

## MODERNISING THE FIRE SERVICE: AN ANARCHIST MANIFESTO

When considering industrial action, never ask for things you don't know the bosses can give you. Not every garden path has roses at the end of it. We suggest firefighters accept the 4% they've been offered and go back to work. It's not much but at least they'll know where they stand and how much they're really worth to the state. Since Tony Blair thinks they're second-rate, why not give him the service he expects. We suggest firefighters introduce a work to rule, based on *Freedom's* Manifesto for a Modern Fire Service.

- We will fight any fire where life is threatened, but not put out fires when it's not.
- We will not go to the house of any cabinet minister, they paid themselves more than we're asking now.
- If MPs don't want to support our claim for decent pay, let the House of Commons burn. It's happened before and may do again.
- We will go to a fire at any state school but not at a private one.
- If you're rich enough to pay for a private ward, we suggest you buy your own fire extinguisher. You may need it.
- We will not put out a fire at GAP or Harvey Nicks, Harrods or Calvin Klein, Starbucks or McDonalds.
- Since the bosses would rather keep their profits than pay higher taxes, they're going to need more than smoke alarms at their factories.
- We will not go to a house worth more than twice the local average, nor to weekend cottages in the Cotswolds.
- If your door is more than twenty yards from the road, that's too far for us.
- As the government won't tax the rich to help pay public sector workers, let the rich fight their own fires.
- Since Tony Blair would like to make public sector strikes illegal, we won't go to a fire at law courts that might imprison us.
- If your pet is up a tree we'll rescue it, but if your pet's a Jag we won't.
- If your car cost more than we earn cut yourself out, and if your idea of the good life is a riverside mansion we suggest you invest in flood protection.

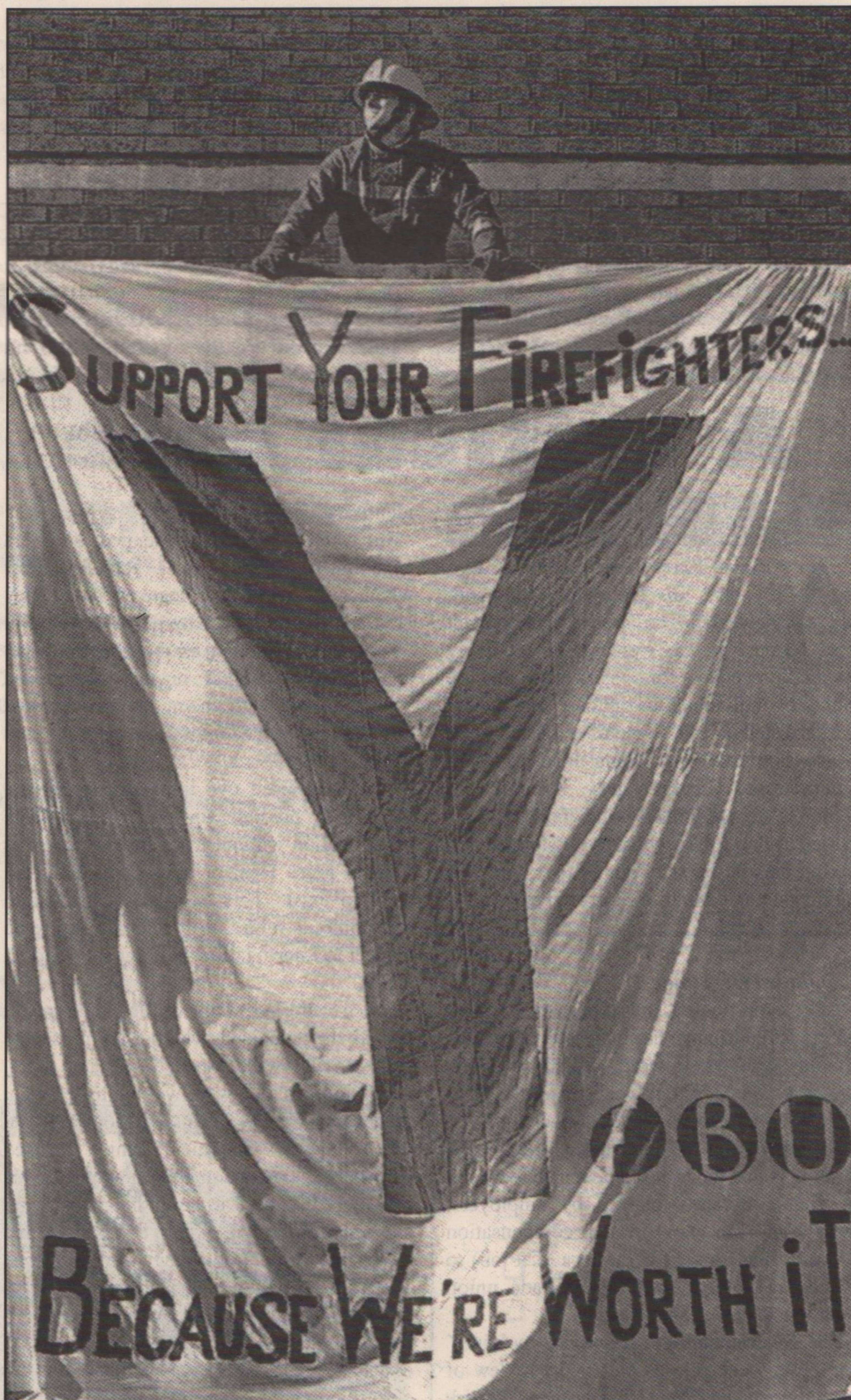
We respond to every fire or emergency without asking what the cost will be or whether the person we're helping is worth it. Since the government weighs our lives in pounds and pence, how much do you think you're worth?

The problem is that government sets the standards, the councils pay the bills and we do the work. But society is ignored. Why not cut out the intermediaries, the bosses and the state, and work directly with us?

Let the Fire Brigades Union take over the management of the Fire Service itself.

Every three years you and the rest of society will discuss plans for service delivery and management with us.

Let an independent committee of ordinary



people with the necessary skills scrutinise and endorse the plan.

You don't think it could work? But there's already an emergency service that saves lives in hazardous environments.

It's the best in the world and it largely manages itself. It's called the lifeboats – ordinary people doing extraordinary things, with not a politician in sight to muck it up.

Now that's modernisation!

### Friction at Dynamex

If ever a case demonstrated how long it takes (if ever) for the law to deliver justice to workers, it's that of 87 people sacked by Friction Dynamex in Caernarfon, North Wales, in June 2001. Their case also highlights a major loophole in the Labour government's 1999 Employment Relations Act, which gives protection against dismissal for legally balloted industrial action but only for eight weeks. Faced with a 15% wage cut and a working day lengthened to nine and a quarter hours plus other attacks on their conditions, the workers balloted to strike for one week. There was a 98% vote in favour, so they went out on 30th April 2001.

They returned after a week and were then effectively locked out for seven weeks by their boss, American union-buster Craig Smith. At the end of that time he sacked them all, saying this was legal after eight weeks. "He locked us out for seven of those eight weeks", explained Gerald Parry, chair of the factory's Transport and General Workers' Union Branch. "He said it was a holiday, even though no holiday pay was paid.

"He was cynically using a loophole in the 1999 Employment Relations Act – limiting protection to only eight weeks of industrial action – to sack us in a way never intended by the law. Even the police and businessmen in Caernarfon have seen we've played it straight down the line. That's why the Act needs amending."

Craig Smith's intentions were clear from the day he took over the factory, which makes car components, in 1997. "He tried to provoke unofficial action by refusing to negotiate pay rises, imposing changes in shift patterns and insisting that holidays be taken as every Monday in the winter", said Gerald Parry. "He also rigged the health and safety committee to restrict the T&G to one representative, even though it was the largest union. Then he made T&G members redundant, and replaced them with temporary workers, saying they wouldn't keep their jobs if they joined the union.

"He had no intention of fulfilling the intention of the law by negotiating. In addition to cutting pay and lengthening working hours, he also cut the number of shop stewards, closed the union office, didn't allow branch meetings on site, refused to recognise the branch officials, withdrew time for washing and cleaning in working hours, changed the holiday agreement, withdrew shift pay and set up a stooge 'employee council' controlled by management."

(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

I first encountered anarchism as a teenager in the peace and ecology movements, the anarcho-punk of Crass and the Poison Girls, and through an appetite for reading which extended to Colin Ward's *Anarchy in Action*, George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* and George Woodcock's history. In the two decades since, anarchism has continued to serve me well as a flexible yet coherent explanatory philosophy for making sense of the world around me. It is equally an inspiration, way of life and state of being.

For me, anarchism represents the realisation of a flourishing society as it would be if it attained its finest rational potential, not an endpoint but the optimum conditions for the creative unfolding of human knowledge and spiritual growth. Anarchism stands, beyond other belief systems, for the desire to accommodate respect for individual freedom with concern for community, humanity at large and the living environment. It values local distinctiveness and diversity while aspiring to egalitarian human solidarity.

As such, it is the antithesis of a globalised society, being a passionately internationalist rejection of the xenophobic sectarianism of nationalism. Anarchists promote the idea that wellbeing and quality of life – and therefore our ultimate self-interest – reside in a social-revolutionary rejection of presently dominant modes of production and hierarchical relations.

Such ideas are consistent with Kropotkin's insight that organisms are often most successful in evolutionary terms when they cooperate. The political forms of anarchism are self-management, the direct participatory democracy of neighbourhood assemblies and mutual aid federations, theorised by social ecologists such as Murray Bookchin and represented by loose associations like the People's Global Alliance.

We get there by synthesising and integrating into our lives: direct action against the worst consequences of authoritarianism and militarism, personal lifestyle changes, challenging and shifting the cultural hegemony and developing structures that could operate effectively in a post-capitalist society.

S. Hunt

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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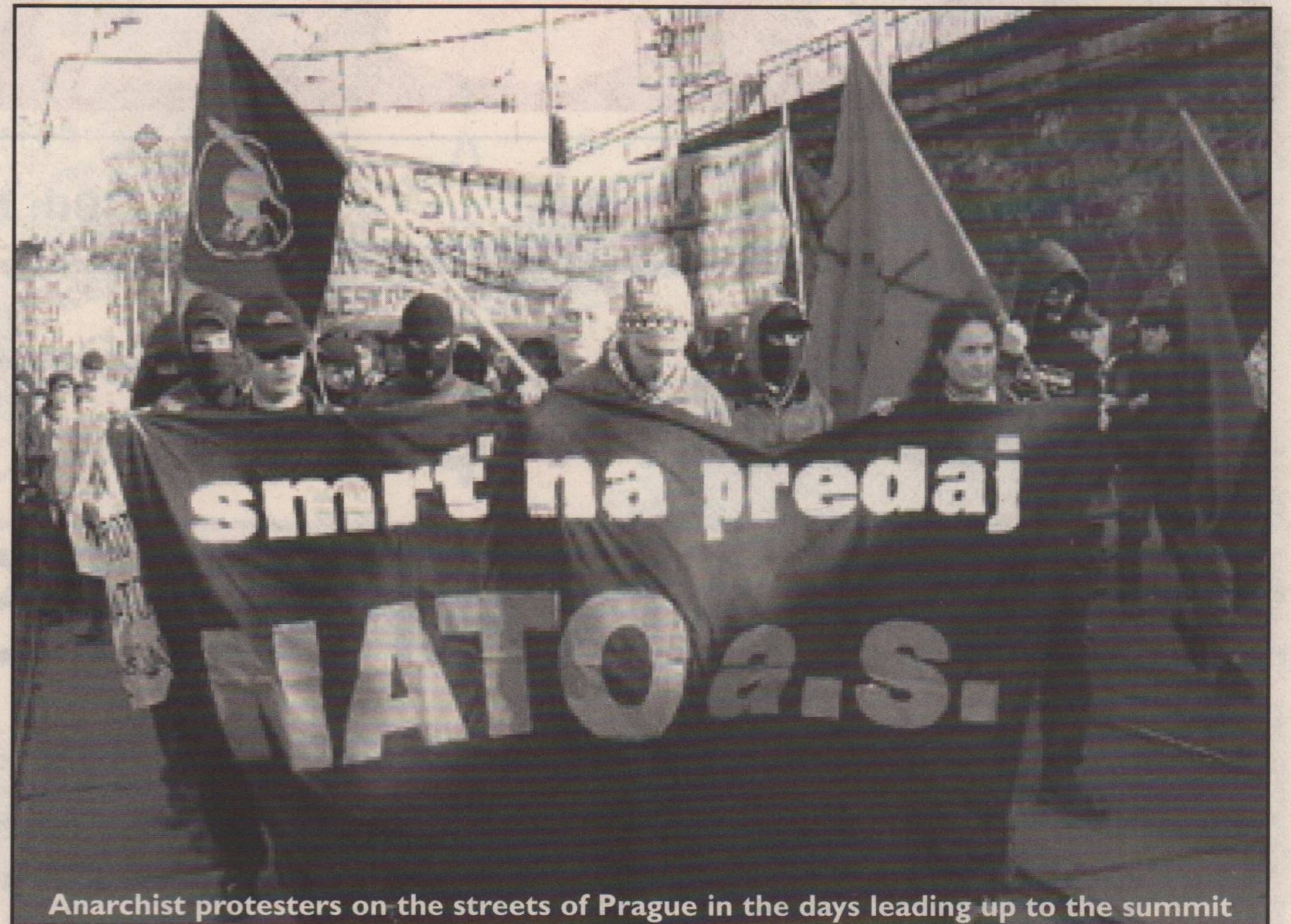
# Protests mark summit

## Czech Republic

'The world is not a military training ground' said one of the banners, as anarchists provided a steady accompaniment to the first NATO summit since September 11th. Numerous marches and demonstrations lined the streets of Prague in the days leading up to and including the summit, which was held in the Czech capital on 21st and 22nd November. All of them passed off without incident, despite a hysterical propaganda campaign in the mainstream media. This centred on the threat allegedly posed by a 'hardcore' of activists, said to be intent on causing violence. Corporate journalists, hungry for marketable copy, even attended preparatory meetings in the guise of media activists, quizzing organisers about where and when the violence was scheduled to begin.

Rather predictably, Czech Interior Minister Stanislav Gross was quick to invoke the catch-all terrorist threat, saying that after September 11th there could be no tolerance of street violence. Actually, there was little tolerance of anything at all. Border controls were tightened, and about two hundred people were refused entry to the country entirely. Some had their passports stamped to stop them from returning before 1st December. Areas of the capital were closed to cars and pedestrians, while five hundred security cameras were used to monitor the streets and three thousand riot uniforms were issued to police.

The use of water cannon, tear gas and armoured vehicles was sanctioned wherever cops deemed them necessary. Riot cops raided a meeting of international activists



Anarchist protesters on the streets of Prague in the days leading up to the summit

which was being held in a bar. On marches, ID cards and passports were repeatedly inspected and the usual photographs were taken. Undercover police lurked in every nook and cranny, while activists from internet news service Indymedia were allegedly trailed by CIA spooks. One demonstrator said, "you have to keep reminding yourself there's nothing illegal about reporting the truth, but in this town the concept of freedom of expression seems quite alien at the moment."

In all, the summit went ahead as scripted. The declaration which was issued at the conference drew to a close suggested that delegates were either oblivious or indifferent to events taking place in the streets outside, though they did take the opportunity to claim

they were solely concerned with the 'common goal of a Europe whole and free'.

They categorically condemned terrorism 'in all its forms and manifestations' and said they were determined to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction through 'disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation'. At the same time, they endorsed the implementation of a 'NATO Biological and Chemical Defence Stockpile'. The decision was also taken to create a 21,000-strong NATO Response Force, which would intervene wherever in the world NATO could provide 'added value'. In the not-so-free market of ideas, it seems, peace too is a commodity.

Anton Pawluk

## A critical case

### Norway

A Critical Mass cyclist was due to go on trial in Trondheim on 26th November. The case was an important one, because it was expected to set many judicial precedents for civil liberties and the rights of individuals in the city. The cyclist was arrested on 21st September, on a Critical Mass ride that was being held to mark International Car-Free Day. Around two hundred people joined in. According to a police report, the cyclist was stopped for taking part in the ride, which they said was an illegal demonstration. They asked him for

identification.

But when they were challenged, they had to admit that they didn't actually know whether the demo was legal or not. (They later said this wasn't why they'd asked him for identification after all, but they have yet to provide any other reason). When the cyclist argued with them, he was arrested and charged with 'failure to identify' and 'resisting arrest'.

The case raised two important questions. First, is it possible for police to demand identification without just cause? Second, is Critical Mass legal or not? Does it have a right to exist? This case was expected to determine its future. Will riders in future be subject to interrogation, beating and random arrest?

Police were last week waiting for a result before they decided whether to prosecute cyclists who were arrested on later rides, which implies they were waiting to see what precedents were set. This ran contrary to a police lawyer's statement, which insisted that the case was a simple criminal trial. This statement was used to deny the cyclist legal aid, on a court circuit where two out of three judges are former police lawyers themselves. The trial's key function wasn't the narrow and bogus charges piled on the cyclist, but the right to use our streets. As such, its conclusion will have broad implications for civil liberties, at a time when their future is unclear.

Christa

The trial was due to start at Trondheim Tingrett on 26th November. Send messages of support to [CriticalMass@speed-racer.com](mailto:CriticalMass@speed-racer.com)

(continued from page 1)

After a protracted and expensive hearing, an industrial tribunal has indicated (seventeen months after they were sacked) that the workers were 'wrongly dismissed'. They will now have to wait even longer until the detailed verdict is published. Even if the finding is that they should be reinstated, such verdicts are rarely obeyed by employers, who prefer to pay limited compensation (wholly inadequate for the loss of a job) to discourage others from being trade union activists.

The government has said it will 'look into' the eight-week rule as part of its review of employment law. But what is there to look into? If workers are entitled to protection for eight weeks, surely their cause is even more just if they are prepared to go without pay for longer still.

Mike Pentelow

## Workers' cooperatives

### Canada

A workers' cooperative movement here might provide a small positive note in an otherwise dreary capitalist world. The Canadian Worker Cooperative Federation was founded in 1992 as a non-profit organisation, seeking to encourage and help finance worker-owned and operated enterprises.

One cooperative founded with its help was Wild Island Foods on Malcolm Island, British Columbia, which runs a local bakery, café and multi-purpose food-processing facility.

There are more than 350 worker-cooperatives in Canada, reporting nearly a billion Canadian dollars in business every year, besides holding assets of more than C\$500 million. They engage in a variety of activities, including the production of shitake mushrooms, providing an ambulance service, arranging artificial insemination, aquaculture, restaurant equipment sales, forestry, computer consulting and graphic design.

Many of these are buy-outs of existing businesses by employees. Presumably they're all operated on democratic principles, involving full and equal participation by all workers and the sharing of any income. But they're not always fully a product of local initiative. The federation has a C\$1.5 million fund from the Canadian government's Department of Human Resources Development, which it uses to assist workers in making these buy-outs, in their business planning and development.

Harold Barclay

# Getting away with murder

As many expected, there was no announcement in the Queen's Speech that the government was intending to change the law on 'corporate manslaughter' during the next parliament. Instead, the emphasis was on the government's Criminal Justice Bill, low-level crime and anti-social disorder. It's five years since then Home Secretary Jack Straw followed a Law Commission recommendation and announced that the government was intending to reform the law of manslaughter. It would, he said, introduce a new offence of 'corporate killing'.

Amid concerns about the lack of corporate accountability following the disasters of the 1980s, such as the Zeebrugge ferry disaster, the Clapham rail crash and the King's Cross fire, Straw announced that those who caused the deaths of innocent people by criminal negligence shouldn't escape punishment. Since then, there have been over 1,500 work-related deaths, as well as rail crashes at Southall, Paddington, Hatfield, Selby and Potters Bar. Some critics have suggested that Britain's bosses appear to be getting away with murder.

Earlier this year, Ruth Lea of the Institute of Directors, told the *Observer*, "for business to look as if it's getting away with murder is extraordinary. It's common justice that if someone is killed through gross negligence then someone should be held responsible." Indeed, in the last fifty years only three companies have ever been convicted of corporate manslaughter.

Under the existing law, a company can only be convicted if a senior manager – a 'controlling mind' in the company – is first found guilty as an individual. Even where a company has acted in a dangerous manner, the case will end in acquittal unless a senior manager is convicted first. This is precisely what occurred in the case against James Martell and Euromin in November last year. While the company was found not guilty of two lesser charges of contravening the health and safety regulations and fined £50,000, they were cleared of the manslaughter of Simon Jones by a majority verdict from an Old Bailey jury.

Simon Jones was 24 years old when he was decapitated by a crane grab as he worked as



No manslaughter charges followed the Paddington rail crash in October 1999

a casual labourer at Shoreham dockyard, West Sussex, in April 1998. Facing the loss of his unemployment benefit, he was instructed by the benefits office to register with Personnel Selection, a local employment agency. Untrained, and without experience of dock work, he was sent into the hold of a cargo ship to unload stones.

He died within two hours of starting, when the lever that operated the grab became entangled in the clothing of the crane operator. This caused its jaws to close around his head. A subsequent investigation revealed that the crane operator couldn't see inside the ship, while the person giving instructions to him was a Polish seaman who couldn't speak English. It was also revealed that it had been unnecessary to use the grab, but ten weeks before Simon's death James Martell had given instructions to weld hooks inside it, in order to save time in changing the attachment.

In giving his judgement at the end of the trial, Justice Stokes said, "I regard the excuses

put forward by Euromin as lamentable. The fact is that this company between February 1997 and April 1998 failed to carry out any of the most important parts of its duty. The failure to do that was absolutely deplorable in my view. If it had been done, the death of this young man might have been avoided."

Needless to say the government deny that the delay in reforming the law on manslaughter is because they're bowing to pressure from the business lobby. Nevertheless, it's known that employers' organisation the Confederation of British Industry has consistently objected to proposals to change the law, and the government has now been consulting since May 2000.

Moreover, while the government's proposals would enable prosecutions to be brought against organisations without the need to identify a 'controlling mind', there are concerns that these proposals pay scant regard to the link between dangerous working practices and the conduct of

company directors and senior managers. A recent Home Office letter, which has been sent to private sector employers ('Involuntary Manslaughter: Impact Assessment'), gives an indication of the government's current thinking on the proposed reforms.

This letter says, "it is certainly worth emphasising that the government accepts that fatalities will occur at work, due to the dangerous nature of certain occupations. It wishes only to capture instances where management standards fell far below what could reasonably be expected by an undertaking in the circumstances and led to a death. Thus failures would be measured against industry standards – rather than the inherently dangerous nature of work." The letter also adds that Crown bodies will continue to have immunity, and that company managers and directors won't be able to be prosecuted for 'significantly contributing' to the new offence.

Given that the government appears to accept that being killed at work can be an occupational hazard, and wishes to measure an employer's failures against the benchmark of 'industry standards' (however inadequate these may be), it's not surprising critics feel that, even with a change in the law, many employers will continue to escape responsibility for the deaths of their employees. Many suspect that when legislation is introduced it will be riddled with so many loopholes that employers will continue to evade responsibility.

Louise Christian, a solicitor who's been involved in a number of high-profile corporate manslaughter cases, from the death of Simon Jones to the Paddington rail crash, says "until employers know that they face the possibility of prison, we aren't going to get a proper deterrent". In the meantime, while the Labour government dallies over the issue of corporate manslaughter, Britain's bosses will continue to get away with murder.

**Derek Pattison**

For information visit [www.simonjones.org.uk](http://www.simonjones.org.uk) or contact the Simon Jones Memorial Campaign, PO Box 2600, Brighton BN2 2DX

To find out about the Solidarity Federation's anti-casualisation campaign, visit [www.solfed.org.uk](http://www.solfed.org.uk)

## NEWS IN BRIEF

• **Glasgow** Saturday 9th November saw the completion of months of planning with a very successful anarchist day school. Organised by the Scottish section of the Anarchist Federation, around fifty people took part in numerous workshops. These included 'Anarchism and Marxism', 'Anarchist Organising in our Communities' and 'The Libertarian Movement Today: Scotland and Beyond'. Anarchists from across Scotland, from various organisations and projects (and none) took part.

It's hoped that the day school will become a regular event, as well as being a springboard for constructive anarchist activism in Scotland. The next event is provisionally planned for May next year. Until then, Scottish anarchists will be applying the ideas and activities discussed.

**I.M.**

• **Plymouth** Protesters blockaded entrances to the Devonport naval base on 18th November. Six activists locked themselves together with plastic tubing outside the Albert Gate, while at the Camel's Head gate

four more tried to lock themselves to the gate itself. Activists from a range of anti-nuclear and anti-militarist groups have been protesting at a Ministry of Defence decision to send nuclear sub HMS Vanguard to Devonport for refitting. On 15th November two 'weapons inspectors', Petter Joelson and Elisa Silvennoinen, managed to get on board the submarine as it lay in dock. They were inside for thirty minutes before being arrested.

• **North Yorkshire** On Thursday 12th December it's the twentieth anniversary of 'Embrace the Base' at Berkshire's Greenham Common missile pad. To mark the occasion, CND and the Women's TUC conference are holding their own version of 'Embrace the Base' outside the American station at Menwith Hill. This is the biggest spy base in the world and will play a key part in the forthcoming attack on Iraq.

Women activists Embrace the Base, Menwith Hill, 10am, Thursday 12th December. To travel by chartered coach from London, email Sophie at [Sophiebolt@hotmail.com](mailto:Sophiebolt@hotmail.com)

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# Poetry behind the bars

## Bending the Bars

by John Barker

Christie Books, £9.95

John Barker was the man who used the dock at the Angry Brigade show trial in 1972 to counter-attack the prosecution case. He was convicted, but got a lot of credit for the ten year sentences that otherwise would've been fifteen, or more. These stories go from his first days on remand in Brixton to finally walking out seven years later. He says in the introduction that it's impossible to convey the 'tedious parts' of doing that length of time. This is true. Unlike the sentence, it's a book you don't want to see the end of.

The early 1970s were obviously an interesting time, inside or out. What anarchists like to call 'the spirit of revolt' (dodgy authoritarians refer to it as 'the insurgent virus') was definitely on the loose. Outside, the miners and others were on strike. Inside, there were sitdowns and protests for better conditions. In circumstances like these, the perpetual questions – what can be done and who can be trusted – carry a lot more weight, especially on the inside of the repression industry.

John doesn't give us a Punch and Judy version, clichés to show that 'the struggle



continues'. He knows the value of a sense of humour too well for that. Not that a sense of humour means giving any ground. "The Home Office, how's that for a laugh. Anywhere else it's the Ministry of Internal Security. Only the English could be so brazen, the name suggesting warm fires, slippers and general cosiness while in fact they're smashing down doors and ripping homes apart." (At least then, unlike now,

they didn't have a slogan saying they were 'building a safe, just and tolerant society').

As well as the acts of resistance – from a spectacular paint-bombing to a work-to-rule in the workshops – we also see the dynamics of relations between the cons, the balancing act, "knowing how to live with other people in a small space, a necessary respect between cons that gave us the chance of coming out sane" as well as tension and comeback.

There's also the crack, banter shooting off at tangents:

"Sure, detection was never the name of the game, you can leave that to your man Sherlock Holmes."

'All Sherlock Holmes would get is a pull for cocaine possession ...'

'Dr Watson grassed him up', I said. 'He was always trying to get him to kick the habit.'

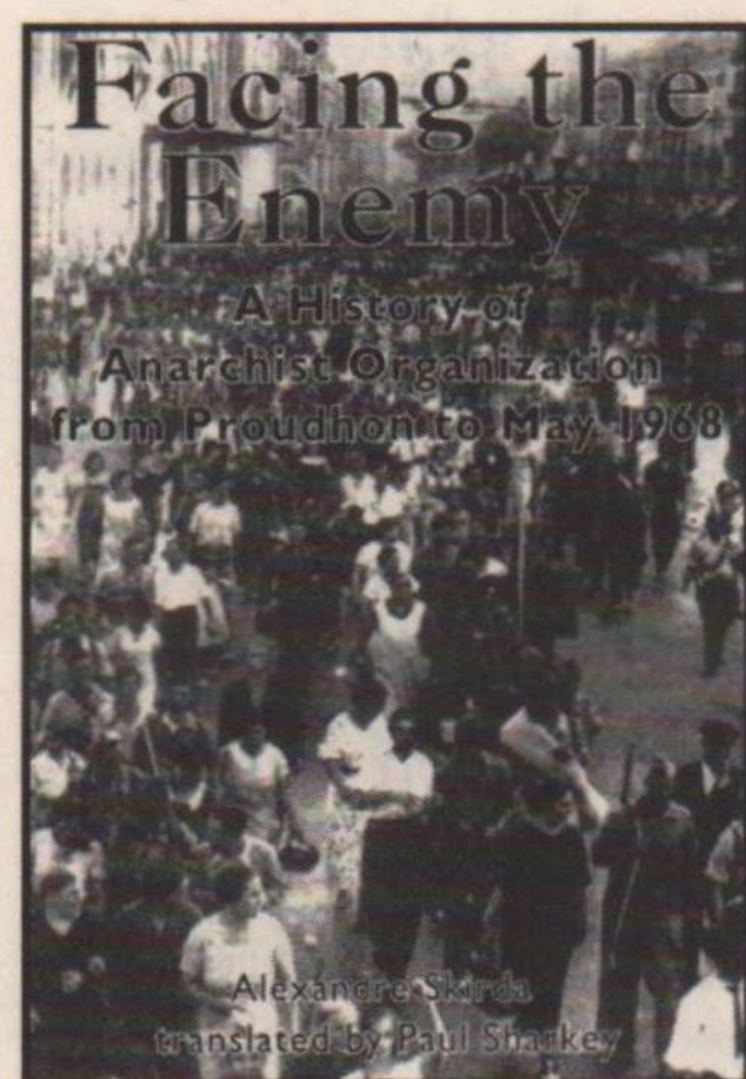
It makes a lot of 'gangster nostalgia' look like a lovingly drawn £6 note.

But what sticks most in my mind is the sheer poetry of some of the moments. The smell of the night as dark comes on, or the trees seen from a prison van: "trees everywhere, fat ones, thin ones, tall and short, all reassuring with their grounded stillness. Nearly naked too, just starting to bud, the intricacy of their branches and twigs sharply focused."

Not like a Wordsworth in Colditz, nose stuck in a bunch of daffodils, but awake to life as well as fighting. Obviously poetry, like the struggle for freedom, can take root even in places designed to eradicate it.

John P.

Available from Freedom Press, price £9.95 plus £1 towards postage and packing in the UK, £2 elsewhere



## Facing the Enemy

by Alexandre Skirda

translated by Paul Sharkey

AK Press

affecting anarchists in, say, France in the early twentieth century (covered in some detail) were the same as those in Scandinavia, for example (which isn't even mentioned).

But enough criticism. What's good about *Facing the Enemy* is its discussion of the problems of trying to get anarchists to work together when they can't even agree about what they believe in. From the extreme individualists, who'd have refused to organise a piss-up in a brewery in the mistaken belief that organisation itself is anti-anarchist, to those who were (rightly or wrongly) labelled anarcho-bolsheviks, Skirda takes us through the arguments and controversies.

A major part of the book focuses on the Organisational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists, first published in the 1920s. Focusing on their experiences in the Russian Revolution and the civil war which followed, the authors of the Platform were hoping to infuse the anarchist movement with a better organisational approach in order to avoid the mistakes of 1917.

Skirda's explanation of the context in which the Platform was written, along with the full transcript of the draft Platform (published here), left me with a much better appreciation of it than I'd had before. The (rather long) appendices are also worth a look as they contain some good points on organisation.

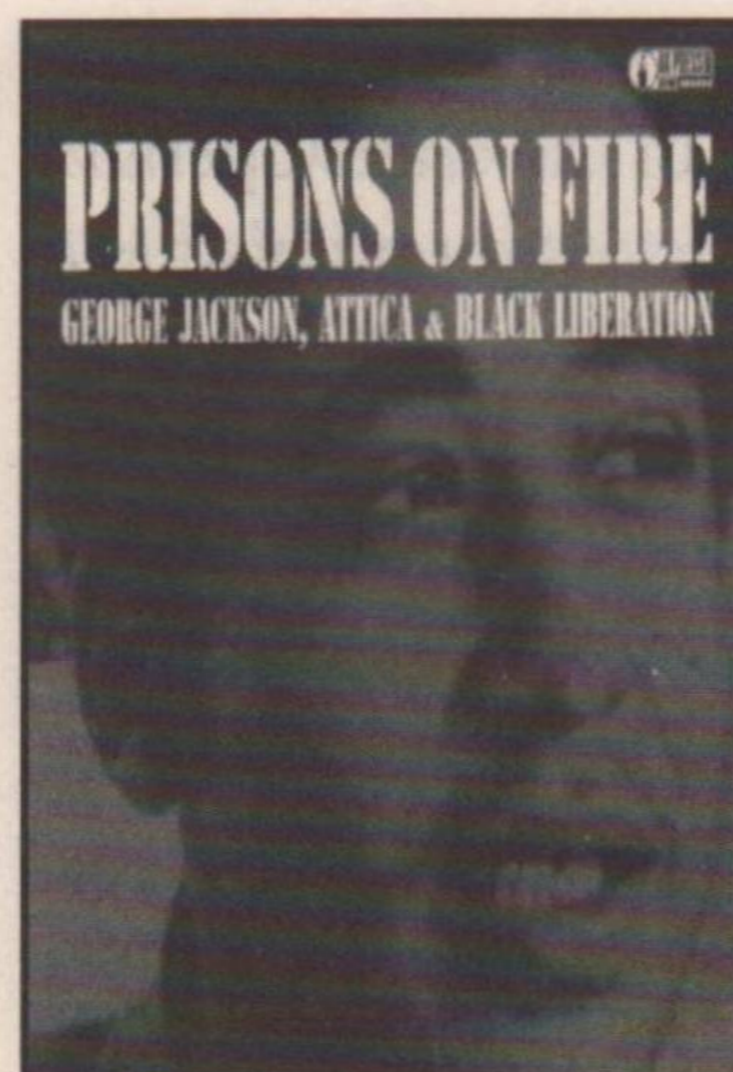
The sections discussing 'defence of the revolution' were interesting. The thoughts of the authors of the Platform on organising a libertarian army are of some relevance to a study of the Spanish Revolution. They're worthy of discussion today by those who believe an armed defence of the revolution will be necessary. If it is, it will pay to have some thoughts worked out on how best to organise, supply, train and use this force before the moment arrives when it's actually needed. The chapter on the French anarchist movement after the second world war and the coverage of the secret anarchist Thought-Battle Organisation (OPB) is also interesting and enlightening.

I strongly recommend Skirda's book to anyone who's pondering how to improve the organisational ability of the anarchist movement. The Platform offers some useful insights, but resurrecting historical squabbles

won't help us. Our starting point has to be the libertarian movement as it is today. We must try to improve it from there.

Bill

Available from Freedom Press, price £12 post free in the UK, add £1.80 elsewhere



## Prisons on Fire: George Jackson, Attica and Black Liberation

AK Press/Alternative Tentacles Records

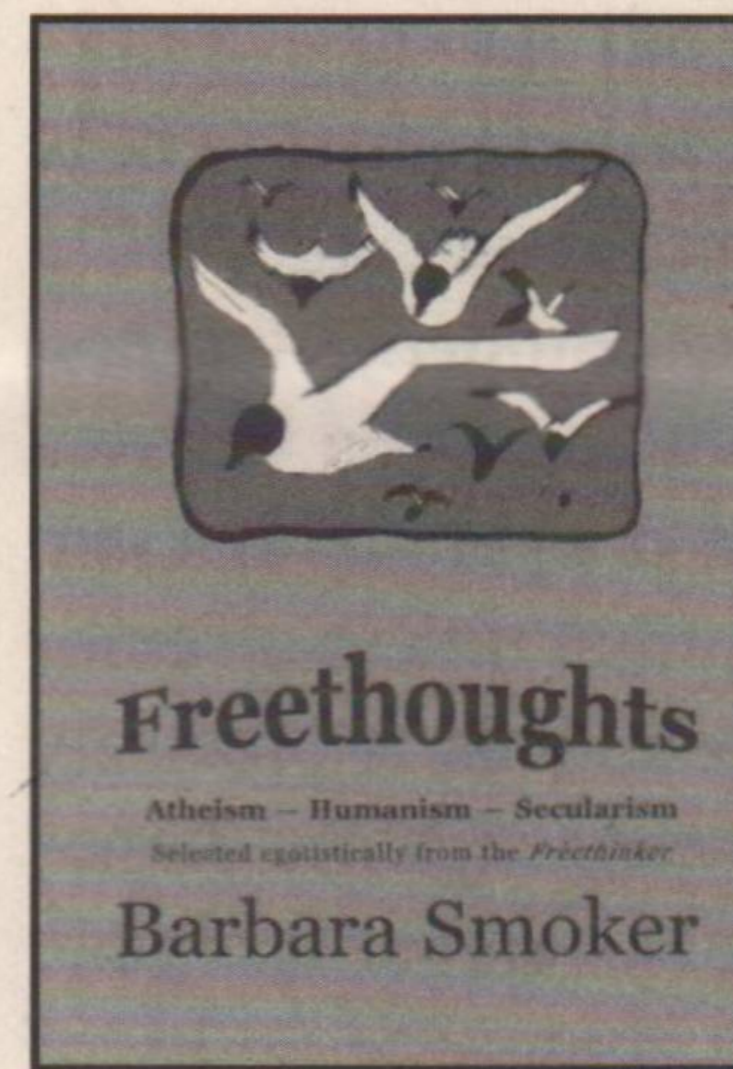
Thirty years ago, prisons across the United States burned. This CD tells the story of what happened and provides a shocking insight into the assassination of George Jackson. He'd served 11 years by the time of his death in 1972, a victim of an oppressive system that brutalised and demeaned the whole prison population. He fought to expose the injustices it caused, despite numerous attempts on his life. The system never broke him.

His resistance won supporters in Attica, the notorious New York State prison complex. When they made a stand against the tyrants who ran it, it became the scene of the worst prison riot in modern American history. *Prisons on Fire* reveals the strong fight from the people inside, who occupied the jail and took their guards as hostages. Thirty-one of the prisoners were massacred when the government retook it.

This is a moving account of how a life was transformed, as George Jackson changed from criminal to political revolutionary. It clearly demonstrates the full oppression that was brought to bear by the American government in order to eliminate brothers who could unite forces to bring about change. Music, archive material and interviews are used to answer the question of what George Jackson's struggle can tell us about prison repression and the struggle for freedom today.

Ray Gilbert

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## Freethoughts

by Barbara Smoker

G.W. Foote Ltd

Witty newspaper articles are mostly ephemeral, but sometimes they become topical again. For instance, now Mother Theresa looks like being canonised early, it's useful to re-read Barbara Smoker's 'Mother Theresa – Sacred Cow' (1980), in which she observes that the saint-apparent, whose prestige depended on a steady supply of unwanted babies, took every opportunity to rant against birth control. And now Princess Diana is back in the news, it's fun to reread 'How to be a Virgin Mother', written when Diana and Mother Theresa died in the same week.

Barbara Smoker was born into a devout Roman Catholic family, was interested in theology and might have been a nun, but for Second World War conscription. At the age of 26, at 11am on 5th November 1958, in Bromley Public Library, she found herself suddenly free of doubt, a perfect atheist. Since then, she's devoted her life to the struggle against authority and superstition, using erudition, rudeness, wit, humour and fun. She's strong-willed but rarely solemn, except when she officiates at secular funerals.

This is a collection of 84 pieces from *The Freethinker*, the anti-religious magazine, dated from 1966 to this year. Most of them were by Barbara herself, though there are a few editorial reports of speeches she's made. Some could make you giggle in public. Ironically enough, the book would make a great Christmas present, for an unbeliever you'd like to please or a believer you'd like to offend.

Donald Room

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# David doesn't get it

It's ironic that, while acknowledging the 'social reforms' of the last century, David Dane urges us to embrace the very 'market mechanism' which necessitated their introduction in the first place ('What anarchism means to me', 16th November). Rather than 'time' being unkind to anarchist communism, as David claims, it's 'time' which has made the mutualism he advocates redundant.

When Proudhon expounded his ideas, the French economy was dominated by artisans and peasants. Today, with the rise of the market power of big business, the idea that 'small-scale' worker-owned firms could reform capitalism away isn't only of dubious theoretical validity, it's been disproved in practice. The cooperative movement has existed for nearly 200 years and here we are, still under capitalism. In fact, many of today's corporations started off as 'small-scale family businesses'.

As the market tends to increase inequalities rather than diminish them, any 'anarchism' based on the 'market mechanism' would face this problem. That's why Proudhon never embraced it, even though he supported competition.

David suggests that revolutionary anarchists may be expressing "irrational, messianic



Okay it's a sweatshop, but at least it's small-scale and family-owned ...

urges". What's really irrational is to think that boiling down all the social, economic, ecological costs of productive activity into one measure – price – can allow people to make informed decisions! Indeed, under the market system anti-social behaviour such as externalising costs on to the environment, the workforce and consumers is rewarded with higher profits.

Nor can it be said that the market coordinates supply and demand particularly successfully. Even ignoring the fact that it

bases itself on 'effective demand' (meaning that food will be exported from famine areas), the boom and bust of any market should be enough to suggest that it can't do what David claims for it. So what's 'messianic' is to place the 'market mechanism' on a pedestal and ignore the sacrifices it, like all gods, demands.

Luckily, people across the globe are refusing to pay the tithes required by this church. They're revolting against both the cause and the effects of the reductionist

madness which is the 'market mechanism'.

There's a discussion to be had about how economic decisions could be made in a libertarian communist society. There's also the perennial question of revolution and 'violence', which David raises. Suffice it to say for now that those who stress the 'violence' of protesters while remaining quiet about the actual violence of the state in repressing revolt have a corpse in their mouths.

Just to state the obvious: we should be encouraging alternatives like cooperatives (not small-scale capitalist businesses!) and credit unions, but these will never create an anarchist society. Rather than trying to buy back the world stolen from us by the ruling class, we should be organising to take it back.

One of the key relationships for anarchists to encourage is the union between working class people in their struggle for a better life. It's this which is the 'essence of anarchism'. In a union like this there's power – the power to transform society from bottom to top. For all his talk of "contracting other relationships", it's significant that David fails to mention this particular relationship, even though it's the one by which we can truly destroy the state and capitalism. Is this because all anarchism means to him is militant liberalism?

Iain McKay

# It's causality that matters

I never said anyone should "stop whinging" about graffiti ('These tags aren't harmless', 2nd November). Adele Leech, Marigold Roberts and Bob Potter all show that it can be traumatic, and I never questioned this. But it's important to ask why it's traumatic. For instance, someone who has a phobia is unquestionably traumatised by what they fear. I don't downplay the subjective importance of this fear, but I'm still willing to say that cats, dogs, spiders, thunder and lifts (to name a few causes of it) are 'basically harmless', which is what I said graffiti was.

It's quite appropriate to ask why people are traumatised by these and to analyse the conscious or unconscious fear involved, not to label whatever causes the phobic reaction as 'harmful' or as an 'attack' in and of itself. If residents feel angry because they believe everyone should have a space of their own, they've also got a duty to support some kind of self-assertion by young people (just not on their walls), to oppose prison, to oppose evictions for 'anti-social behaviour' and so on.

If the same anger is based on support for existing property relations or opposition to lawbreaking it isn't justified and needs to be challenged. Bob and Adele need to ask what ideas and feelings are the motive for residents' anger instead of inventing their own accounts of it.

Bob tries to silence my criticisms by a sneaky device, saying they're "theoretically correct" but abstaining from following through any implications of this 'correctness' by portraying it as otherworldly and utopian. Whatever motivates taggers is just as 'real' as anything felt by residents. Saying that claims and grievances are unreal because they don't come from one's own preferred side in a conflict effectively dehumanises the other side.

The dispute isn't between 'reality' and 'theory', but about the relationship between the two. Bob treats theory as a pastime and abandons it when faced with real problems.



It may be traumatic but it isn't harmful, maintains A.R.

Ideology stinks, theory is real or it's nothing. Bob thinks the 'real' world is the world as it looks through the framework of present society. I think the 'real' world is the world as it can be shown to be by substantive and demonstrable evidence. Bob claims knowledge about taggers without any evidence. He writes unrealistically and misperceives as 'realistic' anything which fulfils a subjective urge.

What effect would it have to spray taggers with their own paint, as he proposes in his original article? If Bob doesn't know what motivates taggers, he can't answer this. It could make things worse, for all he knows. Perhaps it would make his side feel better, but is this a 'realistic' approach to the problem or a subjective and irrational one? 'Experience' is unreliable because it's limited by present spatial and social divisions. Problems hidden from western observers in, say, prisons or the Third World are no less 'real' for their socially-imposed invisibility.

Experience says the sun goes round the

earth. It rises, moves across the sky and then sets. Theory says the earth goes round the sun. Which is 'real'? The 'theoretically correct' deduction drawing on the 'big issues' or the naive commonsensical dogma confirmed by unassessed 'experience'?

Bob is using the idea of 'realism' to close discursive space. According to him, I can't say the problem is insoluble because it's too 'real', but I can't advocate persuasion because 'in the real world' this doesn't work. But he still assumes, on the basis of no evidence, that violence can somehow persuade where rational persuasion can't! If this 'works' it will be through luck, because in the real world, escalation doesn't work. What each side feels is a just and proportionate response, the other feels is a new violation.

In the real world, people don't act without a motive. Vandalism is motivated by a distinct way of thinking, and there's no reason why this can't, in principle, be altered. But it won't be changed by a spiral

of violence. This isn't glib, but realistic.

I assume that Marigold Roberts is one of the residents concerned. If so, her comments show what Bob and Adele deny, that the residents are carrying statist ideological baggage. Her claim that victims is simply "what we are" is dogmatic and tautological. She is pursuing a vindictive agenda. She now wants revenge, not only on 'the vandals' but on anyone who disagrees with her. She's claiming a privileged standpoint – that she has the right to do to me something she feels others have no right to do to her.

This is precisely the kind of vindictive, irrational inconsistency which underlies statist and 'crackdown' agendas, and the reason why 'in the real world' they do no good. She also indulges in anti-intellectual sloganising. In this context, it looks like Bob and Adele are providing an anarchist cover for a statist ideology.

Bob Potter disavows "vendettas, revenge and punishment", but he says he wants the vandals to clean the mess up themselves. This is clearly a punishment, depriving someone of their liberty because they've committed a crime. It's causality that matters, not redress. However hard it is, we have to find out the vandals' motives.

Only if they're fully reactionary (for instance a claim to upper class proprietorship over working class areas) would physical intervention be the most practical option, because of the specific relationship between oppression and defiance in this case.

It is clear that I don't, as Bob puts it, "live on the same planet as the rest of us". I live on an earth that goes round the sun, while 'the rest of us' live on one they think the sun goes round. In my world, all is not as it seems. Fact matters, theory matters. The world is mystified, not present to experience. The point is to change it. In other words, I'm on the transformative side of what the Situationists called the 'reversal of perspective'. My critics are still on the spectacular side.

A.R.

Gun crime is a problem for the working class. Until the anarchist movement offers solutions on real issues like this any attempt to organise a new anarchist federation will be ...

# Pissing in the wind

I read with interest Iain's suggestion that a federal structure would resolve the problems facing the anarchist movement, and in particular his suggestion that most class struggle anarchist groups agree with each other 95% of the time. My main dispute with his proposal is that it offers an organisational solution to what is essentially a political problem. The class struggle anarchist groups with which Iain is 95% in agreement don't inspire anything like that degree of fraternity so far as I'm concerned.

Class War offer up a cartoon anarchism that seems more designed to serve the fantasies of the *Daily Mail* than meet the needs of working class people. The Solidarity Federation provides a syndicalist equivalent of trade union routinism. The Anarchist Federation has at least the virtue of a lively and provocative journal, but they seem to rely on a belief in the primacy of ideological struggle. This means that propaganda becomes deed and practical activity goes to the wall. *Black Flag* appears to want to be all things to all people.

What's common to all these groups is the belief that retailing propaganda (literally – is it any wonder the main anarchist event in the UK is a fucking bookfair?) constitutes meaningful political activity. Iain's suggestion amounts to the idea that what's needed is a kind of anarchist Bluewater, where the various sects can carry on business as usual.

But what if the real problem isn't organisational at all? What if the real problem is the isolation of all these groups from any meaningful constituency? What if most of them are happy in their isolation, as I assume they are? I've yet to read a self-criticism which admits that the distance of the anarchist movement from any working class base is an issue, let alone one that admits it's the fault of the groups themselves. What if our practice is the cause of our failings?

What if events like Mayday, while providing a meeting point for the middle class activists of yesterday and today, actually constitute an obstacle to reaching any wider audience? What if all the rhetoric about 'carnival' only goes to show that the anarchist movement pretends to a hatred it doesn't really feel? What use is the organisational solution Iain proposes then?



On 10th August, Iain McKay asked in *Freedom* whether there should be a new form of anarchist federation in Britain. We've since printed responses from Ed of the – already existing – Anarchist Federation and others (21st September) and, more recently, a discussion of the history of Class War. Now Brian Bamford, Paul Maguire and 'Libertarian Lad' take up some of the points Ed and Iain made.

More than ever, capitalism needs less of us to produce the wealth it feeds on. More and more of us function as waste, excess, living on shite estates, thieving and dealing, banged up and going out of our heads, ignored by the political mainstream because – as the arse end of the working class – we carry no social weight. The British National Party has gained a sizeable political presence in working class areas by organising parts of the white element of this disenfranchised working class. In giving that element some social and political weight it's gained credibility and allowed capital to reintegrate one section of the excluded while turning it on the rest. The BNP gain of another council seat in Blackburn on 21st November is proof the strategy works.

A political solution to the problems of the class struggle anarchist movement should be

based on a recognition that we need to offer solutions to the problems our assumed constituency faces. Housing repairs, bailiffs, policing – dealing with these issues has practical implications. Offering an anarchist utopia as the solution to all our nightmares doesn't. We take for granted the future allegiance of a class whose interests don't, in practice, concern us at all!

I suggest we could learn more from the recent successes of the BNP, lessons we can turn against them, than we can from what the CNT did in 1936. Anarcho-librarians don't want to learn from the history of our errors. But we need to look at how our practice since 1968 has led us further and further into useless isolation. There's no point finding a safe haven in the good old days of Durruti and Makhno – we should ask whether a militant like Durruti would waste time in the

Anarchist Federation, Class War or Sol Fed today.

Anarchists became a social force in Spain because they functioned as an army of the excluded and damned. As a black working class man, I have to say I've never felt less in common with any movement than with the dreadlocked, face-painted, carnival-obsessed freaks who call themselves anarchists today. Providing a more coherent organisational structure to a movement whose failings are political and social seems to me like pissing in the wind.

Paul Maguire

The reason anarchism has so little support in this country is simple. It's of little interest to the Jo Punter. The public face of anarchism doesn't mean anything to someone who has three kids, a partner, a crap job and a mortgage – and most people who might support it have at least one of these. Until anarchists stop worrying about foxhunting, factory farming, war in the Middle East and the rest, and help workers organise a fightback in the UK against capitalism, the working class will be too disheartened and crushed to care what happens anywhere else in the world.

Until we get our propaganda popularly known among the masses here in the UK, they'll only know what Rupert Murdoch tells them. But to achieve this, we need a properly organised federation of groups with an agreed set of priorities (though keeping their independence), slogging away in their communities and trade unions, breaking the reliance of people on electoral politics. Which sounds like hard work ...

I don't like the idea of a war any more than other people, but I take little comfort in the fact that thousands of bible thumpers, CNDers and treehuggers were got on a demo by the Stop the War front group of the Socialist Workers Party. 'Die-ins' in front of the Cenotaph won't convince working people of the folly of war, however much the radical liberals and lifestylers want anarchism to be a fluffy and laid-back political philosophy, with their Fair Trade coffee and hessian shopping bags. All they do is sap the vitality of the movement. They need to be got rid of.

Libertarian Lad

Ed from the Anarchist Federation ponders the recent history of the Northern Anarchist Network (NAN) and asks how much of a success it's been. It never ceases to surprise me how those on the left in Britain are prone to the habit of sectarian sleepwalking. During the half-decade the NAN has existed, Manchester and parts of the North West have seen a remarkable period of activity of which northern anarchists ought to be proud. After the formation of the NAN, activists in the region helped form the Manchester Support Group for the Liverpool Dockers. Others joined the campaign against the Job Seekers' Allowance (JSA) and affiliated to Groundswell.

Along with Edinburgh and Brighton, the north west proved the most vibrant area for the anti-JSA campaign. Over the years, Job Centres in St Helens, Cheetham Hill, Bury, Burnley, Bolton, Openshaw and Oldham were occupied, while demonstrations and pickets took place at many others. In addition, two local dole managers were put

on warnings under the 'three strikes and you're out' tactic. The Sheffield and Huddersfield sections also played a part. Two leading members of the Sheffield group took part in the founding of the Manchester and Oldham anti-JSA groups.

In Birkenhead, NAN activists and others occupied MP Frank Field's advice surgery on two separate occasions. On one occasion, we herded goats into his waiting room. At the time, Field was the government minister responsible for promoting the New Deal, the Labour government's successor to the JSA. He was also making a name for himself by cracking down on benefit claimants and 'thinking the unthinkable' (as they say). All of this was well documented in *Freedom* at the time.

NAN had its people and its goats on the Euro March as it passed through Burnley, Bury, Oldham, Ashton and Manchester. Goats were even photographed in Manchester Town Hall. This activity led to what local solicitors have come to call the 'Goat Case',

when one activist (me) and three goats were detained at Manchester's Victoria Station by British Transport Police.

By 1998, several NAN activists had set up the Tameside Support Group to back the Tameside careworkers who were out on strike. The careworkers' action lasted three years and ended up at an Industrial Tribunal, but before that there were many public meetings and demonstrations. Ashton Town Hall was occupied by careworkers and northern anarchists, and there were invasions of the private offices of scab-recruiting agents and of a solicitor who was a member of the Tameside Care Group. Northern anarchists from the NAN and Riotous Assembly participated and often advised the careworkers on how to carry actions out.

On the international front, we're in touch with the Belgrade anarchists, the CGT in Spain and the CNT in Andalucia. A NAN delegation has recently returned from a visit to Ruestra in Aragon, where they studied the CGT reconstruction of an abandoned *pueblo*

and saw the resistance to a government project to drain the Ebro by the creation of a hundred reservoirs.

I don't know how we measure up to the rest of the country and the 'national organisations' Ed refers to. I do know that many of those who go on about 'class struggle' often confine themselves to talking about it or producing their own little publications which have a minute readership. I'd back the NAN's history and record against any of the sectarian groups which claim to be national organisations.

It seems to me that the NAN (and the history of northern anarchism generally) has been one of engagement in everyday life and social activity, making it an extraordinary development in the British context, and really more like the Spanish experience of participation in the *barrio* and *pueblo*. Perhaps the NAN could serve as a regional model for the kind of serious national confederation envisaged by Iain McKay.

Brian Bamford

## What we say ...

In the last few weeks, the government has warned its citizens of the threat from dirty bombs and gas. The security services have targeted members of the North African community, which has been used as an excuse to flood the tabloids with scare-stories about a planned al-Qaida attack on London's tube.

The *Guardian* recently said there's "fear in the air this winter". There is, it said, "a presentiment of increased and nameless danger". But how did this presentiment enter our consciousness? There's no evidence of any terrorist activity carried out by al-Qaida in the UK either before or after September 11th. Nothing's taken place to explain the spreading alarm. Any fear in the air has been manufactured to garner support for Blair's war on Afghanistan and (soon) Iraq.

Since September 11th, the securitisation of the British state – the gradual turning of this island into one big prison camp – has carried on apace. But, while September 11th gave Blair an excuse to ratchet up public anxiety, the securitisation agenda was clear from his very first day in office.

The peace process in the north of Ireland might've been expected to remove any justification for the 'temporary' measures of the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Instead Blair extended its measures to the UK as a whole and chose to redefine 'terrorism' to include any effective dissent. The new Terrorism Act, passed two years ago, made it plain that policing techniques and processes of criminalisation developed on the streets of Belfast and Derry were now to be deployed against any threat of revolt in Britain too.

In the Queen's Speech this month, New Labour set out its plans for a Criminal Justice Bill. Under this the 'double jeopardy' rule for murder and rape would be abolished, juries would be allowed to listen to hearsay evidence and details of a defendant's previous convictions would be revealed. 'Judge-only' trials would be introduced for cases involving complex fraud or the 'threat' of jury-tampering, which (police and Crown Prosecution Service will presumably argue from now on) might exist in any major criminal trial.

These suggestions mirror the principles embodied in juryless Diplock courts, established by the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act which came into force in 1973. These are effectively kangaroo courts, set up to fast-track the criminalisation of the nationalist community. By the present 'criminal justice' proposals, New Labour's normalisation of the 'special powers' used by the state in its war against the Republican movement is rendered almost complete. That these powers are really intended for use against the 'enemy within' is hinted at by the government's response to the firefighters' strike.

The government has used the demoralisation of the British labour movement since the 1980s as a breathing space in which to retool the powers of the state. It's fostered an atmosphere of 'increased and nameless danger' by focusing on refugees, terrorism, single parents and paedophiles, using them to bludgeon any possibility of developing solidarity.

It's deployed measures like the ones contained in the Queen's Speech to deal with 'anti-social behaviour' (there will soon be 50 different low-level 'nuisance' offences), in order to maximise the policing of everyday life. Blair and his allies are absolute enemies of the self-emancipation by working class communities that, for so long, have financed and voted for the party he leads. Our response to his agenda can only be, as always, to reforge working class resistance to the state. We must become the threat the government's always feared. We must be its nightmare.

## Readers' letters

### Marx was wrong

Dear *Freedom*,

"But the question remains for me, how do we make an anarchist society without disarming the capitalist class?" So writes Anthony Walker (letters, 16th November). The capitalist class is too small to defend itself with its own arms. It has to rely on soldiers and police – public servants who have no capital to speak of. What motivates these servants? Surely it isn't just a desire to defend capitalists. Isn't it the belief, which most people share, that our security depends on having a 'strong government'?

If that belief weren't so widespread and so deeply embedded in our collective consciousness there would be no 'strong governments', and so no soldiers and police to defend the capitalists. Therefore there would be no capitalist class. We make an anarchist society, then, and eliminate capitalism at the same time, by questioning the belief that governments with armed forces provide security. As long as this belief prevails, we shall never change society, no matter what we may do.

But as it begins to dawn on the collective consciousness that these governments actually destroy security, because their armed forces lead to war and terrorism, an anarchist society will peacefully come into being.

Francis Ellingham

Dear *Freedom*,

Some of your readers may know that there are two groups called the Socialist Party of Great Britain (SPGB). There are undoubtedly anarchists in each. As a party member once told me, "the vote would deprive the state of moral justification and make an anarchist or councilist revolution simpler". But the anarchists are there despite the SPGB's own

declared principles, clause six of which states: "That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic."

That is a declaration of the statist transitional road to socialism, from which even the Socialist Workers' Party and other Trot groups might recoil in horror. It clearly says that the SPGB wants, while capitalism still exists, to take over the powers of government. It seems to believe that these can be used in some way to make a socialist revolution.

It argues that the workers can select some of their number to take over the government and that, when given that power, these people will remain true to the socialist goal. It ignores the truth which even Marx recognised – that no ruling elite has ever willingly surrendered its power.

Obviously strict adherence to that clause would leave the state in power. Since the state can "only exist to conserve the monopoly of power", it follows that capitalists too would still be in place. So the anarchists within the SPGB can only be there by ignoring the strategy of their party, as laid out in the party's own principles. The fact that Anthony Walker thinks that the SPGB proposes a way of disarming the capitalist class shows that he's not one of those anarchists.

Laurens Otter

Dear *Freedom*,

Surely an anarchist paper should be presenting anarchist viewpoints, rather than taking into account the positions of non-anarchists? Sure, we critique other political groups and theories, but that's an incidental aspect of our task (and directly proportional to their impact on our movement). So there should be no need to be 'astonished' by the lack of mention of the SPGB. It would be far more astonishing if *Freedom* spent every issue discussing it!

As for the idea that socialism can come about via parliament, I'd say that history has proven Bakunin right on this issue, not Marx. Socialists using elections has had two results, either a descent into reformism or an utter lack of success. Equally, even assuming the impossible – that an actual socialist party gains office – the idea that the capitalist class will let itself be disarmed without a fight is ridiculous. History is littered with examples which show that, when faced with an even mildly reformist government, the capitalists ignore it and organise military coups.

Anarchists are aware that any revolution will need to be defended. We also recognise that the state will never let itself be 'disarmed' – it must be smashed. The example of the Spanish Revolution shows the strength of the anarchist position on this issue. The capitalist class simply ignored the reformist government. It was only the direct action of the anarchist movement which resisted the military coup, with the militias and collectives showing how 'we make an anarchist society' by smashing both state and capital.

Iain McKay

For reasons of space, letters may have to be cut

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10th to 24th November 2002

### Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund

Penzance, NP, £6; Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, FF, £8; Chester, SC, £3; Glasgow, JTC, £50; Wolverhampton, SF, £1.

Total to 24th November = £68.00  
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### FP Building and Overheads Fund

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### Raven Deficit Fund

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## COPY DEADLINE

The next issue of *Freedom* will be dated 14th December, and the last day for copy intended for this issue will be Thursday 5th December. Contributions can be sent to us at [FreedomCopy@aol.com](mailto:FreedomCopy@aol.com)

## PLEASE RENEW YOUR SUB

Our next issue, volume 63 number 24, will be the last issue of 2002 and the one where a lot of subscription renewals fall due. If yours is one of them, the number on your envelope label will be 6324. We're always grateful to subscribers who renew early, but especially so at the end of the year when more subs are due than at any other time. Early renewal helps us a lot.

## WHO SPOTTED IT?

The last issue of *Freedom* (16th November) was number 22, not number 21 as printed on the masthead. Congratulations to a Mr D. Rooum of London, who wins one of our exclusive 'I saw it first' keyrings.

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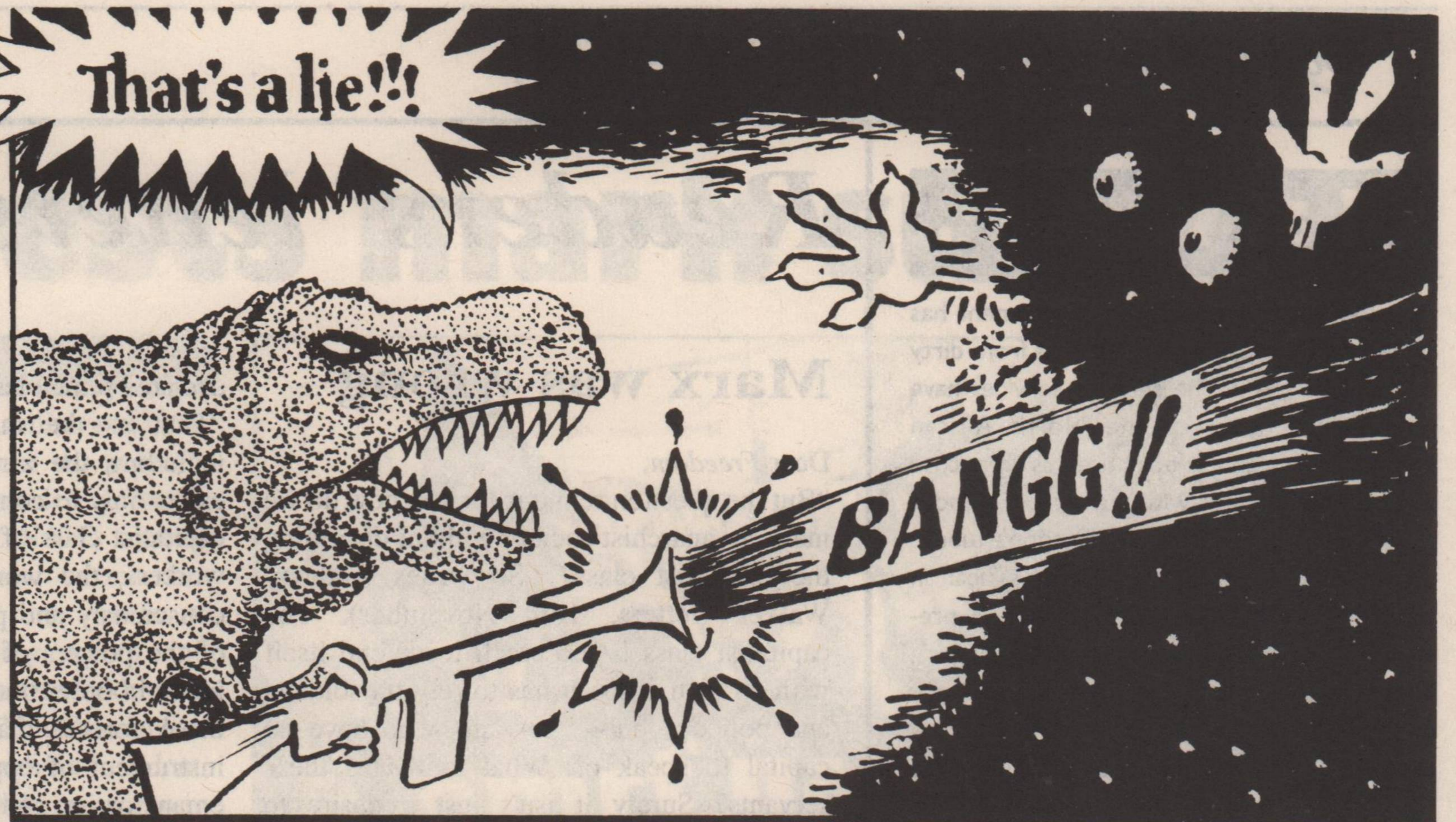
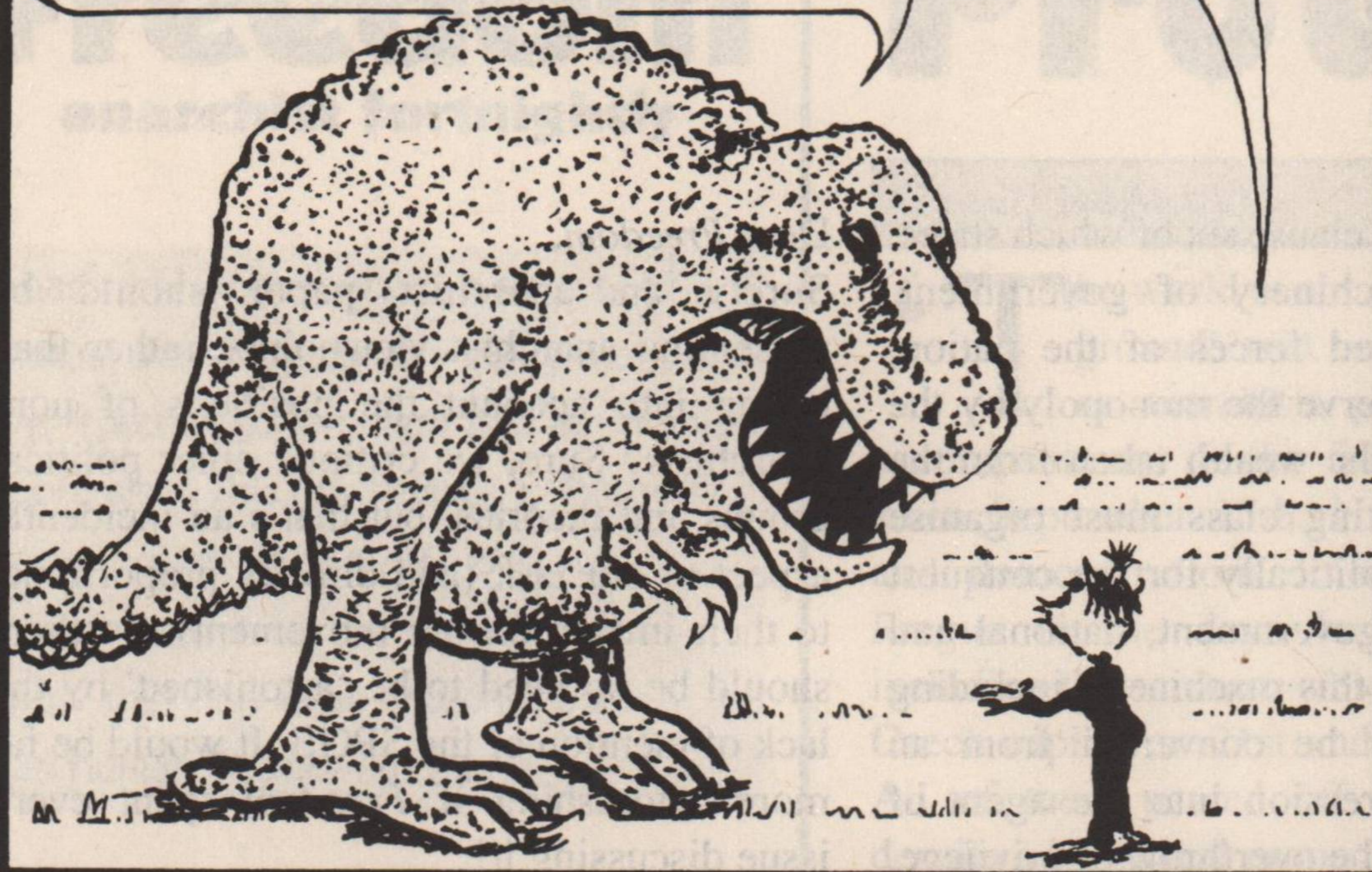
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**WILDCAT**

OK, Pussycat, give me a complete list of your weapons of mass destruction.

No problem. I haven't any.

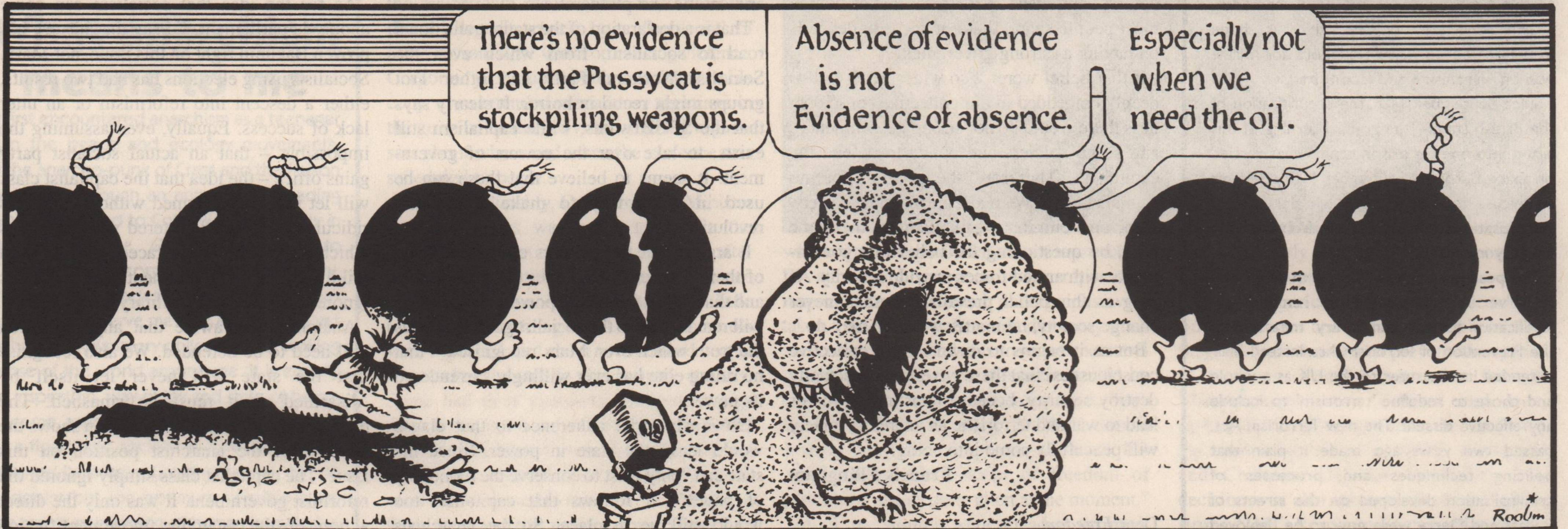
That's a lie!!



There's no evidence that the Pussycat is stockpiling weapons.

Absence of evidence is not Evidence of absence.

Especially not when we need the oil.



**CLOSE CAMPSFIELD DEMO**

Saturday 30th November from 12 noon to 2pm  
Ninth anniversary demo in support of asylum seekers at Campsfield House, Kidlington, near Oxford  
see [www.closecampsfield.org.uk](http://www.closecampsfield.org.uk)

**RSN ORGANISING MEETING**

Saturday 30th November at 12.30pm  
at Shakespeare pub, Victoria Street, Bristol

**NO WAR ON IRAQ DIE-IN**

Monday 2nd December from 10.30am  
Non-violent die-in to be held against war and sanctions on Iraq at Whitehall Place, London SW1  
(also anti-war dayschool/prop-making on Sunday 1st Dec at Kingsley Hall, Powis Road, off Bruce Road, London E3)  
contact 0845 458 2564 • [voices@viwuk.freemove.co.uk](mailto:voices@viwuk.freemove.co.uk)

**ANARCHIST READING CIRCLE**

Every Tuesday from 8pm  
Currently reading *The Female Eunuch* by Germaine Greer  
contact: [insurrectionist73@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:insurrectionist73@yahoo.co.uk)

**LEICESTER ANARCHIST FEDERATION**

Tuesday 3rd December at 8pm  
upstairs at the Ale Wagon pub, Charles Street, Leicester LE1  
see [http://www.geocities.com/leicester\\_af/org.html](http://www.geocities.com/leicester_af/org.html)

**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

**MANCHESTER SOLFED MEETING**

Wednesday 4th December at 8.30pm  
at The Brow House, 1 Mabfield Road, Fallowfield, Manchester  
see [www.manchestersf.org.uk](http://www.manchestersf.org.uk)

**USAF LAKENHEATH ACTION**

Thursday 5th December  
All anti-war folk/groups are invited to take part in the 'weapons inspection'. It is believed the base contains about 30 tactical nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction  
[info@camsaw.org.uk](mailto:info@camsaw.org.uk) • 07931 855888  
see <http://www.srcf.ucam.org/camsaw/>

**MANCHESTER RADICAL BOOKFAIR**

Saturday 7th December • 1pm to 5pm  
at Bridge 5 Mill, 22a Beswick Street, Ancoats, Manchester  
bookfair plus workshops and talks throughout the day  
see <http://www.radicalbookfair.org.uk>

**LECTURE BY NOAM CHOMSKY**

Monday 9th December at 7pm  
KHRP tenth anniversary lecture by Professor Noam Chomsky at St Paul's Cathedral, London  
admission £15 / £10 (friends of KHRP) / £8 concs  
tel 020 7287 2772 • fax 020 7734 4927  
email [hvaughan-lee@khrp.demon.co.uk](mailto:hvaughan-lee@khrp.demon.co.uk)

**CARNIVALISTAS CAFÉ NIGHT**

Monday 9th December  
at Bonnington's Café, 11 Vauxhall Grove, London SW8  
contact: [carnivalista@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:carnivalista@yahoo.co.uk)

**VICTORIA CLIMBIE VIGIL & MEETING**

Monday 9th December from 5pm to 6.30pm  
Vigil in support of the Victoria Climbié Family Campaign at Ealing Town Hall, New Broadway, Ealing, London W5 followed by public meeting on Race, Child Abuse and the State  
Southall Black Sisters: [sbs@leonet.co.uk](mailto:sbs@leonet.co.uk) • 020 8571 9595  
Family Foundation Group: 020 8571 1421

**HUMAN RIGHTS VIGIL**

Tuesday 10th December from 4pm to 7pm  
International Human Rights Day 'No to Fascism in Colombia' vigil at BP Headquarters, Finsbury Circus, London EC2  
organise by Colombia Solidarity Campaign

**ASYLUM RIGHTS PUBLIC MEETING**

Tuesday 10th December at 7.30pm  
'Asylum Rights are Human Rights' public meeting in Room 3D, University of London Union, Malet Street, London WC1

**WOMEN'S PEACE EVENTS**

at Menwith Hill on December 12th and 13th  
Thursday 12th from 10am to 4pm – Embrace the Base  
Friday 13th December – Blockade the Base  
no to war on Iraq • close this US military spy base  
protest supported by CND and Women's TUC Conference  
For details of cheap/free coach from London on 12th at 7.30am  
contact [sophiebolt@hotmail.com](mailto:sophiebolt@hotmail.com) • 07930 235 791

**LONDON ANARCHIST FORUM**

Friday 13th December from 8pm  
Yuletide Social at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn

**USAF FAIRFORD ACTION**

Saturday 14th December at 12 noon  
The Gloucestershire Weapons Inspectors will request entry to USAF Fairford in response to the arrival of US stealth bombers.  
see <http://www.gwi.org.uk>

**MANCHESTER DISCUSSION GROUP**

Tuesday 17th December at 8pm  
Manchester Libertarian Socialist Discussion Group meet at the Hare and Hounds, Shude Hill, near Arndale Centre

**CLOSE CAMPSFIELD DEMO**

Saturday 28th December from 12 noon to 2pm  
see [www.closecampsfield.org.uk](http://www.closecampsfield.org.uk)

**RADICAL DAIRY EVENTS**

Sundays @ 7pm: Film and café  
Tuesdays @ 3pm: Yoga / @ 6.30pm: French class  
Wednesdays @ 4pm: Aromatherapy massages  
Thursdays @ 7.30pm: Spanish class  
Fridays @ 8pm: film showing / acoustic sessions  
The Radical Dairy, 47 Kynaston Road, London N16  
tel 020 7249 6996 or email [theradicaldairy@hotmail.com](mailto:theradicaldairy@hotmail.com)

**USE YOUR LOAF EVENTS**

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 ...  
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](mailto:fieldgate@gn.apc.org)  
see [www.londonarc.org](http://www.londonarc.org)