in targeting Finucane as part of his activities as a UDA intelligence officer. Nelson worked for the Force Research Unit, which ran a hundred informers and agents in the north of Ireland. Nelson’s role in the UDA was to target republican activists as part of an attempt by the FRU to use the UDA as a proxy in employing lethal force against the nationalist community. Nelson is believed to have been involved in fifteen murders, fifteen attempted murders and 62 conspiracies to murder. He was paid £28,000 by the British state for his work. Pat Finucane was a thorn in the side of the state because he was effective on behalf of his clients. Nelson directed the UDA to target Finucane. British intelligence (which claims to have used Nelson to ‘save’ lives) was aware of the operation to kill Finucane – partly because of Nelson’s role, and partly because an RUC informer, William Stobie, was quartermaster for the UDA unit which killed him and had warned his handlers of the plot. The least that can be said was that they failed to intervene to stop Finucane’s

(continued on page 7)



Lord Saville opens the Bloody Sunday inquiry in Londonderry investigating the deaths of a total of fourteen men after soldiers fired on demonstrators (inset)

'Protest and Survive': The Bridge

Below: the outside of the bridge as seen from Angel Alley. Left is the Whitechapel Art Gallery viewed through the bridge from the bookshop, and below left is the Freedom Press Bookshop as viewed from the gallery.



Photos: Jen Kathrens

The 'Protest and Survive' exhibition attracted wide press coverage, but the art critics as a whole ignored both bridge and bookshop. Now we don't claim to know much about art but, in our opinion, the bookshop and the

bridge were the most memorable features of the exhibition.

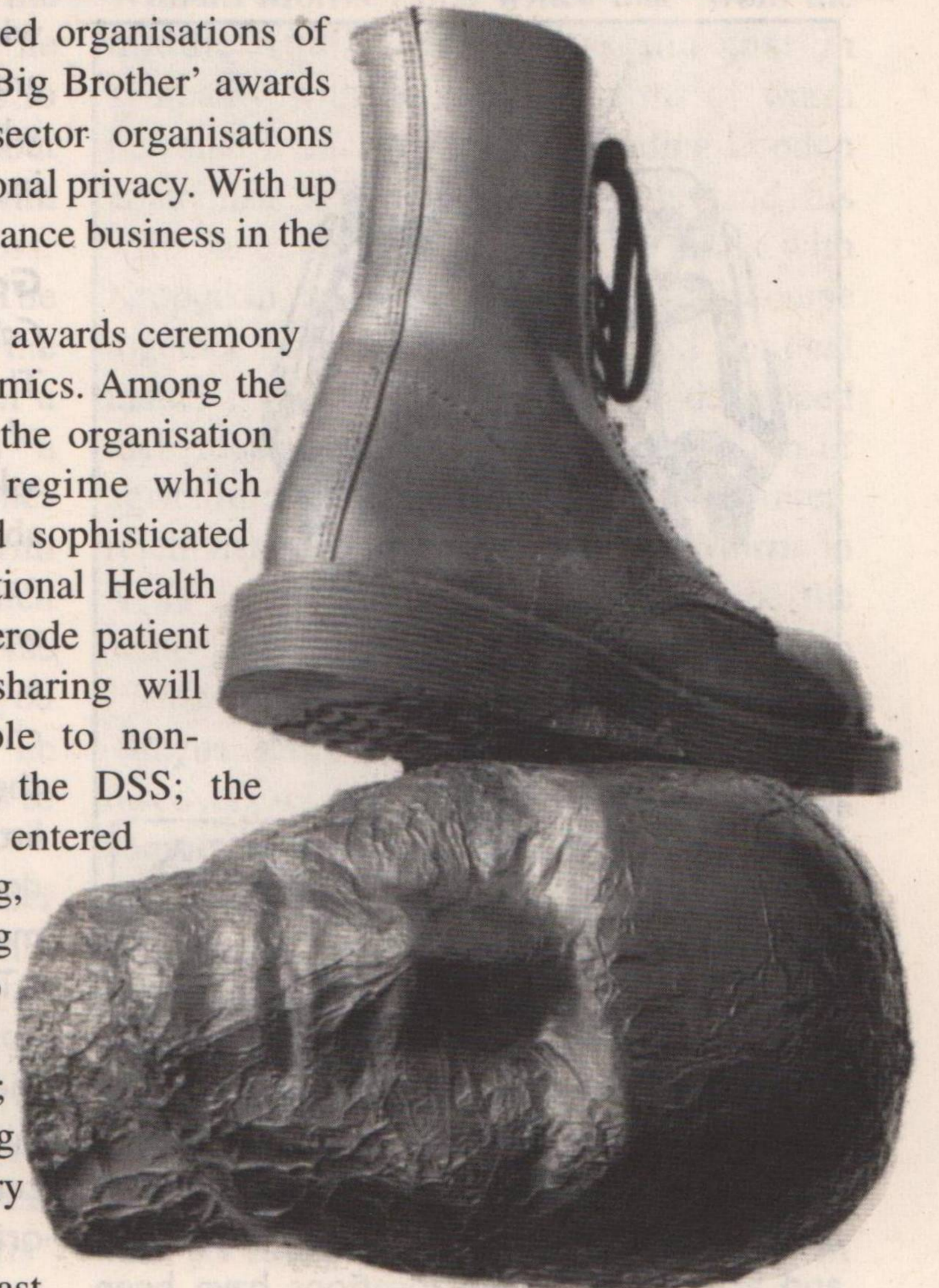
Anyway, you'll soon be able to judge for yourselves because the bridge-builder Thomas Hirschhorn is producing a whole book about it, including graphics and tape-recorded interviews. It isn't a Freedom Press book, but we'll certainly be selling it.

Privacy International presents the ... 'Big Brother' awards

Each year the members and affiliated organisations of Privacy International present the 'Big Brother' awards to the government and private sector organisations which have done the most to threaten personal privacy. With up to a million people involved in the surveillance business in the UK, competition is fierce.

On 4th December the third 'Big Brother' awards ceremony was held at the London School of Economics. Among the nominees were Envision Licensing Ltd, the organisation behind Britain's television licensing regime which operates one of the most invasive and sophisticated surveillance systems in Europe; the National Health Service, who have worked tirelessly to erode patient confidentiality and proposals for data-sharing will make patients' records readily available to non-medical government agencies such as the DSS; the National DNA Database, who recently entered their millionth sample; I-CD Publishing, which created the UK Info Disc merging the electoral roll and telephone books to allow people to track down addresses from a telephone number and vice versa; and the government's e-mail snooping legislation, the Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act.

The Home Secretary Jack Straw, who last year won the Worst Public Servant award, received this year's 'Lifetime Menace' award.



ahead – half the fun being to see Thomas at work as he created his work of art, the outside of this remarkable edifice being of plastic sacks, the inside of packing tape designed to reflect the lighting.

Visitors to the exhibition were invited to walk over the bridge and found themselves in the bookshop. Reactions were wholly favourable, most people thinking that the shop had been set up specially for the exhibition and being surprised to learn that we had been around for thirty years. We had 2,000 copies of a leaflet

about ourselves printed, the last one given away on the last day. The exhibition included a series of Sunday lectures, and John Rety spoke on behalf of anarchism and art.

The bridge is now down, but for two months it graced Angel Alley, linking the Freedom Press Bookshop with its neighbour, the café of the Whitechapel Art Gallery. As we reported in *Freedom* (23rd September) the Gallery held an exhibition entitled 'Protest and Survive' under the curatorship of local artists Matthew Higgs and Paul Noble. They came up with the idea that the bookshop should be, as it were, an exhibit in the exhibition and, from thinking them quite crazy, we were won over and got quite excited if a little apprehensive about the project.

The idea was to create a physical link with a bridge by the noted Swiss artist Thomas Hirschhorn and (after consultation with planning authorities, insurance agencies and all interested parties) construction went

Sheffield's Critical Mass

Sheffield's Climate Change Critical Mass rally took place at the end of last month on a suitably wet and windy day. Around fifty people cycled or walked from the city centre to the inner ring road, where for two hours their slow-moving procession caused long tailbacks. At one of the roundabouts on the road, residents of the housing

estate next door came out onto their balconies to cheer the protesters as they pedalled round and round. The rally then moved to a nearby Shell service station, to leaflet customers about the company's involvement in abuses in Nigeria and to talk to residents of the city's Broomhall estate. Sheffield Police made no attempts to intervene.



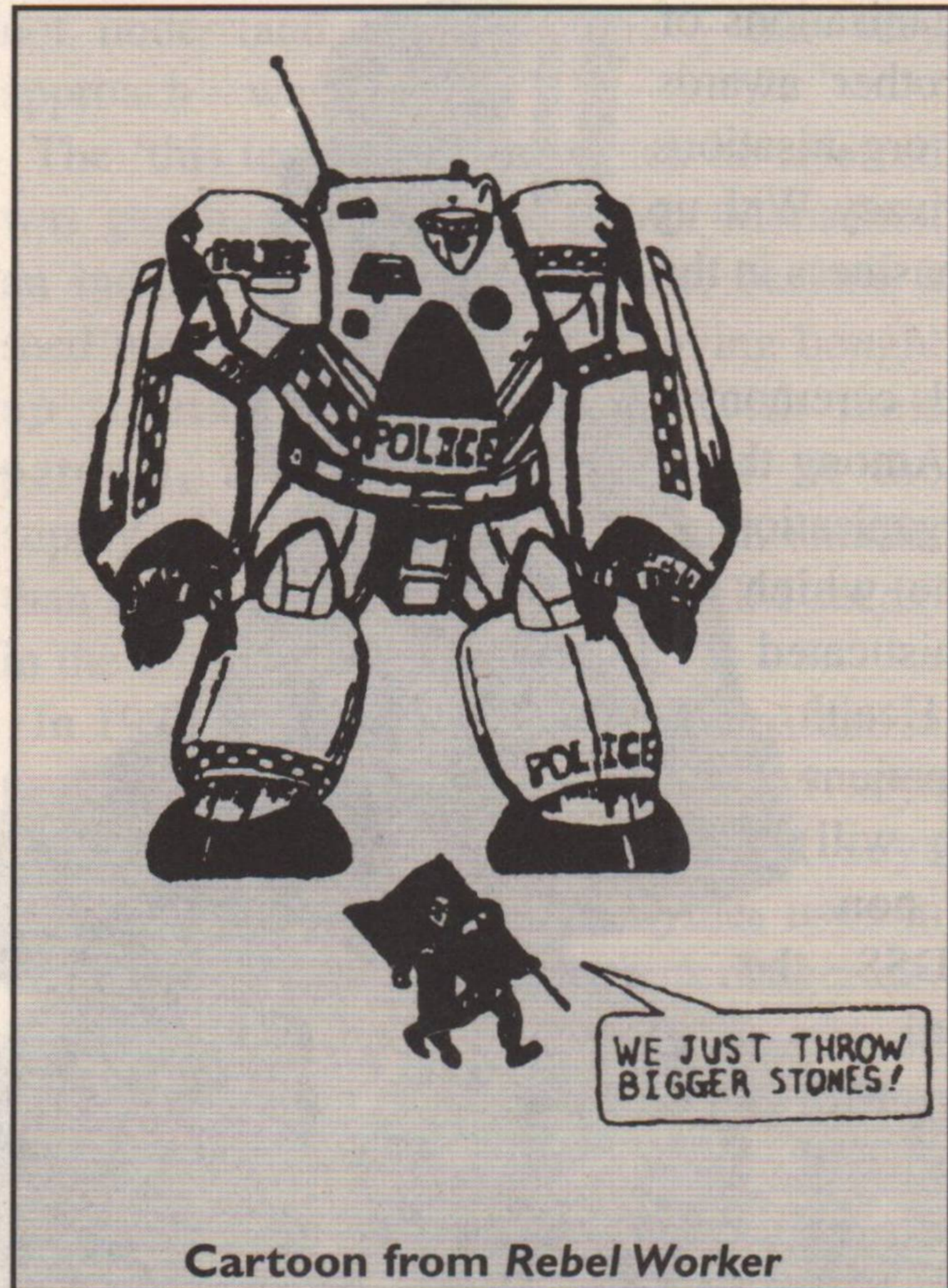
COPY DEADLINE

The next issue of *Freedom* will be dated 13th January, and the last day for copy intended for this issue will be first post on Thursday 4th January. If possible contributions should be typed using double-spacing between lines, or can be sent as text files on disc (with a print-out please).

Food for Thought ... and Action!

Yet more new arrivals at the Freedom Press Bookshop

Rebel Worker is the organ of the Australian Anarcho-Syndicalist Network and is one way of keeping in touch with developments on the other side of the world. A number of articles in issue 19/4 discuss the run-up to the Sydney Olympics earlier this year and



Cartoon from *Rebel Worker*

show how the Games were used by the authorities and bosses to curb people's freedom in a number of areas. New laws clamping down on freedom of movement and activity in certain locations have been smuggled in under the cover of Olympic Games preparations, and Sydney's transport workers faced an onslaught by the bosses on their terms and conditions of employment. In addition, the government is using the Olympics to justify giving sweeping new powers to the military to suppress domestic unrest. Opponents of these measures have noted that there was no provision to repeal them after the Games. Various other domestic and foreign news stories and historical articles appear on other pages.

We will be stocking this bi-monthly paper regularly from now on, so if you're after improving your Aussie slang, chuck a few snags on the barbie, open a few tinnies and settle down for your first lesson. Oh, and no rorting. 20 pages, £1.00 (note: issue 19/5 has just arrived).

Reflections on May Day, a diverse collection of views on the success or other-

wise of *May Day 2000: a festival of anti-capitalist ideas and action* which took place up and down the country – and indeed all over the world – last May. From organisations and ad-hoc groups to named and unnamed individuals, these responses range far and wide in their assessment of what the broad anti-capitalist movement has achieved and where it is going. A good 40 pages of debate in a high quality A4 pamphlet for £1.50.

*God Eating: a study in Christianity and Cannibalism** by J.T. Lloyd, See Sharp Press. The next time you're kneeling down in front of a man in a dress – if you ever do, that is – ask yourself how much you really know about what he's about to shove in your mouth ... if you see what I mean. We are well used to the falsification of history by authorities of every stripe and the Christian church is no exception. But exactly what was the inspiration for that innocent-looking little wafer? And the red liquid in that cup, doesn't it seem a little too viscous to be merely wine?

This pamphlet, originally published in London by the Secular Society at the end of the nineteenth century and now reproduced in facsimile, exposes the so-called Christian ceremony of Mass and Eucharist as in fact originating in the pagan practices of human sacrifice. According to the evidence, when Christ was doling out the bread and water (the later Christians changed this to wine) at the Last Supper, he never actually said 'this is my body ... this is my blood' – it was St Paul who made this up and who was from a pagan background himself. But he knew the customs of many of the other pre-Christian religions and must have thought it would sound much more impressive than the rather limp 'eat this bread and drink this water to remember me by'.

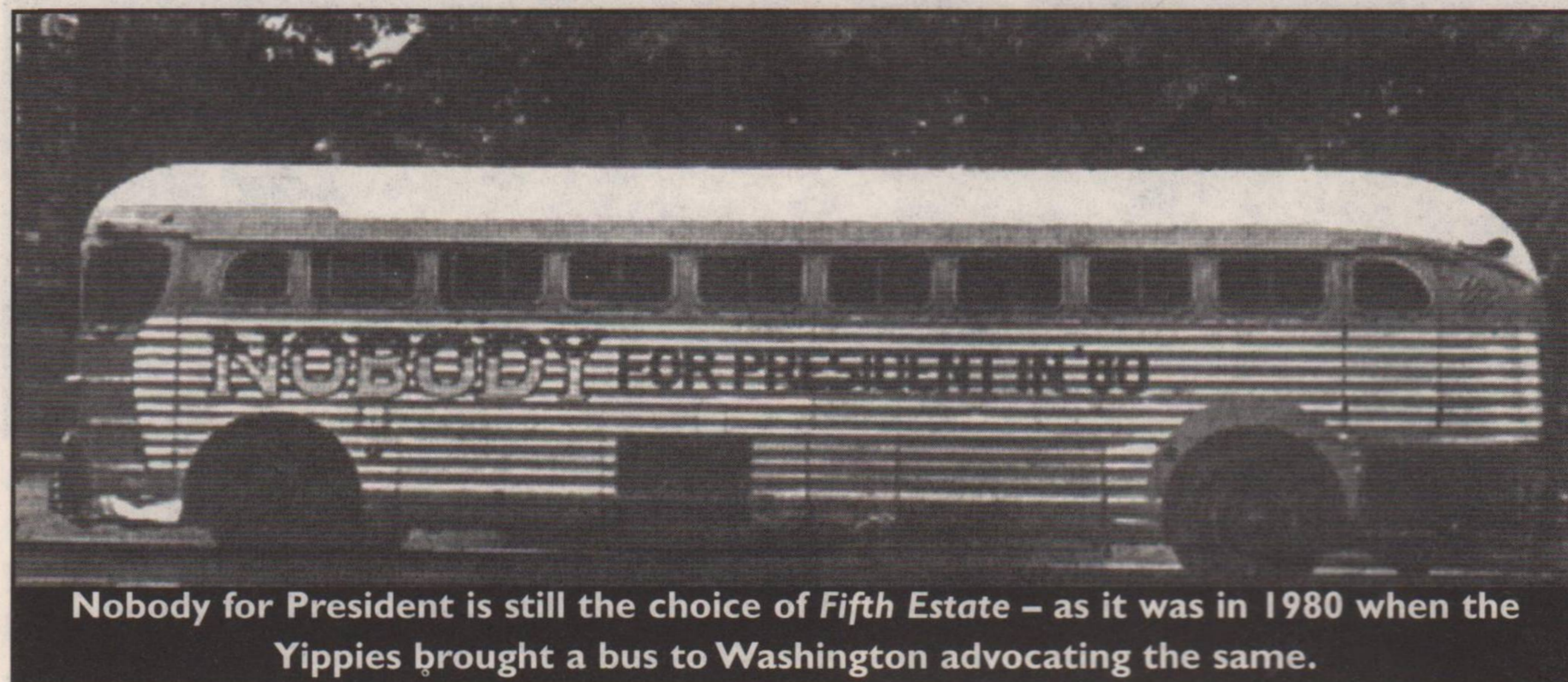
So all the hypocritical goody-goodies are on their knees participating in this ceremony are would-be cannibals and vampires. Nice. An appropriate piece of work to thrust it into the hands of anybody you know who might be planning to go to Communion or Mass anytime, and especially at Christmas. 36 pages, £2.20.

*The American Labour Movement** by Paul Taylor, ABC-CLIO. This large hardback is a

concise encyclopedic guide to the people, organisations and events from the pre-Civil War years to the present that together make up the Labour movement in America – or to be more precise, in the USA, since Canada and Latin America are not included. Naturally all the mainstream unions and people such as the AFL-CIO and Jimmy Hoffa are included, along with information on various labour laws intended to give

*Seeking Awareness in American Nature Writing** by Scott Slovic, University of Utah Press. Aficionados of Thoreau's work will be interested in this, as will readers of any of the four contemporary US writers examined in this study: Annie Dillard, Edward Abbey, Wendell Berry and Barry Lopez.

Slovic's intention is to show that each of these writers, and Thoreau in particular, whilst ostensibly dealing with the natural



Nobody for President is still the choice of Fifth Estate – as it was in 1980 when the Yippies brought a bus to Washington advocating the same.

some measure of protection to workers against the worst excesses of capitalism.

But also included are the radicals who often had to fight against their own unions as well as the bosses to obtain their demands. Wobblies like Eugene Debs, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Joe Hill and Daniel de Leon, as well as Mother Jones, the radical labour lawyer Clarence Darrow, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman – and Henry Clay Frick, the boss of Carnegie Steel who Berkman tried to kill. Also here is the Homestead lockout, during which Frick's use of the notorious Pinkerton Detective Agency and state militia against the workers provoked Berkman's attack, plus the Flint sit-down strike, the Haymarket riots, the Molly Maguires of the Kentucky coalfields, and plenty more. A handy book with which to get a basic grasp of US labour history. (For coverage of Central and South America readers are referred to Victor Alba's much-acclaimed and comprehensive *Politics and the Labor Movement in Latin America**, of which we still have a few copies reduced from £34 to £9.95.)

Taylor's book boasts a strikingly designed cover and contains numerous excellent photographs and illustrations, plus a bibliography, index and a separate chronology of events. 237 pages, originally £42 but we have some at just £11.95.

Fifth Estate number 35/2. The worldwide protests against global capitalism are the focus of this issue, including those at the OAS meeting in June in Detroit and across the Canadian border in Windsor. Also covered are the protests at both the Republican and Democratic parties' national conventions ('Gore/Bush: Working Together to Keep You Down') in Philadelphia and Los Angeles. Elsewhere Mosa Charlo takes an inside look at 'Anxiety Disorders, Mental Hospitals and Other Modern Evils', Max Cafard bemoans 'The Tao of Capitalism' and two writers discuss the monument to Oscar Wilde in Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris. But what you're all really waiting for, I can just feel it, is Sunfrog who has a long piece (I bet he says that to all the girls!) on 'Group Sex'.

We also still have copies of *Fifth Estate* number 35/1 available with big reports on the Battle of Seattle (but without group sex). Both are 24 pages and cost £2.00.

environment are in fact also students of the human mind. His thesis is that we attain an enhanced awareness of our place in nature by a better understanding of the workings of the mind. Of the five, Thoreau's name will be the most familiar, notably as the author of *Walden*, *The Journal of Henry David Thoreau* and *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*. Of the others, the best known to British readers will probably be Edward Abbey, whose call to arms to the radical environmental movement, *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, was a catalyst in the formation of the US Earth First! network and which many Earth First!ers there still see as their bible; and Wendell Berry, whose *The Long-Legged House* emphasises the importance of the concept of 'watchfulness' with regard to one's own local environment, the result of which, says

(continued on page 5)

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Unarmed striking textile workers and the militia during the strike of 1912 in Lawrence, Massachusetts (picture from *The American Labour Movement*)

Journey up the Thames: William Morris and Modern England

by John Payne

published by Five Leaves (PO Box 81, Nottingham NG5 4ER), £7.99

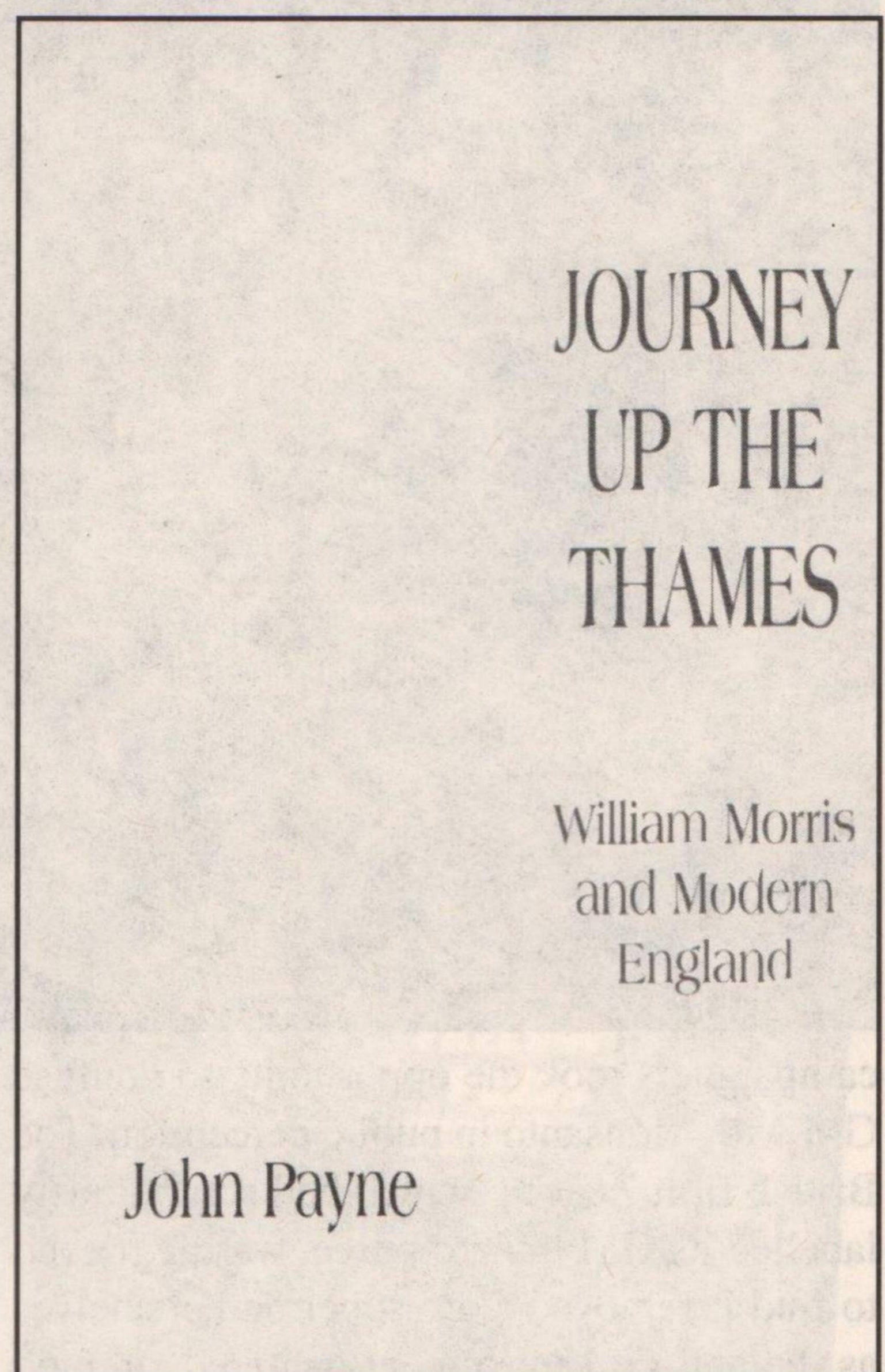
“William Morris attempted to transcend the shortcomings both of his own life and the England he lived in – harsh, ugly, divided – by projecting his vision of the world as it might be into the future. The result was his utopian novel *News from Nowhere* (1890)” writes John Payne. Morris tells the story (which has long been my own favourite reading for its unique picture of a truly libertarian utopia) as an account of a journey up the Thames from London to Kelmscott in Oxfordshire.

John Payne has had the lovely idea of revisiting the places William Morris and his 1890 dream companions travelled through. In this book he discusses the ‘news’ that Morris brought back from the end of the twentieth century as it might have been, and compares and contrasts it with what he observes today.

He recognises that *News from Nowhere* is an aspiration, not a prediction. While he describes Morris as “a necessary failure” he is full of admiration and affection for him and he “seeks to show that many of William Morris’s values are still relevant to our world today”. Good, but anarchist readers of this book may raise their eyebrows at his next assertion, that “I shall also try to demonstrate ways in which Morris was wrong – both about the future and the political positions he adopted in the 1880s and 1890s. Whatever progress has been made over the last 100 years has been made by democratic socialism operating through parliament and through local government, through the work of the

trade unions and other progressive membership organisations”.

Though it rankles with me, it is at least an arguable point of view. One smiles at the recollection of that wonderful scene in the



Python film *Life of Brian* where the band of revolutionaries bent on overthrowing the might of Rome grudgingly go through an ever-extending list of things the Romans have actually brought: water, food, roads “of course”, safety on the streets – everything, that is, except freedom (which I think they forget to mention). But read on. It soon becomes clear that John Payne is no New Labour stooge. He

by ancient Greeks and Romans. What’s more, he quotes the evidence that many of their reported miracles, biographical details and personal traits were borrowed wholesale, often word for word, by the early Christians and attributed to Jesus decades or even centuries later. There were many pagan religions whose beliefs corresponded exactly with the Christian teachings and which had begun hundreds of years before Christ was even born.

What is astonishing is that this even applies right down to the pagan winter festivals, all on or around 25th December, celebrating the birth to a virgin in a cave of a gifted child who was wrapped in swaddling clothes and laid in a manger, and would grow up to perform miracles and bring peace on Earth. Oh, and before you ask, yes, many of the pagan versions even had shepherds being led there by a star or meteorite. By now you will not be surprised to learn that at these festivals large quantities of food and drink were consumed. In fact McCabe’s chapter on ‘Christmas before Christ’ is alone worth the price of the pamphlet and is essential reading for anyone wanting to be better informed on the subject.

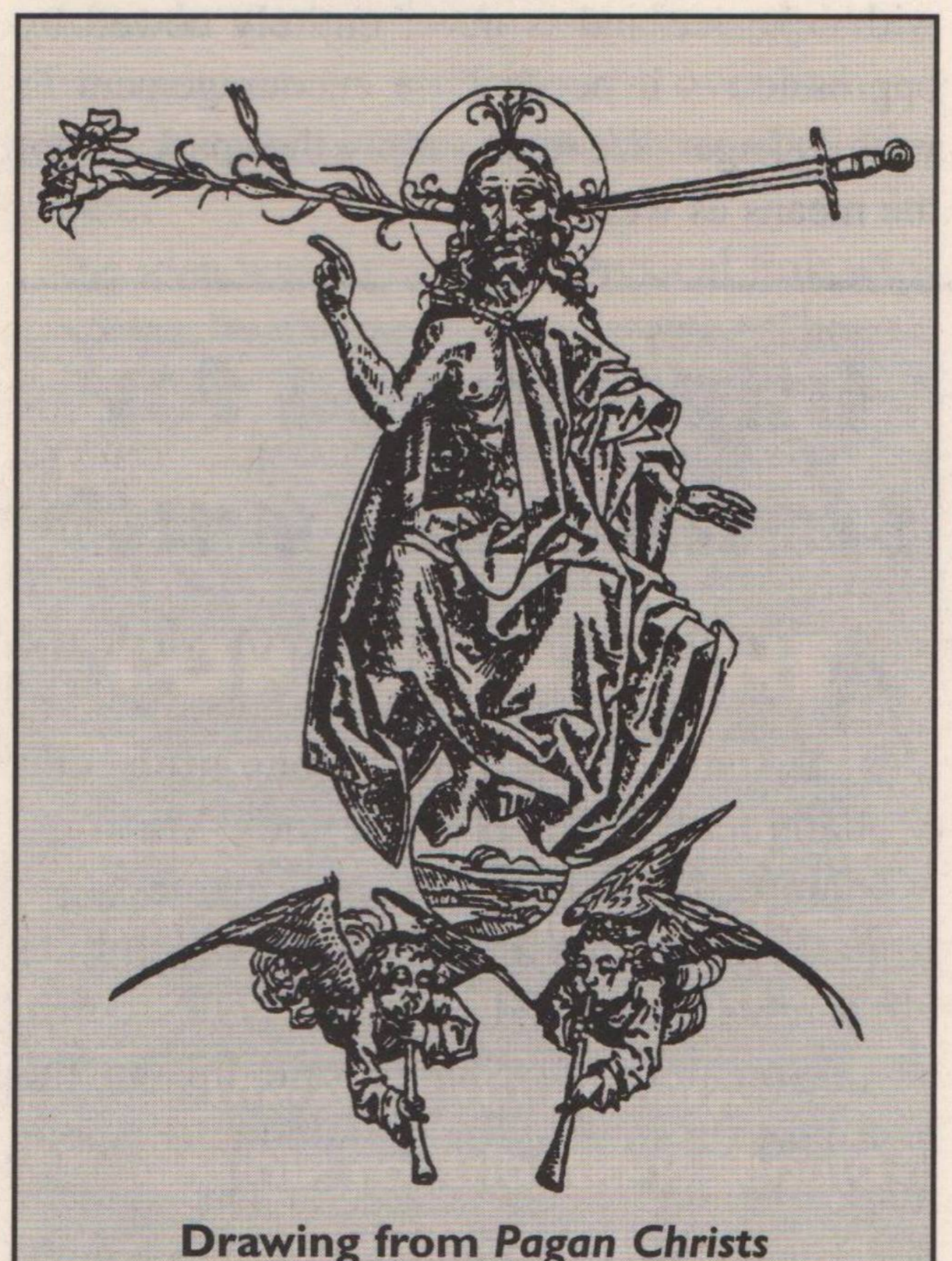
Pagan Christs was first published in 1911 and reprinted in 1926, since when it has sold in the tens of thousands. One can only agree with the publisher’s opinion of it as “an excellent example of McCabe in his prime – smoothly written, erudite and tightly argued”. He could also have added very funny. A superb present for a churchgoing friend or relative, or one eager for some facts against the myths, especially in the midwinter festival season – but better give Great Auntie Doris a brandy first. 44 pages for £2.50.

(continued from page 4)

Slovic, “despite the deepening sense of attachment, is an awareness that the man belongs to the place without the place belonging to the man”.

A thought-provoking work on these ‘literary psychologists’ and the links between them which will have your mind going off in unexpected directions. 203 pages, with bibliography and index, originally £14, now only £4.95.

Pagan Christs* by Joseph McCabe, See Sharp Press. Old McCabe has done it again, this time in order to pour cold water on the ideas of the Immaculate Conception and the



Drawing from *Pagan Christs*

Virgin Birth, and to show that the alleged gospel miracles and the supposedly supernatural powers of Christ were commonplace claims no more remarkable than those made for many pagan prophets and healers

Journey up the Thames

guesses that “in the 21st century any advances that are made are more likely to come from within the new social movements than from mainstream political parties”. Later in the book he speaks approvingly of direct action.

And it is a ‘good read’, a sympathetic and very perceptive account of the places William Morris longed to see transformed and a warm appreciation of the people who are the present inhabitants. “Meeting real people” he says “and listening to real voices seems to me still the most obvious way to write about social reality”. The book is peppered with quotations from the people he comes across.

He also covers a wide range of topics. The overall structure of the book is set out at the beginning – leading one almost to expect a schoolmasterish sense of order and a disciplined journey. But like the parts of ones own schooldays which are remembered with most enjoyment, it is the digressions which impart the charm. Sometimes his diverse enthusiasms take him so far away that you wonder if he has lost direction – then he deftly flips back to the relevance it all has to William Morris.

John Payne says that “this book is neither an attempt to rubbish Morris nor to put him on a pedestal”. On the question of happiness, “which was after all important to Morris” he notes that he relates it to work, and pride in work, and the notion (that Payne rather doubts) that from pleasure in labour grew real art. “As is so often the case with Morris” he says, “it is his absolutism which causes the problems. It must be real art or phoney art, it is beautiful or it is ugly, it is socialist or it is reactionary nonsense. In political terms, Morris found the gradualism and incompleteness of change as expressed in the democratic institutions of parliamentary democracy intensely irritating”.

Payne mentions Edward Thompson’s emphasis on the influence Marx had on Morris, and comments that he played down Morris’s anarchist sympathies. Payne stands

rather aside on this issue, remarking only that “neither the Anarchist nor Marxist versions of the revolution were to take place in England”.

I have for a long time been puzzled why so little is made of the similarities between Morris’s and Kropotkin’s visions of society, particularly since reading what Payne calls “Fiona MacCarthy’s splendid biography of William Morris”. She writes that “from the middle 1880s Morris was not just in sympathy with but was on terms of warm personal friendship with the leading London Anarchists”. Particularly both he and his wife Jane were on affectionate terms with Kropotkin, and they had amicable discourse together both about domestic and political matters. Surely they must have developed their ideas together about the integration of agriculture and industry and the inter-relationship of town and country? Morris in *News from Nowhere* seems to describe the same landscape envisaged by Kropotkin in *Fields, Factories and Workshops*.

Payne sums it all up nicely as “the re-discovery of the material and domestic as sources of human happiness and fulfilment; free and open sexual relationships; the importance too, of relationships based on friendship and comradeship; a new and gentler partnership between human beings and the natural environment; the reconciliation of town and countryside; a social system focused on the redistribution of wealth rather than its concentration in a small number of bank accounts; these are the themes which mark out Morris’s ongoing importance as a social and political thinker for the twenty-first century”.

John Payne might not have actually found utopia anywhere up the Thames from London to Kelmscott, but his appreciation of what he calls “Morris’s tone” is keen, and the obvious enjoyment he had in writing this delightful book is yours to be shared when you read it.

Brian Richardson

Charlotte Wilson Anarchist Essays

edited by Nicolas Walter

Freedom Press dates from the first issue of *Freedom* in September 1886. The chief founder and first editor was Charlotte Wilson, who had been writing about anarchism in the socialist press since 1884, and led an anarchist fraction in the Fabian Society. The most prominent contributor, Peter Kropotkin, had been released from prison in France in January 1886, and invited to London by Wilson and her group. Charlotte Wilson was for a decade the best-known native anarchist in Britain, but her life and work has been generally neglected. This volume includes the most important of her writings, with a biography and notes by the editor.

96 pages

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Colin Ward Social Policy: an anarchist response

Colin Ward was visiting Centenary Professor in the Department of Social Policy at the London School of Economics during the academic year 1995-96. His lectures on the history of informal housing movements were very popular among LSE students.

This volume, first published by the LSE and now kept in print by Freedom Press, includes all the talks he gave during his professorship.

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Monsanto apologises

Late in November 2000, the President of Monsanto made a speech in Washington, apologising for the past misbehaviour of his firm. "Even our friends told us we could be arrogant and insensitive ... We missed the fact that this technology raises major issues for people – of ethics, of choice, of trust, even of democracy and globalisation. When we tried to explain the benefits, the science and the safety, we did not understand that our tone – our very approach – was arrogant".

The 'this technology' to which he referred was genetic modification (GM). Monsanto, an industrial chemical company, became a seed merchant in the 1980s. Having bought up several biotechnic firms with their patents, it was market leader in the supply of GM seeds (though much smaller than the biggest supplier of non-GM seeds) in the 1990s.

In 1996 soya flour exported from America to Britain included some from GM soya seeds supplied by Monsanto. GM soya contains residual traces of enzymes used in the GM process, which some think dangerous. It should have been open to those who so wished to avoid GM soya, but in fact neither food manufacturers nor consumers in Britain were informed of the GM admixture. In

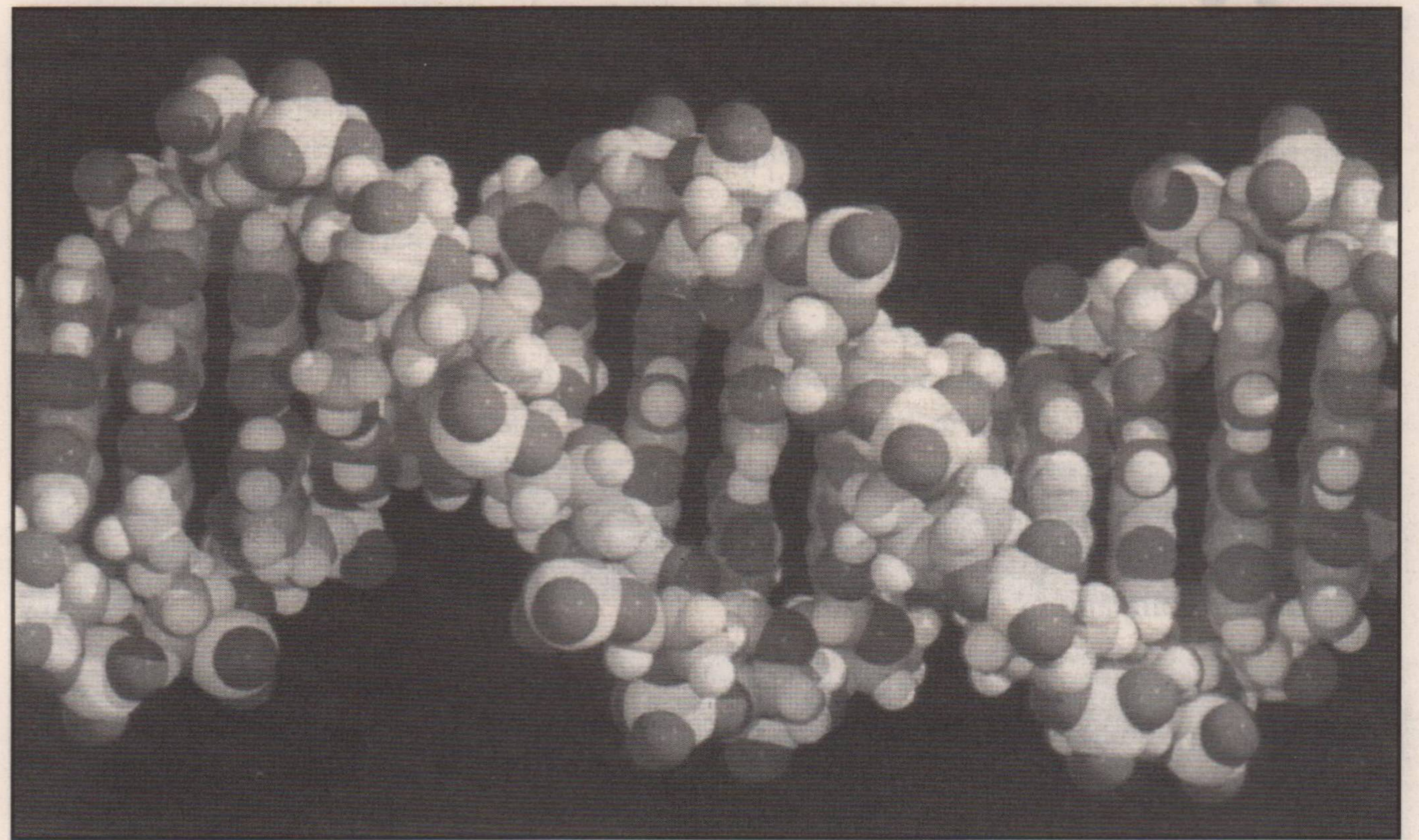
America, the inclusion of GM soya had been accepted with equanimity, and it was assumed that it would be so accepted in Britain. This was an error.

Groups devoted to protection of the environment, such as Greenpeace Ltd and Friends Of The Earth, organised an outcry, and did not scruple to recruit as allies those who suffer from gut feelings against anything new, and those who 'happen to believe', with Prince Charles, that GM "takes mankind into realms that belong to God, and to God alone". They found more allies among opponents of multinationals, who were surprised to learn that multinationals control the agricultural seed trade.

Faced with hostility to their product, the judicious course for Monsanto would have been to deny responsibility (they supplied the GM seed, but it was farmers and millers who decided to mix GM varieties with other varieties), and promise to insist that GM soya should be sold separately in future. Instead, however, Monsanto met hostility with hostility. They published advertisements accusing opponents of GM of contemptible stupidity. Three Americans, representing Monsanto in Britain, visited the offices of *The Guardian*, thumping the editor's table and shouting that the paper's coverage of GM

was unbalanced.

This was a public relations disaster, not only for Monsanto but for every firm involved in GM agriculture. Anti-GM



campaigners took the opportunity to confuse GM with Monsanto in public perception. The British firm Zeneca, which had scrupulously labelled its GM tomato puree, was aggrieved to find it removed from supermarket shelves as the anti-GM movement gathered strength among the buying public. A director of

Novartis Seeds told *New Scientist* in 1998: "We have a PR mountain to climb. An expensive failure can be an asset if you've learnt from it, but Monsanto still has some learning to do."

At the end of 1998, Monsanto had learned enough to sack its in-house publicity department, and engage the multinational

agency Burston-Marsteller to pick up the pieces of its reputation. After two years of little progress, Burston-Marsteller has evidently decided that Monsanto should eat humble pie in public. It seems unlikely that even this ploy will work.

DR

Demonstrations in Nice



A sea of banners in Nice as trade unionists and anti-globalisation activists protested

Anarchists and other protesters marked the start of the European summit in Nice last week with demonstrations in the French seaside town. An international statement published by eighteen different groups beforehand said "we anarchist activists from Europe and all over the world struggle daily for a society that is completely different to the one enjoyed by the European Union or the other capitalist institutions ... We want a society

based on equality, a classless society without sexism and racism, in which everyone contributes to the overall wealth according to their abilities and from which everyone receives according to their needs ... We want a world where freedom, justice and dignity are reality." Although the summit went ahead without interruption, the protests got wide coverage in Europe's mainstream media and earned several pages of editorial comment too.

Washington protests planned

As squabbles over the US presidency continue in the highest courts of the land, American anarchists are already preparing to mark the 20th January inauguration with a rally under the banner 'class war now for a classless, stateless society'. Organisers from the Barricada Collective hope that thousands of protesters will converge on Washington DC to protest against "the dictatorship of the corporate class, the circus of the US representative 'democracy' and the international death machine that is the US government".

Turkish anarchists acquitted

Three Turkish anarchists were acquitted by a military court in Ankara on 5th December of 'alienating people from military service', a crime under article 155 of the military code. They had published a declaration in May 1999 supporting conscientious objector Osman Murat Ulke while he was in prison, and were subsequently charged.

International as well as Turkish observers hailed the acquittal as a small victory against the power of military courts, particularly as it came after the defendants had refused to make any formal defence.

Protest without revolution: the long road to nowhere?

There is a wave of protest sweeping around the world. Is it a truly significant series of events or merely one more 'long wave' of dissent doomed to recuperation and demobilisation? What will prevent us from moving on to a more threatening, revolutionary phase?

Protest begins when interests and values are not being represented and when the incentives to protest outweigh the cost and risks involved. When social conflict acquires a visibility and symbolic 'language' people can understand and identify with, collective action will develop; especially when the justifying culture of society is weak due to rapid economic, industrial and social change. But when grievances have been aired but not advanced, when the repertoire of peaceful protest runs out, when repression raises the price of protest – what then? Where political arrangements are unstable and allies available to the movements, the wave of mobilisation will be prolonged. But where alignments are stable and elites repressive, opportunities for protest disappear and demobilisation follows. This fairly describes Europe and North America where it is likely that protest movements will be short and quickly recuperated through short-term political alliances, reforms and repression. Does this explain why (in these islands at least), environmental protest has not developed a mass base nor has protest spread to other groups and interests such as housing or policing? If it does not develop a mass base, how easy for the state to isolate the 'trouble-makers' by making concessions to the 'common sense majority'!

Protest cycles often begin outside existing institutions. New actors use expressive and confrontational forms of action in a few sectors of intense conflict (Twyford Down, Newbury, Poll Tax) demonstrating that the system is vulnerable to disruption. The problem is that (at the moment) environmentalism and its anti-capitalist rhetoric is inspired by 'post-material' issues (i.e. not based on our material needs) and has a radical pragmatism but no real ideological unity or organisational substructure. It can link with other agendas but cannot unify them.

People experience deprivation and oppression within a concrete setting, not as the end product of large and abstract processes and it is the concrete experience that moulds their discontent into specific grievances against specific targets. Small radical groups and their scattered supporters will never organise or stimulate mass protest on their own. They need the generalisation of discontent (which exists in some parts of the world but not in all parts of the world) that only worsening material conditions and increased militancy create, allied to groups possessing a mass base and organisational form: in other words 'socialising the class struggle'.

As mass mobilisation declines, tactical innovation diminishes and confrontation is all that is left (J18, N30, S26)? Violence and extreme demands increase causing many to defect into reformism, narrowing the base from which activists can draw support.

The working class in all countries seethes with injustice and is never entirely cowed by oppression – it needs little encouragement to vent its anger. We must supply the spark, if not the means as well.

Imprisoned for stating the truth

Lecturer at the College of Medicine in Islamabad, Dr Younus Shaikh, stated the rather obvious truth, that Mohammed's parents were not Muslims. Mohammed did not start getting messages from God until the age of 40, by which time his parents were dead.

Unfortunately, Dr Shaikh said this in the hearing of a student, disgruntled at the poor marks he had been awarded. The student denounced him to the police as a blasphemer. He was arrested on 4th October 2000, and has been in prison since then, awaiting trial. In Pakistan, the crime of blasphemy incurs a mandatory sentence of death.

IFF

On self-management

Dear *Freedom*,
Reading your 'Reply to the SWP: part 4' (in my son's copy) and its reference to "self management" reminded me forcibly of the Grosvenor Square demonstration of March 1968, or it could have been the previous October. The anarchist contingent set off from Trafalgar Square somewhere in the middle of the procession, maybe 150 of us among 10,000. Halfway up Charing Cross Road, with one accord and as I remember it, no preconceived plan, we split off from the march and struck up through Greek Street. At that point police cars and meat vans appeared to cut us off, but dodging them we made it out onto Oxford Street a few yards in front of the head of the procession which we then led, much to the annoyance of the less spontaneous and more rigorous types, for the rest of the way.

As you say self-management may not be the most 'efficient' method of decision making. It is certainly the best not only if we desire freedom but also to give expression to inspiration. Obviously Trafalgar Square to the American embassy is hardly Kronstadt stuff, but as a small group generally reviled by right and left it was good to be able to carry the flag of anarchism in the forefront.

I'm now an organic vegetable grower. Organic farming is a profoundly anti-

capitalist occupation, which is another story, but I've never found it left energy for any (other) sort of political activity.

Respect to you for keeping the flag flying.
Tim Deane

Please renew your subscriptions!

More than half of subscriptions to *Freedom* are due with this issue. Thanks to all those who have renewed early, and we request all the rest to renew promptly. Please note that there will be a four-week gap, instead of the usual two-week gap, between this issue of *Freedom* and the next.

Donations November 2000

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund

Wolverhampton, JL, £2; Solihull, KD, £3; Bridge of Weir, RG, £6; Hadleigh, R, £50; Cleveland, TVH, £4; Penzance, NP, £3; Romford, SG, £6; Bristol, RS, £5; Dossenheim, RS, £2; Newport, TP, £6.

August to October total = £87
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August to October total = £77
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Cleveland, TVH, £4; Bristol, RS, £5; Dossenheim, RS, £2; Wolverhampton, JL, £6.

August to October total = £17
2000 total to date = £702

Books?

Dear *Freedom*,
You have a genius for nosing out fabulous books in the remainder market and for writing about them so marvellously. The result is that even though we got rid of most of our books when we moved to a smaller house and resolved to accumulate no more books, I have to stop myself from spending.

However it is evident that I must buy Mark Luccarelli's *Lewis Mumford and the Ecological Region*.

Name and address supplied

News from Angel Alley

The millennium year here started off with high hopes, but it turned into a sad time for us. We had just got over the loss of veteran Philip Sansom when we were faced with the sudden illness and unexpected death of Nicolas Walter on 7th March, just as he had retired and was discussing plans to write for *Freedom* and edit books for the press. A memorial meeting was held on 4th June. Indeed, it seems that for much of the year *Freedom* has sounded a gloomy note, being full of obituaries, a familiar feature of the broadsheet press but different when they are of people to whom we felt close.

On the book-publishing front, we got out two new titles, Nicolas Walter's edition of the writings of *Freedom's* founder Charlotte Wilson and Colin Ward's *Social Policy*, and we reprinted Berkman's *ABC of Anarchism*. We fell lamentably behind schedule in producing *The Raven*, although the latest issue, on censorship, is one of which we can be justifiably proud. We take consolation in thinking that 41 issues of 96 pages over fourteen years with steady sales of back issues, and no decline in standards, is no mean record. Henceforward, four issues a year at regular intervals.

On a more cheerful note, a special event of the year was the construction of the bridge

over Angel Alley, linking the bookshop with the café of the neighbouring Whitechapel Art Gallery – a hectic but enjoyable, not to mention prosperous, time – in the middle of which we had to decamp for the day to Conway Hall for the annual Anarchist Bookfair, another successful one, indeed so busy were we that none of us could take time off from our pitch to attend the numerous sideshows.

Next year we would wish to bring out several new titles, the first one to be a new edition of Nicolas Walter's *About Anarchism*. We have no shortage of ideas and suggestions, or even suitable manuscripts, but we are short of the necessary funding of sums in the region of the £2,000 needed to pay for each new publication. What is more, several of our steady sellers – *What is Anarchism?*, Malatesta's *Anarchy*, *Journey Through Utopia*, *Anarchy in Action*, *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism*, *History of the Makhnovist Movement*, *Future of Technics and Civilisation* – will be due for reprinting next year, involving considerable expenditure.

Although we have the most favourable terms from our printers Aldgate Press – to whom a word of thanks – price increases are inevitable. British bookbuyers will have noted a general increase in prices over the last year or so, the reason being a significant increase in the price of paper, nevertheless our prices will remain much below comparable prices from commercial publishers.

We are now looking forward to some much-needed merriment at our annual social on Saturday 16th December, when we hope to meet you. We thank you for supporting us this year, and look forward to receiving subscription renewals. Please don't forget our three funds if you can afford a little extra.

Please note that the bookshop will close at 4.00pm on Friday 22nd December and re-open on Wednesday 3rd January 2001.

The season's greetings to all our readers, and best wishes for a happy new year.



(continued from page 2)
assassination. (Nelson was also responsible – again with British intelligence connivance – for the organisation of the re-arming of the UDA in 1988 through the procurement of a weapons shipment from South Africa which included two hundred AK47 rifles, ninety Browning 9mm pistols, five hundred fragmentation grenades, 30,000 rounds of ammunition and twelve RPG7 rocket launchers. In the six years from the shipment's delivery, 1988-94, the UDA killed 229 people.)

Sometime between the evening of Sunday 14th March and the morning of 15th March 1999 an explosive device was placed under the car of Rosemary Nelson, a solicitor in Lurgan, County Armagh. At 12.40pm the bomb exploded as Rosemary drove the car to the end of the street where she lived. At 3.10pm Rosemary Nelson was pronounced dead. Rosemary Nelson had had death threats for years. In 1997 some of her clients were told by detectives at Gough Barracks in Armagh that her photo and personal details were to be passed on to Loyalists. The United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Independence of Judges and Lawyers, Mr Param Kumaraswamy, reported in the same year that "there have been consistent reports of alleged systematic abuse of defence lawyers in Northern Ireland by certain RUC officers since 1992". Rosemary was one of the lawyers he had spoken to during his

investigations. In September 1998 Rosemary gave evidence to the International Operations and Human Rights sub-committee of the US Congress of the death threats against her. In the two to three months before Rosemary's death there was a marked increase in security forces activity in the area near her home. Three weeks prior to her death army vehicles were seen carrying out an exercise in which they appeared to give cover to an unmarked civilian vehicle. Regular helicopter landings began to take place in the field behind her home. On the Sunday before her death the area was saturated with security force patrols. A helicopter was above the Kilwilkie estate all evening. A Lynx helicopter with a 'heli-tele' attached flew low over the area throughout the evening. RUC officers in boiler suits – who later appeared at the murder scene – were seen at Lurgan RUC barracks two hours before Rosemary's death. At 10am on the Monday of her death, witnesses saw an RIR patrol at a railway crossing at Lake Street (which ran towards Rosemary's home) take an object about seven to eight inches long in a white plastic bag from a hedge and place it in another soldier's rucksack. No explanation for this has ever been offered by the RIR. RUC and army officers were seen to be in a 'jovial' mood all morning prior to Rosemary's death.

The Stevens investigation set up to examine claims of collusion with regard to army/intelligence operation of Loyalist death

squads is now investigating the 1987 murder of Francisco Notarantonio, following evidence from a former FRU officer that Francisco was targeted by the FRU to deflect the UDA from an alternative target – a leading Belfast republican who was also a high ranking British intelligence asset. One of the men involved in the murder was seen to be wearing army boots and an army map was found in the house afterwards. The area was swamped by the security services in the two days before the murder, but all security patrols were pulled out hours before the UDA-claimed attack took place. FRU-related files on republican activists have been found to show traces of forensic evidence to show they have been handled by known Loyalist murderers such as Billy Wright and Johnny Adair.

The anarchist movement has run scared of the British state's activities in the six counties for years (as have the mainstream left for the most part). Attempts to resist the military agenda of the British state have been drowned out by self-serving rhetoric about not being seen to support 'bourgeois nationalism' even while working class nationalist communities were being targeted by state-run Loyalist death squads. The game is pretty much up now, because in attempts at self-preservation which mirror the ways in which former South African military/intelligence personnel came to seek an accommodation with the post-apartheid

state, individual army intelligence officers have decided to save their own skin by co-operating with the Stevens and Saville investigations. We should not forget though that such investigations only came about because those within the nationalist and republican communities who had lost friends and family refused to keep quiet and lie down. If we seek to turn a blind eye to the revelations of shoot-to-kill, collusion and deliberate exercise of lethal force which have emerged we collude ourselves in denying justice to the victims of that state we claim to oppose and, moreover we collude in covering up the real nature of that state and that link between repression and 'good order' which is so essential to the functioning of capitalism. Alexander Berkman once wrote that government was, ultimately, "organised violence ... all government, all law and authority finally rest on force and violence, on punishment and fear of punishment." Part of building an effective anarchist movement has to involve the relentless exposure of the force and violence of the state not simply at the level of theory but by opposing the real repressive capacity of the state as it manifest itself in the suppression of real struggles and the bloody slaughter of ordinary people, not just in Chile or South Africa, but here, that state whose repressive capacity is armed by our taxes and whose activities are sanctioned by our apathy and excuses.

Nick S.

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— MEETINGS FOR 2000/2001 —

15th December Anti-Xmas Party – please bring food/drink to share

22nd & 29th December No meeting

5th January Open debate (any topic)

12th January Topic/speaker to be arranged

Anyone wanting to give a talk or facilitate a discussion should contact Steve Ash, or any other regular, at a meeting, giving topic and preferred dates. A contact address will be available soon. Monthly free dialogues may be cancelled at short notice and used for scheduled talks if necessary. For more information see: LAF@anarchic.co.uk or www.trak.to/LAF

Steve Ash
for London Anarchist Forum

MA'M

(Movement Against the Monarchy)

Ar holding a social at the
Summit Estate Community Centre
Stamford Hill, North London
Saturday 16th December at 8pm

Freedom Press Bookshop

**Christmas
Party**

will be on

**Saturday
16th December**

from 12 noon to 5pm

old and new friends welcome

MAYDAY 2001

open mini-conference
Saturday 16th December
10am to 5.30pm

If you want to attend please come along with a clear idea of your proposal for Mayday 2001.

If you need a crèche place (babies to eight years old), 9-15 year olds self-managed youth space or accommodation, let us know before you come.

If you cannot attend please send in clear ideas ASAP and a hard copy by post if you are not using e-mail. It is advised, if using e-mail, to obtain a 'hushmail' e-mail account from www.hushmail.com. E-mails sent between hushmail e-mail account holders are immediately encrypted and therefore much harder to monitor.

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