

anarchist fortnightly

Freedom

Vol. 62 No. 23

1st December 2001

50p



Something about Mary

Upright and uptight, self-appointed guardian of public morals Mary Whitehouse died last week. The fanatical – some might say puritanical – campaigner against what she called ‘the permissive society’ had spent four decades lambasting television in general and (ridiculously) the BBC in particular as the source for all that she saw as wrong with the world.

And what she saw as wrong could be summed up in just two words: swearing and sex. Strangely for a figure of such moral rectitude, Mrs Whitehouse was curiously fascinated by both, especially the sex. In setting her face as a flint against what other people should be allowed to watch, she was never one to attack things she hadn’t seen herself. Rumpy-pumpy in the forest, male rape, Alf

Garnett – she sat through the lot before trying to stop others from doing so.

The world is full of people who want to tell us what we should or shouldn’t do, should or shouldn’t watch. This shrill and occasionally dangerous battleaxe was just one amongst many. Our misfortune is that most of the others aren’t so obviously ridiculous, making them far more dangerous. We just might miss Mary yet.

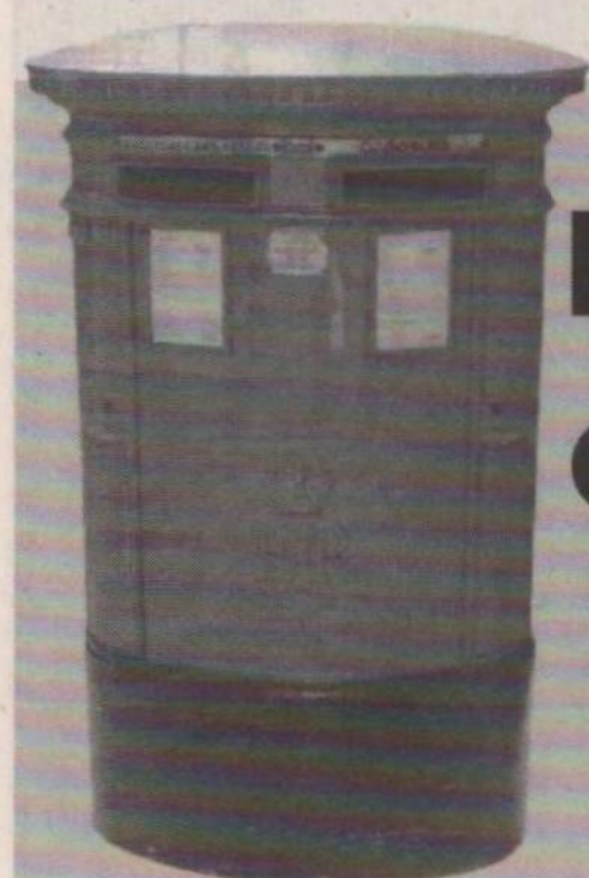
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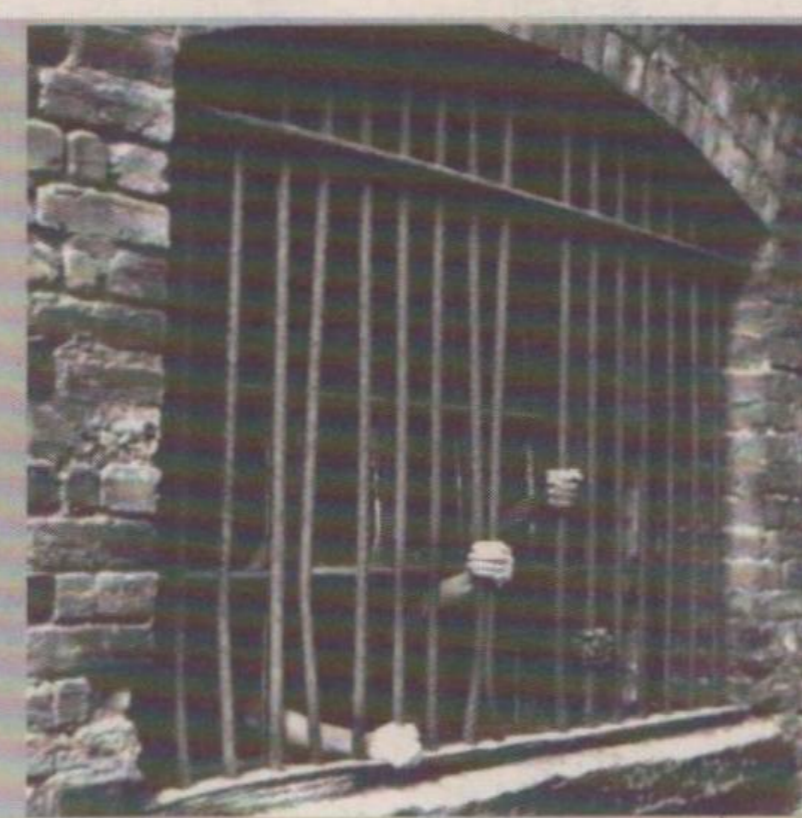
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50p



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Massive demonstration as the US switches its attention to new targets

Still struggling for peace

There was controversy last week over the number of protesters attending the 'Stop the War' march and rally in central London on 18th November. This followed claims from cops and much of the mainstream media that just 15,000 people had marched from Speakers' Corner to Trafalgar Square.

Bosses of the Socialist Workers Party, who claimed to have organised the event through their Stop the War subsidiary, said that 100,000 people had attended. Most observers put the figure around 60,000.

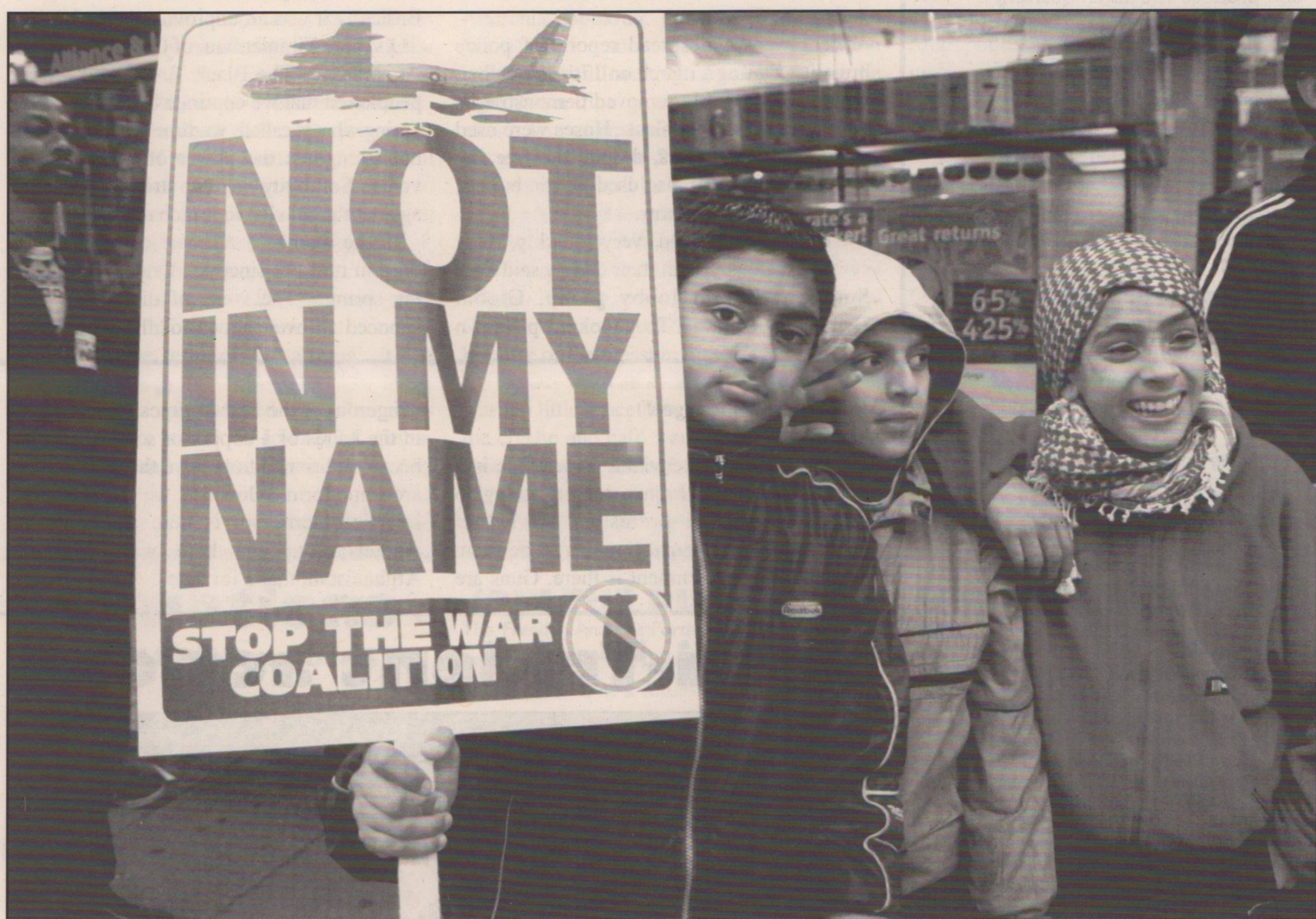
This would represent a huge increase on the earlier march against the war, which took place on 13th October. Even the police's own observers on that occasion had estimated attendance at 20,000, while activists said the number was around 40,000.

Those who attended both marches flatly contradicted police claims that numbers had fallen, saying that the later demonstration was much bigger.

Anarchists were quick to point out that it would suit the interests of the state if the impression could be given that the number of people opposing the war was diminishing. Many also claimed that there had been a concerted effort in the mainstream media to portray the war in Afghanistan as 'won' the day Kabul fell to forces of the US-backed Northern Alliance.

There were indications at the start of this week that the debate within the American establishment between so-called 'hawks' and so-called 'doves' had tipped significantly towards those who want now to extend the war to other countries of the Middle East and beyond. The *Sunday Times* (25th November) reported plans being made in Washington and London to strike at targets in Somalia, Sudan and Yemen. According to that paper's sources, strikes could be launched as soon as the New Year, if Afghanistan has been totally subjugated by that time. This follows recent reports that the Sudanese government is developing biological "weapons of mass destruction". It is well known, however, that within the Pentagon the favourite target for attack is Saddam Hussain, the Iraqi dictator once armed and supported by America and Britain. Last week, the Pentagon announced its intention to hold major military exercises in Kuwait. Officials said that additional troops were being sent there in readiness. Two thousand soldiers were this week preparing to fly out from bases in the US.

Editorial on page 7



photograph by Richie Andrew

On 18th November it was London ...

Second time around

Yet another demonstration. Another time, same place as many before – Hyde Park start, Trafalgar Square finish. A fluid-looking flow of humanity, to the sink beneath Nelson's Column. The usual banners, Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party most prominent (in numbers that is). The usual stuff about American and British imperialism, relevant but – in the main – boring. Cameras flashing, shutters clicking. Chanting slogans, singing, musical instruments. The collective left at prayer? Not quite.

My observations showed a rich diversity of groups and individuals. One person that is always at these demos, an elderly man holding a placard with the same message every time: "it will only get worse". Pessimistic certainly, but is he right?

In Hyde Park before the march began, vast numbers of people milled about. Some groups could now be readily identified, with banners and placards being held above for Globalise Resistance, Scottish CND, Gays Against the War, Alliance for Workers' Liberty and (last in my list) Hammersmith and Fulham Trade Union Council, a very fine and old work of art. On a red background, one side of a portrait of William Morris; on the other, two brawny male hands over a metal anvil. The left hand holding pincers, the right a hammer. A credit to whoever has kept this banner in such fine fettle over the years.

Many more placards and such, portraying messages from Greens, communists, socialists, Muslims and other religious groups, as well as some (not many) anarchists. Are we

getting shy, or was my person in the wrong place at the wrong time?

There are other threads that connect to the Stop the War effort. A useful reminder that this march is not a single issue comes with this quotation from a leaflet entitled *Campaign Against Criminalising Communities* put out by the Haldane Society. Their literature tells us about a certain Peter Quail, stopped by thirty cops, four pointing machine guns at him while a helicopter hovered overhead, just because he'd given a lift to his father, a Scottish Trident Ploughshares protester.

"When they went away, they gave me a note which thanked me for my cooperation – as if I had a choice in the matter. These were young lads, really hyped up. My legs were

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Freedom

anarchist fortnightly

"No-one can achieve their own emancipation without at the same time working for the emancipation of all those around them."

Mikhail Bakunin, revolutionary (1814-1876)

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'Climate of fear' stifles protest

Canada

Over 4,000 activists demonstrated at an international capitalist summit in Canada a fortnight ago. There were at least forty arrests during the two-day summit, which was held in Ottawa on 16th and 17th November. The protests marked a joint meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank with finance ministers from the G20 group of so-called 'developed nations'.

The protests were much smaller than the ones held in Québec in April, when 50,000 people demonstrated against the Summit of the Americas. This was attributed last week to governments creating 'climate of fear', in the wake of attacks on the US in September.

The protests began on 16th November, when demonstrators tried to break through a metal fence built round the convention centre where the summit was being held.

Concussion grenades were fired as massed ranks of cops pushed them back. The windows of a McDonalds franchise were smashed during the fighting.

There were widespread reports of police brutality. During a march on 17th November, armed cops forcibly removed demonstrators who were dressed in black. Hoses were used to soak demonstrators, despite the freezing temperatures. Cops also used plastic bullets, teargas and pepper spray.

"The police moved very quickly, very swiftly, viciously with their dogs", said Paul Smith of liberal lobby group, Global Democracy Ottawa. "They took people down



Two forms of communication in Ottawa

in the street, they held people off with riot sticks and they threatened them with guns. Basically it was an unprovoked attack".

Lysander Zimmerman, of Canadian anarchist collective The Black Touts, said, "when people see that we continue to mobilise even during what is called 'wartime', it does nothing but strengthen the power of our collective voice. Solidarity is our strongest weapon against the inevitable police repression".

But he blamed a 'climate of fear' for the drop in turn-out since the Québec actions in the spring. "The voice of dissent is being silenced all over the world", he said. "What

are our chances of attracting another 125,000 people into the streets, as we did in Genoa, for the next G8 meeting? Not very good, everyone was discouraged after 11th September".

He continued, "it's as if we are about to silently sit back as the government takes away our liberties in the name of protecting the security of freedom. Three months ago, if we'd known the powers police were going to have in their new paradise, there would have been civil uproar. Now everyone is shy or scared".

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like jelly".

If this person's unenviable experience is a measure of future events, we are going to witness deaths of protesters – whether deliberate or accidental remains to be seen. The mood in government is there. Guns are

dangerous at the best of times, but when it's in the hands of a copper or soldier who has been conditioned to believe that we activists are some form of low life, we are in trouble. Legalised terrorism is here and now. Yet whatever happens here won't be like Afghanistan, that's for sure.

Even the Taliban should not have been bombed with so-called 'daisy cutters'. It is well-known that any bomb will take innocent lives as well as the guilty. So far we have not heard about civilian deaths, but maybe the truth never will come out.

Mark Steel, writing in the *Independent* recently, wrote "the anti-war argument is based on the idea that bombing civilians – wherever they are (i.e. in Kabul or New York) – is wrong. The problem is that not all sections of the anti-war movement accept that this is the basis of the anti-war campaign.

When the Stop the War coalition was set up, the SWP argued strongly against including "condemnation of the 11th September massacre" in its statements. They went on to issue a separate statement distancing themselves from the Socialist Alliance, when that organisation condemned the attack on the World Trade Centre.

When the steering committee of the Stop the War coalition was elected at a subsequent meeting, the SWP again argued that those forces within the coalition who saw an enemy, not only in George Bush but also in the Taliban, should not have a place within it.

It has been written elsewhere by anarchist observers that the Trots treat any enemy of their enemy as friends – a dangerous notion. We should not let the SWP hog the debate.

At the millenium year, Islam had a billion followers. Imagine this lot getting a bit shirty because we want their oil and bin Laden himself. Whoever it was that said 'stop the world, I want to get off' has my full sympathy.

Islam is the largest religion after Christianity, and readers might wish to know that there is no god but Allah. Muhammed is the messenger of Allah. Recitation of these two phrases in the presence of two witnesses is all that is required for conversion to Islam.

Don't all rush at once.

Mick Cropper

Anti-Trident actions



Saying no to Trident, Downing Street, 17th November

London

Activists from anti-nuclear group Trident Ploughshares chained themselves to the gates of Downing Street on 17th November, during a protest against the Trident weapons programme. Cops used bolt-cutters to remove the chains from eleven protesters, before dragging them away. Another activist, Dave Rolstone, was removed from the top of the gates. There were no arrests. Around fifty other activists blockaded the entrance for an hour. A banner was hung over the gates, which said, "CLOSED. Nuclear terrorists under investigation. UK's Trident missiles could kill

millions". David McKenzie, a representative of Trident Ploughshares, said, "while the British government is making loud noises about terrorism and the sanctity of human life, they are persisting in actively deploying a weapon which is one of terror".

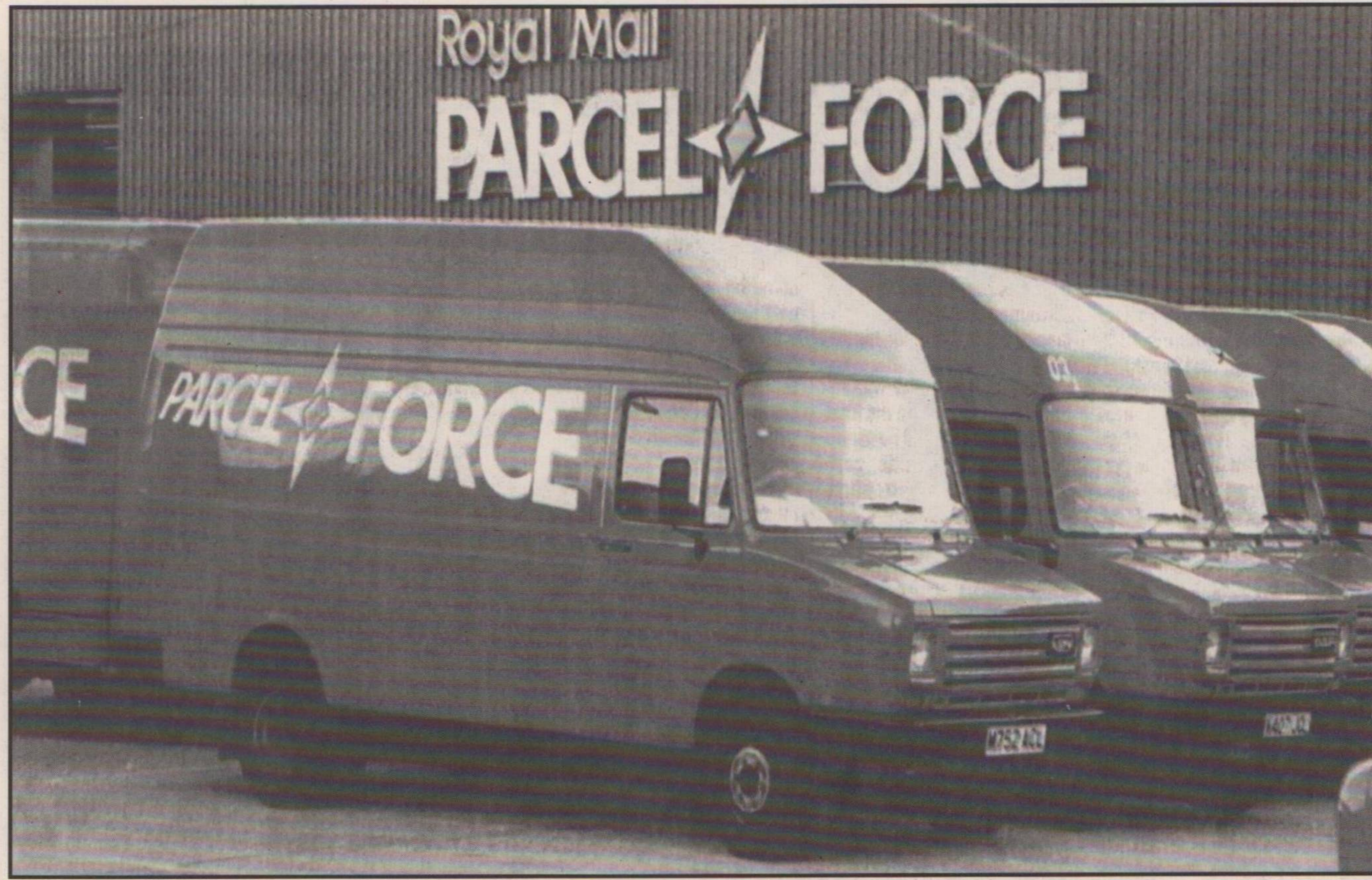
In a second action by members of the group, a 'citizens' inspection team' tried to enter the head offices of Rolls-Royce on 19th November. Seven activists tried to gain entry to the building in Buckingham Gate, in an attempt to 'investigate' the company's role in the British nuclear weapons programme. Rolls-Royce produces the reactors which power the nuclear submarine fleet. They were removed by security guards.

Postal workers consider strike

Members of the Communication Workers' Union (CWU) have been sent a glossy leaflet by their union's Postal Executive, outlining their strategy for achieving £300 for a 35 hour week. The leaflet, apparently penned by John Keggie, Deputy General Secretary (Postal), tells workers that the CWU intends to conduct a national ballot for industrial action.

Negotiations on pay usually start early each October, and are concluded some time in January when the build-up of back pay is considered enough of a carrot to get yet another lousy deal past the membership. The CWU are asking for a 5% pay increase for the next two years, with a reduction in hours over the same period. Many postal workers are still performing a 41½ hour week, over six days. For years, they have relied on overtime to bolster poor pay, while the employers have also relied on this to keep standard payrates low. Recently though, overtime has been drying up, and many workers are finding life on basic pay a struggle.

The call for industrial action follows meetings of local representatives at which the issue of pay was discussed and soundings taken over whether the membership would



be prepared to make a stand. No doubt the workforce will give the union leadership the necessary mandate, but with reservations. This same leadership, in conjunction with Royal Mail management, pushed through the 'Way Forward' agreement and Payment Bonus Scheme, which both caused so much resentment against the CWU from its

membership. Some delivery offices have more chance of being struck by Haley's Comet than they have of achieving the bonus. There is the feeling that Keggie will march us up to the top of the hill and march us down again – before settling for 2%, and that with more strings attached than the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

Members believe a deal will soon be struck to consolidate payment on 'door to door' items. These are the annoying leaflets delivered along with the mail. At one time, staff were not forced to deliver them, and many simply refused to do so. A decade ago, a deal was struck with the union whereby the leaflets had to be delivered within two weeks, later reduced to five days with a maximum of three different leaflets to be taken at once. The union and management are now looking for an increase of five per week, besides another increase of several bags in real mail, which shows how far from reality these people are. Payment currently stands at 1.67p per item, an increase of 0.67p in just over twenty years. There is the possibility that we will be delivering these leaflets for nothing in the near future.

Neither John Keggie, nor General Secretary Billy Hayes, have much credibility among the rank-and-file, and the idea of either man (both Labour Party members) waving their little red flags and storming the barricades against Royal Mail management and their chums at the Department of Trade and Industry is laughable.

Liverpool Postie

News in Brief

• **Runcorn** Bosses at the Ineos Chlor chemical plant (*Freedom*, 3rd and 17th Nov) have announced 90 redundancies. The job losses will affect production workers and research scientists. Remaining staff are to have their weekly hours increased from 36 to 40, with 'restructuring' of health insurance, bonus schemes and pensions. There will also be what management call 'changes in salaries', which workers say can mean only one thing. Managers explained that changes in working conditions were necessary, and would save the company £3m per year.

RW

• **Bedford** A new detention centre for asylum-seekers received its first detainees last week. The Yarl's Wood centre, thought of as a flagship of the government's strategy against refugees, opened its doors on 19th November. As the first ten inmates were taken inside, anti-detention campaigners picketed the gate and condemned the state's 'inhuman' treatment of people fleeing oppression.

The centre, run by security company Group 4, was originally due to open in April. It is scheduled to reach its capacity of 900 people in the spring.

Local activist Emma Ginn said, "the widespread arbitrary detention of asylum-seekers is inhumane and causes untold trauma". She said that regular anti-detention actions would be held outside the centre.

• **Oxfordshire** Anti-detention activists held the 8th anniversary demonstration outside Campsfield detention centre on 24th November. The centre, in Kidlington, was one of Britain's first when it opened in 1993.

The demonstration came two days after parts of the building were set on fire. Five detainees were taken to hospital on 22nd November, suffering from smoke inhalation. This followed a disturbance inside the centre, which is thought to have involved a small number of inmates.

A representative of Group 4, which runs the centre, said that there had been vandalism and fire damage. He said it was not known who had started the fire. Cops

were called, but Group 4 staff in riot gear contained the disturbance without their help.

• **London** Activists from the HACAN ClearSkies group staged a march along Whitehall last week, in protest at plans for a new terminal at London's Heathrow airport.

Members of the group, which represents people living under Heathrow flight paths as well as those who live close to the airport itself, condemned last week's decision by the UK government to approve the new terminal. "Flight numbers in the UK have been growing at 4-6% a year over the past decade", said a representative of the group. "If this growth continues, the country will need the equivalent of four new Heathrows by 2020. Although individual planes have become quieter, any benefit to residents has been

offset by the huge increase in the volume of aircraft". Over a million people now live under Heathrow's flight paths. Some of these are used by flights every ninety seconds throughout the day. Heathrow is also the most polluted area of South East England, outside central London.

• **London** Controversial film *Injustice* was due to be screened at the West End's Prince Charles Cinema on 30th November. The film documents the struggles for justice waged by families of those who have died in police custody. Lawyers acting for cops named in the film have successfully prevented several previous showings.

Further screenings are planned for 2nd and 5th December at the Prince Charles Cinema, 7 Leicester Place, WC2H (020 7494 3654).

New terror law condemned

Environmental group Greenpeace last week condemned the government's Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Bill. Explaining why the group had decided to place a critical whole-page advertisement in the *Guardian* (19th November), a Greenpeace representative said that if the Bill became law, any investigation into the nuclear industry would be illegal.

The advertisement carried a map of London marking the routes taken by nuclear trains, under the heading "in four weeks this advert will be illegal".

The new Bill makes it a criminal offence to disclose information "which might prejudice the security" of nuclear material.

• See also comment on page 4



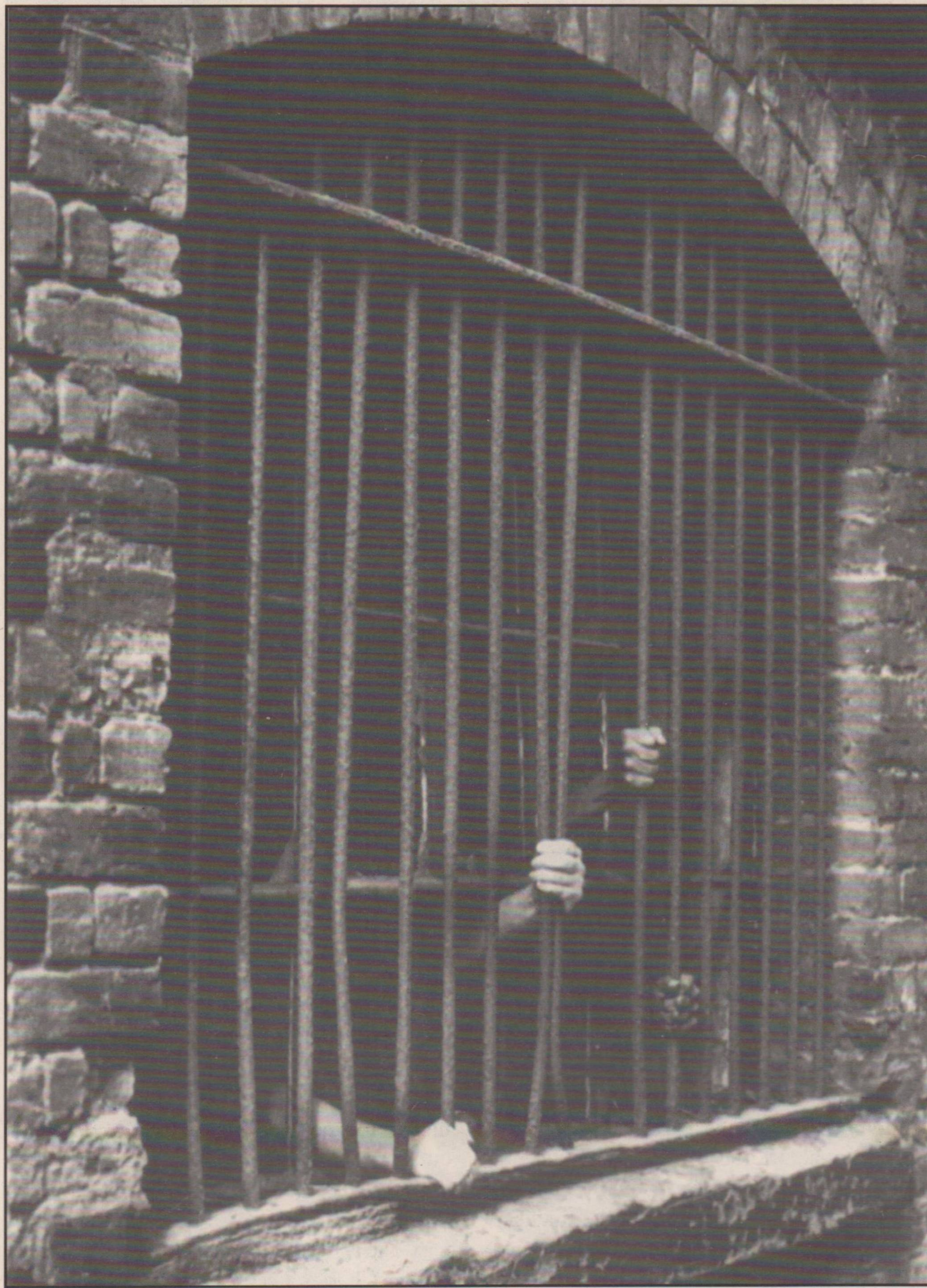
As internment returns

Much commentary on the proposed Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Bill has focused on its proposal to detain 'suspected terrorists' indefinitely and the derogation (opt-out) from Article 5 of the European Convention on Human Rights which is necessary to do this. What has been neglected is the extent to which the Bill itself – and the consequent furore over its core intent – has been used to smuggle through a variety of measures which otherwise might not easily pass through even this most passive of parliaments.

Part 1 and Schedules 1 and 2 of the Bill give law enforcement agencies the power to seize 'terrorist' cash anywhere in the UK and the power to freeze assets at the start of an investigation, rather than when an individual is about to be charged. This would in effect allow seizure of the resources of 'suspected' terrorist organisations indefinitely, so long as the pretence of 'investigation' was maintained and regardless of charges being brought. Given that the definition of 'terrorist activity' contained in the 2000 Terrorism Act is so wide as to encompass any effective political protest, the new powers would allow seizure of the assets of any organisation or individual on the pretext of 'reasonable suspicion' of terrorist activity.

Part 10 of the Bill amends the 2000 Terrorism Act, to allow forcible taking of fingerprints and 'physical data' from suspects under the pretext that it might aid identification. Section 54 of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE) is amended to allow forcible searching (including strip-searching) of suspects; Section 64 of PACE is amended to allow removal by force of "an item or substance worn over the face" and the subsequent photographing of suspects without consent; Section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 is amended to give the police power to order the removal of disguises – with a penalty of up to one month's imprisonment for non-compliance.

A new Section 38A is inserted into the Terrorism Act, making it an offence to fail to disclose, without reasonable excuse, information which the suspect believes or knows might help prevent another person carrying out an act of terrorism or might help the police in bringing a terrorist to justice in the UK (maximum penalty five years' imprisonment). This is a tout's charter. In the United States, it is common practice to call leftwing activists before grand juries and jail them for refusing to co-operate. Given the wide definition of terrorism deployed in the 2000 Act, this is clearly an attempt to employ similar strategies in the UK, as a means of disrupting protest movements,



prisoner support groups and the like.

The jurisdiction of the (routinely armed) Ministry of Defence Police (MDP) is extended to allow them to operate in the police area of any local police force that asks them for help, or – where an MDP officer "reasonably believes an offence is about to be committed" – to operate outside MDP jurisdiction without waiting for authorisation. In other words, the armed, mobile MDP can, "in the face of emergency", be deployed anywhere the deployment of such force is deemed necessary.

Part 11 of the Bill allows the Secretary of State to issue a Code of Practice "relating to the retention by communications providers of communications data obtained or held by them". In effect, the Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act 2000 is to be rewritten, to cover all communications data without limit.

Part 8 relates to civil nuclear security. It extends the constabulary powers of Atomic Energy Authority special constables, giving them jurisdiction anywhere within 5km of any licensed nuclear site. Clause 79 makes it an offence to disclose information about the transport of nuclear material to or from a nuclear site.

Clause 109 – a 'miscellaneous' clause – provides for the implementation of European Union measures adopted under Title VI of the Treaty on European Union (Police and Juridical Co-operation in Criminal Matters) via secondary legislation. The raft of cross-border policing measures put forward at Amsterdam in 1997 and Nice in 2000 included the proposed creation of a Europe-wide police force, European arrest warrants and the abolition of extradition procedures between member states. These are now to be smuggled into UK law via the Bill.

The proposals which have attracted most attention, however, are the ones contained in Part 4 of the Bill. These allow for the certification of a person as an 'international terrorist' (Clause 21), and the indefinite detention of any non-British nationals the Secretary of State believes to be a risk to national security (Clause 23). It is important to be clear what is at stake here. The Terrorism Act allows for arrest in connection with terrorism where "a constable or similar has reasonable grounds to suspect" involvement in terrorist activity. Under the new Bill, the requirement of reasonable cause will be removed for foreign nationals.

Moreover, under the Bill the definition of 'terrorism' in the 2000 Act is extended to apply to anyone suspected, not only of "involvement with", but also of "links with"

a person who is a "suspected member of an international terrorist group". These 'links' are plainly intended to cover friends, relatives and colleagues – or, as the Immigration Law Practitioners' Association notes, "anyone attending the Halkevi Community Centre, or any of the many MPs who picketed the South African Embassy on Friday nights campaigning against apartheid". The provisions of the Bill will remain in force for fifteen months, and detention will be reviewed on a six-monthly basis.

The Bill provides for oversight of certification and detention by the Special Immigration Appeals Committee (SIAC). This guarantee of oversight, though, is effectively worthless. National security certifications and detention orders can be made by the Secretary of State on the basis of secret evidence. The SIAC can hold appeals in secret, without the certified person or their counsel present. Even if the SIAC determines that it disagrees with the Home Secretary, its powers have already been substantially limited by the recent ruling in relation to Shafiq Ur Rehman, a Pakistani national who is subject to a deportation order for involvement with an alleged Islamic terrorist organisation.

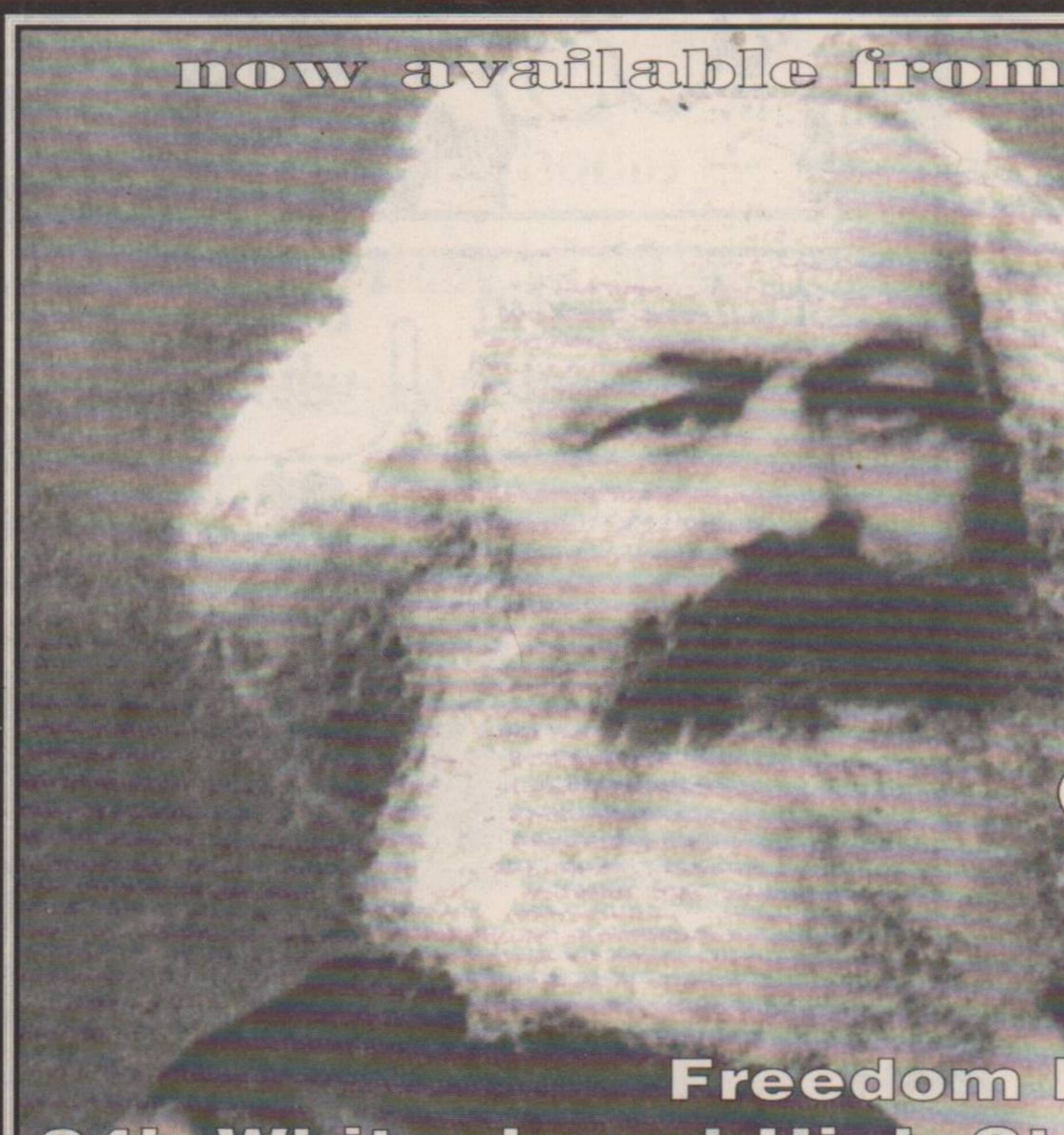
The SIAC ruled that the Home Secretary had not proved that Rehman's actions were directed against the UK or its citizens. The Court of Appeal overruled SIAC's decision, holding that in any national security case, the Home Secretary was entitled to examine the case as a whole and make a decision to deport, not only on the basis that a person had in fact endangered national security, but that he presented a potential danger to it – even if it could not be proved to a high degree of probability that the person had engaged in any individual act that could justify such a conclusion. In October, the House of Lords upheld the decision and held further that decisions in the interests of national security are not for the judiciary, but should be entrusted to the executive.

Implementation of the proposals for indefinite detention require the government to opt out (derogate) from Article 5 of the European Convention on Human Rights. Article 15 provides for derogation by a signatory "in times of war or other public emergency threatening the life of the nation". Much has been made by some commentators of the fact that no other government has felt it necessary to introduce such powers, and that the derogation might therefore be successfully challenged on the basis that no such public emergency exists, making the derogation unlawful. But the body of relevant case law suggests that the European Court is happy to accept that it is the relevant High Contracting Party (in this case, the British state) that is best placed to decide for itself what constitutes a public emergency.

On 22nd November, Home Secretary David Blunkett outflanked his (supposedly) liberal critics by agreeing both to a 'sunset clause' in the Bill, making the detention powers lapse after five years, and by making any certification of detention dependent on his having 'reasonable grounds' to suspect involvement in terrorist activity. Given that the only arbiter of this 'reasonableness test' is the SIAC meeting in secret, the concession is worthless and the implementation of a sunset clause the oldest trick in the book – agreeing to something which Blunkett had probably intended all along, so that the dissenters think they've scored a victory

(continued on page 5)

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...we can still fight back

Sih Fu once said, "you can never make anarchism illegal. You can make membership of an organisation illegal, you can make it criminal to associate or to work for a change in society ... but it is not yet possible to frame a law which will make people love the state". Now that repression is high on the government's agenda, we mustn't let healthy paranoia paralyse us.

War and repression go together inevitably. Any government likes to think that all is under control on the 'home front', and will definitely crack down to make sure things stay that way. But beyond that, they are virtually the same thing: aspects of political control. War is not mainly about how many people you can kill (though parts of the military doubtless see it as a 'game' of *Bodycount*). War is about the control of territory. You can control territory by killing all your enemies, but it's usually more effective to 'persuade' them to give up. That is the point of military propaganda: it says 'well done, you gave us a run for our money, but everyone else has given up, wouldn't you rather go home?'

Politics is the same. There is no hesitation on the part of our rulers to use force, but it's more effective to persuade and confuse the bulk of people. The challenge for any movement is to respond sensibly. The idea that at the first whiff of repression we should all go underground is tempting, but will only lead to crowded tube trains. By all means read up on cell structure and secret codes - this may help when you're stickering. Have an idea about security (basic rules: tell the police 'no comment', and only tell those



Palestinian victims of internment in Israel

who need to know anything compromising), and work on the most human of habits, private languages.

The political police would love us to make arrangements over the phone to meet Mikhail Bakunin at the White Swan on Trumpton Street, rather than Mad Mick at

the Dead Duck. They can't control what they don't understand. But there is no point to all this if you're not prepared to chip in with 'Tony Blair's full of shit' at said Dead Duck. Putting up graffiti in a secret code - which, let's face it, some political spiel about 'fight mercantilist adventurism' might as well be -

defeats the whole point of a 'war of ideas', which is to spread our ideas to people who'd agree. Challenging the state and bosses is a tough job: let's not make it any harder. The point is not to not get caught (though that helps). The point is not to give up.

Dr B. Block

(continued from page 4)

while the remainder of the Bill goes through intact. According to the *Guardian*, this constitutes a 'savaging' of the Bill.

In a recent article in that paper, Blunkett said he "cared passionately" about civil society. "I don't want the Home Office to be just about security", he said, "but to be a department for the citizen, with a wider agenda for active communities and quality of

life". When the Human Rights Act came into force, we urged in *Freedom* that the liberal left's fixation with the European Convention on Human Rights was misguided - that 'rights' under the Convention were not rights at all, but gifts of the state. Blunkett has moved quickly to prove us right.

Moreover, the speed with which the Terrorism Act and the Investigation of Regulatory Powers Act are to be widened by the present Bill suggests that, once on the statute books, this government will waste no time in extending its internment provisions to UK citizens as well as foreign nationals, should a 'public emergency' (the existence of a militant anti-war movement?) suggest that continued derogation is justified.

Blunkett's commitment to 'civil society' ought not to be read as hypocrisy. What the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Bill is about is defining who is included and who is excluded from 'civil society'. New Labour's long-term project has been about retooling the state in a time of relative working class acquiescence, to ensure the machinery is in place to deal with any subsequent dissent. A globalised, deterritorialised capitalism can not afford to be dragged down to earth by real-time revolts. The new Bill furthers this government's moves towards the creation of a state of permanent emergency, to the extent where public security is militarised and all public protest repressed. The only adequate response has to be the development of a movement of working class opposition equal to the nightmares of revolt that haunt our rulers. As a move towards this, we have to be prepared to mobilise now to defend and support all those - especially within the Muslim communities - likely to be targeted by Blunkett for internment in the weeks ahead.

Nick S.

Viewpoints

IRAQ NEXT?

You know it's coming, especially when the media outlets are starting to run stories about the Iraqis having 'biological weapons' again. One of our local stations here in the United States has also been running a story about the 'state-sponsored terrorism' of North Korea. They are simply setting the stage. If public opinion doesn't support it, you can bet there'll be more 'terrorist' threats or atrocities, with 'clear evidence' linking them to Saddam Hussain. Of course, the public won't be allowed to see the evidence for itself, as it will involve 'national security'.

Don't get me wrong. I have no love or respect for Saddam. But I do think everything is far too convenient for the US government. They're using 11th September as an excuse for removing anyone they don't like. No matter how despicable Saddam and these other tyrants are, my concern is for all the wheat that is being destroyed while America takes out the chaff.

Then again, one could make a case for people choosing to accept the rule of tyrants rather than freedom. After all, isn't that what the majority of US citizens are happy to do already? LA

DEATH OF A MARTYR

Animal rights activist Barry Horne was buried in Northampton on 16th November. Over 700 people attended the funeral, which was conducted by a pagan priestess. He had died on a hunger strike, his fourth in prison. He was serving an eighteen year sentence for arson, a conviction arising from a campaign on behalf of animals and their rights. By the

strike that led to his death, he wanted to exert pressure on the government to launch a public enquiry into the continued use of experiments on animals.

The state doesn't allow everyone on hunger strike to die. Moors murderer Ian Brady has been on hunger strike for three years, kept alive by force-feeding on the grounds that he is incapable of making reasoned decisions. Barry himself had been declared sane by a psychiatrist near the beginning of his own action, but towards the end malnutrition led to him becoming confused. Couldn't he have been fed then? Many say he could.

Unlike some activists around the Animal Liberation Front, Barry never called himself an anarchist. But in his urge for liberation, his defiance of authority, and his guts in standing up for the rights of other living beings in the face of his own death, he was an anarchistic spirit. GMG



A screw at The Maze prison in Northern Ireland, where the British state interned prisoners in the early 1970s



Barry Horne

Remembering the revolution

The Spanish Civil War: Dreams + Nightmares

at the Imperial War Museum,
Lambeth Road, London SE1 6HZ
until 28th April 2002

Admission free after 1st December
0900 1600140 (24 hour recorded info)
www.iwm.org.uk

Important works by Picasso (though not Guernica), Miro and others, photographs by Robert Capa and David Seymour, artefacts, International Brigade memorabilia, Republican (including CNT-FAI) and Nationalist posters, and letters from the likes of George Orwell and Julian Bell – all in all an impressive collection has been assembled at London's Imperial War Museum. But the hopes generated by the title remain unsatisfied. *Dreams + Nightmares* it may be called, and there's nightmares aplenty, but where are the dreams?

While the exhibition contains interesting pieces, the ideas that inspired resistance to Franco (which were anarchist ones) were nowhere to be seen. The organisers quote the famous words of Durruti, about carrying a "new world in our hearts", but information on what that new world could have been is sadly lacking. One reference to workers aiming for a society based on 'common ownership' hardly does justice to the anarchist dream. Nor is the extensive social revolution in Republican Spain mentioned, never mind shown by pictures of the collectives or the testimony of those who created, ran and lived in them. As for the militias, they are mentioned and a few pictures provided, but their libertarian spirit and organisation are wholly ignored.

In fact, the only dream presented is that of the international volunteers, particularly the intellectuals and artists, who came to fight against fascism and for democracy. The dream of the Spanish workers and peasants in the CNT, the dream they tried to create in their unions, collectives, militias and schools, the dream of freedom, equality and solidarity is nowhere to be seen. The positive



goal of libertarian socialism is replaced by the negativity of anti-fascism and the defence of oppression and inequality (in the shape of liberal capitalism).

This does not mean the CNT is ignored. It does get mentioned (usually in passing), and there are anarchist quotations, posters and artefacts (including a fund-raising bandanna with Durruti pictured on it). But the overwhelming thrust of the exhibition is the famous names who fought fascism, or were murdered by it. It is the murder of people like Lorca at the hands of the fascists that gets a mention – apparently one murdered poet has more significance than millions of working class people who were actually trying to create a society where life becomes an expression of poetry, not poverty.

The nightmares of fascism and war are, however, well expressed here. The contrast between the supporters of Franco and those on the Republican side is obvious – the class nature of the war is there for all to see. While Franco is seen with society's elite, the poverty of the working class is hammered home. Sadly, the resistance to that poverty is not given the focus it deserves, and so the visitor will have no idea of the dreams that actually shaped so much of Spanish working class life.

And if it's true, what are we to make of the refusal by managers of the museum's bookshop to stock books which mention anarchism in the title?

Iain McKay

THE LESSONS OF SPAIN 1936-39

taken from *Anarchist Organisation* by
Juan Gómez Casas

Is anarchism a philosophy condemned never to be realised? The experience with economic and political self-management in large areas of republican Spain disproves such a fear. Recent history shows the dynamic capacity of anarchism to translate its philosophy into new values in society as a whole. As objective conditions become more favourable in Europe, and with the steady erosion of nationalism and imperialism, old forgotten anarchist conceptions have come to the fore, such as regionalism, federalism, municipalism, regional and local development, and so on. The modern idea of self-management embraces these objective elements combined with the idea of socialism, which lends depth to the other concepts.

Anarchists and libertarians have tended to become withdrawn because of the indiscriminate use and abuse of the term 'self-management'. They forget that self-management means self-government, and self-government in turn means a society that rules itself in all its subdivisions, or anarchism. What, then, do we have to fear? The great popularity that the term 'self-management' enjoys today should make us happy because it demonstrates not only that anarchism is achievable, but that it can constantly transmit its values to society at large. Anarchism, more than any other socialism, will be part of the future with its conception of self-management.

Libertarian activity should be intensified until it becomes second nature to the individual and social human being. It should not remain isolated in the realm of pure theory, because then it can be uprooted under exceptional circumstances. Civil wars cannot be repeated frequently during people's lives, nor can situations like those of 1936-39. Libertarian ideology must grow strong and fortify its roots so that they are flexible but resistant. The challenge to libertarians, to anarchists, is to make them capable of resisting, of withstanding the exceptional circumstances of any crisis in history.

— OBITUARY —

Juan Gómez Casas

It was with great sadness that we learned of the passing of former underground militant, first post-Franco Secretary General of the CNT-AIT and prolific writer and historian Juan Gómez Casas in Madrid in September. Many English-speaking anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists will best remember the authoritative work of Gomez Casas, *The History of the FAI*.

According to the National Committee of the CNT-AIT, Juan Gómez Casas was born in Burdeos in 1921. In 1936 he joined the main youth organisation affiliated with the CNT-AIT, Juventudes Libertarias (Libertarian Youth).

After the fascist defeat of the Spanish revolution, Gómez Casas eluded imprisonment and joined the clandestine struggle against the Franco regime. In 1947, he was elected Secretary General of the Juventudes Libertarias del Centro in Toulouse, France. On his return to Spain, he was arrested and sentenced to thirty years in jail. He was freed from prison in 1962, and then worked as an antiques painter, a trade he learned in prison.

Amazingly, with no formal education, he wrote many books, including *The History of Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalism*, *Anarchist*

Organisation: the History of the FAI and other historical books that are considered classic texts and which are referred to today. Gómez Casas even translated into Spanish the American classic novel, *Moby Dick*.

Those of us who were active in supporting the underground CNT-AIT, and then the organisation as it emerged above ground in the mid to late 1970s, will remember Gómez Casas in many ways. Aside from being a prolific propagandist, he was the first above-ground CNT-AIT General Secretary, from 1976-1978. Here in the United States, the former Libertarian Workers Group (now Workers Solidarity Alliance, New York-New Jersey) had many occasions to correspond with Gómez Casas, and to establish a relationship with the above-ground CNT-AIT in Spain.

Gómez Casas's long revolutionary life began to wane due to illness in 1999. We celebrate all the rich contributions he made to both the growth of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist movement and to the intellectual growth and understanding he taught us through his many writings.

Mitch Miller
Workers Solidarity Alliance

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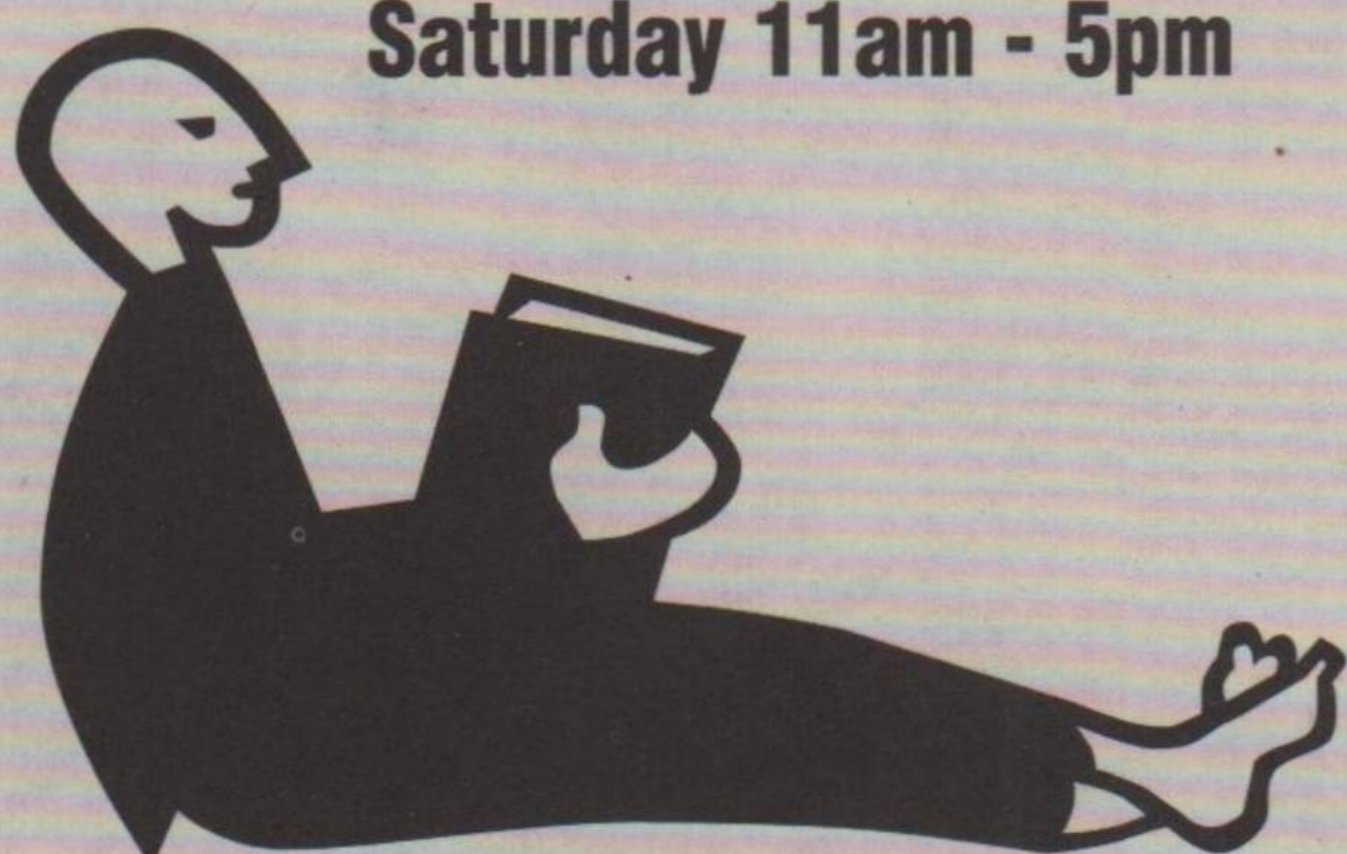
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What we say ...

Weight of numbers

Two things strike us about the controversy over numbers on the 'Stop the War' march and rally on 18th November. The first is the craven acceptance of police estimates by parts of the mainstream media, though there were encouraging signs elsewhere that the cops aren't automatically trusted to tell the truth – several reports, including one (surprisingly) from Channel 5 gave equal weighting to the claims of police and organisers.

The second is how convenient it is for the government to have the demonstration shown as smaller than the previous one (a plain lie). What Blair has feared all along is a growing anti-war movement, because he knows (don't we all?) that once growth starts it will be hard to stop. Nevertheless, we don't believe the Metropolitan Police fixed the figures to order. More likely, we think, is that the fuzz are just stupid. They really can't help themselves. They're so conditioned to play down non-conformity, they don't need to be told when to do it. They see a truth their betters might not like and their automatic response is to bury it in the hope of a pat on the head.

In sum, this controversy tells us everything about the gullibility of journalists and the stupidity of the plods. And that's all.

The harder they fall

Generals always love a war. So do the politicians. Consequently it comes as no surprise to learn that the 'war against terrorism' probably won't stop with Afghanistan. An intriguing battle of the last three months has been the one between hawks and doves in the US administration. All the signs are that the hawks will win. This fits in with a change in the public mood since September. What seemed a blow to the heart of American self-confidence has paradoxically led to an American state more secure in its self-belief than at any time since the Second World War. It is a machine confident of its own indestructibility. Hasn't it blown up some ruins and the civilians that lived there? American bosses now seem to believe they can swat away opposition as a toddler might a fly.

But even Arnie gets beaten. The hawks have forgotten the most fundamental lesson of 11th September, which is also (incidentally) a lesson anarchists would do well to remember: raw power is strong, but it isn't invincible. 'The bigger they are, the harder they fall'. The might of the USA was briefly humbled by a score of men with plastic knives. Imagine what we could do, if we spoke with a loud enough voice.

Rebellion is freedom

Whether – as some maintain – the attacks of 11th September were the result of an infernal conspiracy by the American ruling class (but we're not convinced), all the self-styled liberal democracies have gleefully seized the opportunity to beef up their laws against anyone living under their whip. As Nick S. puts it elsewhere in this issue, what we're seeing is a hefty 'retooling' of the state in its real campaign – the one against us.

Protest has been getting harder for years. What's changed is the pace of the change. Faced with accelerating repression, resistance grows even more important.

Rebellion against the state is the act of our self-affirmation. When we stop fighting back, we're nothing more than objects of another's power. It is only this self-affirmation through rebellion that stops us from being slaves. It's a temporary sort of freedom.

Readers' letters

Go with the flow

Dear *Freedom*,

"Of course we need to ask why humans need power", writes Colin Johnson (letter, 3rd Nov). He doesn't give much of an answer, though. Sex, he suggests, "in the first place" is what power-seekers may be after. Well, surely not in all cases: was that why Winston Churchill sought re-election at the age of 76? What are Colin's other suggestions? He offers none.

I suggested that the desire for power stems from insecurity. Colin comments merely, "I am not sure". He is also 'unsure' whether insecurity derives from an illusion of separate personhood, although he is sure that separate personhood is only an illusion "as a totality". Is it, then, a kind of curate's egg, real in parts? "In the non-absolute sense", he explains, meaning apparently that in which it is not a totality, "it is also the source of choice, creativity, freedom and anarchy – is it not?" Oh dear.

I'd say the sense of separate personhood (which is wholly an illusion) is indeed the source of choice; but anarchy, freedom and creativity come when one lives without choice. Choice is resistance to the unitary process or flow of life, of which humans are integral parts. To see that one is part of the flow is to have no sense of choosing as an autonomous agent. It is also to be free of insecurity, desire for power and ethical principles.

As for what may be called god (though I wouldn't use that word), to me that is indeed nothing, in the sense of 'not a thing'. It is a boundless energy. It is beyond thought, in the sense that it is apprehended when thought is silent. All this is tosh to Johnny M. (letter, same issue), and to most people. That's part of the flow.

Francis Ellingham

Not anarchists

Dear *Freedom*,

I found it difficult to come to terms with what I read in your editorial 'Court in the act' (17th November). You said, "our rejection of the state has nothing to do with principles – it's a tactical preference".

If that is true, you appear to be discounting over 100 years of philosophical development. And if that is really what you believe, then I am afraid you just are not anarchists.

Colin Johnson

We will print more responses to the editorial, and to Colin's letter, in our next issue.

Successful bookfair

Dear *Freedom*,

Regarding Ciaran O'Reilly's letter about the exclusion of Catholic Worker from the Anarchist Bookfair, the position is simple. We asked for some additional information and we are still waiting now. We reserve the right to question groups new to the fair, and after a Trot group sneaked in this year (under the guise of the 'No Sweat' organisation) it's something we will be firmer about next year.

The main problem for this year's Bookfair was its success, with seventy booked tables, nine rooms full of meetings and about 4,000 visitors. We moved to a bigger venue of the Camden Centre and Friends' Meeting House because of the pressure on Conway Hall, and we already need an even bigger venue. There was too little space between and behind stalls, the creche and café were too cramped, most meetings were packed to overflowing, there was a problem with lack of ventilation down to the volume of people and there just wasn't

enough space for people to sit and chat.

We need feedback and suggestions for future bookfairs. Next year will be our 21st, and the only thing for sure is that it will be bigger than this year's. Send your comments to mail@anarchistbookfair.org or Anarchist Bookfair, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

Martin

www.anarchistbookfair.org

Mind boggling

Dear *Freedom*,

In your editorial 'Worldwide attack' (3rd Nov), you say that the attack on personal liberties in Australia is also happening elsewhere.

In Europe, under the Shengen agreement, national police forces can follow and arrest suspects across borders.

Britain has not yet implemented the agreement, and it is difficult to see how it could as (with the possible exception of the Metropolitan Police, which technically comes under the home secretary) most British police forces are technically local forces. But this might change, and it will be interesting to see the ramifications if it does.

One might find oneself arrested, not by the British police but by the Italian Polizia National, Carabinieri or Guardia Financia, the French Gendarmerie National or Spanish Guardia Civil (all of these are armed). And the various security services in those countries are even more complex than the ones in Britain. As we say, the mind boggles.

Peter Neville

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

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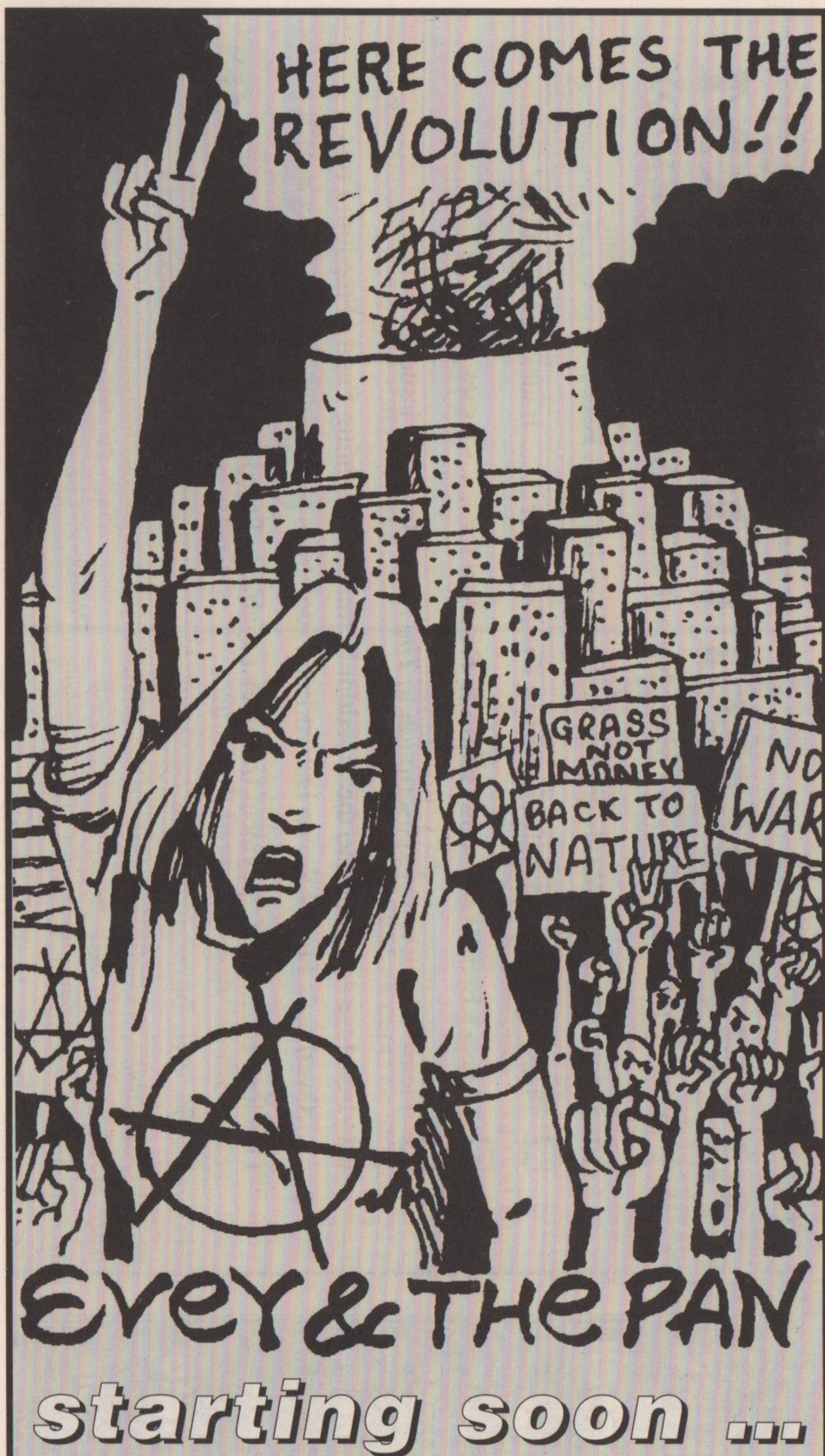
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Saturday 1st December at 3pm

meet at the war memorial (in front of Colchester Castle), High Street, Colchester, for torchlight procession (including samba band) to military HQ
www.colchesterpeace.org.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

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NONVIOLENT ANTIMILITARIST DIRECT ACTION

Monday 10th December at 7.30pm

Meet outside Northwood tube to disrupt the smooth running of the war machine on International Human Rights Day at the British military joint forces HQ, Northwood
 for more information see www.northwood.cjb.net
 tel 07950 567099 • email d10northwood@gmx.net

IWW LONDON BRANCH ACTION
on Monday 10th December

meet at NikeTown, Oxford Circus, at 6pm sharp to leaflet shopworkers
 for more information see www.iww.org.uk
 IWW, PO Box 4414, Poole, Dorset BH15 3HL

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 Part 4. Zapatista night
Wednesday 12th December at 8pm

Zapatista (Big Noise, 65 mins)
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info: Paul on 0191 272 4635 or paul.chatterton@ncl.ac.uk

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 IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE ANTI-CAPITALIST
 DEMONSTRATION AT THE EU SUMMIT IN BRUSSELS

Saturday 15th December
 Assemble at Guildford train station at 1pm

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Picket the Home Office, Queen Annes Gate, London SW1 from 12.30 to 2.30pm
on Thursday 20th December
 Framed activist Mark Barnesley's eighth Christmas in jail.
 Join us to send a Christmas message to David Blunkett in his first year as Home Secretary – No Justice! No Peace!
 for more information see www.freemarkbarnesley.com
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OR MORE PRISONS?

A conference on the abolition of prison
Saturday 26th January 2002
from 10.30am to 5pm at Conway Hall
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contact: Prison Abolition Conference,
 c/o BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX
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