

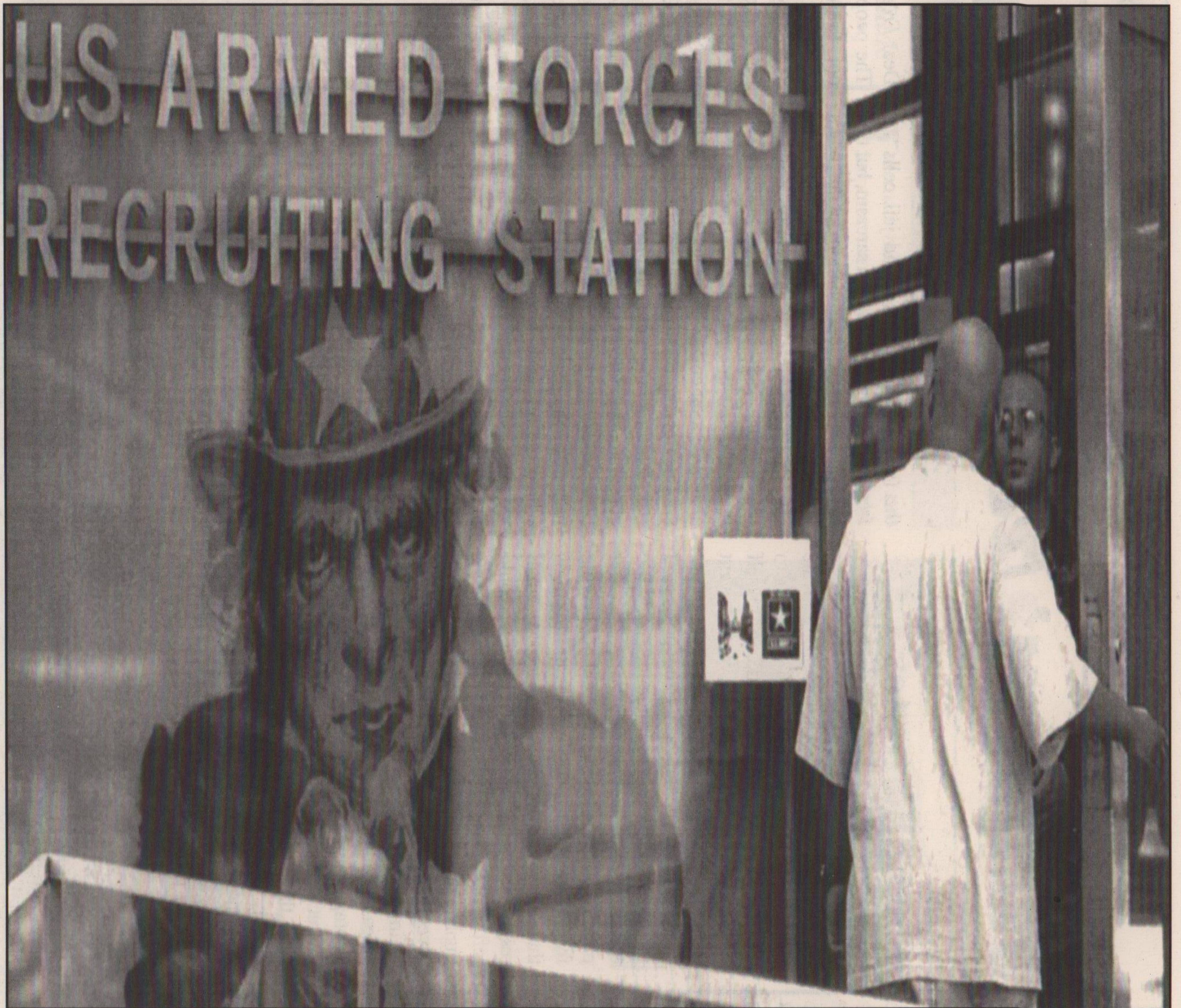
anarchist fortnightly

Freedom

Vol. 62 No. 22

17th November 2001

50p



Don't fall for it, kids

During the 1991 Gulf War, there were howls of outrage from members of Britain's Territorial Army when the state summoned them for service in the Middle East. The same thing's happening in the American forces now. The US Centre on Conscience and War says that school leavers are taken in by spangly uniforms and fat pay cheques, without stopping to consider what else

their choice of career might involve. Titus Peachy, an American peace activist, agrees. "There's very little in military advertising that talks about combat, that talks about killing, that talks about fear, loneliness and all of that stuff", he says.

We support anyone who wants to get out of an army (whichever state it belongs to). They might want to escape because they've found religion or changed their

politics or are just plain scared – it's irrelevant. But (while we'll help) we can't guarantee to feel sorry for them. It's obvious, when you join up, what you're signing up for. Being young or impressionable isn't a good enough excuse. Pledge yourself to Queen and Country (UK) or the good ole American Way (US), and don't be too surprised when they take you at your word.

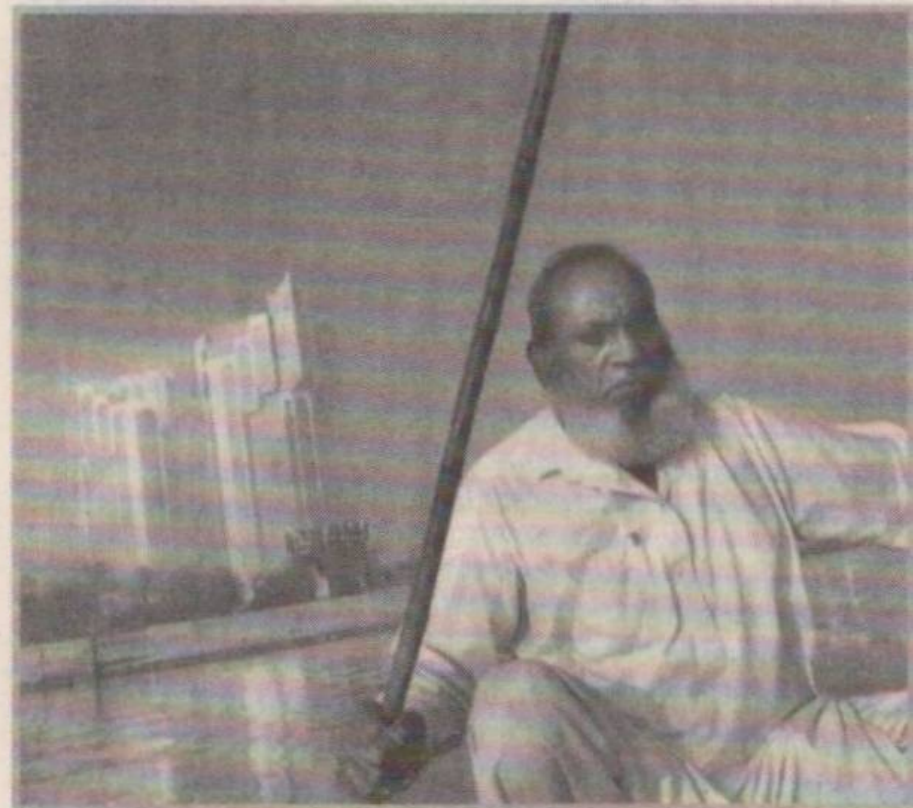
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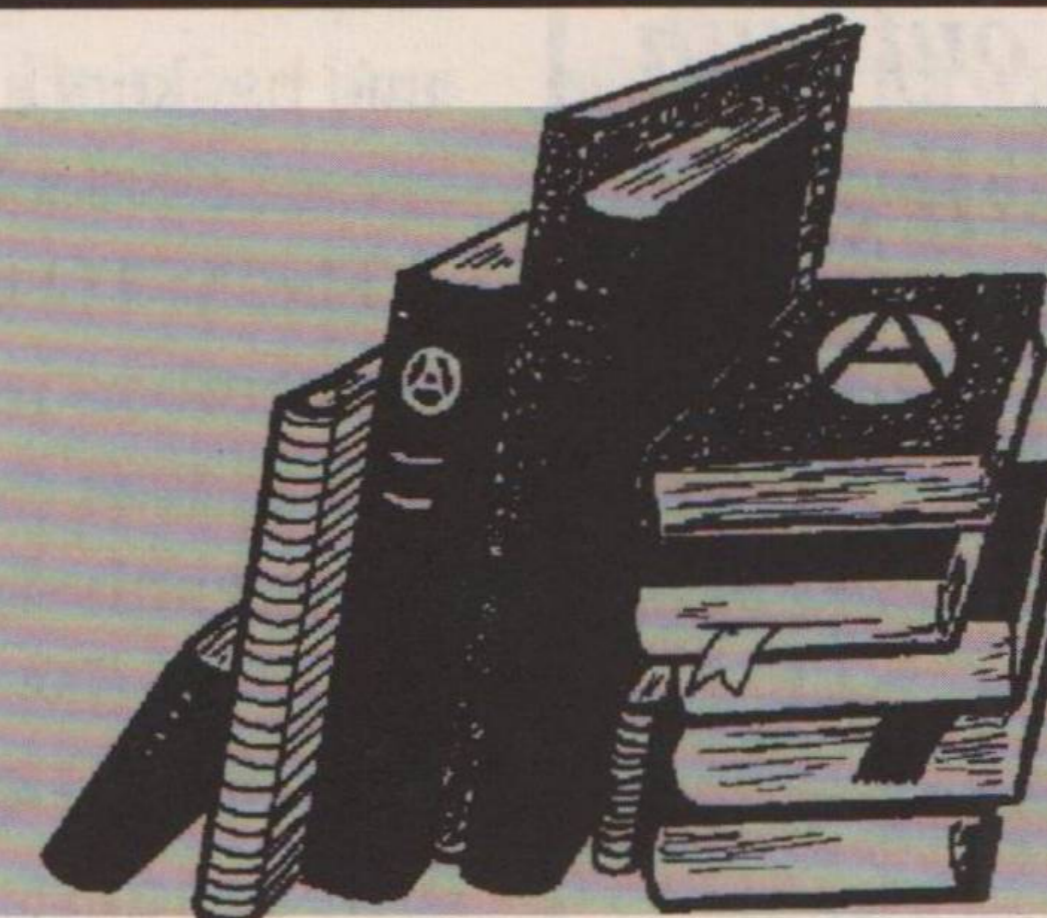
**NO PROTEST
AT THE WTO**

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The price of Bush's war

Western bosses were hailing the fall of an important Afghan city at the start of the week, claiming that the seizure of Mazar-e-Shariff by forces of the Northern Alliance was a major blow for Afghanistan's Taliban government. But while western states claimed success for their military strategy, humanitarian organisations sounded the alarm over what the 'war on terrorism' means for millions of Afghans.

Afghanistan was heavily dependent on food aid before 11th September, but Taliban bosses ordered most aid agencies out of the country before American and British military strikes began.

Oxfam said last week that the remaining aid efforts had been severely curtailed by bombing. Millions of civilians had left the cities where they could be fed easily, while truck drivers who brought food into the country were unwilling to work in a warzone. The transport infrastructure, already damaged by twenty years of war, had now been destroyed completely.

"The failure by the international community to deliver enough food, combined with growing insecurity, has left many thousands of people suffering acute food shortages. In some areas of acute need, the bombing and the increased fighting from the Taliban and Northern Alliance has added to a climate of fear that has made many truck drivers and aid workers too frightened to work", the agency said at the start of this month.

The organisation called for a halt to the bombing campaign. "Continued bombing in many parts of Afghanistan and the use of cluster bombs have created a climate of fear that severely limits the ability of the World Food Programme and other agencies to continue food deliveries. Islamic NGOs currently delivering food in the east believe that they could do much more if fear by truckers could be diminished", Oxfam said.

- Labour minister Clare Short last week compared anti-capitalism protesters to Osama bin Laden. Short, the Secretary of State for International Development, said the demands of protesters were "very similar" to those of bin Laden's al-Qaeda network.

"Since 11th September, we haven't heard from the protesters. I'm sure they are reflecting on what their demands were, because their demands turned out to be very similar to those of bin Laden's network", she said. "They say 'world trade is evil, we want to stop it'. If he says that too, do they still want to say that?"

Editorial on page 7



For the children of Afghanistan the future looks bleak

New internment threat

Mass internment without trial could be introduced in Britain, under government plans which were expected to be unveiled at the start of the week. In a move bound to provoke sustained opposition from anarchists and other civil liberties campaigners, home secretary David Blunkett was expected to ask parliament to order a countrywide 'state of emergency'. This would allow Britain to suspend article 5 of the European Convention on Human Rights, now incorporated into British law. This is the article that outlaws imprisonment without trial. Officials argued last weekend that the move was necessary because events since 11th September "threatened the life of the nation".

Internment was last used during the 1991

Gulf War, and against so-called 'terrorist suspects' in the north of Ireland in the early 1970s. It was used against large numbers of Italian and German families during the Second World War.

Anarchists last weekend expressed their opposition to the government's plans. "It's the usual thing", said Rix, an activist from South London. "The government says it has to take measures to protect us, that we should trust them to use their powers wisely. Why? They say they'll review it at some time in the future. Can we believe them?"

But officials insisted that the move was "a formality", and that it could be reviewed next year. The Prime Minister's press aide, Alastair Campbell, said "people will object to it, but we're determined to get the balance

right between human rights and society's right to live free from terror". He insisted that protection of what he called 'national security' was a vital task, though he admitted that there was no intelligence of a planned 'terrorist' attack on Britain by the al-Qaeda network. He said the new powers would only be used against small numbers of people in any case.

- The government last week vowed to introduce a new Terrorism Bill, even though the current Terrorism Act only became law in February. Among measures threatened in the new Bill are steps to force banks to report 'suspicious transactions' to police, and harsh sentences for anyone convicted of carrying out hoaxes such as anthrax scares.

Freedom

anarchist fortnightly

"How will the SAS persuade Bin Laden to surrender? By standing outside his cave and shouting 'Come out with your hands up or we'll send your daughters to college'."

Frank Dobson, Labour politician

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Capitalist summits continue

Qatar and Canada

International bosses have attended two important summits in the last fortnight. The meetings of the WTO (World Trade Organisation) in Qatar, and the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in Canada, were called to allow politicians, industrialists and bankers a chance to plan the next moves in their self-declared strategy of 'globalisation'. The WTO meeting, held over 9th to 13th November in the capital of the Gulf state, Doha, was the first international meeting of the organisation since the abortive summit in Seattle in 1999. Trade ministers and delegates from over 140 states attended.

In contrast to the earlier event, which was forced to close early by the intervention of thousands of anti-capitalist demonstrators, the Doha meeting passed with no protests being reported in the country itself, though other protest actions took place around the world. Many observers have pointed out that Qatar is a repressive and inaccessible sheik-



No protests in Doha

dom, suggesting that the choice of this country as a venue might not be coincidental in view of what happened in Seattle.

The meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, due to be held in Ottawa this weekend, follows one in Prague last year which was also the subject of massive street protests. Canadian and American anarchists were this week planning to mark the event with another large-scale anti-capitalist rally in Ottawa,

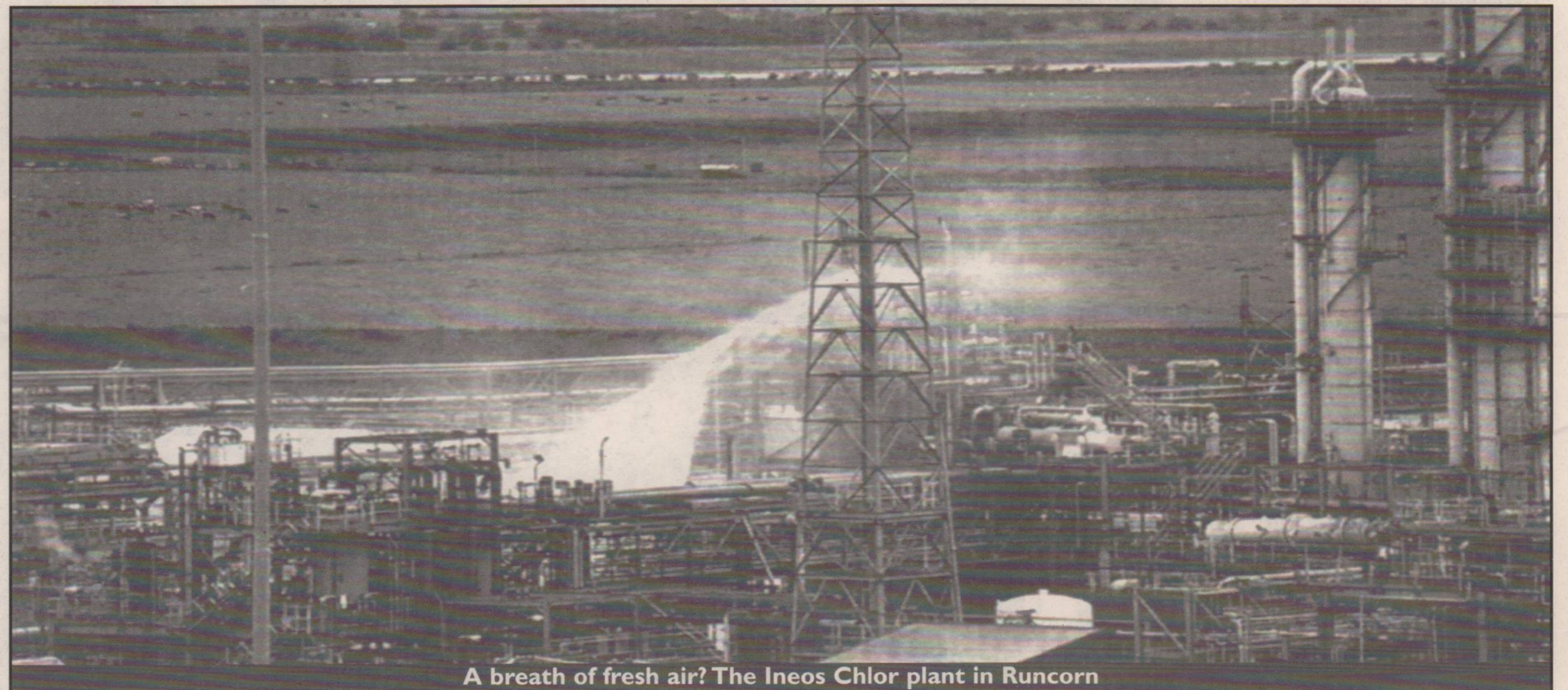
which is the Canadian capital.

But organisers of the protest admit that demonstrating has become much harder since attacks on American cities on 11th September. Lysander Zimmerman, of newly created Toronto anarchist collective The Black Touta, said "the voice of dissent is being silenced all over the world. In Ottawa, we have the potential to dictate a message. When people see that we continue to mobilise, even during so-called 'wartime', it does nothing but strengthen the power of our collective voice".

In common with other states around the world, Canadian bosses are rushing an Anti-Terrorism Bill through parliament. Since 11th September, there have been calls in the mainstream media and from many governments, demanding that the anti-capitalist protests which have rocked international summits in recent years should stop. But the summits themselves continue.

Editorial on page 7

Chemical warfare?



A breath of fresh air? The Ineos Chlor plant in Runcorn

North West England

The story of chemical pollution in north Cheshire, covered in the last issue of *Freedom*, took a new turn last week. The owners of the former Runcorn ICI plant, Belgian chemicals giant Ineos Chlor, are to take the previous owners to court.

Ineos bought the plant almost a year ago, and within months were issued a warning by the Environment Agency for not carrying out safety work (*Freedom*, 3rd November). They are now to launch a £65 million legal action against ICI, alleging that they were misled about the true condition of the chlorine-producing plant. Somewhat farcically, Ineos Chlor are also requesting the cancellation of a £100 million loan which ICI made them so that Ineos Chlor could afford to buy the plant from them in the first place. Ineos chairman Jim Radcliffe has also gone cap-in-hand to Secretary of State for Trade and Industry Patricia Hewitt, to ask for an aid package.

Despite assurances given the workforce to the contrary, redundancies have continued since the takeover, and it now seems a further 2,000 jobs are at risk in Runcorn. The government has compensated Cheshire farmers throughout the foot and mouth crisis, and workers in the chemical industry are waiting to see if the same generosity will be extended to them.

As usual, nothing has been heard from Labour MPs Derek Twigg (Halton) or Mike

Hall (Weaver Vale), and not one word from Labour-controlled Halton Borough Council has appeared on the matter in the local press. Instead, the council has shown where its priorities really lie by asking for lottery funds to clean up a golf course in Widnes.

ICI claims that Ineos Chlor were well aware of the condition of the plant before they purchased it. But Ineos says that refurbishment of thirty year old buildings and equipment will cost £170 million, with a further £200 million to replace the mercury cell rooms needed to make chlorine and caustic soda. In all, some £635 million will be needed to get the plant into shape. Ineos can not raise even half that amount.

While denying any responsibility for the condition of the plant, or the outdated technology it has been using, ICI have said they will support the Ineos Chlor bid for government funds. No wonder, as ICI have a 15% share in Ineos Chlor. Just what the Ineos legal team will make of all this is open to speculation.

Experts believe the knock-on effect of the plant's closure to the chemical industry could be the loss of 100,000 jobs nationwide. Runcorn produces 80% of the country's supply of caustic soda and chlorine.

Ineos have also acquired several smaller chemical concerns in Warrington, Widnes and Northwich. According to the *Runcorn Weekly News*, "sources claim the Runcorn plant would 'die a slow death' if the funds

could not be raised". The plant will not be the only thing dying a slow death along this section of the River Mersey, if the chemical industry continues to put public safety second to private profit.

• Meanwhile, the Health and Safety Executive (HSE) are investigating a chlorine gas leak from the plant. The leak, on 2nd November, was the second serious leak in under eighteen months, although local people believe other leaks have escaped detection because they have happened at night.

Ineos Chlor have attempted to play down the latest incident, saying that only the area around the villages of Weston and Weston Point were affected. They have yet to explain how a gas cloud can remain stationary in the strong westerly winds which blow in from the River Mersey, but hopefully the HSE might be able to extract an answer.

Local radio stations warned people to stay indoors, but no loudspeaker vans were used to inform outdoor workers of the danger. So gardening contractors, council workers, postal workers and milkmen continued to work through the incident, unaware of the risk.

The incident lasted some three and a half hours, and was finally brought under control by firefighters. Residents are now wondering how much longer Halton Borough Council can remain tight-lipped about the worst polluters in town.

Ronnie

Activists fight Sellafield case

Cumbria

Environmental activists began legal proceedings last week, in an attempt to stop the opening of a new reprocessing plant in the Sellafield nuclear complex. The case, brought by campaign groups Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth (FoE), began in London's High Court on 8th November. Lawyers for the groups argued that the government was wrong to allow reprocessing to go ahead.

Ministers gave their approval to the opening of the mixed oxide (MOX) plant at the start of October. The plant is intended to convert 'spent' plutonium and uranium into usable nuclear fuel. Although completed in 1996, it was refused permission to open for five years. This followed doubts over whether it would make a profit for its owners, British Nuclear Fuels Ltd (BNFL).

Lawyers for Greenpeace and FoE asked the court to grant a judicial review of the government's decision. They argued that ministers sidestepped the economic tests demanded by European Union environmental law. This requires the government to prove that the economic benefits of the scheme outweigh the cost to the environment. The groups argued that the economic benefits were distorted when £472 million of state aid to BNFL, used in the construction of the



plant, was disregarded. They also said that the decision to open the plant was particularly dangerous now, because of the risks incurred in transporting large amounts of radioactive material around the world. They said the opening would make it easier for so-called 'terrorists' to acquire the ingredients needed for building a nuclear bomb.

Both groups have also warned recently that, following the attacks on US cities on 11th September, Sellafield itself could now be a target. A similar attack to the one that brought down the World Trade Centre, if carried out on a nuclear power station, could

render hundreds of square miles uninhabitable and result in many thousands of deaths.

One opponent of the Sellafield scheme said, "the government sought to bury the MOX news under the blanket media war coverage. The decision ignores the well-documented dangers and deep public concerns over MOX production, and is a clear signal that Blair, acting in the interests of leading British corporations, intends to follow the US government in authorising a new generation of nuclear power stations".

Editorial on page 7

DU damned

Report from DAAMDU

If you want to know what campaigns are hitting a raw nerve with the state, just look at the treatment of the relevant activists. Davey Garland, administrator of the information list run by Bristol-based group Direct Action Against Militarism and Depleted Uranium (DAAMDU), recently received a CD and printout of progress on a DAAMDU project. The envelope had been opened, the CD cut in half with a knife and all but four of the 18 printed sheets removed.

Shortly afterwards, the computer on which the work was being done crashed completely, with all files destroyed. Engineers trying to fix it said it appeared to have been deliberately hacked into. The story fits with the experience of Felicity Arbuthnot, a freelance journalist who has written extensively on DU. Her mail is interfered with, her telephone tapped. She has received death threats and, earlier this year, a car with blacked-out windows and no number plates tried to force her car off the motorway at night.

Someone powerful doesn't want you to know the truth about DU. Contact DAAMDU, Box 15, 82 Colston Street, Bristol BS1 5BB or see www.pandora.project.on.to

• This article appears in the current issue of *bristle* (available from Box 25, 82 Colston Street, Bristol BS1 5BB, at £3 for five issues).

News in Brief

• **Oxford** Ten people were arrested last week, during protests against the opening of a new business school at one of the city's universities. The arrests, on 5th November, came just hours before the official opening of the school by the building's sponsor, Wafiq Said. He is a well-known dealer in weaponry and torture equipment, and has long been the target of protests by anti-militarist groups.

The Oxford protest began at 6am, as two climbers scaled the building. One was arrested before reaching the top, but the other managed to climb on to the roof with a banner saying 'built with blood money'. Eight people were arrested on the ground.

The fire brigade were called, but firefighters refused to break a political protest. The climber came down of his own accord several hours later. No charges were brought against any of those arrested.

• **Bristol** A city-centre Starbucks was trashed on the night of 6th November. The coffeeshop was unable to open the next day, as repairs were carried out. Local anarchists claimed responsibility for the move. "The only just war is the war on capitalism, that's the real war on terrorism", said one. "Starbucks is an icon of capitalist progress - that is, abuse of workers and ruthless profiteering. So it presents itself as a natural target".

• **London** Seven activists from the direct action group the Wombles, are due in court on 21st November, after an attack by West End cops on 31st October. The activists, dressed in white overalls, were stopped by a vanload of police as they walked down Oxford Street at 11pm. One was arrested, and police batons were drawn as others intervened. More vans arrived, and six more arrests were made. The so-called 'Halloween Seven' have been charged with various offences, including criminal damage, being drunk and disorderly, violent disorder and assault on police.

• **Liverpool** A man was arrested last week, after an attack on a cop at an outdoor remembrance service. PC Ray Colvin was hit on the head with a baseball bat, before his assailant ran off. The attack, on 9th November, was thought to have been aimed at Merseyside Chief Constable Norman Bettison. Colvin is his official driver.

Bettison is unpopular with many people in the area. After his appointment, there was an unsuccessful campaign to 'jettison Bettison' because of his role in the Hillsborough tragedy, when he worked for West Yorkshire police. He has also been accused of covering up corruption in the Merseyside force.

NAN Conference

North West

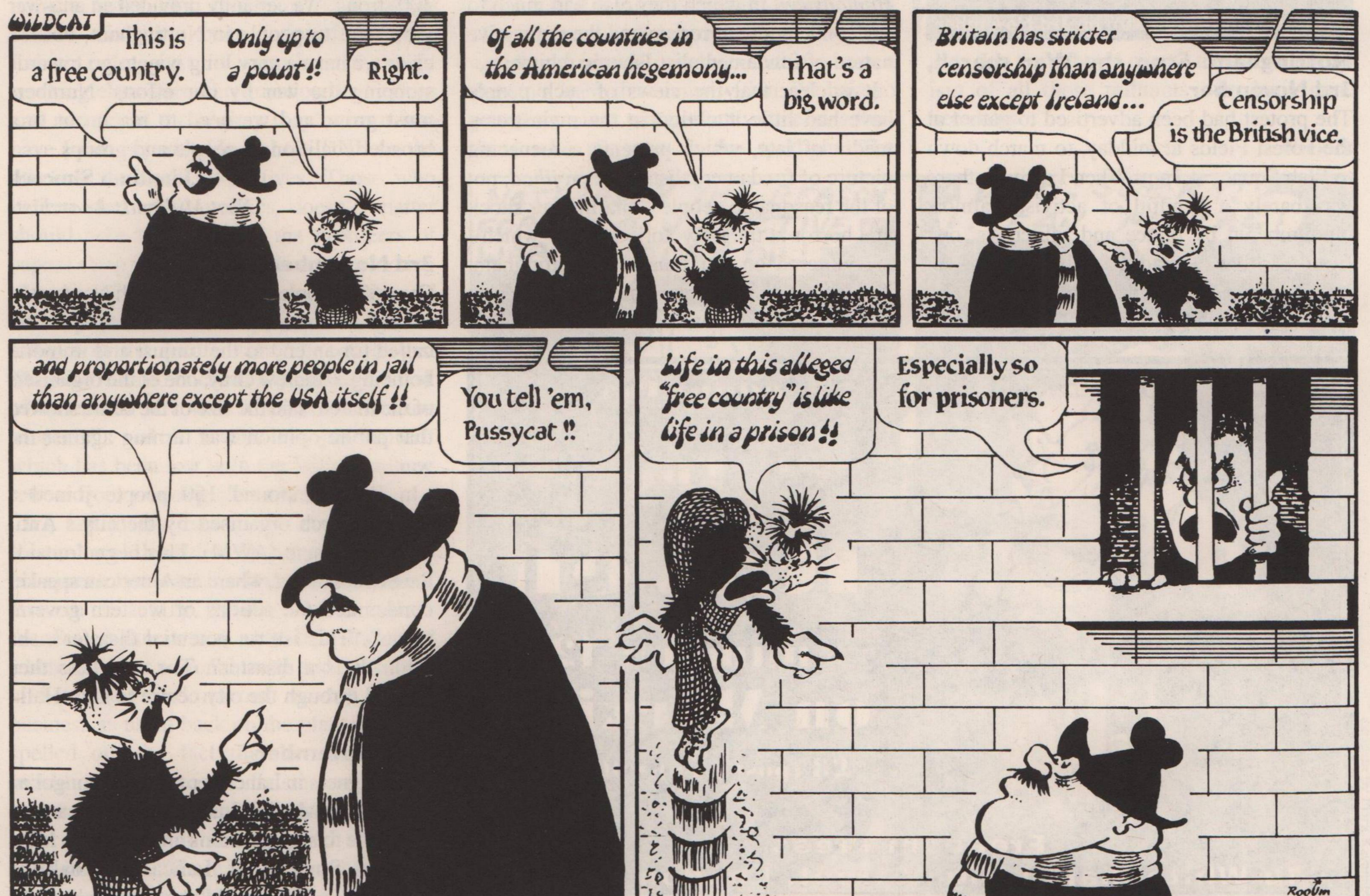
A joint conference of the Northern Anarchist Network (NAN) and the Revolutionary Socialist Network was held in Bury over the weekend 3rd-4th November.

A dominant theme was the role of anarchists in building links between different communities. Neville Parkinson described the roots of racism in England. Shamus Rehman, of the Kashmir National Identity Campaign, outlined the current situation in Oldham, the scene of riots this spring. The war was also discussed. Several speakers complained about the

domination of the anti-war coalition by the Socialist Workers Party, though others claimed that the party was an irrelevance.

There were also talks on workers' control as an anarchist alternative to privatisation, and on the anarchist experience of the G8 summit in July. There was a long discussion about the role of this newspaper in the British anarchist movement.

Freedom contributor Brian Bamford, who attended the conference, said, "only a movement which speaks to people in their own tongue, not sectarian jargon, can draw in the general public. We have made a start with this meeting".



Anti-war movement grows

Protests against the bombing of Afghanistan continue round the country. There were signs last week that demonstrations are starting to affect the ability of the state to wage its war.

Liberal newspaper the *Guardian* (10th November) reported a "deep fear in London and Washington that the international coalition against bin Laden could unravel if the allies lose the battle for 'hearts and minds'. The allies have watched in dismay as opposition to the war, in the west and throughout the Islamic world, has mounted".

2nd November

Around twenty people from Brighton Against the War occupied the Royal Naval Unit at Sussex University. They barricaded themselves inside for several hours, hanging a banner from a window, which said 'war is state terrorism'. About 150 protesters from another anti-militarist demo, which was being held nearby, gathered outside to give support.

There were scuffles as cops tried to prevent some of the people outside from entering the building, and water was tipped on police from an upstairs window.

Several of the occupiers were later arrested as they tried to leave the building, but the unit remained shut for the rest of the day. In a statement, the activists said "we believe that it is the responsibility of those who oppose war to do all they can to sabotage the war effort".

Further actions are planned. Contact nwbtcw@yahoo.co.uk



Police get in some practice arresting demonstrators - Faslane nuclear base, 22nd October

Photograph © Ludovic Turman

swelled. There were members of the Muslim community, and the usual mix of people from the SWP, Green Party, some peace activists, a few Roman Catholic nuns and around ten anarchists. There was only one black flag to be seen, but we did have placards and pamphlets. There were members of the Anarchist Federation with their copies of *Resistance*, and three of us East Midlands Anarchists with our own anti-war leaflet. Some people had come from well outside Nottingham: Loughborough, Kirkby, Bakewell and one anarchist from Denmark. While we waited for the start, the Nottingham Clarion Socialist choir sang and a lone individual played Irish tunes on a mandolin.

A mixture of interesting viewpoints was expressed by the groups and individuals present. Members of the Karima Institute in Nottingham, who are Muslims, were distributing a leaflet condemning the New York atrocity of 11th September, and quoting from the *Koran* in support of the Institute's condemnation of violence and terrorism. The International Federation of Iranian Refugees were distributing copies of their paper *Hambastegi*, in which they also had much to say condemning terrorism and the oppressive nature of fundamentalist Islamic regimes.

It is clear that the views of such people have had little attention in the mainstream media of late, which presents a menacing picture of fundamentalists bent on *jihād*, not of the reasonable people - sharing our shock and horror at the New York deaths - which I encountered on our march in Nottingham. The Nottingham Federation of Mosques also joined the march, with people of all ages,

women and children present.

We moved off at a stroll down Mansfield Road towards the city centre, providing a diverting sight for the spectators and footballers who were enjoying a Saturday morning game on Forest Fields, and stopping the traffic as we walked. As we went, there were the obligatory police cameras and camcorders recording our progress. Our numbers had grown to between 250 and 300 by this point, with flags, placards and banners all held high. Our audience grew as we encountered the increasing numbers of shoppers near the city centre. The SWP types did their usual ritual chanting, led by a loudhailer.

Reactions from shoppers and onlookers were mixed. Some were puzzled and curious, others openly hostile. I was called a hypocrite by one obviously angry man, and was unable to engage him in debate. Another replied, when I asked him if he wanted a leaflet, "I just want my bus". Others took our leaflets and paused to read them.

On arriving in Slab Square, I stepped up on one of the stone flower bed containers to get a better view. The crowd still looked only 300 strong. We certainly provided an anti-war viewpoint to people in Nottingham, but it's clear we have a very long way to go towards stopping the war by our efforts. Numbers must grow, and we need to reach out to a broader coalition of people and groups.

Jonathan Simcock

East Midlands Anarchists

3rd November

Over 600 people marched through Newcastle, led by a samba band. A series of speakers called for an end to the 'unjust and immoral bombing'. Andrew Gray, one of the organisers of the march, said the size of the demo showed that public opinion was turning against the war.

In Belfast, around 150 people joined a protest march organised by the city's Anti-War Movement (AWM). This began outside the School of Art, where an American speaker condemned the actions of western governments. "This isn't a potential disaster", she said. "It is a disaster". The marchers then walked through the city centre to City Hall.

10th November

Campaigners in Lancaster set up a Mongolian yurt tent in Market Square, inviting passers-by inside to sign petitions and letters to MPs. Alistair Sinclair of Lancaster Coalition against the War, said "the national media

isn't giving the true picture when it says there is broad support for this war".

In Hereford, home of the SAS, there was a demo in the city centre. Leaflets were handed out to shoppers.

In London, demonstrators held a vigil at the Cenotaph in Whitehall during the afternoon. The vigil was organised by CND, in remembrance of those killed in the 11th September attacks and in Afghanistan.

12th November

Two women activists from peace group Women Opposing War (WOW) arrived in Downing Street, after walking from their homes in Stroud. Carol Kambites and Grace Trevett walked for six days, collecting hundreds of signatures on a huge postcard, which they handed to government officials.

Most people they had met were supportive, Grace told *Freedom*. "It's all about informing people that they've got choices", she said. "It's made me even more determined to stop these things from being done in my name. I just want to scream at Tony Blair, 'the Emperor's got no clothes'. I was talking to one Muslim on the way, and he said, 'we all want to live in peace, not in pieces'. That sums it up".

Toby Crowe

Weekly vigils

Regular actions continue around the country. See the back page for more details of these.

Please keep sending reports and photographs from anti-war actions (all photographs will be returned). For more information, contact FreedomCopy@aol.com



Protesting in Nottingham on 3rd November

Photograph by Mick Cropper

Nottingham: Stop the War march, 3rd November

The protest had been advertised to gather at the Forest Fields at midday, to march down to Slab Square at 1pm. When I arrived, there was barely a handful of activists, almost outnumbered by police and filmcrews, one from Carlton TV and a freelance doing an interview for *Newsnight*.

As time went by, the numbers gradually

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According to the *Guardian* columnist Hugo Young, debates about racism and anti-racist strategies in the 1960s and 1970s were “rooted in the harsh, unabstract realities of everyday life. Housing, education, jobs were the focus”. In those decades, according to Young, “earnest, liberal Britain was asking itself ... how it could do the right thing by incomers afflicted by inequality”. After 11th September (an issue which, lest we forget, took place in New York and Washington, not London or Bradford), for Young all that has changed.

The “post-September Islamic outpourings” and the fact of “British Muslims going to fight against British interests in Afghanistan” have torn up the liberal script. The end result, supposedly, of the anti-racist strategies set out in earlier decades is that “multiculturalism gives [British Muslims] shelter from decisions about allegiance that the events of 11th September can no longer allow to be postponed”. The end result of all this is that “liberalism is betrayed by ... people who put the comfort of immigrant minorities before the insistence on an irreducible list of British civic values; democracy, mutual tolerance, equality of liberty, the rule of law”.

The first point to note is that Hugo Young isn't alone in his concerns. The British National Party has started a campaign ‘against Islam’, on the basis that Muslims are ‘the enemy within’. Fit company, then, for Young to keep. That aside, what's obvious from Young's rant is the patrician unease that ‘Asians’ have failed to be grateful for the opportunity the kindly colonial uncle has allowed them. In truth, the small number of British Muslims who've gone to Afghanistan – and the much larger number prepared to protest the war aims here – do so, not out of unthinking loyalty to a god, but out of a knowledge that the ‘civic values’ Young drools over are the fantasies of a comfortable metropolitan middle class.

British Muslims know that liberal concern over “housing, education and jobs” haven't prevented spiralling unemployment and low

pay for young Asian males, or the housing of large numbers of Asian families in sub-standard accommodation. “Equality of liberty” means the right to be cheap labour or unemployed, while watching Muslims in other countries die in their thousands (in Iraq, Chechnya, Bosnia). And all the while, pontificators about “mutual tolerance and democracy” do nothing. If “the values and norms that constitute the obligations that are central to being British” are rejected by increasing numbers of British Muslims, surely that might be because the ‘hypocrisy’ Young rails against is inherent to those values, rather than to those who reject them.

If you want to see what the death of class politics looks like, this is it. The middle classes that have been fattened by New Labour rail against the scum beneath, while working class kids who question the “values and norms” of the society they're born into have Islam on one side and the BNP on the other as ‘radical’ alternatives. Those who believe that class politics doesn't matter should note how soundly the profiteers of capital sleep in their beds, when the ‘working class beast’ is shackled in its cage. Islam and fascism grow in the spaces left by the failures of the secular left. The sociologist Theodor Adorno once remarked that the task of a critical left was to “hate its culture properly”, and it is this “proper hatred” which has been lost with the left's headlong retreat from working class communities.

It's fair to say that, in the class war, the lesson hasn't been lost on the other side. In his speech last week to the Confederation of British Industry, Blair told Britain's “recession-threatened industrialists” that (rhetoric about national unity and patriotism and ‘values and norms’ aside) it was business as usual back on the plantation. He spelled out the fact that his government would continue to be ‘business-friendly’, and that it would resist 1970s-style employment laws, tear up red tape and shake up planning laws. “There will be no dilution of our essentially flexible labour market. The

basic settlement in the last parliament will remain”. Britain, he said, was amongst the least regulated labour markets of any major industrial country in the world, and “it will stay that way”. More simply, in the global slowdown that follows 11th September, keep your bonuses fat, your shareholders sweet and make the working class pay.

In fact, recession was always on the cards (the International Monetary Fund forecast 4.8% growth for the world economy in September last year. A year later, the figure was 2.7%). The 11th September provides a patriotic gloss for it, but the price of recession was only ever going to be met by one section of society.

The lesson is simple enough. When liberal warmongers like Young rant about ‘loyalty’, we should remind ourselves that we have a duty too, to be the enemy within. We have to prove ourselves more effective enemies than those who are now in the spotlight. The

secular left in the UK didn't work, because it failed to “hate its culture properly” – parts of the left were so busy kissing the arse of the Labour Party they'd forgotten to hate at all.

‘Treason’ used to be an accusation thrown at anarchists and communists. During the First World War, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman drafted an *International Manifesto on the War*, to counter Kropotkin's support for the Allies. It declared, “our part is to summon the slaves to revolt against their masters. Anarchist action and propaganda should assiduously and perseveringly aim at weakening and dissolving the various states, at cultivating the spirit of revolt, and arousing discontent in peoples and armies”. If we are serious in our opposition to capitalism and the state, then treason becomes our duty. It's the debt we owe to the internationalism of all those militants who have gone before us.

Nick S.



A little radical reading

In the Hands of the Enemy: Mark Barnsley's struggle for justice

Justice for Mark Barnsley, 92 pages, £6.00

"I was not a prisoner, merely; I was an Anarchist in the hands of the enemy".

Alexander Berkman, *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*

"The law should be used as just another weapon in the government's arsenal, and in this case it becomes little more than a propaganda cover for the disposal of unwanted members of the public".

Brigadier Frank Kitson, *Low Intensity Operations*

These two quotations kick off the new book from the Justice for Mark Barnsley Campaign. Anyone who's read their first pamphlet, *Beaten up, fitted up, locked up*, will know the basic facts of Mark's case: attacked by a drunken gang of students while out for a quiet drink with a friend and one of his children, then framed by the police, he is now serving a twelve year sentence.

As John Barker says in his excellent introduction, that sentence is a sure sign that Mark was the victim of a state conspiracy: why else would he get so long for a crime which would normally mean two or three years, if not probation?

This book is an illustrated collection of articles by Mark and a wide range of his supporters, from activists and fellow prisoners to family members. Repression and resistance are recurring themes in this book – but none of it is dry-as-dust legal theory or comic-book sloganeering. We see how parts of the repression industry stick together, and the practical meaning of solidarity in a situation where militants face a maximum of force, almost in isolation.

The critical articles on what prison conditions are – and what our rulers are planning for them to be – mean this book is indispensable for anyone who believes in a freer or fairer society.

Anyone who believes in revolutionary change would learn a lot from this book. This is not just a warning of what the state can (and will) do, but also an inspiring account of revolutionary principles in action.

This review appeared in the *Bulletin of the Kate Sharpley Library* no. 28

The Road to Fascism: the rise of fascism and its relation to anarchism, syndicalism and socialism

by L. Gambone

Red Lion Press, 21 pages, £1.40*

The term 'fascist' is often used loosely to mean any rightwing dictatorship, such as the Pinochet regime in Chile, but this is incorrect. The ideology of military dictatorships is about an elite, such as the officer class, having the right to rule. The ideology of fascism, by contrast, is about the whole population being united in its aims. The outcomes are similarly nasty, but their beginnings are different.

As ruler of a country, Mussolini's ideal was national unity but, as this pamphlet shows, it was influenced by ideas of working class unity. In 1914, there was split in the Italian syndicalist and socialist movement between those who opposed the war and those who thought the war would bring about the revolution. The pro-war factions called



Mark Barnsley, still struggling for justice

themselves *Fascio Rivoluzionario d'Azione Internazionalista*. *Fascio* only means action group (but of course it is connected with the Latin word *fascis*, the classical bundle of sticks symbolising unity, which became the device of the Fascist Party).

Mussolini was one of the pro-war revolutionaries. He never described himself as an anarchist, but he translated Kropotkin's *Paroles d'un Revolté* and Reclus's *L'Homme et la Terre* into Italian, and wrote for the anarchist press. The Fascist Party incorporated rightwing nationalists, who thought democracy gave the workers too much power, as well as National Socialists who thought it did not give them enough. But the syndicalists were there first, and Mussolini's sympathies were always with them.

The pamphlet includes brief accounts of fascist regimes in other countries. A short pamphlet has little room for argument or detail, but Gambone is careful to state his sources, so this could be a useful starting point for serious students of the subject as well as a useful overview for the casually interested.

DR

Libertarian Communism

by Isaac Puente

See Sharp Press, 28 pages + cover, £2.00*

Isaac Puente, Buenaventura Durruti and Cipriano Mera were the Organising Committee of the Defeated in Aragon in 1933. Released from prison five months later, Puente, a Basque doctor, joined the revolution of 1936 but was captured and shot by the Fascists early on. This anarcho-syndicalist pamphlet was written in 1932, and the English translation (anonymous, but almost certainly by Stuart Christie) in 1982.

It was published as a pamphlet in Sydney in 1985, with some copy-editing which made it less readable. The See Sharp Press edition reverts to the original translation.

In substance, *Libertarian Communism* says little that is not said in, for instance, Rudolf Rocker's *Anarchism and Anarchosyndicalism* (published by Freedom Press, £2.00*). What distinguishes it is the refreshing sense of optimism and idealism.

DR

East End 1888

by William J. Fishman

Hanbury, 343 pages hardback, £20.00

This scholarly work of social history, first published in 1988, has been out of print for ten years. Freedom Press Bookshop sold substantial numbers of the paperback version of the first edition but this time, we are disappointed to learn, there will be no paperback. The main subject of the book is the condition of poor inhabitants of east London in 1888 (the year of the Jack the Ripper murders), but a review in the *Daily Telegraph* property section concentrates on the bits about property prices, and this review will concentrate on the bits about anarchists.

There was a regular speaking pitch at Victoria Park. One speaker on an anarchist platform there was described as a small energetic woman, a description which would fit Charlotte Wilson, then editor of this newspaper. Two of the speakers on the platform of Morris's Socialist League, who gave their names to the park-keeper, were the anarchists Fred Charles and Samuel Mainwaring.

Ever since London became affluent in the Middle Ages, immigrants have settled east of

the city wall, and there have been campaigns against them. In 1888, the immigrants were eastern European Jews, and "the most forceful advocates for the Jewish immigrants were the anarchists". An editorial in *Freedom* announced that "several English groups of socialists gave practical proof how thoroughly they appreciate the total character of the labour struggle by helping the *Worker's Friend* over a financial crisis". The several English groups are not identified, but we may guess that Charlotte Wilson herself was one of the benefactors.

Another may have been William Morris, who did not identify himself as an anarchist although anarchists wrote in his newspaper, *Commonweal* (which was to become an anarchist paper when Morris gave up the editorship). The anarchist Frank Kitz contributed an article headed 'The Blasted Furriners' in which he wrote "the 'Man in the Street' ... lends a ready ear to the wiles of those who wish to distract the attention of the workers from the real causes of their poverty ... The foreign working man landing in a strange land ... finds every man's hand against him on account of this illiberal teaching".

"Alas", writes Fishman, "support from this quarter, however generous and valid, was more of a liability than an asset for its recipient. For the Anarchists were a powerless, miniscule group, who, thanks to contemporary myths and newspaper propaganda, were regarded as criminals even by 'respectable' working men".

The Yiddish paper *Arbeter Frait* (*The Worker's Friend*) was not then the anarchist daily it subsequently became, but a weekly open to all varieties of socialist opinion. Its circulation was variously estimated at more than 17,000 and less than 200.

DR

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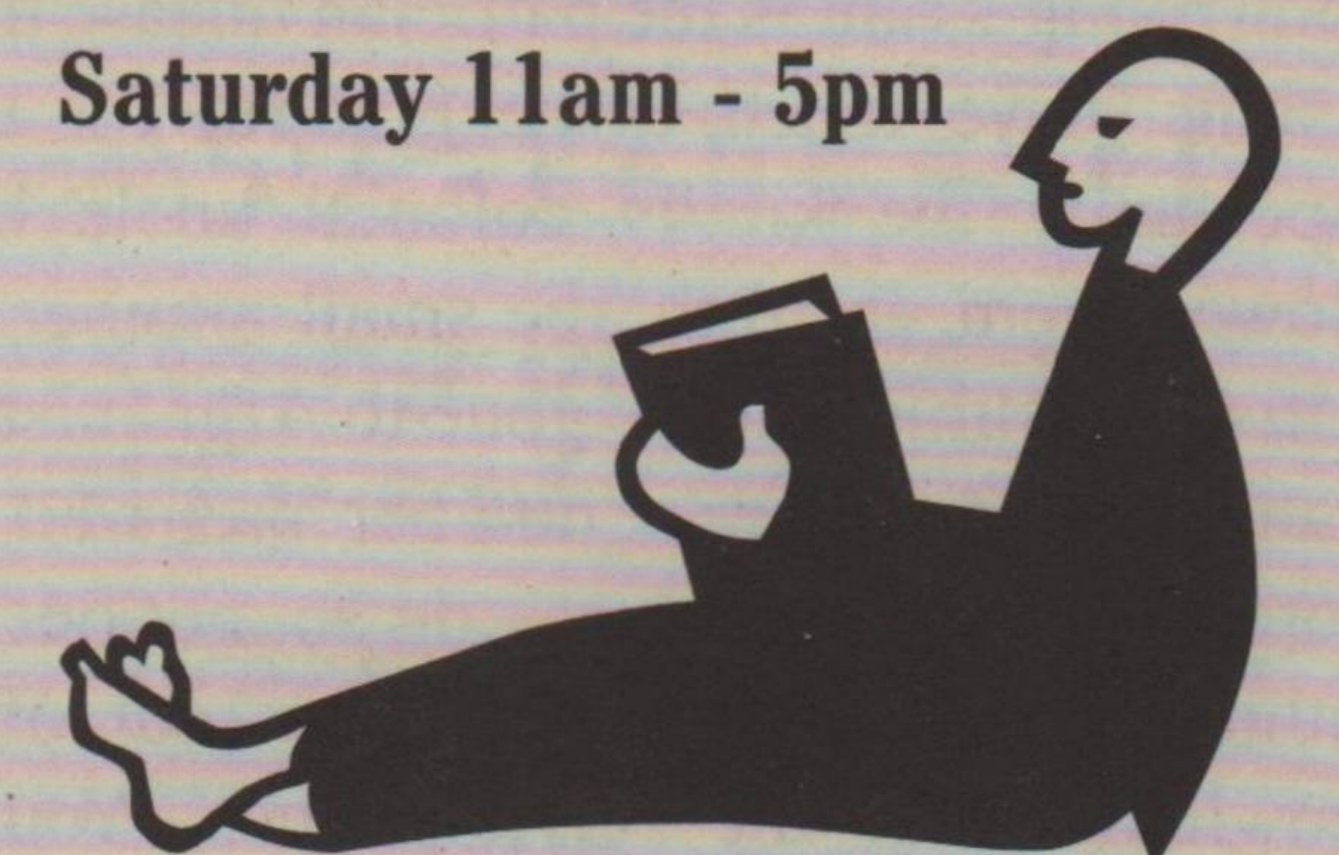
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What we say ...

Short of patience

Clare Short has always had a reputation for clamping her foot firmly in her gob. But Blair has kept her in high office because it pacifies the centre-left of his party. What we don't understand is why Short should enjoy such prestige amongst old Labour activists. Anti-capitalist protesters have gone quiet since 11th September, she asserted last week. Besides the fact that the only international summit between then and the time she spoke was in protest-hostile Qatar (wonder why), we'd point out to Short that her own government is busy bombing people. Maybe activists have got a few other protests to involve themselves with at the moment, Clare?

The demands of the anti-capitalists "turned out to be very similar to those of bin Laden's network", she insisted. Short's 'proof' for this spurious association between anarchism and a demented religious fanatic? "They say 'world trade is evil, we want to stop it'. If he says that too, do they still want to say that?"

Logic obviously isn't a strong point down at the Department for International Development. Of course we still want to say we don't like the world trading system. Capitalism still places power over the many into the hands of the few. And of course we still argue that it relies on exploitation and – yes – war for its existence.

Short spouts nonsense, she's a politician and politicians always do. Why don't more people see through them?

Stuff your morals

The Trade Union Congress was called off in September as a mark of respect for the victims of attacks on American cities. The international arms fair in London, meanwhile, went ahead. Now we're told that it's wrong to protest against capitalism (which slightly undermines Clare Short's claim that anarchists have all gone quiet – see above). It's wartime, apparently, so we've got to stick together. This is no time for divisiveness blah, blah, blah. But again, this apparently applies to only one side of the struggle.

The WTO summit went ahead in Qatar last week, the meeting of the IMF in Canada this. We don't appreciate being lectured on our 'moral duty' by these clowns, while they happily carry on as before. Efforts to stop the bombing will probably take priority for the moment over protests against capitalism. But capitalism's still our enemy, and our protests against it won't stop because some fat-cat in a posh convention centre tells us they should.

Court in the act

Anarchists are against the state. We want to see it abolished, along with all its legal paraphernalia – courts included. So how can we justify using these institutions ourselves, even with the desirable aim of stopping a new Sellafield plant from opening?

The answer's easy. Our rejection of the state has nothing to do with principles – it's a tactical preference. We want to make our lives better, and that's why we oppose the state. But sometimes the state concedes with one hand a method for frustrating the actions of the other, and in such cases (we think) it would be a mistake not to seize the opportunity.

Many anarchists are very moral people. But the struggle against the state is as much a power game as it is a moral one. If we can sometimes use the courts as a weapon against the state, rather than have them used against us, we'll get on and use them. M'luds, thank you very much.

Readers' letters

Catholic tastes

Dear *Freedom*,

I must take issue with your reporting of the denial of the London Anarchist Bookfair to allow the London Catholic Worker or myself to present a workshop at this year's event (news report, 20th October).

Your article misrepresents the process. I initiated email correspondence with the organisers several weeks after sending our payment for workshop space and not hearing from them. Their response was to inform us that they would not give us a space. My email response was one of disbelief that they could refuse one of the oldest anarchist movements in North America, and I recommended several works where they could confirm that claim for themselves.

Realising that time was running out, I offered a compromise workshop where I would launch my recent book on East Timor and report back from the planned blockade of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Brisbane.

It was when the Bookfair organisers informed me that I personally would be excluded that the tone of email correspondence went from disbelief to outrage. Your report quotes the organisers, who mistook outrage for 'abuse'. This was when I informed the organisers that I would release an open letter on censorship (available from ciaronx@hotmail.com).

During the earlier correspondence, the organisers wanted me to take a loyalty oath in relation to the various issues outlined in your report. A friend observed that all the issues seemed to be focussed on sexuality, and maybe these folks didn't get out of their bedrooms much! I suggested the revolutionary sites of our movement focussed on other priorities, and maybe we could report from

the (soup) kitchen, street and jail cells we frequent. This may border on sarcasm, but this hardly rates as 'condemnation' of anyone's political position, as your report had it.

A significant issue raised in this whole drama is that of the unnecessary insularity of the anarchist movement in Britain. Are anarchists content to be a subculture in the confines of capitalism, or are we willing to risk building a counterculture to confront corporate and state power? Such a construction would demand a pluralism, mutual respect of the various existential bases from which we arrive at anarchy, and solidarity which was absent in the refusing of a place to our workshop.

Ciaron O'Reilly

London Catholic Worker

www.geocities.com/londoncatholicworker

Dear *Freedom*,

I am very surprised that the organisers of the Anarchist Bookfair had not previously heard of the Catholic Worker, which was founded in 1932 as an explicitly anti-capitalist group, both pacifist and anarchist. Catholic Worker were very active in labour movement disputes in the USA, against capital punishment and in opposing all wars. Many of its members were imprisoned for their beliefs.

Catholic Worker the paper once had a circulation of 80,000, and included the work of important political and religious figures such as Ammon Hennacy and Thomas Merton, copies being sold at 'a penny a copy'. As well as a regular presence on the picket line, Catholic Worker set up soup kitchens and what they called 'houses of hospitality' to directly support the poor. In its heyday, it fought bitter disputes with a reactionary, anti-Semitic and pro-Franco Catholic establishment.

Ross Bradshaw

Dear *Freedom*,

The people from Catholic Worker are upset not to have been given a space at the Anarchist Bookfair. You quote Ciaron O'Reilly as saying that "anarchy means little if not free expression". If that's all there is to it, can we look forward next year to a stall run by the National Front?

And does anybody know Ciaron's views on abortion, same-sex relationships and contraception yet? He seems to have been given ample opportunity to provide some answers. What does he think of the Church, which is the organisation his group links itself to? Would anything less than outright hostility towards it be enough?

John Heap

State terrorists?

Dear *Freedom*,

A terrorist is "a person who uses or favours violent and intimidating methods of coercing a government or community" (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*). What government doesn't use violent and intimidating methods in enforcing its laws and remaining in power?

Phil Ipp

A clarification

Dear *Freedom*,

My argument that Saul-Paul perverted the teaching of Jesus into (state) Christianity (letters, 3rd November) can not fit in with your correction of my confusing grammar. "Saul's suppression of the Christians" is what you printed. "Suppression of the followers of Jesus" would have been better.

Ilyan

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WEEKLY ANTI-WAR ACTIONS

- **Brighton** Meeting held every Monday at 7.30pm upstairs at the Hobgoblin pub, London Road *organised by Brighton Against the War nwbtcw@yahoo.com*
- **York** Vigil for peace every Monday from 5pm at the fountain, Parliament Street *organised by York Against the War*
- **Bridgend** Vigil every Monday from 5pm to 6pm, Oxfam shop, York Place *organised by Bridgend Coalition for Peace & Justice*
- **Milton Keynes** Vigil every Monday from 5.30 to 6.30pm at the Central Milton Keynes Library *organised by Open Discussion*
- **Chester** Vigil every Monday from 5pm to 6.30pm at The Cross *organised by Chester Vigil for Peace*
- **Brighton** Vigil for peace every Tuesday from 6 to 7pm at The War Memorial, The Old Stein, between North Street and James Street *organised by Brighton Peace & Environment Centre*
- **Brighton** Vigil every Tuesday from 12 noon to 2pm outside MoD Recruiting Centre, Queens Road *organised by Brighton Peace & Environment Centre*
- **London** Peace vigil every Tuesday from 6pm to 7pm outside Downing Street *organised by ARROW 0845 45825634*
- **London** Women's anti-war picket every Tuesday from 5pm to 6.15pm, Downing Street *organised by International Wages for Housework Campaign*
- **Plymouth** Candlelit vigil every Tuesday from 6pm, Royal Parade, followed by meeting at Martinsgate, Bretonside, at 7.30pm *organised by Plymouth Coalition Against War 01752 313724*
- **London** Silent vigil (women only) every Wednesday from 6pm opposite National Portrait Gallery just above St Martins in the Fields Church *organised by Women in Black 020 7482 5670*
- **Coventry** Peace vigil every Wednesday from 5pm outside Belgrade Theatre *organised by Peace House*
- **York** Open meeting every Wednesday from 7.30pm at Friends Meeting House, Friargate *organised by York Against the War*
- **Kingston Upon Thames** Vigil every Thursday from 6.30pm to 7.30pm outside entrance to Bentalls Centre, Clarence Street *organised by Kingston Peace Council and CND 020 8399 2547*
- **Edinburgh** Vigil every Friday from 4pm to 6pm, Parliament Square *organised by Scottish CND*
- **Gosport** Silent candlelit peace vigil every Friday from 6pm, Ferry Gardens, Gosport, Hampshire *organised by Gosport Peace Vigil 01329 312553*
- **Reading** Peace vigil every Saturday from 12 noon to 2pm, Town Hall Square, Reading, Berkshire *organised by Reading Peace Group readingpeacegroup@hotmail.com*
- **Whitstable** Planning meeting every Sunday from 6pm at the Labour Club, 12 Belmont Road, Whitstable, Kent *organised by Whitstable Anti War Alliance*

ANTI-CAPITALIST BLOC at the London anti-war demo Sunday 18th November

meet at 12 noon sharp

Speakers Corner, Hyde Park

*We are calling for an anti-capitalist bloc to enable a broad alliance of non-hierarchical groups and individuals
Bring your mates, your costumes, flags, banners, props
and refreshments*

Contact: info@rhythmsofresistance.co.uk

Industrial Workers of the World

London branch meeting on
Monday 19th November

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1

The IWW has had some recent successes in Britain starting branches for supermarket workers, despatch riders and education workers, and we also have on-going campaigns. Internationally the IWW is organising on a much larger scale in the USA, Canada, Australia and elsewhere.

The IWW is a revolutionary union for all workers. We tackle day-to-day local workplace issues, while aiming to create a better society in the long run. Grassroots democracy and direct action are our means and ends. Solidarity within the IWW and the working class in general is our motto. The IWW has a long and proud history. IWW members were involved in the Mexican, Russian and Spanish revolutions and numerous epic industrial and social battles throughout the twentieth century. Early on we acquired the affectionate nickname 'The Wobblies'.

More information and application forms available from:
Industrial Workers of the World, PO Box 4414, Poole, Dorset
www.iww.org.uk

TYNESIDE RADICAL FILM FESTIVAL

The Side Cinema, Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 3JE

Part 3. Indigenous Movements

Wednesday 28th November at 8pm

- **Strong Roots** (Global Exchange, 41 mins)
This is the story of Movimento Sem Terra (the Landless Workers Movement) in Brazil and their inspirational struggle for the rights to own their own land.
- **The Coconut Revolution** (Stampede, 50 mins)
Tells the story of the small island of Bougainville in the Pacific where the islanders continue to resist armed attack from the Papua New Guinea Army and exploitation from mining companies. Their weapons? Coconuts of course.

info: Paul on 0191 272 4635 or paul.chatterton@ncl.ac.uk

London Anarchist Forum

7th December Anarchy and Environmentalism (symposium)

21st December Anti-Xmas Party

This fortnightly discussion forum is held on Fridays from 8pm at the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn.

For more info see: www.trak.to/LAF or contact LAF@anarchic.co.uk

Manchester Radical Bookfair

Saturday 8th December
from 12 noon to 7pm

Bridge Mill 5, 22a Beswick Street, Ancoats, Manchester

for more information contact: ludred@hotmail.com

or telephone 0161 273 1736

PRISON ABOLITION ... OR MORE PRISONS?

A conference on the abolition of prison
Saturday 26th January 2002
from 10.30am to 5pm at Conway Hall
Red Lion Square, London WC1

contact: Prison Abolition Conference,
c/o BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX
prisonabolition@hotmail.com

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