

# anarchist fortnightly Freedom

Vol. 63 No. 20

19th October 2002

50p



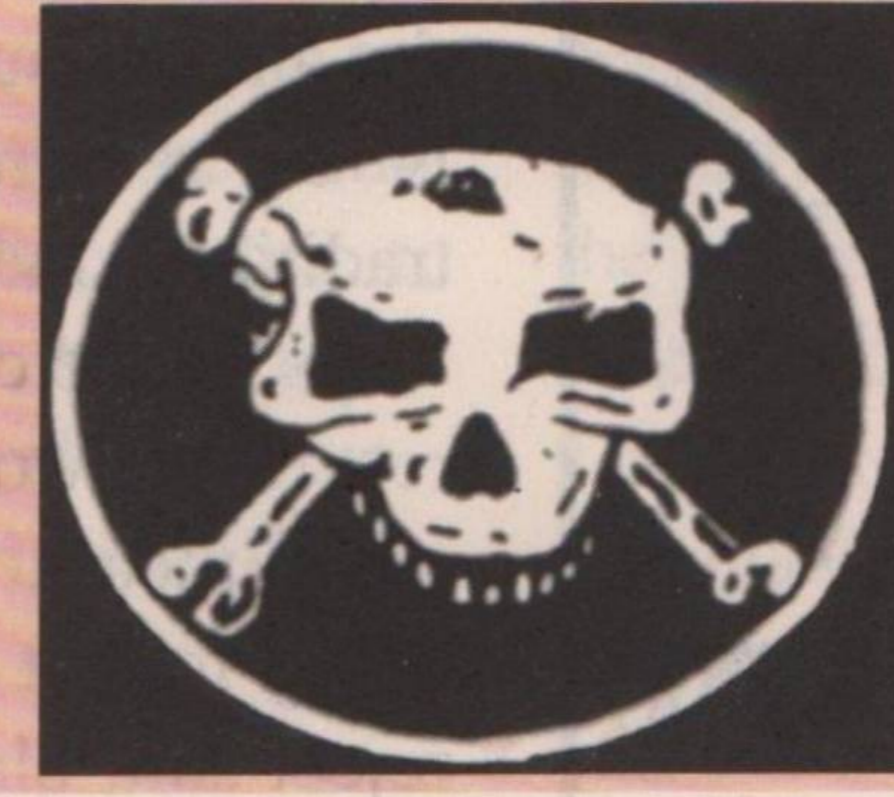
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## Night of mischief

*A coalition of London activists is hoping that this year's Halloween will be one to remember, for politicians at least. Disobedients, a newly formed network of anarchists and other anti-militarists, has issued what its members said last week was "an audacious challenge" to the government. They're calling on people to meet outside the Houses of Parliament on 31st October, dressed in white ...*

We are all ghosts, phantoms of the periphery, the discarded, the dead of all wars. We are those who are invisible and voiceless, those who are ignored by the charade of 'democracy' which beats the drums of war that lead us without consent towards untold destruction and global chaos.

But on Halloween, long known as mischief night, a time of change and transformation, the ghosts will take to the streets and become visible again. On that night everyone is invited to dress in white, disguised as ghosts, and converge on parliament, which we'll occupy in order to participate in a mass popular assembly.

Through this act, we'll desert their 'democracy' and take back our voices, reclaiming direct control of our lives. We'll show that politics isn't made by the few but by the many, and we'll declare our disobedience publicly. On Halloween the ghosts will become the 'disobedients'.

We'll pledge to do everything in our power to stop the threatened war on Iraq, by direct action and sabotaging the war effort. Hundreds of thousands of us marched against the war last month, but traditional demonstrations alone won't stop the warmongers.

In Britain, we're in the unique position of being able to stop a war from happening. The government is the major international backer of the US administration and, if it pulls out, the US will be completely isolated. We can force the British government to withdraw its support. We can stop the seemingly out-of-control juggernaut dead in its tracks.

*Meet outside the Houses of Parliament, 6pm, Thursday 31st October.*

*The Stop the War Coalition has designated this year's Halloween as a day of direct action against war.*

*Sunday 20th October at 3pm: Organising meeting of the Disobedients Network, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square WC1 (nearest tube Holborn)*

*Thursday 31st October at 2pm Halloween Critical Mass 'ride against death', meet by the peace camp outside the Imperial War Museum, Geraldine Mary Harmsworth Park, Lambeth Road SE1. Dress scary. At 5pm Demonstrate against the war, Brixton Oval.*

## Face of the enemy



In 1969 David Oluwale was the first black person to die in police custody. Hundreds more have died since, many of them in suspicious circumstances. No plod has ever been convicted. Saturday 26th October sees the fourth Annual Remembrance Procession in London, called by the United Families and Friends Campaign. Meet at 1pm in Trafalgar Square for the march to Downing Street. For further information call 07770 432 439. (There is no suggestion that the cops in this picture have been involved in any custody deaths – just to be on the safe side)

## Underhand privatisation

During the 1980s and early 1990s, many large council estates hit the headlines as working class anger and frustration exploded at the conditions residents were forced to endure. Among the causes of resentment were substandard, crumbling blocks, unemployment and the overbearing presence of the state in the form of the police.

With the election of Blair and his cohorts in 1997, some misguided people imagined a brighter future for people living on these estates. They expected a quick end to council house sales and some much-needed regeneration. The reality, though, was very different.

It was five years before New Labour tackled the problem of council house sales and the 'solution', when it finally came, was a sham.

The privatisation of council housing hurries on apace, although (in typical New Labour style) it's done in an underhand way. Local authorities which have housing stock left are still busy privatising it by transferring control to private housing companies. Tenants on the estates are targeted and sold the idea of better repair services, improved living conditions and temporary rent freezes. This is done with a combination of glossy, often misleading, leaflets and 'consultation' meetings.

These meetings are less about genuine community involvement and more about conning desperate residents into signing up with private landlords by the promise of huge financial investment and a 'new dawn' for any estate involved.

A prime example of this is Speke, a large estate on the eastern fringe of Liverpool. Once described by Lib Dem politician Paddy Ashdown as "worse than Bosnia", and by the present government as the second most deprived estate in the country, it was privatised in 1999. Control of the estate was handed over to South Liverpool Housing

(continued on page 2)



## Freedom anarchist fortnightly

Anarchists work towards a society of mutual aid and voluntary co-operation. We reject all government and economic repression. This newspaper, published continuously since 1936, exists to explain anarchism more widely and show that only in an anarchist society can human freedom thrive.

## What anarchism means to me

Anarchism is a basic set of ideas which challenge all forms of authority, control and hierarchy. It's simple notions like voluntary co-operation and mutual aid; people working and acting together free from coercion and in recognition of our individual and shared needs. Yet for all their simplicity, these ideas – anarchist ideas – strike directly at the heart of capitalism and government. To be able to co-operate voluntarily, we have to be free of any imposed authority.

By necessity this means that all state institutions, built on the threat of coercion and the power to punish, must be dismantled and replaced with new associations created directly by the people they will affect.

Capitalism has as its core the accumulation of individual wealth and power. It uses hierarchy and the exploitation of other people to achieve this. But the concept of mutual aid is built on the belief that none of us can live freely as individuals while those around remain shackled. If we are all to live our lives how we choose, able to help and be helped, then by necessity again capitalism must be swept away.

While anarchism, as I see it, offers real solutions to how we can organise our communities after capitalism and states are gone, it also offers a way of building new structures within the shell of what we have now. Experiments in different methods of distribution, different approaches to work or new ways of providing care can help to challenge the imposed and accepted ways of doing things.

They can help in bringing about the realisation that we don't need the vertical top-down institutions we have, and that people are able to organise things without laws and governments. As Errico Malatesta put it, "we anarchists do not want to emancipate the people; we want the people to emancipate themselves".

Any breaking down of reliance on laws, governments, rulers and prescribed ways of living our lives is a positive step closer to liberation for us all.

Paul H.

What does anarchism mean to you? Send in your contributions for this column (300 words please) to [FreedomCopy@aol.com](mailto:FreedomCopy@aol.com) or to The Freedom Editors at the address below.

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# Putting food first

Campaigners staged actions round the globe for the eighteenth Anti-McDonalds Day on 16th October. When McShit opened its first outlets in Italy several years ago, a group of food producers and restaurateurs got together to plan their opposition to the conglomerate and all it represents. The Slow Food Movement was the direct result of this. The Movement's aim is to restore local food, produced by traditional methods and cooked in traditional ways, to the cities and towns of Italy and the rest of the world.

It's meant that corporate capitalism is being fought by local people who not only reject shit, bland, factory-produced food but who are also asserting the primacy of indigenous practices and customs. This is the crucial point. We are what we eat, but we're also surrounded by local customs. Folklore and webs of relationships make us the social creatures we are. They express our cultural and historical heritage.

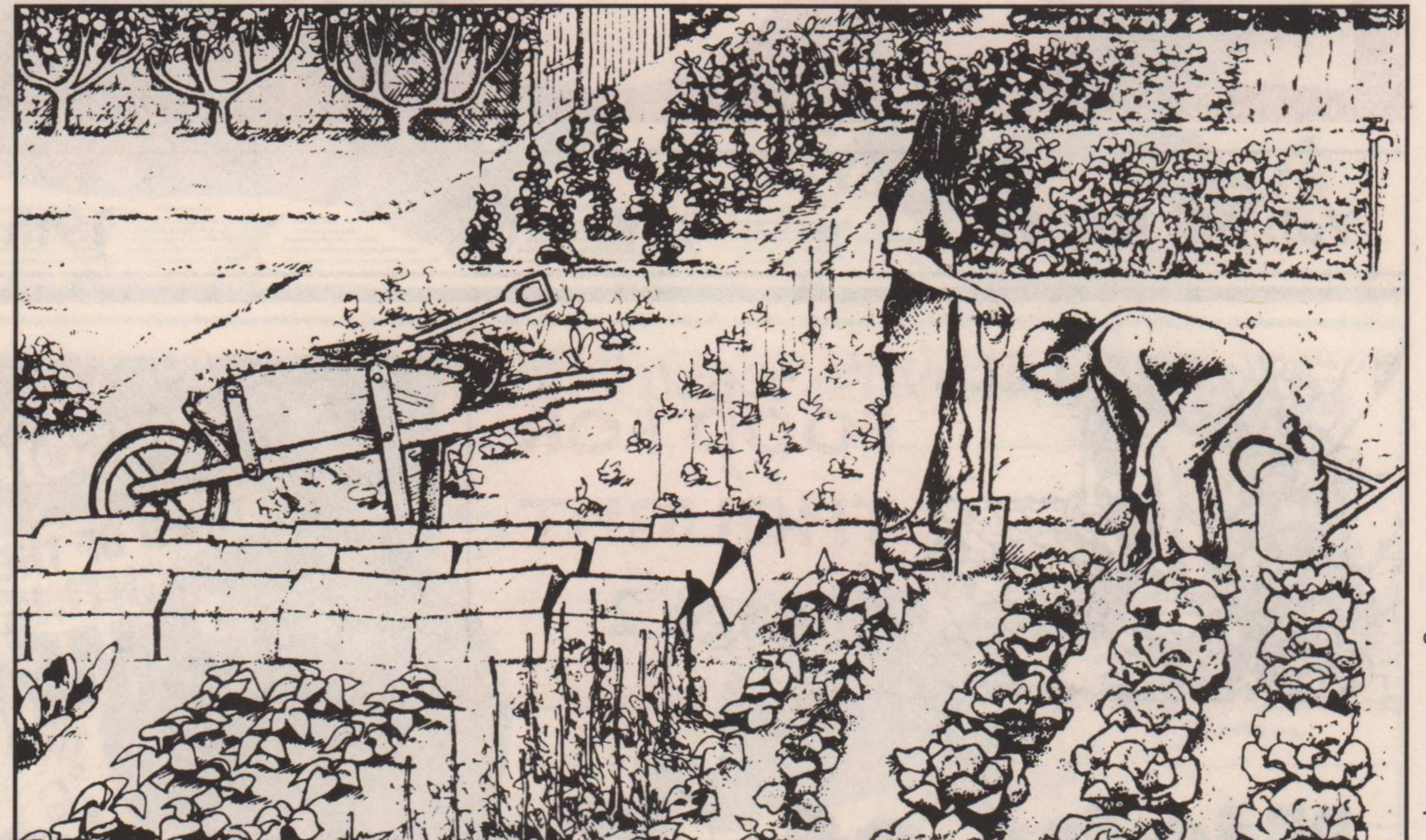
To quote the Slow Food Movement manifesto, "our century, which began and has developed under the insignia of industrial civilisation, first invented the machine and then took it as its life model". We can still unplug the machines.

The Movement now has members in most European cities, including London. It encourages the spread of local recipes, and celebrates places to eat where the customer is seen as someone interested in tasting wholesome food in a relaxed and convivial atmosphere. "A firm defence of quiet material pleasure is the only way to oppose the universal folly of fast food", the manifesto says.

This builds a self-confidence in the food producers and chefs, and establishes a demand for locally grown organic food. This in turn leads to fewer food miles and more jobs in the local economy, which increases the amount of money spent and saved locally. It's the opposite of what the global corporations do, taking profits out of local communities and putting them into overseas banks.

This renewed emphasis on things local gives us the opportunity to return decision-making firmly to individual neighbourhoods. Along with our local food and bread, we can also plant energy crops to fuel our combined heat and power units. District heating schemes are being set up round the country, including one here in my own East Midlands region, the Sibley Energy Trust. This uses chicken shit and discarded wooden pallets, but others have different energy sources.

This approach to self-managed energy



Drawing © Clifford Harper

supplies counters the centralising tendency of big government and prevents power companies from holding local people to ransom by cutting off electricity supplies. The food we eat, the energy we use, our forms of transport and the homes we occupy – these are either a nightmare of town planners and other assorted 'experts', or the conscious thoughts and deeds of committed citizens trying to make their lives, and those of other community members, self-directing and autonomous, independent of the state.

Wind, solar power and methane all offer communities greater freedom. Consequently, they allow greater diversity in the natural world. With renewable energy sources in place, local decision-making can't be undermined by bureaucrats or power companies.

Food we grow ourselves is a start, but much better to rent two or three allotments as a group and grow organic fruit and vegetables for sale to neighbours or local shops and restaurants. In the East Midlands, we have a number of farmers' markets. These allow a group of us to sell our organic produce to the people of one particular market town (only we can't call it organic, because we haven't bought our badge of approval from the Soil Association ...)

The act of growing food suggests further employment prospects. Produce needs to be transported, for example. Box-schemes need to be prepared. It can also lead to local celebrations of the crops, or food-tasting sessions.

This long, slow journey back to vibrant communities can only be begun by people with vision. But I think the time has never been better, given the renewed interest in all things local and people's total distrust and

disrespect for all so-called 'experts' and politicians.

Even traffic without noise and pollution is now a reality. Electricity generated by solar power (photovoltaics) means the supply and operation of electric trams and ultra-light railways can now be done without pollution or noise at either end of the generation, whether input or exhaust. This adds a further dimension to the ability and autonomy of mass-transit systems and their ability to transform our lives.

Taking back the streets becomes a real possibility when we propose these forms of transport. But if we don't argue and campaign for people-friendly transport, then distinctly unfriendly transport experts will impose larger roads and bypasses on us.

This isn't a plea for techno-fixes, just a recognition that certain technologies have the potential to enhance the quality of the lives of us all. Both the scale of this technology – appropriate – and its energy sources – renewable – counter the imperatives of corporate capitalism. We build it so we own it.

No long-term mortgages would be left hanging over us, whether financial or in the form of toxic waste waiting to kill our grandchildren. We've got to do it to them before they do it to us. Our defence should begin at the table.

Mike Hamilton

(continued from page 1)

(SLH), a private company which promised £100 million of investment in the area. Three years on, many tenants are now realising only too well what lies they were told. Housing repairs continue to be dismal and piecemeal. Hotchpotch maintenance, with no lasting benefits for tenants, are the norm so that SLH can fiddle its performance figures.

Community regeneration has become a standing joke amongst residents, as parts of Speke remain in ruins. Where repairs have been undertaken, tenants are expected to accept only what SLH offers. Any element of choice they might want is ignored, as they're expected to bow down to uniform solutions to their needs.

One elderly tenant, who wanted clear glass instead of the smoked glass window replacements she was offered, says "it's all been a con. They held a gun to our heads, saying we'd lose this money if we didn't

transfer. They're my landlords, but now they say I'd have to pay £1,000 for my windows to be repaired".

Mathew Gardiner, paid £70,000 per year as SLH chief executive, tries to put a good spin the company's appalling record by pointing to last year's lottery bid to fund a community youth centre and meeting place. Well, that makes everything fine and dandy then, doesn't it? The site for this centre, right next door to the local police station, wasn't exactly popular for a start.

The experience of people living in Speke is, unfortunately, a familiar scene in working class communities across the country. And yet, despite all the problems, many people still want to live there. Politicians try to wish away working class solidarity, but people still like to live close to families and friends. At present, the waiting list for flats and houses in the area runs into the hundreds.

Barney Rubble



Counter  
Information  
issue no. 57  
autumn/winter  
2002

Produced mainly in Edinburgh, *Counter Information* is a free news sheet which aims to "assist in the struggle against all injustice, oppression and exploitation". This issue, number 57, carries reflections on the bulletin's future. "We are considering how and whether at this time *Counter Information* can play a positive part in this struggle". The collective behind it are asking for readers' views and suggestions. Some other free sheets are also considering their function and future development. West London's *War Cry* is an example. Get yourself a copy of either paper and join in this important discussion.

*Counter Information*: send stamps to c/o 17 West Montgomery Place, Edinburgh EH7 5HA

*War Cry*: send stamps to c/o BM Makhno, London WC1N 3XX



# You are being watched



The Ministry of Defence is funding research into new technology that will allow existing mobile phone technology to be used for even more intrusive surveillance purposes than are currently possible. The new system could effectively mean that each of us who owns a mobile phone will be carrying the equivalent of a personal CCTV camera. Receivers attached to mobile phone masts will be able to convert radio-wave emissions into an image, viewable on a small portable unit, which will allow people's movements to be tracked hundreds of miles away in 'real-time'. It is

hoped that X-ray capability will follow, allowing the system to 'see' through walls.

Needless to say, Leviathan is getting itself into a hyperactive fidget at the prospect. The Ministry of Defence is 'very interested', and the police have not been slow to recognise the obvious potential. Following hard on the heels of plans for identity cards, it takes our custodians, ever-vigilant on our behalf, another step closer to establishing a statewide spy network, this one having the additional benefit of doubtless being invisible. Minutes from MoD meetings on the matter are, as is only fit and proper, classified.

The same hoary old threats have been invoked to justify this latest intrusion, spanning the gamut from the 'war against terrorism' to being 'tough on crime'. All worthy causes some would doubtless argue, but it would be easier to believe that the state was serious about protecting its citizenry from crime and terrorism, if it were not so diligent about creating the conditions whereby property crime is an absolute necessity and terrorism an utterly predictable last resort. Any system founded on the dubious principle of global redistribution of wealth and power from the poor to the rich will inevitably give rise to

the violent expression of frustration.

The state's approach to these problems is primitive. Doctors in the Middle Ages would only treat symptoms, rather than addressing the causes. The methods of the modern day ministers to the health of the body politic would seem not to have progressed much beyond that. So long as our guardians are unable or unwilling to evolve, they are holding us back. Someone once said that governments were like nappies: they should be changed often. Anarchists might add: they are something we should be looking to grow out of entirely.

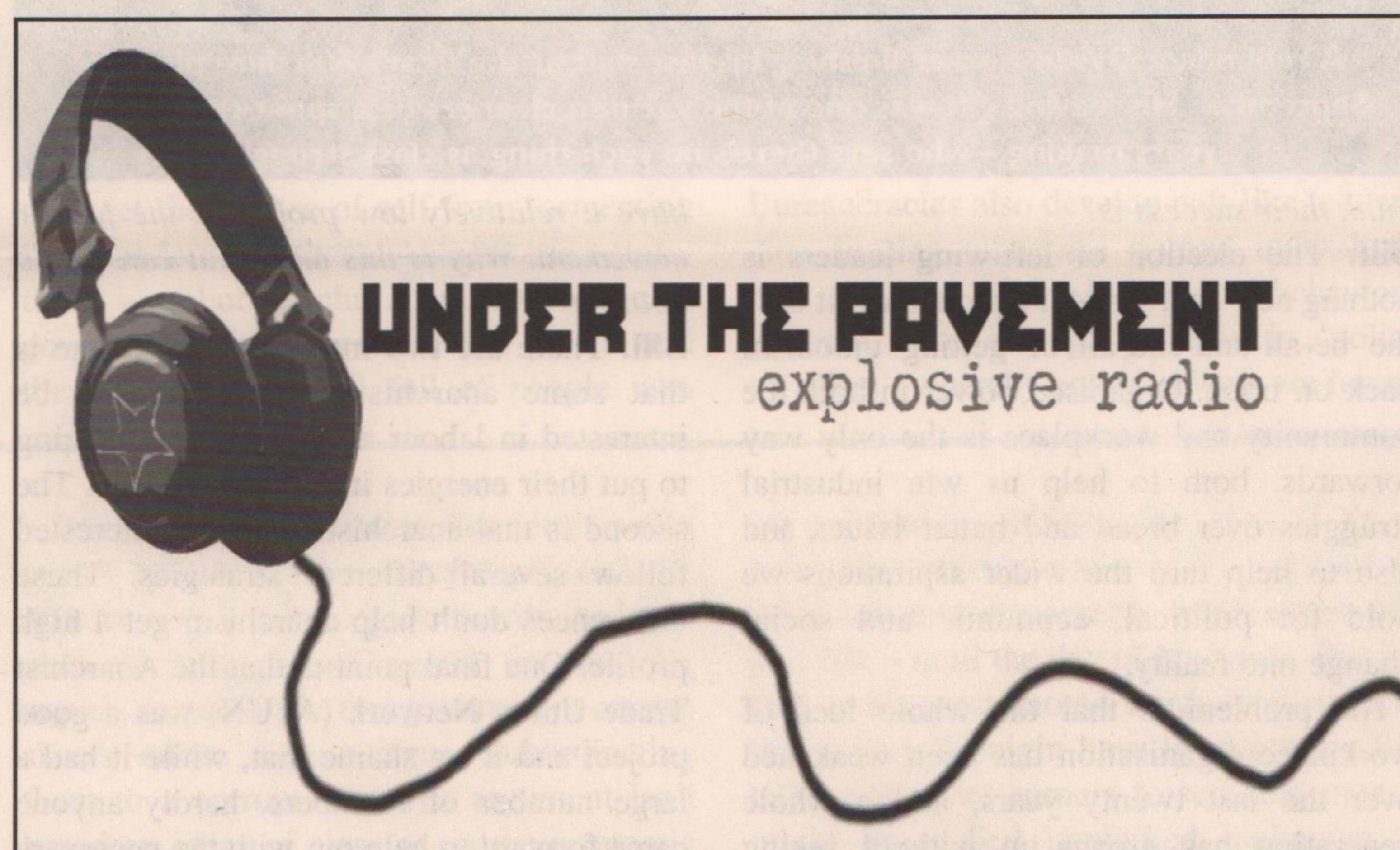
Anton Pawluk

## New show hits the airwaves

Radical show *Under the Pavement* is an explosive new programme which broadcasts every four weeks on Manchester's ALL FM 96.9 community radio station. This serves Ardwick, Longsight, Levenshulme and beyond. The show, which takes its name from the 1968 situationist slogan 'under the paving stones, the beach', reports on Manchester's radical and activist communities. It goes out on Tuesdays from 10pm until midnight.

The show has been broadcasting every four weeks since July, and it's already had a diverse range of guests. These have included Gee Vaucher from Crass, a local activist from the Stop Esso campaign and a member of the Greater Manchester Coalition Against Sanctions and War on Iraq. As well as talk, it plays a wide range of music, including folk, country, electronic and indie. It also broadcasts poetry and the spoken word. It's not all hardcore anarchist punk but, as Emma Goldman once said, "if I can't dance, I don't want to be in your revolution".

The next show will be broadcast on 22nd October and it will feature Alice and Boff



from Chumbawamaba, fresh from their European tour and appearance at London's Anarchist Bookfair, playing a selection of songs that have influenced them.

Manchester has a rich heritage of radical and progressive activity. The show's producers say that *Under the Pavement* is a way of giving

voice to this culture of resistance. They've already made links with a variety of local groups and campaigns. News is provided by the *Loombreaker*, the city's monthly direct action free sheet, while the Networking Newsletter Project provides a what's-on guide.

Community radio stations, also known as

access radio, are not-for-profit, low power neighbourhood stations that exist to provide a platform for communities' own talents and aspirations. ALL FM 96.9 has a licence to broadcast for a year as part of an experiment which aims to explore how access radio works in practice. "It's hoped that such stations will act as 'social cement' in areas where informal social networks have been eroded - a catalyst for regeneration", a representative of the station says.

David

Remaining shows this year are on 22nd October, 19th November and 7th December, from 10pm to midnight on ALL FM 96.9 (broadcast on 96.6 FM).

Visit [www.underthepavement.org](http://www.underthepavement.org) or write to Under the Pavement radio show, ALL FM, 6 Newton Avenue, Longsight M12 4EW

Beyond TV presents the launch of the European Newsreal for Media Democracy project. 8pm, Tuesday 22nd October at the Font, New Wakefield Street. As well as the Newsreal Project itself, the event will feature a presentation from the new Manchester Indymedia Collective and a live link with the Under the Pavement radio show.

• **Hereford** Up to 100 black-clad protesters marched silently through the city on 5th October in a protest at the threatened war on Iraq. The organisers of the event, who included Hereford Anarchists, said the demo was the county's first ever anti-militarist action. The march ended when the marchers staged a 'die-in' in the city centre. This attracted many passersby to take anti-war leaflets. The demo was heavily policed, but there were no arrests.

For more information, pay a visit to their website at [www.herefordanarchists.cjb.net](http://www.herefordanarchists.cjb.net)

• **Stoke** Activists staged an anti-nazi rally in the Civic Centre on 6th October, as campaigning continued for the mayoral election. The ballot, which was due to be held on 17th October, was contested by the British National Party. The BNP came within 72 votes of winning a seat in council elections earlier this year. "The scum have got to be destroyed", said one local anti-

## News in Brief

fascist. "Otherwise the poison will carry on spreading in the North West."

In recent years, major employers such as Corus and Michelin have closed their plants in Stoke on Trent. Its workers are now officially England's lowest paid.

• **West Sussex** A new social centre has opened in the building previously used by the Brighton Peace and Environment Centre, which was forced to close earlier this year following massive rent increases on the building in Gardner Street. Now the building has been reclaimed as a space for workshops, films, a free shop, politics and tea.

The new occupants made their anarchist politics clear last week. "We reject parliamentary politics", said one, "seeing it as one of the root causes of people's alienation. The

only source of lasting, positive social change is when working people get together in the places where they work and live, to fight directly for what they need".

He said that the major focus of the centre would be on spreading resistance to the impending war and publicising the plight of the Palestinian people.

Drop in to the centre from 11am to 7pm every day, 43 Gardner Street, Brighton. No drugs, booze or dogs, please.

• **North Yorkshire** Around seventy activists gathered outside the US spy base at Menwith Hill on 12th October to protest at the American government's 'Star Wars' project and at continuing threats of an attack on Iraq. The demo began at the main gate, where the fence was festooned with banners

and flowers. Protesters then staged a slow walk around the terror camp's perimeter.

The secretive base is known to house advanced listening equipment which is used to intercept telephone conversations, faxes and emails. It's suspected of monitoring commercial and 'subversive' activities as well as international military communications.

• **Plymouth** Around 500 people marched from Plymouth Hoe to Devonport Park on 12th October, to protest at Britain's continued possession of weapons of mass destruction. There were no arrests.

• **London** The Italian foreign minister Gianfranco Fini, who oversaw the police repression in Genoa last year, is visiting London next week. Anarchists and other militants are preparing to give the fascist boss a warm welcome. Meet 8am outside Claridges Hotel, 53 Brook Street on Tuesday 22nd October.



# Why unions are important

**The number of strikes is growing, but trade union membership is stagnating. Despite the election of a new breed of allegedly 'left-leaning' leaders, the unions continue to pour money into New Labour. So what lies ahead for Britain's union movement, and what attitude should anarchists have towards it? Freedom asks three anarchist trade unionists what they think ...**

**B**ill has been a member of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) for nearly seven years, and belonged to Unifi (the union for British finance workers) for nine. He speaks to *Freedom* in a personal capacity. Natalie works in a call centre run by a high street bank. She is a lay representative for her union. Richard works for an NHS trade union. He was previously the convenor of the Anarchist Trade Union Network.

**Freedom:** We've seen a significant increase in strikes this year. Do you think this signals the rekindling of industrial militancy among workers?

**Bill:** Yes, to a certain degree. But there's a long way to go from the current situation to having a large, militant, decent and effective labour movement. Things are more promising than they were a few years ago and we should be doing what we can to help take things forwards. For anarchists to ignore labour issues would be a mistake.

**Richard:** People are beginning to talk of a new militancy, but I'm not so sure. While we're certainly seeing more industrial action, most of it is short term – normally just one day stoppages like the recent strikes on London's tube – and mostly it's restricted to the public sector. In private industry strikes are rare and union membership is dropping, so it's a mixed picture.

**Natalie:** I've noticed that people at work are beginning to talk about strikes more often. Seeing workers take action and win, like council workers did recently, inspires people. They say, 'if other workers can do it, so can we'. That's new. I think there's a lot of anger around now.

**Freedom:** For the last five years, the TUC has pushed the idea of social partnership. TUC General Secretary John Monks is a particular fan. What do you think of it?

**Natalie:** Partnership is a sell-out. The union I belong to is more interested in keeping management happy than it is in representing us. If bosses and workers can work in partnership, as Monks claims, what's the point in having unions in the first place? It's nonsense. Anarchists should fight for partnership deals to be scrapped.

**Bill:** It's a con. Partnership can only work between equals. An unorganised or badly organised workforce can't hope to have equal power with employers. But the biggest problem with partnership is that the interests of workers and employers are different. Workers are simply a means for employers to make money. They're what's called a 'human resource', to be exploited just like other resources. So the aim of partnership is really to get us co-operating in our own exploitation, rather than organising to end it.

**Freedom:** Much has been made of the election of 'left-leaning' general secretaries, like Amicus boss Derek Simpson and Bob Crow of the RMT. How significant do you



**A redundant Dyson worker finishing his last shift at the firm's Wiltshire plant in September. His leaving gift was one of the vacuum cleaners he'd spent the last few years making – who says there's no such thing as class struggle?**

think their success is?

**Bill:** The election of left-wing leaders is nothing new and, while it's promising, it isn't the be-all-and-end-all of getting unionism back on track. Organised power in both the community and workplace is the only way forwards, both to help us win industrial struggles over bread and butter issues and also to help turn the wider aspirations we hold for political, economic and social change into reality.

The problem is that the whole idea of workplace organisation has been weakened over the last twenty years, and a whole generation has grown up without seeing trade unions as successful bodies through which gains can be won. As a result, there's a level of apathy and pessimism in the workplace that needs to be overcome. We've got to start with small victories, coupled with people making the case for unionism.

Do we just want a resurrection of trade unionism to its previous heights? Of course not. We should strive for something better, that won't repeat the old mistakes or suffer from the same weaknesses. Self-organisation, accountability, democracy, internationalism, solidarity and independence from politicians are all necessary if the labour movement's going to be successful.

**Richard:** The election of left leaders in unions like the RMT and PCS shows how pissed off workers are with New Labour and the union leaders who cuddle up to them. Simpson's election was significant because that's how Blair lost Sir Ken Jackson, a key ally. The union has taken a much more progressive stance as a result – it backed an anti-PFI motion at the Labour Party conference, for example, which wouldn't have happened a year ago. Simpson's also torn up a no-strike deal at Honda. But when push comes to shove, people like Simpson fall in behind Blair. They always do. They won't go too far.

**Freedom:** Anarchists are sometimes seen as being poorly organised, and they certainly

have a relatively low profile in the labour movement. Why is this and what can we do about it?

**Bill:** There are two main problems. One is that some anarchists don't seem to be interested in labour affairs at all, preferring to put their energies into other projects. The second is that anarchists who are interested follow several different strategies. These differences don't help anarchism get a high profile. One final point is that the Anarchist Trade Union Network (ATUN) was a good project and it's a shame that, while it had a large number of members, hardly anyone came forward to help out with the necessary work to keep it going.

**Richard:** Bill mentions ATUN. That was an attempt to pull anarchists in the workplace together, whether they were union members or not. People joined, but didn't seem to want to take things much further than getting the newsletter. Mind you, I think it's hard for anarchists to be honest about their politics. ATUN members argued about this. Should you come out and tell people you're an anarchist? You can get a pretty hostile reaction.

**Freedom:** Should anarchists join trade unions?

**Natalie:** Yes! Kropotkin said it was better to stand with the masses than apart from them. Seven million British workers belong to unions – how could any anarchist write that off? We must raise the profile of anarchism in the workplace. We can only do that from within the trade unions.

**Bill:** Anarchists should definitely organise industrially. Whether this means organised in a trade union, a revolutionary union like the IWW, an industrial network like the Solidarity Federation or an ad hoc group along with their fellow workers depends on their individual preferences and the situation in each individual workplace. This might sound rather liberal, but the most important thing is that anarchists are tolerant and respectful of other anarchists who pursue an

alternative industrial strategy because, as long as we're fighting each other, the boss is laughing all the way to the bank. At the bare minimum, we should provide support and publicise each other's struggles, even when we don't fully agree with each other's approaches.

**Richard:** I think anarchists should join unions, but also support anarchist and libertarian groups like SolFed and the IWW. Natalie's right that anarchists need to be involved with trade unions. We can't leave the field clear for the SWP. That isn't to say there aren't problems with unions like Unison or the T&G. Fundamentally, they're reformist organisations, not revolutionary ones.

**Freedom:** The unions have just bailed the Labour Party out again financially. Despite sabre-rattling, no union has broken with New Labour – will they ever, do you think?

**Bill:** Some might. The campaign to cut the links between Labour and the unions has a chance, as long as it isn't transformed into a campaign for establishing links with more left-wing parties. The ultimate aim should be for all unions to be independent of all political parties.

**Natalie:** Not in the foreseeable future. Union leaders, even left-wing ones, are totally wedded to the electoral system, and most would rather see Labour in than the Tories. So they'll keep supporting them.

**Freedom:** How important do you think differences in anarchist views on industrial organisation are?

**Bill:** Fairly important, and the pursuit of different strategies has so far meant no individual strategy has had enough backing to get it off the ground. Nevertheless, because most – if not all – anarchists recognise the need for solidarity, I'd like to think that if one specific strategy started being successful, it would be supported by other sections of the anarchist movement.

**Richard:** It's encouraging that there's talk of Class War, the Anarchist Federation and SolFed linking up more. Arguing among ourselves makes us an irrelevance as far as most workers are concerned. I'd like to see something like ATUN restarted in some form. Anarchism is growing in this country. We must build up its presence in the labour movement too.

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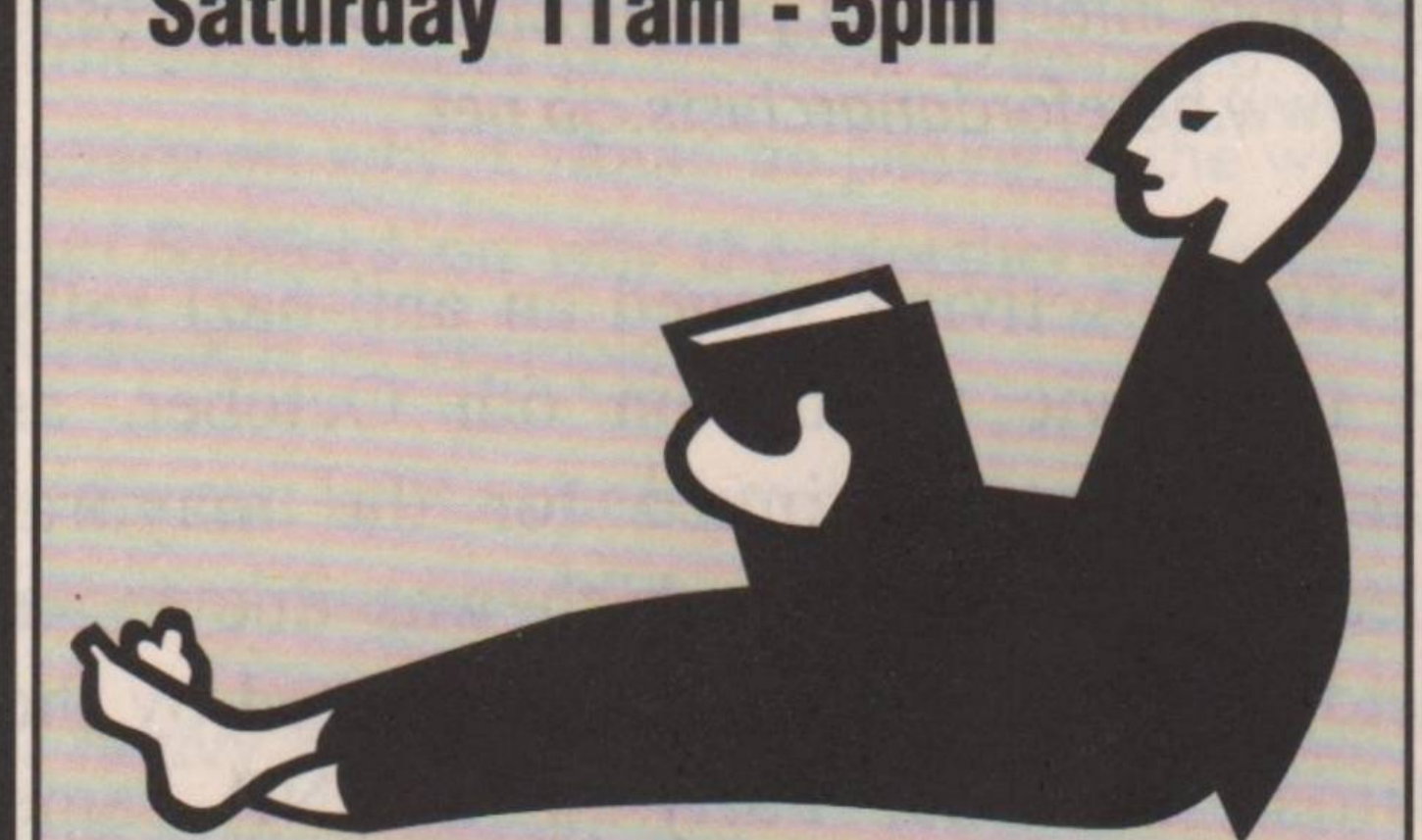
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# Authoritarian madness

Cannibalism, head hunting, and human sacrifice were once thought normal. Go back two hundred years or even less, and you find a general acceptance of public executions, floggings, torture of animals, beating of children and wives, humiliation of the disabled, brutal sexual repression and 'scientific' racism. Any one of these behaviours today would get you marked as someone with serious mental problems. Take up head hunting and you end up in an institution for the criminally insane. Child abuse means a magistrate and mandatory therapy. If behaviours once deemed acceptable are now seen as unhealthy, surely authoritarian behaviour in general could become so regarded.

As old Hegel said, people act out a desire for recognition. One can acquire this recognition through merit or force. A healthy person acquires recognition by what they do and how they are as a person. They have no need to force anyone to agree that they are a valuable human being. Such a person has developed talents and a personality that naturally attract others. People with weak, insecure egos need the bolstering brought by power and authority since they cannot achieve recognition on their own. Domination allows them to have a sense of self.

One route to power is through politics, and if that avenue is not open, there is wealth. Money can't buy you love, but it can sure as hell buy you power. The 'greedy capitalist' is only an insecure individual seeking power, and thus a sense of self, through the accumulation of wealth. Is it also not true that almost everyone in a position of illegitimate authority is a mediocrity and got where they are through deceit, ruthlessness and skullduggery? Think only of Tony Blair



and George W. Bush.

Bureaucracies attract unbalanced personalities – yes-men, sycophants, bullies and sadists who get their sense of self from tormenting those underneath them. Authoritarian structures – schools, churches, corporations, government bureaucracies, the police and the military – are all full of people who

thrive on using their little crumbs of power to the maximum. Heinrich Himmler is the archetypal figure of this 'bureaupath'. Bureaucracies also develop cult-like tendencies, forcing otherwise normal individuals into accepting insane beliefs and behaviour patterns. One example of this is 'police tribalism', whereby police officers are forced

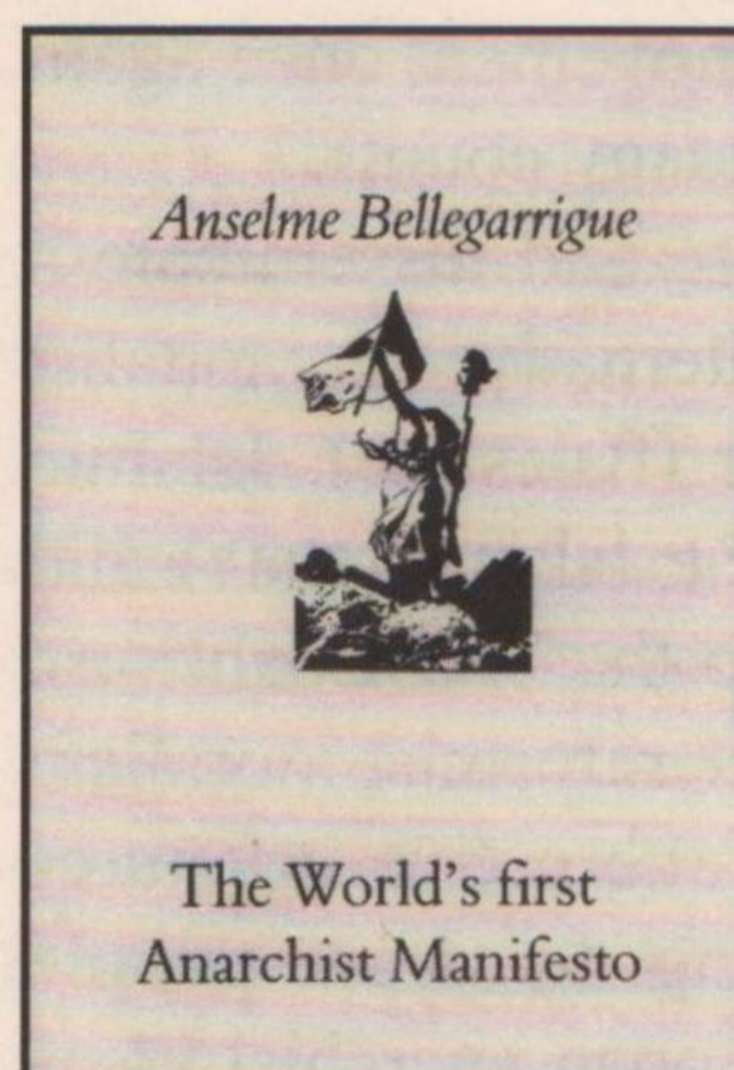
to cover for each other, regardless of the corrupt or brutal acts that might have been committed by members of the force.

Fanatical, totalitarian ideologies are a magnet for the unbalanced. Leninist, fascist, extreme nationalist, religious 'fundamentalist' and terrorist groups are full of lunatics who think they have the right to impose their ideas upon the rest of us, whether we want it or not. They may well be miserable wretches, but they possess The Truth and long for the day they can completely assuage their insecurity by becoming commissars or gauleiters.

This authoritarian madness, whether of political, corporate, bureaucratic or ideological origin, is very dangerous and may mean the extinction of the human race. Power-mad crazies killed 170 million people in the twentieth century with their wars, man-made famines and death camps. What else might they do? Social evolution has to marginalise this personality type and the behaviour attached to it, in the same way other harmful behaviours were marginalised in the past. Of course, it is not just a matter of authoritarian personalities. It goes without saying that authoritarian structures must be abolished or replaced with libertarian forms.

In order to marginalise this illness, every law, regulation, ideology and action of the authoritarians must be held up to examination and ridicule. They must be exposed for what they are: the results of insecure, unhealthy individuals forcing their fantasies upon the rest of us. The ordinary person, already suspicious of politicians, bureaucrats and corporate CEOs, must say when confronted by such people, 'Only a maniac would want power!'

Larry Gambone



**The World's First Anarchist Manifesto**  
by Anselme Bellegarrigue  
Kate Sharpley Library, £2

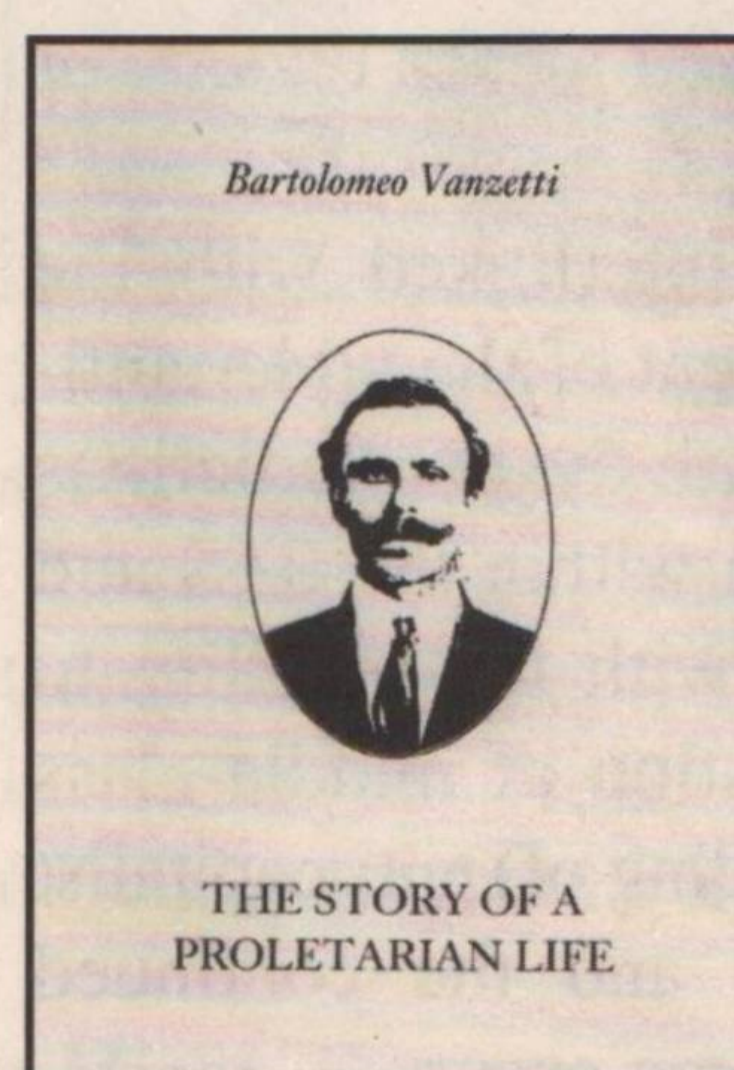
There are countless anarchist manifestos, primers and beginners' ABCs. Not all of them are particularly good. Anselme Bellegarrigue's *Anarchist Manifesto*, written some time in May or June 1850, is a piece of work not all of us will relate to but which ultimately serves as an interesting addition to the body of anarchist history. Bellegarrigue couldn't be considered as an anarchist from the socialist school of thought, as Bakunin, Kropotkin and Malatesta were (none of whose anarchist work had been written at that time, of course). His inspiration was drawn more from the liberalist ideas of Godwin, and of course from Proudhon.

The essential approach of his manifesto is to say that anarchy is order and government civil war, because government by default means society is divided into those in power and those who aren't. In other words, the existence of government implies social division and inequality. I doubt many anarchists would disagree with this, but ultimately his writing is of a personal nature, and highly individualist. "I deny everything and affirm naught but myself", he writes. He does talk, though, of a collective will of the people and believes that what's best for the individual is best for the people as a whole.

This early outline of anarchist ideas is also tainted by a strong element of moral thinking, and his opposition to government could be seen as being based purely on this. He argues, for example, that government creates slaves rather than citizens, subordinating them to a corrupt will. His argument isn't based on ideas of class or on the economic relationships of capitalism, as its 1848 Marxist cousin was. If you're a class struggle anarchist, you probably won't like this. But for anyone who's interested in the origins and development of anarchist ideas, it's a vital text.

Callum Berlin

Available from Freedom Press at £2 (plus 50p p&p in the UK, £1 elsewhere).



**The Story of a Proletarian Life**  
by Bartolomeo Vanzetti  
Kate Sharpley Library, £1.50

In April 1920 two Massachusetts payroll clerks were gunned down in a wages snatch. The following year Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were found guilty of being anarchists and poor immigrants too, and sentenced to death for murder. They went to the chair in 1927, four years after Vanzetti's autobiographical essay (now reissued by Kate Sharpley Library) was first published.

Vanzetti's courage and sharp intelligence did him no more favours in the 1920s than

his political convictions. But now, 75 years later, they emerge again in his account of what was an unremarkable man's unremarkable life – until the day of his arrest. But for that, in his most quoted words (contained in this essay), "I might have lived out my life talking at street corners to scorning men. I might have died unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph".

This pamphlet is an account of what was simultaneously a gross miscarriage of justice, a mark of shame the American state still bears, a defining moment in the development of the twentieth century's labour movement and a personal victory for its author. Read it and salute his memory.

Johnny M.

Available from Freedom Press at £1.50 (plus 50p p&p in the UK, £1 elsewhere).

Fast, effective relief from authority



ANARCHISM 2002

The 21st Anarchist Bookfair  
Saturday 19 October 2002  
Camden Centre, Euston Road, London WC1  
[www.anarchistbookfair.org](http://www.anarchistbookfair.org)

Freedom anarchist fortnightly exists to promote anarchist ideas and action. It's a mouthpiece for the whole anarchist movement. Now it needs YOU to contribute to it – graphics, news from the frontline, comment and reviews. Just as importantly, it needs sellers and distributors. Come to our stall at the bookfair and have a chat. Better still, come to the Freedom meeting at 4pm in Room 1, the Camden Centre.



# The murky message of '97

*It's five years since the Class War Federation tried to encourage new developments in the anarchist movement by winding itself up. In recent issues, Freedom contributors have discussed the need for a new national federation of anarchists. Now M.H., who was involved in Class War at the time, asks what problems still remain for us and why.*

Back in the summer of 1997, the majority of activists in the Class War Federation, including me, produced what was intended to be the last issue of *Class War*. It was also to be the end of the Federation itself. The suicide note took the form of 'An open letter to the revolutionary movement', published in issue 73 of the paper. Written "from the heart and not as some piece of lefty theory", it wasn't aimed solely at anarchists, but more generally at class struggle libertarians with a commitment to non-hierarchical organising. (I'll use the term 'anarchists' for the sake of simplicity, with apologies to those comrades who aren't).

In a (sometimes harsh) critique of Class War's own failings, the article called on other revolutionaries – groups and individuals – to face up to their problems and to come together to find ways forwards. There was an emphasis on ditching sectarianism and general bitchiness, on questioning our roles as 'activists' in relation to the wider working class, and on taking a fresh look at what, why and how we do things.

"Basically", the article said, "the paper and the Federation have gone as far as they can in their present form, and it's time for something new ... What we are about is looking ahead to something bigger, better and altogether more unpleasant for the ruling classes." So what happened? Did we all kiss, make up and change the world?

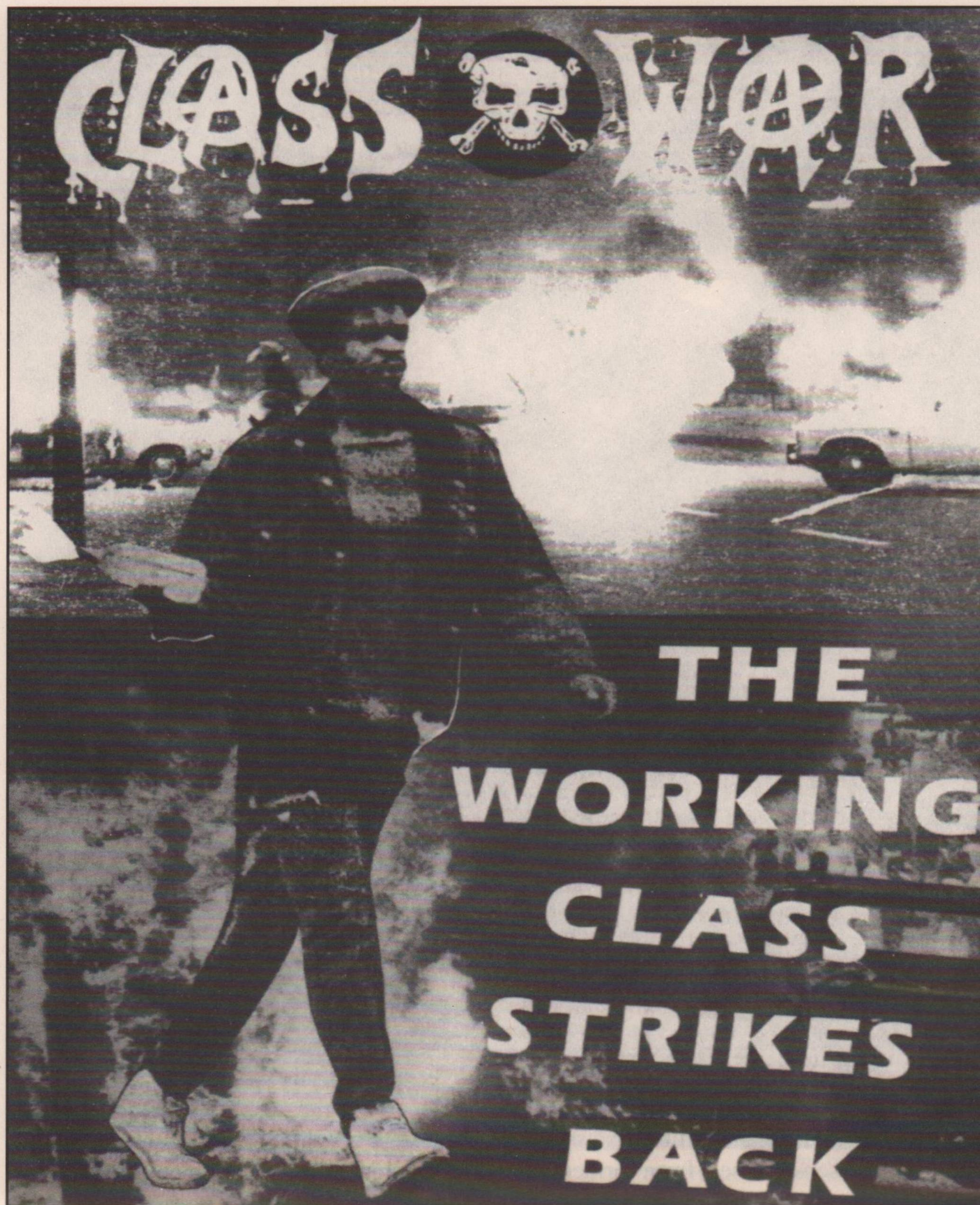
Five years is a long time in politics. J18 was little more than an idea back then, Mayday hadn't been reclaimed, the term 'anti-capitalism' was virtually unheard of and 'summit hopping' wasn't on the agenda. Few of us had email, fewer still had a website. The Taliban was still funded by the west, and who the hell was Osama bin Laden? Capitalism and the 'New World Order' were in the ascendancy, and some people still had illusions about the New Labour project.

## Bradford festivities

The major event resulting from *Class War 73* was the Bradford Mayday conference and festivities of 1998. This at least brought together comrades from the main national anarchist groupings, smaller local groups, elements from the invigorating RTS and environmental scene, and a range of individuals. They came for three days of relaxed but challenging debate, discussion and fun too. But what happened next?

That's where it all gets a bit murkier. Although it created an atmosphere of respect, co-operation and collaboration (which, it should be emphasised, had always existed to an extent, particularly outside London), nothing concrete resulted from Bradford. The organisers didn't organise anything else together, and when it was all over they largely went their own ways, ceasing to exist as a group (or even as a network) and failing to fulfil what they'd hinted at in issue 73.

The remnants of the Class War Federation continued in much the same way as before, occasionally getting their names and faces



into the mainstream media when the periodical anarchist hysteria kicked in. The other two national groups, Solidarity Federation and the Anarchist Federation, also continued much as before, promoting their organisations and their politics (though the three of them do now subscribe to a joint email discussion list). So was that it? Didn't anything happen at all?

Yes and no is the answer. The concept of mutual respect and working together did flourish, and it continues today despite the cynicism of those few who see a conspiracy every time someone else suggests anything positive, and despite the group 'chauvinism' or 'patriotism' of those who continue to believe that only they have the right answer. The move towards clearer class struggle and anti-capitalist politics by RTS, and even elements of the environmental movement such as Earth First!, which adopted an anti-capitalist position, can be linked to the sentiments expressed in *Class War 73*.

The Mayday 2000 festival in London was clearly inspired by Bradford, and a number of organisers figured in the arrangements for both events. More significantly, the organising collective for Mayday 2000 (and the conference itself) brought together perhaps the widest representation of the movement ever seen, from workerists to lifestyleists, from fluffies to spikeys. But people who worked in that and subsequent Mayday collectives still suffer nightmares, the inevitable result of the enormous political and class chasm between participants and the inability of some to understand the responsibilities inherent in collective decision-making.

Perhaps it's a mistake to focus on concrete developments in terms of changing organisational structures, as those who hoped something 'bigger and better' would emerge from issue 73 will remain disappointed. After Bradford (and Mayday 2000 in London) no structure or strategy was set in

motion and no new direction was agreed. Once again, a promising initiative linked to Class War went nowhere because it wasn't properly thought through from the start.

But as issue 73 said, "at the moment we have more questions to ask than answers to give". In addition, if issue 73 had offered a blueprint for the future it would probably have been doomed from the start, seen just as *Class War Con*, part two.

## Now the good news

On the brighter side, in July 1997 who'd have thought that, within four years, the likes of the IMF, World Bank and similar organs of international capitalism would be struggling to justify, not just their existence, but that of the system they were created to perpetuate – capitalism itself (not that we can credit issue 73 with all that!).

We could see what's happened as a process that hasn't meandered anywhere final, its destination undefined (so far) beyond an understanding that the end means the end of capitalist social relations.

It's a process that's interlinked with the warts-and-all development of the wider anti-capitalist movement; with the contradictions and confusion going on within the RTS and environmental scenes; with the inability to resolve the thorny question of middle class involvement in (and funding of) anti-capitalist and anarchist politics, and the continued group chauvinism of some groups.

It's interlinked with the continuing failure of activists to escape from the ghetto and into the wider working class, from protest politics into real local alternatives; with the low level of political discussion and understanding among those who claim to be anarchists; the increased pace of environmental and economic crisis, and the increasingly mad and sad world we live in.

All these problems and more were articulated in *Class War 73*, and it's depressing that they

remain unresolved five years later. Older readers, of course, may feel we've debated the same problems for much longer still.

But there have been positives too. Anarchist ideas permeate far more widely than the anarchist movement itself does, usually with their origins unnoticed. Many networks and groups unknowingly but spontaneously adopt anarchist principles of non-hierarchical organisation. Innovative ideas and actions continue to spring forth whenever resistance occurs.

There's a growing understanding that different tactics suit different situations, that violence is just one of many options. New groups such as the Wombles try to find solutions to past and present problems. The growth of the Social Centres Network offers the prospect of permanent bases from which to integrate with local communities, as well as autonomously controlled and self-funded meeting places for the movement.

Bulletin boards and email discussion lists provide an opportunity to debate and discuss ideas, problems and actions (though there's a danger that contributing to these alone becomes a new form of activism and increases the isolation of the individual). Websites offer the chance to reach vast numbers of people cheaply and easily, spreading the word on upcoming events and offering in-depth analysis and provocative suggestions. For an example, visit [www.temporary.org.uk](http://www.temporary.org.uk), the site of the Temporary Anti-Capitalist Teams idea (TACT for short), with its excellent discussion of the state of the anti-capitalist movement.

But with international capitalism in severe crisis, we need to ask again the question posed by issue 73 – "if our ideas are so brilliant, why do we collectively amount to so little and have so little influence?" As capitalism turns once again to war in its time of crisis, the anarchist movement once again seems to be failing on many counts.

It's failing to articulate and disseminate a clear rejection of, and alternative to, capitalist war, national liberation (Palestine), Islamic ideology (Khilafah – the Islamic state) and popular fronts (the Stop the War Coalition). It's failing to counter the reformist moralism of the left, and to offer alternative structures of its own. It's failing to draw people together, and failing to open anarchist ideas and groups up to the wider class. (Perhaps the problem these days is that, whatever class they're from, 'activists' constitute a separate 'political' class, and as often as not alienate others from the ideas they try to represent). Anarchists fiddle, while capitalism bombs?

What's to be done? Can we seize the day? Can we give a little in order to gain a lot? Can we develop our mutual trust and solidarity and drop the bullshit, bitchiness and manipulation? Can we utilise and expand what resources we've already got? Can we truly put our politics into practice? The Anarchist Bookfair is as good a place to start as any.

M.H.

The discussion of the need (or otherwise) for a new kind of anarchist federation continues in forthcoming issues of *Freedom*. Coming up: Paul Maguire on why it would be pissing in the wind, Brian Bamford on why the Northern Anarchist Network is an example to us all.

For the text of 'An open letter to the revolutionary movement', visit [www.classwaruk.org/archive](http://www.classwaruk.org/archive)

For history of Mayday 2000, see [www.ourmayday.org.uk](http://www.ourmayday.org.uk) or [www.urban75.com](http://www.urban75.com)

For more on the London Social Centres Network, see page 7.



## What we say ...

At the beginning of the last century, anarchist militant Alexander Berkman defined an anarchist society as one "without force and compulsion, where all men shall be equals and live in freedom, peace and harmony". He added that "every human being who is not devoid of feeling and common sense is inclined to anarchism. Everyone who suffers from wrong and injustice, from the evil and corruption and filth of our present day life, is instinctively sympathetic to anarchy".

Almost a hundred years on, we seem further away from Berkman's ideal than ever. The 'instinctive sympathy' for anarchy has been replaced by disillusion, cynicism, withdrawal from political life and the reality of an anarchist movement ever more detached from the 'present day life' of most people.

The twentieth century offered, not freedom, peace and harmony, but the carnage of the Holocaust and the Gulag. The First World War began in Sarajevo and at the century's close the city's name was still in the news, with the scar of 'ethnic cleansing' again a political commonplace.

At the start of the Second World War, the idea of a mass media didn't exist. The knowledge of mass murder, for those who weren't affected or implicated, came after the event. Now we can watch rapes and massacres as they occur but do nothing except change channel. Milosevic, architect of ethnic cleansing, stands indicted of war crimes – but most of us would sooner watch *Big Brother*.

The rich grow richer, more and more of the rest of us grow hungry; but the politics of equality have been replaced by internecine civil war within working class communities. (Witness the growth of fascism across Europe and say this isn't so). What hope for those of us who still hold with Berkman's dream of freedom? Are we wasting our time? Are our meetings and bookfairs just ways of denying our failings?

The answer can't be given yet. If we're honest, much of what we say and do means nothing to most people. But over 250,000 turned out last month to demonstrate against the prospect of war. Most people, when asked, say time and again that they're working class, however much New Labour says class no longer matters.

Berkman also had something to say about why those who "endure poverty, misery, tyranny and oppression" all too often take no action to end their conditions. He noted that "lawful violence and the fear of it dominates our whole existence, individual and collective. Authority controls our lives from the cradle to the grave ... All your life is a long chain of fears – fears which bruise your body and lacerate your soul".

For most of us, the fear of 'lawful violence' is stronger still today. More of us go to jail than ever. CCTV, and even the mobiles in our pockets, act as the eyes of the state. The misery of private life seems a safer option than joining with others to take any kind of political action. But apathy and despair don't stop governments making our lives worse. They just offer them further licence.

Anarchist politics is based on direct action and co-operation, a politics of resistance to oppression based on solidarity and mutual aid. It's a real alternative to the 'long chain of fears' which keeps the system of exploitation in place.

If we want to create a situation where 'everyone who suffers from wrong and injustice' is again inclined towards anarchism, the anarchist movement in all its diversity has to take responsibility for ensuring that its politics and actions relate to, and impact on, the 'present day life' of everyone else. There is a better future, but we have to make it.

## Readers' letters

### Up the wrong tree

Dear *Freedom*,

Trevor Bark's argument ('Counts defend the countryside', 5th October) is based, in part, on the premise that the Countryside Alliance has won the battle of ideas in the countryside. May I suggest that he and other readers of *Freedom* shouldn't fall for the propaganda put out by the mass media and the Alliance itself. The battle of ideas in the countryside continues, and all is still to play for.

One should be aware that the only reason the Alliance get so many people on their marches is that they give an opportunity for all those with grievances to air them. This made for some pretty unusual fellow marchers on 22nd September.

If we're to think in strategic terms, we need to be working on splitting the legitimate concerns off from the hunting lobby, rural aristocracy and their middle class hangers-on, not lumping them all together. If we're to have any impact in rural areas, we need to show an understanding of the problems people there face, and their causes. And if we can put forward policies that address these issues without compromising anarchist politics, so much the better.

R. Schwa

### Car-Free Day

Dear *Freedom*,

The comments by MH show some misunderstanding of Car-Free Day ('Reclaim the future', 5th October). It isn't only European, it's supposed to be worldwide. It wasn't put on 22nd September this year to reduce its impact on moneymaking – it's on 22nd September every year. Next year it will be on

a Monday, and MH's comments will have more relevance. Already there are people saying it can't be held on a working day and should be moved to the nearest weekend. Resist that if you hear it, please.

Car-Free Day is organised to make people think about reducing the rushing around, the dangers and the pollution from cars. It's too easy to ignore the message at the weekend, and it should stay on 22nd September to make people think about how to go about their life without cars available all the time.

Adrian Williams

### Delinquency

Dear *Freedom*,

Bob Potter misunderstands complex issues by approaching vandalism with a simplistic 'blame the perpetrators' view ('Crime and punishment', 21st September). This ignores the social causes of actions. To pretend that individuals act on no basis is to suffer from an illusion. As William Godwin put it, you might as well blame a knife for stabbing. The model of 'victim' versus 'vandal' is Hollywood-style nonsense.

If Bob manages to catch the 'vandals', his first action should be to ask them why they do what they do. To hazard a guess, I'd suggest that they're probably youths who are denied any space or voice of their own. At least the 'victims' have homes. The 'vandals' may well live under the thumb of abusive parents, in children's homes or even on the streets. They may do graffiti to assert an autonomous identity, to claim a space as their own or as a slight against older generations who they blame for their predicament.

David Matza's classic study reveals that 'delinquents' usually cause damage because

of a 'mood of fatalism' which arises when those in power make them feel dehumanised. They act to restore their sense of agency. In short, this is a land-use conflict with two sides who both have legitimate claims, not a simplistic goodie/baddy drama.

Perhaps it can be solved by negotiation (or perhaps the 'vandals' could be redirected towards more legitimate targets), but not until the socially dominant side – the 'victims' – stop claiming a privileged status.

Beneath this problem, however, is the present organisation of space. The modern city is over-controlled and excessively cramped, and too many are left with too little space in it. To resolve the problems which result from this situation would need fundamental social change. Blaming the symptoms only impedes solutions, and displaces suffering from one group to another.

People have a right to self-defence in cases of substantive harm such as robbery. But in a case like this, it's unclear why residents feel so distressed by a basically harmless activity. If it's because it offends the sense of decency which arises from within statist ideology – for instance because their opponents are outside the law – then supporting them against the 'vandals' is like supporting America against the Taliban. It reinforces dominant power structures.

Also, to go beyond situation-specific defence into the politics of vendettas, revenge and punishment is the psychological fuel of statism. It's a short step from this to supporting police, prisons and the whole state apparatus. An effective anarchism has to be about more than 'not using the state apparatus' and extend into a rejection of its social and psychological basis. What's the point in getting rid of cops if we just end up as cops ourselves?

A.R.

## LONDON SOCIAL CENTRES NETWORK

Freedom Press Bookshop is a member of the London Social Centres Network. This is used to share ideas and experience among self-managed radical spaces in the capital.

The venues and planned venues which belong to the London Social Centres Network are:

- 56a Infoshop, 56 Crampton Street, London SE17\*
- Carnivalista Social Centre, [carnivalist@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:carnivalist@yahoo.co.uk)
- Emmaz Social Centre, [www.emmaz.org.uk](http://www.emmaz.org.uk)
- Freedom Press Bookshop, 84b Whitechapel High Street, E1\*
- London Action Resource Centre (LARC), 62 Fieldgate Street, E1\*
- The Radical Dairy, 47 Kynaston Road, N16\*
- Use your Loaf, 227 Deptford High Street, SE8\*

\*These venues are already open and welcome visitors

LondonSCN have open, public forums every month. An online mailing list informs subscribers of events in and around social centres and infoshops. To subscribe, send a blank email to [londonSCN-events-subscribe@lists.riseup.net](mailto:londonSCN-events-subscribe@lists.riseup.net)

## COPY DEADLINE

The next issue of *Freedom* will be dated 2nd November, and the last day for copy intended for this issue will be Thursday 24th October. Contributions can be sent to us at [FreedomCopy@aol.com](mailto:FreedomCopy@aol.com)

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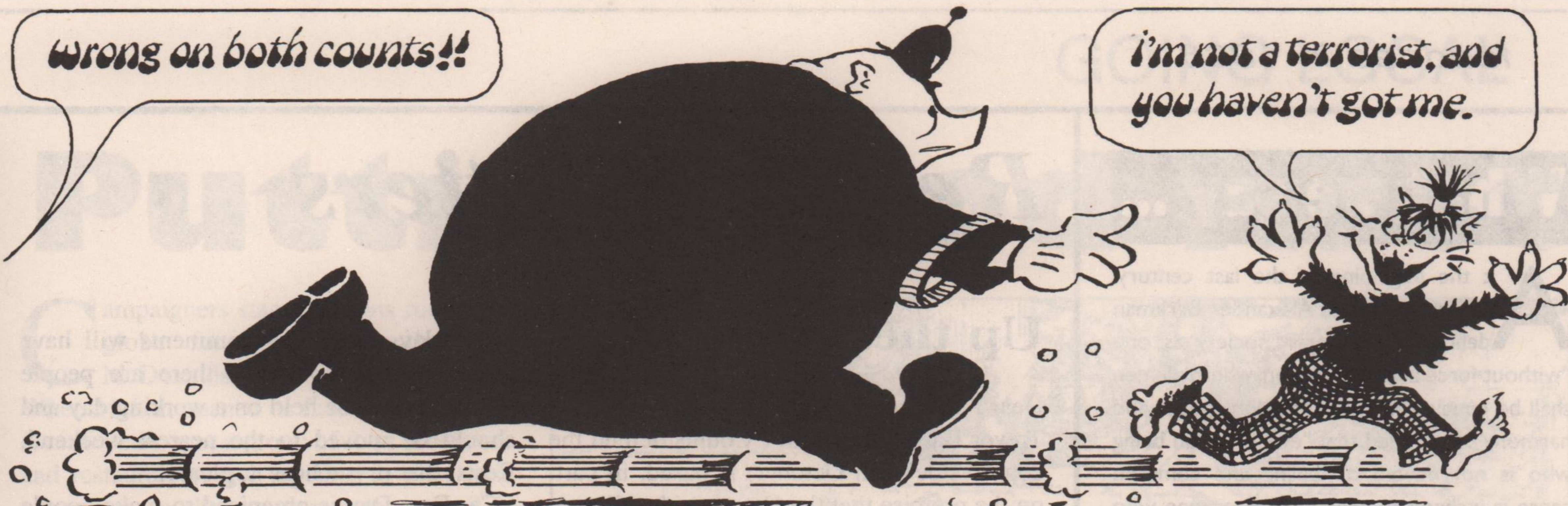
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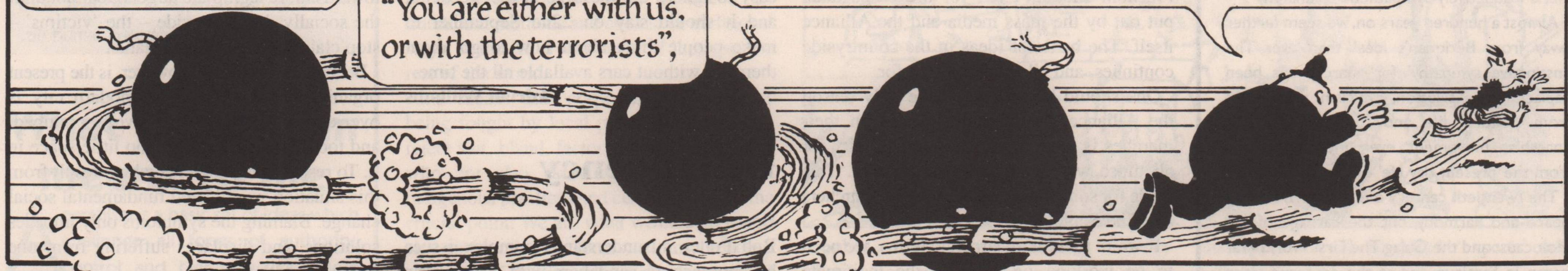
I'm not a terrorist, and you haven't got me.



Right on both counts!!

President Dubya says "You are either with us, or with the terrorists",

which makes terrorists of all peace activists...



... and this time, Gotcha!!

oops!!

You can't achieve world peace by damaging a weapons factory.

No, but you can do something towards it.



**GLASGOW ANTI-WAR MARCH**

Saturday 19th October from 11.30am

Meet at George Square, Glasgow, for march against Iraq war  
email: scnd@banthebomb.org • tel: 0141 423 1222

**SANGATTE & DOVER PICKET**

Saturday 19th October from 10am

Mass picket at Dover Removal Centre at Western Heights.  
contact Tom 07890 939253 or Jon 07789 961744  
email: kentCDAS@hotmail.com

**RETURN TO THE KILLING FIELDS**

Sunday 20th October at 2pm

Films and discussion with Crass  
at the Rio Cinema, 107 Kingsland High Street, London E8 2PB  
see www.riocinema.org.uk • tel 0207 241 9415

**US DEATHS IN CUSTODY PROTEST**

Tuesday 22nd October from 5pm to 8pm

at US Embassy, Grosvenor Square, London (Bond Street tube)  
in solidarity with relatives and friends of those who have died in police custody, in prison or in psychiatric hospitals in America.  
Organised by United Families and Friends Campaign (UFFC)  
UFFC tel 07770 432439

**GIANFRANCO FINI DEMO**

Tuesday 22nd October

Gianfranco Fini, the Italian Foreign Minister, well-known fascist and the director of police operations at last year's Genoa protests, will be speaking in London. He'd love to see you!!!  
Meet from 8am onwards outside Claridge's Hotel at 53 Brook Street, London W1.

**BEYOND TV**

Tuesday 22nd October at 8pm

at The Font, New Wakefield Street, Manchester  
European News Real for Media Democracy day, with speakers on anti-militarism, Indymedia Manchester, films, live link-up with Under the Pavement radio show, music from Phush Collective  
see http://www.beyondtv.org

**LANCASTER RE-SOURCE CENTRE**

Wednesdays from 12 noon to 7pm

Check out the fair trade café and local campaigns base at the new Re-Source Centre, 78a Penny Street, Lancaster  
contact: 01524 383012

**ANTI-WAR DISCUSSION**

Thursday 24th October at 6.30pm

Milan Rai, author of War Plan Iraq, with other anti-war speakers  
at Bookmarks, 1 Bloomsbury Street, London WC1B 3QE  
email events@bookmarks.uk.com • tel 0207 7637 1848

**CRITICAL MASS**

Friday 25th October from 6.30pm

Meet outside the NFT on the South Bank, London SE1

**LONDON ANARCHIST FORUM**

Open discussion group meetings at 8pm at Conway Hall, 25 Red Lion Square, London WC1 (Holborn tube)

• 25th October: 'Antiwar Evening', read a poem, extract from a book or article, statement, etc., to stimulate antiwar debate

**SURREY BENEFIT GIG**

Friday 25th October from 7pm to 11.30ish

at Cranleigh Arts Centre in Surrey (organised by Mannequin Republic) with all proceeds to ActionAid Southern Africa Appeal

**CLOSE CAMPSFIELD**

Saturday 26th October from 12 noon to 2pm

Meet Campsfield House, Langford Land, Kidlington, Oxford

**ANTI-WAR CONFERENCE**

Saturday 26th October from 12noon to 4pm

at Cowane Centre, Cowane Street, Stirling, Scotland  
organised by Stirling Campaign for Justice Not War  
tel: 07941 769809

**DEATHS IN CUSTODY PROTEST**

Saturday 26th October from 1pm

Rally at Trafalgar Square, London, for silent procession along Whitehall followed by noisy protest at Downing Street  
All welcome • please wear black  
called by United Families and Friends Campaign (UFFC)  
contact 07770 432439 • see www.uffc.org

**RADICAL ROUTES GATHERING**

26th and 27th October

Radical Routes is a network of small co-operatives working together to promote ideas and action for radical social change.  
Meet at Bridge 5 Mill, 22a Beswick Street, Ancoats, Manchester  
contact info@radicalroutes.org.uk • tel 0161 224 4846  
see www.radicalroutes.org.uk

**RADICAL DAIRY OCTOBER EVENTS**

Saturday 19th from 9pm: Bookfair after party  
Sundays @ 7pm: Film and café  
Tuesdays @ 3pm: Yoga / @ 6.30pm: French class  
Wednesdays @ 4pm: Aromatherapy massages  
Thursdays @ 7.30pm: Spanish class  
Friday 25th @8pm: film showing on Palestine and café  
Saturday 26th @ 2pm: DJ workshop for kids as part of Festival for London Youth Arts / @ 8pm: local DJs, MCs and rap acts  
The Radical Dairy, 47 Kynaston Road, London N16  
tel: 020 7249 6996 or email: theradicaldairy@hotmail.com

**BRIGHTON CRITICAL MASS**

Thursday 31st October at 3pm

Meet at University of Sussex, Brighton.  
Later at 5.30pm an action planned at War Memorial, Old Steine  
contact: xxx@hushmail.com

**ATTILA THE STOCKBROKER**

Friday 1st November • 7.45pm to midnight

plus DJs and other stuff  
at Vintner's Parrot function room, Warwick Street, Worthing,  
for Porkbolter's fifth birthday party  
see www.eco-action.org/porkbolter

**USE YOUR LOAF EVENTS**

Red & Black Club advice surgery on 12th November at 7pm: workers' rights, benefits advice, housing/squatting, and more ...  
Veggie café every Friday from 7pm: cheap food, drink, and a chance to hang out, meet people, watch videos ...  
Infoshop: we have loads of free stuff on many campaigns ring hotline or call in to find out more on these and more ...  
Use Your Loaf, 227 Deptford High Street, London SE8  
Hotline: 07984 588807

**LARC EVENTS**

many events - check website for details  
The London Action Resource Centre, 62 Fieldgate Street, London E1 1ES (Whitechapel or Aldgate East tube)  
for more info tel 020 7377 9088 or email fieldgate@gn.apc.org  
see www.londonarc.org