

anarchist fortnightly Freedom

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50p

NO BLOOD FOR OIL

FIGHT THE RICH NOT THEIR WARS

The Iraqi crisis isn't a war against an Evil Dictator. It's a war for control, money, oil and power. For centuries working class women and men have sacrificed their lives, but for what? For country, liberty or human nature? No, to make the rich richer and the powerful stronger. The mass murder that's going to occur will be done in our name, but it will be done for the profit of higher powers.

We all know King George II of the USA isn't the sharpest pencil in the box. He doesn't have the brains to see the big picture. But he doesn't need to. He just does the bidding of those who really run America and the rest of the world. What he does have going for him is the enthusiastic support of the oil companies.

Like Daddy, George is still an oil company executive. Executives don't actually handle the dirty stuff themselves. They just handle the nice green dollars it brings in. A planned pipeline to bring billions worth of oil out of Central Asia led to war in Afghanistan. Now the oil companies want Iraq.

It's true Saddam Hussein is an evil dictator. The American state should know – it put him into power and kept him there for decades. But the oil companies, like all capitalists, have no problem with evil dictators. They support loads of nasty regimes. No, the problem is that Saddam gets in their way.

So the bosses demand that thousands of innocent people must die in the cause of even greater profit. Their figurehead, Bush, carries out their orders. Tony Blair, puppet of a puppet, tries to drag his reluctant country along.

Like Bush, Blair has never got the majority of people to vote for him. Like Bush, he's looking after the interests of the rich. The interests of the majority, the working class, is of no concern to him or his party. Despite his second-class puppet

status, Tony has delusions of grandeur. He wants to be Maggie Thatcher. Because his idol was able to posture as a Great War Leader over the Falklands, he thinks he can do the same. He's got a rude awakening coming.

Tony has forgotten that Maggie was defeated by mass resistance, by direct action over the Poll Tax. We anarchists played a part in that fight, from its very beginnings until we could celebrate her downfall. We can do the same for Bush's poodle.

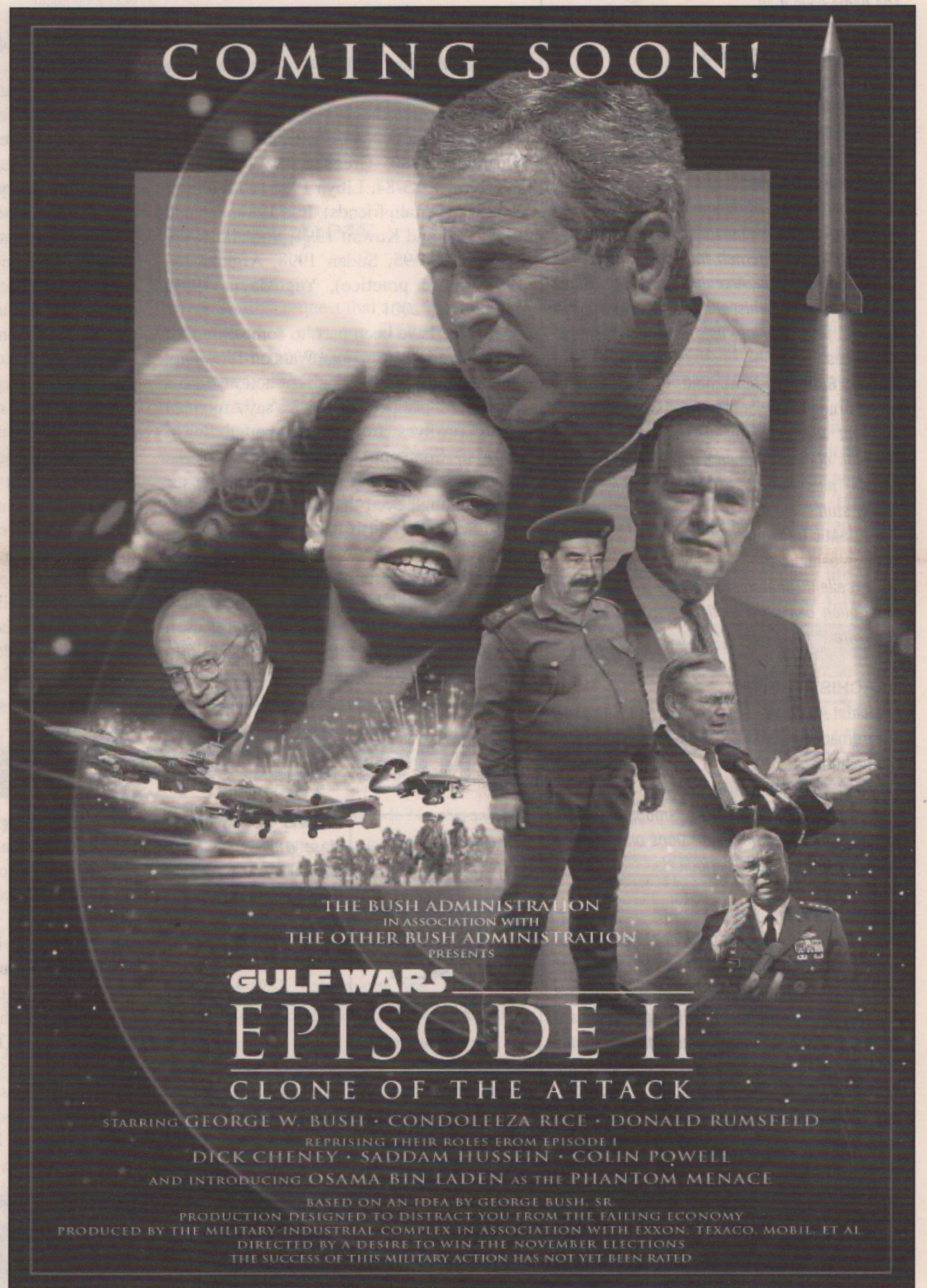
Already the possibility of war has led to the biggest anti-war protests this country has ever seen. As preparations for a new war continue, the opposition will surely intensify.

At the same time, while Tony has his eye on warmongering in foreign parts, class struggle is very much on the agenda here at home. One of the best ways the working class in Britain can help those in other countries is for us to assert our own demands vigorously and to support each other.

To be effective, the anti-war movement will have to turn to direct action. To fight against war itself we must reject the methods of the war machine, organised from the top down, with a few in power and the rest a mass of automatons who just follow orders.

We must reject this 'discipline' and organise ourselves from the bottom up. Instead of a handful of leaders telling us how to protest and when, we need a federation of anti-war groups which make their own decisions, both individually and collectively. What we don't want is any Marxist group trying to set itself up as the 'leadership' of the movement, sounding militant while in practice stifling initiative.

The way to defeat Tony Blair and Georgie Bush is through people being prepared to take direct action without asking anybody's permission, to organise themselves without waiting for orders from above. We



need to work together as equals, not as foot-soldiers or generals.

So stuff your warmongering! Stuff your calls for an orderly protest! Defeat the militaristic habit of giving and taking orders! Disobey! Only direct action – occupations,

strikes, mass protests – can give the government a message it can't ignore. You have the power to end this war. Use it!

For anarchists, direct action and solidarity are the means to change the world. Only working class people

being in total control of their own struggles can create a society based on liberty, equality and solidarity. Real socialism can only be created from the bottom up. By applying our ideas in the struggle today, we build the world of the future.

“More than ever we must avoid compromise; deepen the chasm between capitalists and wage slaves, between rulers and ruled; preach expropriation of private property and the destruction of states such as the only means of guaranteeing fraternity between peoples and Justice and Liberty for all; and we must prepare to accomplish these things.” (Errico Malatesta)

ANARCHISM ON-LINE

Most anarchist groups have a website and there are numerous sites dedicated to providing news, ideas and resources to activists. Here are a few of the best out there. A far more comprehensive list can be found on the links page of 'An Anarchist FAQ' (www.infoshop.org/faq/links.html)

ON THE WAR AND ANARCHISM

• Stop the War against Iraq

(www.struggle.ws/stopthewar.html)

Anarchists say no to imperialist war after the World Trade Centre attack.

• Anarchism and the fight against Imperialism

(www.struggle.ws/wsm/imperialism.html)

The name says it all.

ANARCHIST WEBPAGES

• A-infos: Anarchist News Service

(www.ainfos.ca)

Essential multilingual website for libertarian and class struggle news from across the globe.

• Anarchists in Britain

(www.anarchism.ws/britain.html)

An index of British anarchist resources and contacts on the internet. Includes links to the Solidarity Federation, Anarchist Federation, Class War and other anarchist and libertarian groups in the UK, plus mailing lists and newspapers/magazines.

• Workers Solidarity Movement

(www.struggle.ws/wsm.html)

Excellent website of the Irish anarchist group. Contains copies of their paper, magazine and leaflets, plus reports of their activities. High quality stuff.

• Mid-Atlantic Infoshop

(www.infoshop.org)

An excellent anarchist website – no short description can do it justice. Also has a lively newswire.

ANARCHIST THEORY

• Anarchist Archives

(dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/archivhome.html)

Excellent webpage which contains pamphlets, articles and books by all the famous anarchist writers and activists. Plus sections on anarchist history, pamphlets and periodicals.

• An Anarchist FAQ

(www.anarchistfaq.org)

In-depth introduction to anarchist ideas, ideals and history. Comprehensive overview of anarchism, what anarchists want and what we do. Includes sections on why anarchists are against the state, capitalism and hierarchy plus the anarchist critique of capitalism and Marxism. Extremely large but worth reading.

• Anarcho-Syndicalism 101

(www.anarcho-syndicalism.org)

Great webpage devoted to building anarcho-syndicalism globally. It is a web archive of theoretical and historical texts, articles, images and propaganda. Plus an anarcho-syndicalism FAQ and a newswire.

• Anarchism Web Site

(www.anarchism.ws)

Excellent and comprehensive website. Includes webpages on libertarian groups across the world, plus anarchist writers. Also has webpages on issues like anarchist opposition to war, the Spanish and Russian revolutions, women's liberation, anarchism and the Zapatistas, and globalisation.

• Zabalaza Books

(<http://www.zabalaza.net/zababooks>)

Excellent resource, packed full of high quality free anarchist reading material in pdf format. Part of the Southern African anarchist webpage Zabalaza (www.zabalaza.net).

Let's bomb Florida

Since the unravelling of the USSR and the soft shoe shuffle of China into capitalism, the whole world has become the American Global Empire. This, as they say, is a whole new ball game – and they don't play cricket, you know. Iraq will be just another episode in America's long-running use of bombing to keep its global garden tidy. On a very frequent basis, the United States is bombing somewhere. How long will it be before they discover and bomb terrorists in the old Soviet Union?

Here's a long and boring list of their previous adventures – China 1945-46, Korea and China 1950-51, Guatemala 1954, Indonesia 1958, Cuba 1959-61, Guatemala (again) 1960, Congo 1964, Peru 1965, Laos 1964-73, Vietnam 1961-73 (lost away, winning at home on economic aggregate), Cambodia 1969-70, Guatemala 1967-69 (were the other two practice runs?), El Salvador and Nicaragua 1980, Grenada 1983, Lebanon and Syria 1983-84, Libya 1986 (with a little help from certain friends), Iran 1987, Panama 1989, Iraq and Kuwait 1991, Somalia 1993, Bosnia 1994-95, Sudan 1998, Afghanistan 1998 (more practice), Yugoslavia 1999, Afghanistan 2001.

All these have been part, to some extent or other, of various American Wars on Terrorism, which should put their current actions into a longer term perspective. Cynics say American policy revolves around how you define a terrorist. Someone once called a terrorist 'someone with a bomb but without an air force', though even that has looked tenuous since September 11th.

Regrettable as the loss of life in the Twin Towers was, it certainly gave the US a few inches of moral high ground, which Bush and his pals are still trying to exploit even now. But it doesn't really work if it's put into the global scales of justice alongside, say,



Laos, bombed for nine years. Kissinger, the American Secretary of State behind this atrocity, has never stood trial for crimes against humanity. Funny that.

And what does America, home of the brave, land of the free, believer in rights and upholder of democracy, tend to do when it's finished bombing? Traditionally it installs, against the wishes of the people if need be, the most noxious power-crazed right-wing dictator it can find – so no prizes for guessing what's going to happen in Iraq.

It's hard to shake America's stand on human rights, which has been consistent over time. I could give you another long, boring list, but a few examples will do. General José Guillermo, sometime head of El Salvador's armed forces and connected to the death squads which killed countless thousands in the 1980s, spent the 1990s in Florida. He's still there now. His successor, the much-feared Carlos Casanova, also nowadays resides in the Sunshine State. Numerous Haitian human rights violators-

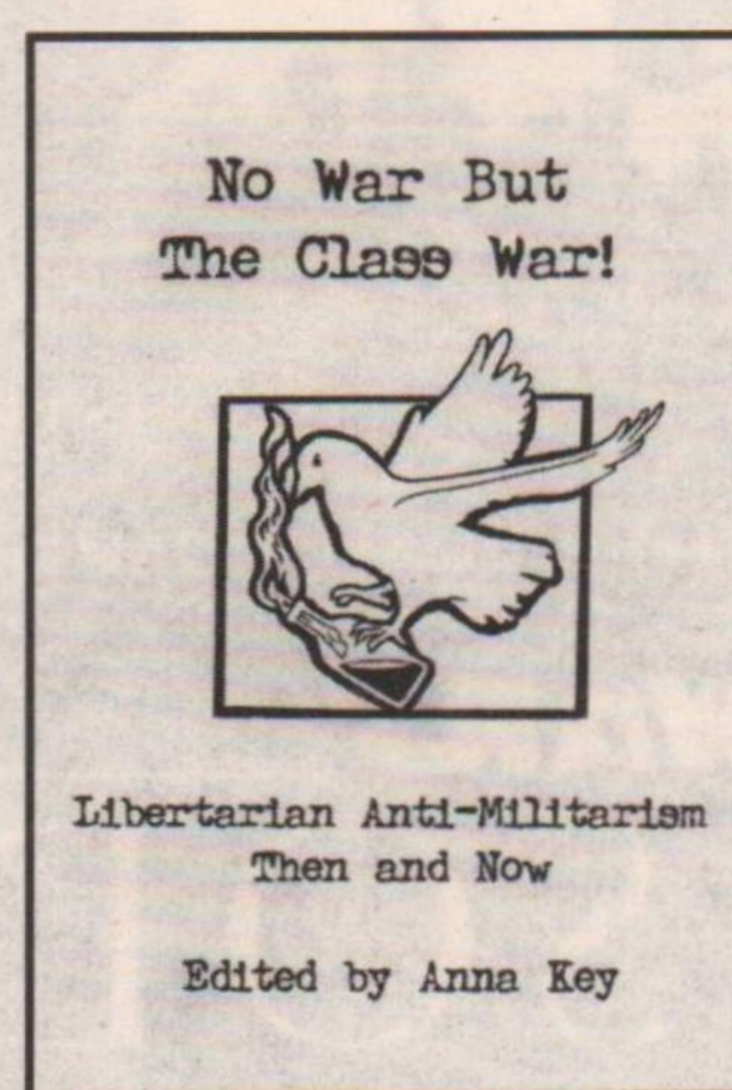
at-home are resident in America too, their lives untroubled by the FBI.

The Haitians would make a long list on their own. Here's just one. In the early 1990s, Colonel Carl Dorelien oversaw the butchery – murder, rape, torture and kidnapping – of vast numbers. Over 5,000 people died (more than one WTC's worth, though not as spectacular). And where is he now? Yup, Florida again. Armando Larios, late of the Chilean military, tidied up at least 72 political prisoners in 1973; Argentinian admiral Jorge Enrico, organiser of the Buenos Aires torture centre 1976-83; and many others of the same ilk from all over the place enjoy unhindered American hospitality.

Now, as an anarchist I'm against non-consenting acts of violence. But Our President does say that any state which might, possibly, have anything to do with terrorists is a fair target. So, is there any reason why we shouldn't bomb Florida? Answers on a postcard please ...

Colin Johnson

Libertarian responses



No war but the class war!
edited by Anna Key
Kate Sharpley Library
£2

"War", says Randolph Bourne, "is the health of the state. It automatically sets in motion throughout society those irresistible forces for uniformity, for passionate cooperation with the government in coercing into obedience the minority groups and individuals which lack the larger herd sense. The machinery of government sets and enforces the drastic penalties; the minorities are either intimidated into silence, or brought slowly around by a subtle process of persuasion which may seem to them really to be converting them."

This new pamphlet presents 110 years of anti-militarist propaganda, from Spain's last imperialist adventure in 1893 through the First World War and right up to the present 'war on terror'. It includes Randolph Bourne's classic analysis of why war is 'the health of the state' (quoted above) and a recent dissection of the myths of Remembrance Day.

Libertarians have opposed the armed forces as the ultimate prop of the state, a pool of scab labour and the place where the

authority principle (orders, not logic) runs rampant. Anarchists have always argued that the alternative to dying for our leaders is to fight for a new world. There's a brief glimpse of how this looks in practice, from the Ukraine's Makhnovist insurgents to Spain's revolutionary militias.

Libertarian anti-militarists don't want the kind of peace that's only a breathing space between wars. They want peace from below. To get all leaders and bosses of our backs, no war but the class war will do.

Available from Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX, price £2 (post free in UK, add 50p elsewhere).

Get involved with Freedom

Freedom Press publishes this newspaper and a range of books on all aspects of anarchist thought and action. We run Britain's biggest anarchist bookshop and provide a comprehensive mail order service. We need people to get involved NOW to help build the movement for radical social change, whether it's by working on our publishing programme, publicising our work, helping out in the office or staffing the bookshop. Get in contact on FreedomCopy@aol.com or drop in any Saturday. Enquiries from outside London are equally welcome.

Mistaken identity



One man is an unelected 'president' who subjects his 'citizens' to an increasingly authoritarian regime. He regularly ignores the United Nations. He violates his enemies' basic human rights and, allegedly, subjects them to torture in the interests of the state. His state has invaded other nations to secure natural resources.

His regime has used weapons of mass destruction on civilians and has a proven record of aiding known terrorists. He makes his cronies wealthier at the expense of the rest of the population. He presides over a compliant media and press, in a country where dissent is equated with treason and liberty appears to mean unquestioning belief in the leader.

The other is Saddam Hussein, who does all of this but (unlike George W. Bush) has no proven links to terrorists, weapons of mass destruction. Nor does he insult our intelligence by denying that this war will be about oil.

Weaknesses exposed

Gloucestershire

Over a thousand protesters gathered in the sleepy village of Fairford, near Swindon, on 26th January. The protest was called by Gloucester Weapons Inspectors (GWI), who turned up in force in their white overalls and home-made detection equipment. They were supported by others from as far away as Wales and London. With many flags and banners, they marched the three miles to RAF Fairford, one of three bases used by the USAF B2 'Stealth' bomber, and the only one in Europe.

Despite an earlier announcement that Fairford had been 'activated' for war, there was no sign of these American weapons of mass destruction and, apart from one jeep, no sign of US security personnel either. Once again British cops were doing the dirty work. At the main entrance to the base, a theatrical demand to be let in was made, followed by a mass die-in as a home-made B2 plane flew, or at least ran, amok.

There were speakers from the GWI, as well as former Greenham Common stalwarts Ann Pettit and Helen John, who called on opponents of the forthcoming war to buy paint and spray cans in order to take their message to every wall and every base in Britain. There were also suggestions that a peace camp could be set up at Fairford and that weekly demonstrations might be held.

Then the real fun began, as many protesters set off round the perimeter to test the base's defences. In fact, with thirteen miles of fence to patrol, there are many weak points where people could act virtually unseen. But most protesters only went a short distance and



Cops help a protester from the base on 26th January – our report suggests they might be overwhelmed by other forms of direct action against the base

were soon breaching the wire, either by cutting it or by climbing over using thick padding.

Fifty or more got through at various times and, after being arrested and briefly detained, were escorted back out the way they'd come. There were no reports of damage to any military hardware. Later, there was a scuffle with cops near a hole in the fence and a further three arrests were made despite

resistance from other protesters.

It's clear that Fairford will play a significant part in the American war on Iraq. It's equally clear that the base is far from secure, at present at least. In addition, the cops seem prepared to handle what's often fairly polite non-violent direct action – but would they be around in sufficient numbers to counter other forms of intervention?

MH

WARNING

David Blunkett



We have reached a critical point in the war on poor people. The world is full of people with bad thinking who do not want to stand still and be bombed. They also demand more carrots and refuse to follow the orders of the glorious leader. They must be shown the error of their ways.

Government research has shown that:

- Freedom depends on more prisons
- Rational debate is what is printed in the *Daily Blame*
- Demanding more carrots is a sign of old days bad thinking

In these troubled times it is important that you:

- Do not relax
- Do not complain
- Go to work
- Spend money
- Do not think. The government will tell you what to do.

The glorious leader knows what he is doing but he must not be distracted. Asking 'where are we going?' and 'why are we going there?' plays into the hands of the forces of evil. There will be no mercy for those who obstruct the glorious leader. Be afraid. Be very afraid.

David Security-Blunkett

HM Secretary of State for Fear

More anti-militarist action

North Yorkshire


Is it possible that dissent could affect the bosses' war plans? There's no doubt this is a crucial time for the Masters of War to work out what they can get away with, and the task for us is to make that as little as possible. Britain is in the unenviable position of hosting a number of totally essential components of American military infrastructure. Not only does this country have some of the largest and most frequently used US Air Force bases outside the USA itself (Fairford and Lakenheath, for example, both of which are nuclear-capable). In Yorkshire are some of the eyes, ears and brain of the whole system.

RAF Menwith Hill is the largest electronic monitoring system in the world, run solely by the US National Security Agency. Its role is to listen in on the world's communications, civil and personal (not just military), through the ECHELON system. Beyond this spying role it tracks targets throughout the Middle East, being one of three bases round the globe the USA uses to maintain its global reach. This, of course, is aimed at protecting the American homeland, not the rock Menwith happens to be situated on.

In fact the Menwith Hill base is so valuable it won an award from the US military in the last Gulf War for its great work.


Finally, together with nearby RAF Fylingdales, the base forms a crucial part of the updated Star Wars system, the horrifically expensive, space-based tracking and missile system which the Pentagon plans to use in overseeing, controlling and manipulating

FORMING A KEY ELEMENT IN STAR WARS



Take action against the largest US spybase in the world; playing a crucial role in the war on Iraq and a key element in the expansion of the 'Star Wars' project.

FINDING TARGETS IN IRAQ




FOIL THE BASE


PEACEFUL CREATIVE DIRECT ACTION AGAINST MENWITH HILL

MARCH 22ND 2003

SPYING ON PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS



MENWITH HILL, NEAR HARrogate NORTH YORKS



NEIGHBOURHOODS OPPOSING WAR (NOW)

For further info or to arrange a skill share or speaker, www.now-peace.org.uk ring 07905 913 139

threats and opportunities across the world. Although it stands little chance of being effective, as a potential first-strike system it significantly raises the stakes in the arms race and represents the next step towards the holy grail of total world domination.

We hope the warmongers notice us in London on 15th February, but after that we should focus our efforts on targeting the actual infrastructure that will be used, not only against Iraq, but against all future enemies of the United States. The USA is desperate to keep news about Menwith Hill away from the British public. We must deny them that luxury in any way we can.

On 22nd March, there'll be a 'Foil the

base' direct action to coincide with the spring equinox. This is the time when the length of day and night are the equal across the earth, and it's traditionally a time to take action and awake new ideas. We're going to try and do just that by focusing on the murderous intent behind Menwith Hill and by trying to stop it. It will be a day of peaceful dissent against the warmakers, who may well have launched their attack on Iraq just a week before. Bring balloons, mirrors and music. Come along and join in.

Oli

Neighbourhoods Opposing War (NOW)
For further details and information, visit <http://now-peace.org.uk> or call 07905-913 139

London

Thousands of protesters will try to stop one of the world's biggest arms fairs this autumn. The Defence Systems Equipment International (DSEi) death bazaar is due to start in Docklands on Saturday 6th September. Arms buyers from all over the world are expected to visit the Excel Centre, many of them from states on the Amnesty International list of human rights' abusers. Among other things orders will be placed for guns, bombs, military planes, small arms, mines and tanks.

But anti-militarists from direct action group DISARM DSEi say they aren't prepared to allow the killers to shop in secret. "The arms trade, of which DSEi 2003 is an important part, is an international political business made up of multinational companies which kill and maim for profit", the group says.

The last DSEi began on September 11th 2001, coinciding with the attacks on New York and Washington. But the event continued, allowing buyers from America, Israel and fourteen Arab states to continue shopping side by side.

Although demonstrations will continue for the whole of the week in which the fair is held, there will be a Day of Direct Action on 10th September. Two main actions are planned, helped by the site's two mile long perimeter. This takes in roads, railway stations, the docks and the City Airport.

To get involved contact DISARM DSEi, Box 8, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX. Visit www.destroydsei.org or call 07817 652 029.

Divided by time, united by hope

Fences and Windows

by Naomi Klein

Flamingo, £8.99

Three Strikes

by Howard Zinn, Dana Frank and Robin Kelly

Beacon Press, £13.99

The wave of 'anti-capitalist' demonstrations and protests in recent years is, of course, just the most recent expression of a conflict that's marked capitalism from the start – the class struggle. As long as wage slavery's existed, workers have been fighting against it. As long as the state's existed, its subjects have resisted. The intensity and forms of social struggle have changed depending on the circumstances working class people have faced, but it's always existed and will continue as long as capitalism does. These two books are accounts of this struggle.

Naomi Klein, author of *No Logo*, needs no introduction. Her new book, *Fences and Windows*, isn't a follow-up but a collection of essays on globalisation, its consequences and the wave of protests against it. *Three Strikes* is history at its best. It contains accounts of three strikes in America, the Colorado Coal strike of 1913-14 (which culminated in the Ludlow massacre), a sit-in strike by employees at a Detroit Woolworths in 1937, and a New York musicians' strike against new technology in the late 1930s.

While the books recount struggles separated by over sixty years, common themes emerge: the power of working class people to resist and improve their lives, the need for democracy within the movement, the creativity of struggle, how it breaks down barriers between what is and what could be, how struggles show in embryo what a free society might look like. Moreover, they indicate how far capitalism hasn't come. For all its talk of liberty, it's still a system based on wage slavery and economic power dictating to political power. The state still exists, not to represent the people, but to disempower them in order to defend property.

Wide ranging analysis

Klein covers a lot of ground. Her articles are well-written and engaging. They cover the reality of modern capitalism, the gap, as she puts it, "between rich and poor but also between rhetoric and reality, between what is said and what is done. Between the promise of globalisation and its real effects". She shows how we live in a world where the market (i.e. capital) is made 'freer' while people suffer increased state power and repression. How an unelected Argentinian president labels his country's popular assembly movement 'anti-democratic'. How rhetoric about liberty is used as a tool to defend and increase private power.

As she reminds us, "always missing from [the globalisation] discussion is the issue of power. So many of the debates that we have about globalisation theory are actually about power: who holds it, who is exercising it and who is disguising it, pretending it no longer matters". But she also shows us how people across the world are resisting.

Klein rightly downplays the media idea that she's a spokesperson for a movement. As she puts it, "many in the movement are tired of being spoken for and about. They are demanding a more direct form of political participation". She reports on a movement she's part of, one which aims for a globalisation from below, one "founded on principles of transparency, accountability and self-



An anti-globalisation protest in Québec, April 2001

determination, one that frees people instead of liberating capital". She wants people to manage their own affairs and chronicles attempts around the world to do just that (many of which, as she herself says, are anarchist or influenced by anarchist ideas, whether knowingly or not).

Because of this, *Fences and Windows* has a distinctly libertarian thrust. Klein isn't an anarchist herself, but she's aware that real change comes from below, by the self-activity of working people fighting for a better world. Decentralisation of power is a key idea in her book. As she puts it, the 'goal' of the social movements she describes is "not to take power for themselves, but to challenge power centralisation on principle", so creating "a new culture of vibrant direct democracy ... one that is fueled and strengthened by direct participation."

She doesn't urge the movement (as she calls it) to invest itself with new leaders. Nor, unlike the left, does she think that electing a few leaders to make decisions on our behalf equals democracy. "The goal", she says, "is not better faraway rules and rulers, but close-up democracy on the ground". She does, therefore, get to the heart of matter. Real social change is based on empowering the grassroots.

The logical conclusion of all this is the destruction of political power, not its seizure. The state is simply the power of a minority to enforce its will. This means that a social movement which aims to create socialism can't use it in pursuit of its goal. After all, the state ('political power') is based on centralised power to ensure minority class rule. To argue for the "conquest of political power", as Marx did, on the grounds that "the lords of the land and of capital always make use of their political privileges to defend and perpetuate their economic monopolies and enslave labour" is to draw the wrong conclusion. By ending the regime of the powerful by destroying their instruments of rule, the power that was concentrated in their hands automatically falls back into the hands of society.

So it is that working class power can only be concrete once 'political power' is shattered and replaced by the social power of the working class, based on its own class organisations (such as factory committees, workers' councils, unions, neighbourhood

assemblies). Power 'to the people' can only be put into practice when the power exercised by social elites is dissolved into the people. This, in turn, can only be done if we apply our ideas of self-management, direct action and solidarity in class struggle.

This necessity – or rather Klein's reluctance to accept it – explains why her weakest chapter, 'Limits to political parties', is flawed. While she's right to argue that a new social movement must be "built up from the ground" and must aim for "self-determination, economic sustainability and participatory democracy", she still seem to think in terms of political parties even if she doesn't think a new one is required immediately. It's a shame this discussion on the leap "from protest to power" doesn't build on the extra-parliamentary organising and direct action she reports on elsewhere.

Mexican example

This is especially ironic in the light she herself casts. In one of her best chapters, she gives an account of the Mexican Zapatistas, in which she notes that their "non-hierarchical decision making, decentralised organising and deep community democracy hold answers for the non-indigenous world as well". In other words, we must "build the new world in the shell of the old" by building our own organisations, able to resist the power of state and capital until such time as both can be abolished. This makes her account of the Zapatistas particularly interesting for anarchists, because it's a "movement of one no and many yesses", one of "revolutionaries who don't want power". In Mexico, the aim is to "seize and build autonomous spaces". The similarities with anarchism are obvious.

In *Three Strikes* by Howard Zinn, Dana Frank and Robin Kelly, we see three historical examples of the kind of struggles Klein describes. The book also points to a key weakness in Klein's own, which is that she doesn't discuss workplace organising in any depth (though she does have a chapter on 'The war on unions' in Mexico). *Three Strikes* describes struggles that are rooted in the workplace, where labour is directly oppressed (and so exploited) by capital. These struggles aren't as 'glamorous' as the anti-globalisation protests which, Klein rightly worries may be turning into a series

of 'McProtests', but their potential is much bigger.

Ultimately, capitalism will continue until capital is directly expropriated by the working class. This can only be achieved by workplace organising and struggle. As Klein says in her book, the "most powerful resistance movements are always deeply rooted in community – and are accountable to those communities". Unless we build militant organisations in our workplaces and communities, the anti-capitalist movement will wither and die like a plant without roots.

Dana Frank's account of the Detroit Woolworth sit-in is particularly relevant today because that firm was the 1930s equivalent of the Gap and McDonalds, a multinational company operating in the service industry and considered impossible to organise. But, inspired by the tactics developed by workers elsewhere (such as the autoworkers), the strikers managed to win all their demands, by occupying the store. Moreover, they inspired retail workers across America to follow their lead, organise themselves and win improved wages and conditions. In Detroit itself, bosses at other stores increased wages in fear of workers following their example and unionising.

Frank discusses the role of the media, which essentially trivialised the women strikers and their actions. Called 'girls' even by the radical press, they were reported for their amusement value rather than their militancy. Ironically this may have helped their struggle, as it would have been difficult for Woolworths to send in private or state police to evict them. The PR would have been terrible, almost as terrible as the contrast between the wages and conditions of the striking women and the lifestyle of Barbara Hutton, who'd inherited the Woolworth fortune. The unions were quick to press this point, but the mainstream media quickly joined in too – *Life* magazine said Hutton should "forget counts who spend her money and remember the Woolworth girls who earn it".

Klein's book is, in part, an account of the privatisation of life (the 'fences' associated with private property) and the resistance to it (the 'windows' we create in our struggles). Howard Zinn's account of the Colorado miners' strike of 1913-14 gives a gripping example of this workers' resistance to the feudalism at the heart of capitalism. The miners lived in the ultimate grip of privatisation, the

(continued on page 5)

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Capitalism is war

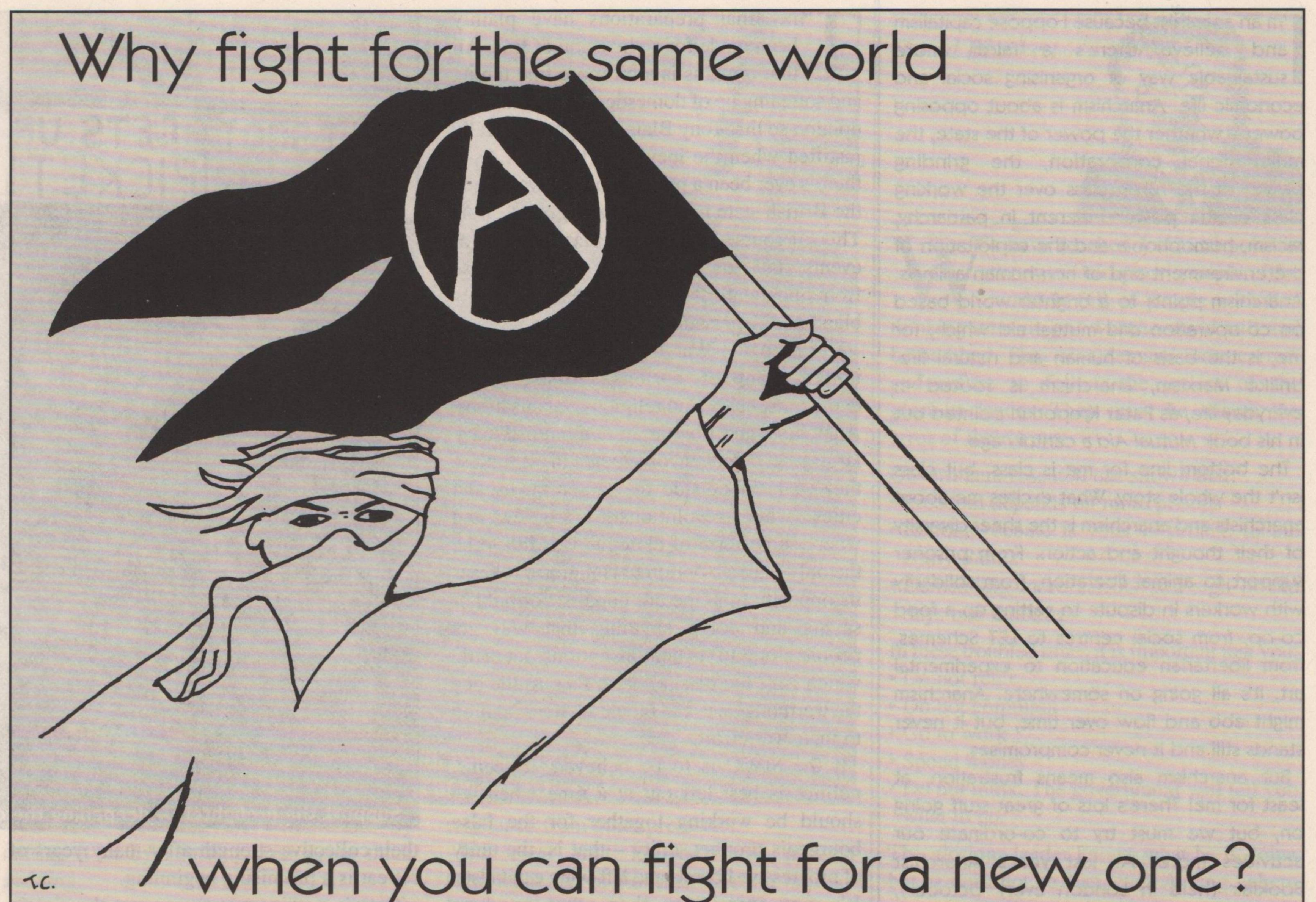
This isn't the first crisis caused by capitalism, nor will it be the last. Capitalism is marked by inequalities in economic and political power, both within a country and internationally. Driven by competition for markets, resources, power and influence, it's hardly surprising that wars are its constant feature. These may be wars of conquest, needed to dominate an economically 'backward' nation. They may be wars between imperialist powers, when the competition for markets and colonies has reached a point where differences can't be settled peacefully. Or, as in the current situation, they may be wars to reinforce the international power and influence of an imperialist nation in the global system and to ensure its access to what it considers necessary resources.

Anarchists argue that no war in a class society can be just, nor can it be supported. As long as a nation is class-ridden, with property and power in the hands of a few, any war will simply be fought by the masses in the interests of the ruling class. The only war anarchists support is the class war, the struggle by ordinary people to change society for the better. This means fighting for our liberty against our masters until we're strong enough to get rid of the oppressors once and for all. This is the only way to end a system that generates war by its nature.

Anarcho

When good old Tony rallies to Bush's war on Iraq, thousands of innocent people will, inevitably, die. The soldiers who go to fight and the citizens of Iraq will all be bombed, mutilated, massacred and have their lives fucked beyond recognition. All this will be done in the name of fighting 'terror', but the real issue is oil. The USA is run by big business, and they need oil. The USA therefore needs control over the Middle East and, by claiming that there's an international threat to everyone (in the form of terrorism), they can tighten this power without opposition.

It once suited the USA to put Saddam Hussein in power, to fund Osama bin Laden and to help the Taliban rule Afghanistan. But now it doesn't, so the USA are getting rid of them. Millions of people have died and will die because of the west's need for oil. Our 'leaders', the rich, won't be getting stuck in



there because they need to stay alive to profit from the slaughter.

These same people support some of the cruellest states and dictators to have existed, and allow loads of people to die every day. They don't care about anyone – not even you! Unless you start to shit gold you're as dispensable as the rest of them, just as long as the bosses stay rich. The people fighting and dying in this war will be doing so to keep the rich in power. Nothing will change. It will be the same world as before.

Tom Chambers

A recent review of the petrol market by environment-unfriendly corporate giant BP makes interesting reading in the light of the ongoing Anglo-American war on Iraq. Apparently, proven oil reserves will only last around forty years at present production rates. Of these reserves, just over

65% are in the Middle East. The Saudis have 25%, the Iraqis have 11%. Compare this with a mere 6.1% in North America and 1.8% in Europe.

In 2001, the Middle East produced 30% of the world's oil, North America 18.3% and Europe 9%. In theory, Britain's reserves could run out in five years and the American ones in ten. The Middle East has enough to last ninety years. Clearly these figures aren't an exact science. More oil may be found, though it might be harder to get at and so more expensive to produce (and consume). Demand for oil may increase, as ever larger numbers of people worldwide become dependent on the car, depleting reserves even faster.

At present, the US and Europe use up far more oil than the rest of the world put together. Clearly, in the next two decades, the west will become increasingly dependent on oil reserves which aren't theirs – mostly

in the Middle East. No surprise, then, that the US is taking an ever greater interest in the economic and political situation in the Middle East or, to put it more bluntly, is taking measures to control Middle Eastern states that don't already do its bidding. That's what lies behind war on Iraq, war on 'terror' and war on anyone or any ideology that opposes the domination of western capitalism.

MH

Up to a million people are expected at London's anti-war protest on 15th February. We need comrades to sell them *Freedom*. Meet at the entrance to the Royal Festival Hall, South Bank, at 11am on the day or call 020 7247 9249 if you want a bundle sent to you.

(continued from page 4)

company town, which Zinn summarises: "Each mining camp", he says, "was a feudal dominion, with the company acting as lord and master. Every camp had a marshal, a law enforcement officer paid by the company. The 'laws' were the company's rules. Curfews were imposed, 'suspicious' strangers were not allowed to visit the homes, the company store had monopoly on goods sold in the camp. The doctor was a company doctor, the schoolteachers hired by the company ... Political power in Colorado rested in the hands of those who held economic power. This meant that the authority of Colorado Fuel & Iron and other mine operators was virtually supreme."

Unsurprisingly, when the workers rebelled against this tyranny, they were evicted from their homes and the private law enforcement agents were extremely efficient in repressing the strikers, aided by the state militia (asked in and paid for by banks and corporations). Without irony the *New York Times* editorialised that the militia was "as impersonal and impartial as the law". It was these company thugs, dressed in the uniform of the state

militia, who murdered women and children in the Ludlow massacre.

After the slaughter, the corporation hired Ivy Lee ("the father of public relations in the United States") to change public opinion. Significantly, Lee produced a series of tracts labelled 'Facts concerning the struggle in Colorado for industrial freedom'. The head of the corporation (Rockefeller) portrayed his repression of the strikers as a blow for workers' freedom, to "defend the workers' right to work". So much for the private property (or capitalism) being the embodiment of liberty.

As well as recounting popular struggles against private power, both *Fences and Windows* and *Three Strikes* raise similar issues about the movements themselves. One common theme is internal democracy, or the lack of it. The Woolworth strikers didn't even get to vote on the final agreement they won, while one union activist was purged from the local union for advocating rank-and-file voting on their own contracts! Klein's account of the first World Social Forum in Brazil in 2001 shows that this division into leaders and led still exists, with

the WSF having an "organisational structure" that was so opaque "it was nearly impossible to figure out how decisions were made or find ways to question those decisions". There were "no open plenaries and no chance to vote on the structure of future events".

Unless social movements are rooted in self-managed structures, with decision-making power resting at the base, they'll simply become a means for would-be politicians to gain influence. Klein argues that "one 'pro' this disparate coalition can get behind is 'pro-democracy'" and that "democracy within the movement must become a high priority". As she herself knows, this is true only if it's direct, not representative, democracy. The fate of the US trades unions and their decline in the face of capitalist power, together with worker indifference in the face of bureaucracy, both show the importance of applying our ideals today and not waiting until after 'the revolution'. After all, how will people become capable of self-government after the revolution if they don't practise it now?

Neither of these books is perfect, but there's far more right in them than wrong. They recount attempts by working class

people to resist both private and state power by organising themselves, using direct action and solidarity to improve their conditions. Anarchism bases itself on struggles such as these, considering them the means by which an anarchist society will be created. To use Klein's words, they're 'windows' to a better world, showing that another world is possible and that we start to create it every time we resist the 'fences' placed round our freedom by hierarchy.

At one point Klein quotes the Zapatista Marcos on "the history that is born and nurtured from below". Both *Fences and Windows* and *Three Strikes* are great examples of this kind of history. Anarchists will get a lot out of reading them. They are works that will inspire readers to resist and organise, to try and change the world for the better. No better compliment can be given.

Iain McKay

Both books are available from the Freedom Press Bookshop. If ordering by post, Naomi Klein's *Fences and Windows* is £8.99 (plus £1 towards p&p in the UK, £2 elsewhere). *Three Strikes* by Howard Zinn, Dana Frank and Robin Kelly is £13.99 (plus £1.40 towards p&p in the UK, £2.80 elsewhere).

What anarchism means to me

I'm an anarchist because I oppose capitalism and believe there's a fairer, more sustainable way of organising social and economic life. Anarchism is about opposing power – whether the power of the state, the multinational corporation, the grinding power of the ruling class over the working class or the power inherent in patriarchy, racism, homophobia and the exploitation of the environment and of non-human animals. Anarchism points to a brighter world based on co-operation and mutual aid which, for me, is the basis of human and natural life. Unlike Marxism, anarchism is rooted in everyday life, as Peter Kropotkin pointed out in his book *Mutual Aid a century ago*.

The bottom line for me is class, but class isn't the whole story. What excites me about anarchists and anarchism is the sheer diversity of their thought and action. From prisoner support to animal liberation, from solidarity with workers in dispute to setting up a food co-op, from social centres to LET Schemes, from libertarian education to experimental art, it's all going on somewhere. Anarchism might ebb and flow over time, but it never stands still and it never compromises.

But anarchism also means frustration, at least for me! There's lots of great stuff going on, but we must try to co-ordinate our activities more. At last year's Anarchist Bookfair (held in London every October), framed activist Mark Barnsley said what a shame it was that anarchists only meet up once a year, and then to flog stuff to each other. He was right. We have to get together more. Other things we must do: raise our profile in the labour movement and find a way to bridge the (perceived) gap between the 'green' and 'red and black' ends of the movement. *Freedom* newspaper has an important role to play in this.

Looking back, I've always been a libertarian. But it's only in the last seven years I've called myself an anarchist. I had a rather varied political journey to where I am today, encompassing (in chronological order) the IMG, the SWP, the Labour Party – this last included a spell working in the House of Commons and being a local councillor, enough to turn anyone anarchist – and, most recently, the Green Party (don't ask!). My friends joke that the reason I'm an anarchist is because I've tried everything else.

Nowadays, anarchism has come out from behind the shadow of Marxism. The world over, the black flag can be seen on demonstrations. Anarchism is growing because both Marxism and liberal democracy have failed to deliver the goods for working people. It's increasingly clear that the world's problems won't be solved by the state or by voting for politicians to run it. To me, anarchism simply means a better world. God knows, we need one.

Richard Griffin

What does anarchism mean to you? Send in your contributions for this column (300 words please) to FreedomCopy@aol.com or to The Freedom Editors at 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

The next meeting of the
NORTHERN ANARCHIST NETWORK
will be on
Saturday 8th February 2003
from 10.30am to 5.30pm
at
**Merci, Bridge Mill 5, 22a Beswick
Street, Ancoats, Manchester**
further details from
Harry at 01422 842 558

A question of strategy

The final preparations have plainly been made for an invasion of Iraq. All that remains is a bit more fine tuning and softening up of domestic and international opinion so that Tony Blair can appear morally justified when the inevitable happens. As if there's ever been a point along the way when the British state might not have gone to war! This, of course, makes for a bland reading of events, but the assessment and response from opponents of the war have been equally bland and depressingly familiar.

The Stop the War Coalition (StWC) is a united front of various leftists, social democrats, peace and religious organisations. Anarchists and libertarian communists have largely avoided involvement in it unless they've been outside the larger towns and cities (where revolutionaries are few and where some form of dialogue was felt to be the only feasible option to isolation). It bases its opposition on the old populist formula of saying and doing anything that will get people along to its demonstrations – a tactic which isn't too dissimilar, in fact, to the one the warmongers use to mould western opinion to their war effort.

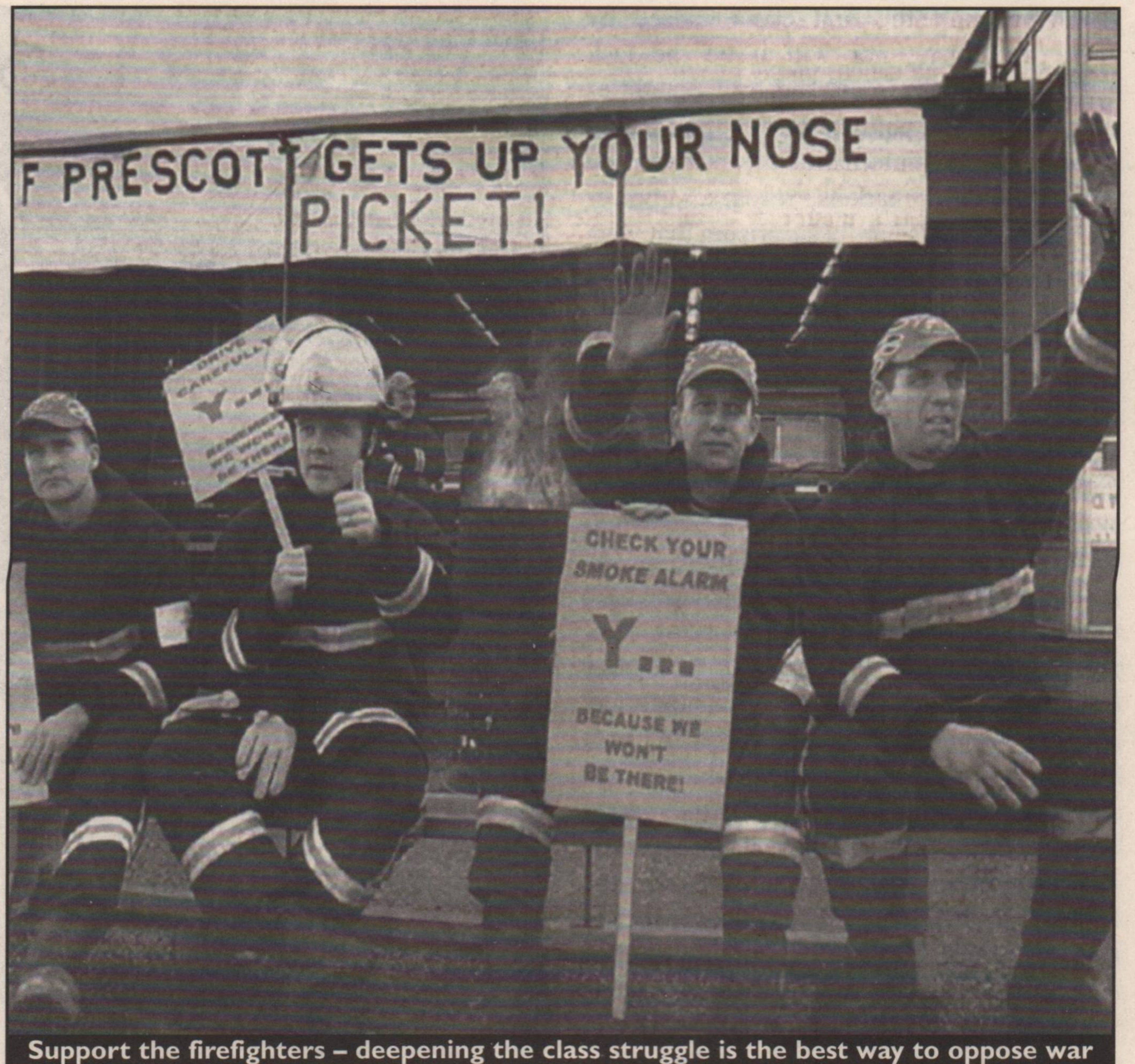
If the StWC is to be believed, it seems, politics is best left out at a time when we should be working together for the false bourgeois prophet, unity – that is, the unity of progressive liberals and left-wing capitalists. It's not surprising, then, that anodyne demands like 'peace not war' marches from A to B, and various other alienated forms of (non) political action have been the order of the day so far.

Many readers may agree that this criticism is justified. But in making it, do we fail to acknowledge fatal flaws in our own approach as revolutionaries? How does one go about answering the likely counter-charge from StWC supporters, who ask what match a minuscule number of revolutionaries are for the immensity and ferocity of the American and British states and their allies. How do revolutionaries avoid falling into the trap of making their anti-war strategy the mere attempt to win over public opinion? Indeed, even if it were possible to seriously counter the propaganda of the bourgeois media, would this be enough?

When the marching's over

To date there have been variously successful attempts by activists to 'take action' against the war. Direct action types have called local, regional and national mobilisations. There have been pickets, banner drops and occupations at military recruitment centres, die-ins on Whitehall, blockades at Northwood, Fairford and elsewhere. Fylingdales spy base has had its fair share of harassment, and individual acts of sabotage continue against the war industry on other sites. The No War But The Class War discussion group still meets in London, as do a couple of similar groups in other cities. Last month, members of Disobedience (another mainly London-based collective) hosted an anti-war day school to discuss current, and perhaps future, activities within the context of a revolutionary perspective.

Still, despite these numerous events, it's hard to imagine that many activists think the war effort can be halted, at least not by their efforts alone. So it's significant that the past twelve months have also seen an upsurge in labour militancy. This has come at a crucial time for British preparations. It remains to be seen if it's been the start of a more generalised and continued rise in combativity, but the fact that certain sectors are rediscovering



Support the firefighters – deepening the class struggle is the best way to oppose war

their collective strength after many years of retreat is a promising beginning.

There's nothing yet to suggest the rise in struggles won't continue. Local authority workers, transport workers and health service workers have all devised imaginative ways around laws on secondary picketing in order to support the firefighters. Indeed, the NHS could be a major site of struggle this year. The government is under immense pressure to control the wages bill there, with an inflationary crisis threatened if workers don't toe the line. And this in a relative period of class peace!

The Direct Action Against the War Now group (DAAWN) have said "only direct action can stop this war", but this begins to become self-evident only in times of wider social conflict, when workers can see the results of their struggles linking up and so gain confidence and the strength to take part. Direct action must mean mass direct action.

War and revolutionary opposition

The implications of re-emerging domestic struggle across sections of the economy at a time when war is on the near horizon are all too apparent. These are interesting times and, as revolutionaries, the question we must answer is what type of response it's possible to make. A way forward, in my view, lies in neither the existing groupings nor in a new kind of anti-war group. Both of these would essentially reshuffle the same deck of political activists. It's by fighting the war on the home front that a revolutionary response might begin to be articulated.

More effective than targeting military institutions might be to co-ordinate efforts at tangible strike support and to make links between struggles. We need to engage with other workers, offering a revolutionary critique to the war, drawing out historical and contemporary parallels and encouraging further acts of solidarity across sectors. A revolutionary opposition to war must emerge from a widening social movement.

A tall order? Yes indeed, but the last six months have demonstrated the fragility of the house of cards when it's faced by workers in struggle. The firefighters know well the implications of withdrawing their labour, with troops who should be training and

mobilising for warfare kept instead in their barracks, waiting for a call-out. Now military top brass, alarmed at 'aggravated morale problems' in the armed forces, are pressing for 'significant pay increases', no doubt fearful that discontent may spread into the army, more poorly paid still than the firefighters.

It should also be clear that support doesn't, and shouldn't ever, mean uncritical support. Unfortunately it's sometimes the case that anarchists and libertarians have ended up cheerleading events as they currently exist, leading to quietism when faced with the opportunity of advancing a vociferous, consistent and revolutionary perspective.

Something more is needed, more than simply supporting existing struggles. It's necessary, first of all, to give a robust critique of the unions in their role as brokers of labour power. Secondly, in terms of an anti-war message, we must openly challenge the leftist currents which would turn a revolutionary approach into one that ends up supporting every tinpot dictator by their simplistic, anti-imperialist answers to everything and their promotion of bourgeois, 'national liberation', struggles.

Coming back to the present, it's not my intention to suggest that existing anti-war groups and networks should dissolve themselves. It's important that revolutionaries maintain a forum for discussing, clarifying and developing a more rigorous understanding of the causes of war and the potential to end wars. But nor is it the case that a social movement will spontaneously emerge without the involvement of revolutionary workers inside it.

This line of argument runs the obvious risk of being charged with abstraction and a failure to deal with the concrete conditions of the present. There may be truth in this, but it's equally true that those of us dissenting now are impotent to affect the British government's commitment to another capitalist war, whether it's by affinity group actions or rallies in Hyde Park (or wherever people do finally end up on 15th February). I make the modest proposal that we begin to redefine our focus – towards class struggle at home – as the surest method of reducing the British state's bellicose contribution to the mass murder of the Iraqi working class.

Top Cat

What we say ...

The British National Party victory in Halifax on 23rd January has prompted soul-searching amongst Labour activists. The explanation offered for the fascists' rise, by liberal media and Labour left alike, is that the BNP has mopped up the right-wing vote with the assistance of tabloid scaremongering over refugees, and the collapse of both the Tory and the UK Independence parties. But the panic over 'asylum-seekers' hasn't been generated by the tabloids. That's down to the Labour government.

New Labour has consistently played the race card almost from its first day in office. David Blunkett and his predecessor, Jack Straw, have both targeted refugees and orchestrated fears about asylum. Together, Blunkett and Blair kick-started the furore over refugees being potential terrorists with their move to intern non-British citizens. All the tabloids did was follow the piper's tune.

The Labour grassroots fear the BNP because the fascists fill the vacuum created by the collapse of Labour as a working class party. Many on the left seem to believe that Blunkett and Blair will realise the error of their ways as soon as the case for refugees is patiently explained. For the Labour leadership, however, the BNP is a blessing. They're well served by a party that's turned working class dissent in on itself and away from them.

At the same time, New Labour's anti-immigration policy makes perfect sense from the point of view of the interests the party represents. Borders serve more than one purpose. As well as controlling who comes in, they foster national identity. And global capital needs a nationalist population more than ever. The last thing it wants is an internationalist working class capable of co-ordinating its resistance globally.

The BNP is a threat to working class communities. It must be fought, but not on the terms offered by the Labour left. We can only defeat the BNP by being more effective opponents of Labour than they are. Naomi Klein has spoken of resurgent working class militancy creating 'economies of solidarity'. We should employ these methods, using direct action – battles over rents, repairs, bailiffs, policing, pollution, traffic – to advance working class interests.

Yet we start from a position of weakness. The revolutionary left commands little credibility and unfortunately this includes the anarchist movement. Sartre said the left-wing press ought to read as if it was written by war correspondents. But you can't write like a war correspondent when you've already abandoned the battle. What use are anarcho-communist and anarcho-syndicalist politics if we aren't fighting within working class communities on a daily basis? The revolutionary left has done little to meet the BNP challenge in the last decade.

It's not too late to change. The traditions of working class internationalism and solidarity can be rebuilt. We have to begin to fight for the re-integration of the working class through struggle. Shouting 'they're welcome here' doesn't cut it when refugees are being attacked on the street. We have to be able to defend them, while at the same time putting forward credible arguments for their presence as allies within our communities.

This means showing that, far from privileging asylum-seekers, New Labour treats them just as badly as it does the host working class. We have to show that the poor who come here as refugees are allies of the poor who live here already. They add to the number of potential resisters. Fighting fascism is necessary but it isn't, by itself, enough. We also have an opening, if we're serious enough to take it.

Readers' letters

Lefty bollocks

Dear *Freedom*,

What was that almost SWP, lefty bollocks that passed for an editorial in the last issue ('What we say', 25th January)? Sack whoever wrote it.

Wendy Smith

Dated opinion

Dear *Freedom*,

José Martí's view is a popular one, especially with the establishment ('Non-violence is no solution', 25th January). They like it because it supports munitions' manufacturers and leads to power politics. I've heard it before – the oppressed rise up to overthrow the oppressor. But as a permanent solution it goes nowhere, since the oppressors and the oppressed are in reality the same people, with the same politics and the same objectives.

The mistake is in the sentimental belief that the downtrodden are virtuous and that this excuses stupidity. The idea suggests the problem has only one solution, where of course there are many. One, which appears to escape many anarchists, is anarchism. What I actually find irritating, though, is that the editors of *Freedom* devoted a third of a page to a rather meaningless photograph of a youth throwing a stone and an emotive quote from Berkman, simply to endorse an overworked and dated opinion.

Peter Gibson

Dear *Freedom*,

Come on, José, tell us what your principles are if you think we should support the "establishment of a society based on Islamic principles". Or do you mean an Islamic

state? Is there any difference if you establish mechanisms for enforcing those principles, even on fellow believers? If we're against tanks running over people's heads, do we automatically have to agree with the ideas in those heads? If we're opposed to racism and anti-semitism, do we magically become Zionists and, instead of a no-state solution, offer a two, three or four-state 'solution'?

The fact that the Israeli state is a tool of western foreign policy and is waging a war on its colonial subjects doesn't mean we support a Palestinian state as the 'opposite'. Nor does the fact that we're not cheerleaders for Arafat mean we should hold off criticising Israeli apartheid. As anarchists, we'll never be in with the in-crowd of national liberation. But we should make sure we use our distinctive voice to argue for freedom, without gods and governments to justify each other.

John P.

Wrong pew

Dear *Freedom*,

Trevor Smith's request that anarchists should "demonstrate a plan for a future society" (letters, 11th January) suggests he's not only in the wrong church but sitting in the wrong pew as well. Anarchists have no mandate to say how people must live. We carry no brief to say how people are to be organised.

It may well be that anarchism was synonymous with socialism in the nineteenth century. But right through the twentieth century, flirting with power proved too much of a temptation for socialists. And I'm weary of being told that such tragedies are merely examples of 'state' socialism. If only other socialists would read their Marx properly. I get Jehovah's Witnesses at my door saying the fault with

other Christians is that they haven't read their Bible properly.

All power corrupts. Especially those who have it all worked out. The worldwide collapse of Marxist-driven regimes has opened up a wealth of joyous opportunities for anarchists. Wisdom suggests that they exercise great caution when political solutions, plans for the future or regimes that promise to wither away are dangled before them.

Peter Good

Naughty Iain

Dear *Freedom*,

I'd like to remind Iain McKay that calling a fellow anarchist a 'liberal' doesn't help maintain a dialogue ('Anarchist economics', 11th January). A minimum definition of anarchist would be someone who ultimately wishes to get rid of both the state and capitalism. David Dane fits that definition so he's an anarchist. A liberal, by the way, is someone who believes in both the state and capitalism, so no anarchist can ever be a liberal.

Of course, anarchists have always been divided on tactics. There are the militants, of whom Iain seems to be one, as is his right. Then there are the moderates, to which David probably belongs. So why not just say moderate, rather than sneering about liberalism?

As for co-ops and mutual aid societies they may well have become conservative and failed to produce a mutualist society, but they nonetheless remain as a practical example for working people. Where do anarchist communists find such an example in daily life?

Larry Gambone

For reasons of space, letters may have to be cut

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18th January to 2nd February 2003

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Perth, ZK, £8; Dalry, FG, £3; Morecambe, AD, £6; Pontypwl, HD, £2; Halesowen, NC, £5; London SE23, RG, £3; Sheffield, JC, £2; London E10, MB, £3; Wolverhampton, JL, £2.

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Perth, ZK, £8; London SE23, RG, £4; Sheffield, JC, £2.

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COPY DEADLINE

The next issue of *Freedom* will be dated 22nd February, and the last day for copy intended for this issue will be Thursday 13th February. Contributions can be sent to us at FreedomCopy@aol.com

CORRECTIONS

The front page report in our last issue said 30 to 40 people were arrested outside Northwood on 19th January ('Put the pressure on', 25th January). We later found out that the real number was 70.

Meanwhile, on page 6 of that issue, our editing of an article about the late Roy Jenkins introduced an ambiguity. Jenkins was Labour Home Secretary from 1964-1967, not "during the 1950s and 1960s" as our wording could be read to mean.

Apologies to the author for our mistake.

We try to eliminate as many errors and ambiguities as possible and we undertake to correct as soon as possible any that make it past our eagle eyes and on to the page.

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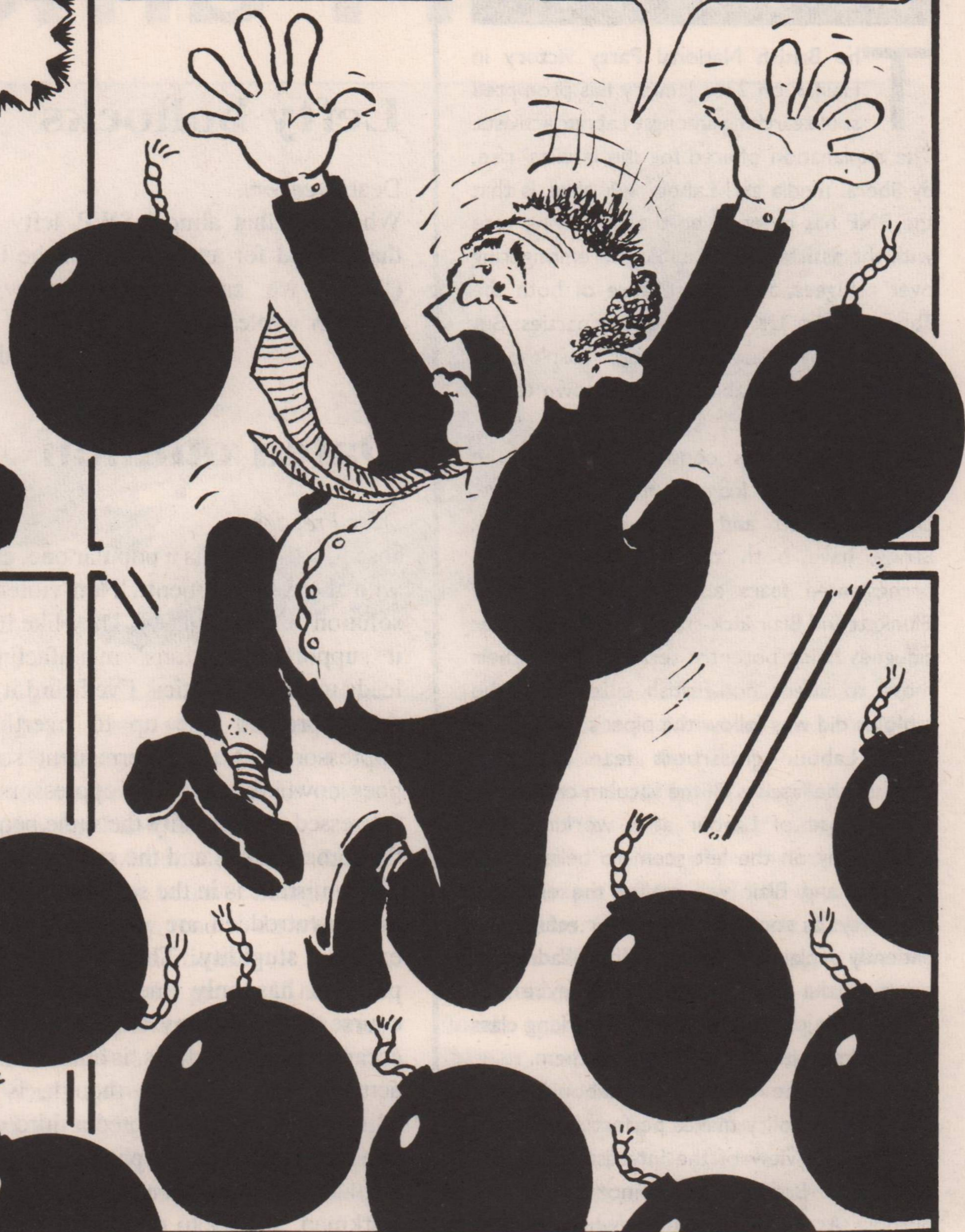
We have a deal with the UN.

We start bombing Iraqis when the UN inspectors locate the weaponry.

But bloody Saddam refuses to show the inspectors where the weapons are.

We'll have to start slaughtering people without UN approval

Otherwise the bottom is going to fall out of the weaponry trade!!!!



Saddam Hussein is one of the cruellest tyrants who ever existed,

...luckily.

luckily???

If he was a nice chap, there'd be no pretext for conquering Iraq and nicking the oil.



ART NOT WAR

23rd January to 28th February 2003

Exhibition where artists from different countries join forces to speak out against the current drive towards another war
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn, London WC1

EARTH FIRST! WINTER MOOT

Friday 7th to Sunday 9th February 2003

EF! Winter Moot in Nottingham: discussions, tactics, gatherings, strategy, etc. - open to all who identify with EF! Network
07763 552627 • efmoot03@hotmail.com

BOURNEMOUTH DIE-IN

Saturday 8th February at 1pm

Meet in Bournemouth Square dressed in military uniform or white protective suits and gas masks
07743 537043 • www.alternativeanswer.co.uk/stopwar.htm

WORTHING AGAINST WAR

Saturday 8th February at 1pm

Anti-war protest at Montague Place, Worthing
contact: worthingagainstar@yahoo.co.uk

BRIGHTON: HANDS OFF IRAQ

Saturday 8th February from 9.30am to 1pm

Speakers, discussion, videos, banner-making, children's activities at Brighthelm Centre, North Road, Brighton

NORTHERN ANARCHIST NETWORK

Saturday 8th February from 10.30am to 5.30pm

Merci, Bridge Mill 5, 22a Beswick Street, Ancoats, Manchester
Further details from Harry at 01422 842 558

HACKNEY NOT 4 SALE PROTEST

Tuesday 11th February at 6pm

Haggerston Community Centre, 179 Haggerston Road, E8

BRIGHTON SOCIAL CENTRE

Opening from Tuesday 11th February

Co-operative social centre will be open as a café and bookshop
The Cowley Club, 12 London Road, Brighton

ANARCHIST READING CIRCLE

Every Tuesday from 8pm

Currently reading *The Female Eunuch* by Germaine Greer
contact: insurrectionist73@yahoo.co.uk

PERFORMANCE CLUB CABARET

Wednesday 12th February from 8.30pm

At The Kings Head, The Broadway, Crouch End, London N8
see <http://www.newagenda.org.uk/perclub.htm>

BRITISH HUMANIST ASSOCIATION

Wednesday 12th February at 6.30pm

The first ever Darwin Day lecture at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1 • £3 on the door
contact 020 7430 0908 • see www.humanism.org.uk

LANCASTER RE-SOURCE CENTRE

Wednesdays from 12 noon to 7pm

Check out new Re-Source Centre, 78a Penny Street, Lancaster
contact: 01524 383012

CACC PUBLIC MEETING

Friday 14th February at 6.15pm

Room 10-11, Friends Meeting House, Euston Road, London
Campaign Against Criminalising Communities meeting on how anti-terrorism affects migrant communities and refugees'
020 7250 1315 • www.cacc.org.uk

'MAKE LOVE NOT WAR' ACTIONS

14th to 18th February

Many 'make love not war' actions planned by the people from Faslane peace camp, including action against the Labour Party war conference in Glasgow
contact: 01436 820901 • faslaneppeacecamp@hotmail.com

DON'T ATTACK IRAQ

Saturday 15th February from 1pm

Demonstrate in central London

020 7053 2155/6 • www.stopwar.org.uk

NO WAR ON IRAQ

Saturday 15th February at 5pm

Gather at Green Park (near tube) heading for Piccadilly Circus for mass sit-down • called by ARROW and others
0845 458 2564 • www.j-n-v.org

WHEELS AGAINST WAR

Saturday 15th February from 12 noon

Meet under Waterloo Bridge on the South Bank, to cycle over to Embankment at 12.30 and join anti-war march through London
cmlondon.enrager.net/waw.htm • f15@cmlondon.enrager.net

I ♥ CUBA CABARET

Saturday 15th February from 7.45pm until 2am

Cuba Solidarity Campaign presents Mark Thomas, John Hegley, Merengada, plus much more at The Camden Centre, Kings Cross, London • tickets £16/£12 (adv) or £18/£14 (on door)
www.cuba-solidarity.org.uk • 020 7263 6452

MANCHESTER DISCUSSION GROUP

Tuesday 18th February at 8pm

Meets at Hare and Hounds, Shude Hill, near Arndale Centre

OIL AND GAS 'ROADSHOW'

Swansea: 19th February • Cardiff: 21st February

On these dates the 'Roadshow' (sponsored by BP, Esso, etc.) visits the university in the hope of recruiting bright young graduates. Could be a campaigning opportunity for some!
contact info@risingtide.org.uk or 01865 241 097

AYN HIP-HOP BENEFIT

Thursday 20th February from 7pm

With Souljahs, London I, Young DMC, UK DJ IQ and more, at the Underground Bar, Houghton Street (Holborn/Temple tube)
proceeds go to London Anarchist Youth Network
<http://www.anarchistyouth.net>

BOOKFAIR IN BELGIUM

Saturday 29th March from 10am to 8pm

The third international anarchist bookfair in Gent, Belgium, with stalls from Belgium, France, Germany, UK, Holland
see <http://www.anarchie.be/aboek>

USE YOUR LOAF SOCIAL CENTRE

ring hotline or call in to find out more ...

Use Your Loaf, 227 Deptford High Street, London SE8
Hotline: 07984 588807

LARC SOCIAL CENTRE

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

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