

REGIME CHANGE BEGINS AT HOME

We could do with some regime change right now. The British state is launching an illegal war which the majority of its subjects don't support. A bankrupt regime, yet still professing allegiance to democracy, Blair's government is less and less inclined to listen to the civilising opinions of its people – the very people it claims to derive its legitimacy from. As one banner announced on 15th February, the day of the biggest protest in this island's history, "we can find no evidence of any link between Tony Blair and the British people". The regime isn't listening to what we say.

But we aren't listening to it either, and why should we? We know it's lying. It's tried to fob us off with unsubstantiated dossiers, with a recycled PhD thesis, with the usual vague and histrionic threats about a 'new Hitler' in one of the most indebted states in the world (on a par with Rwanda and Sudan).

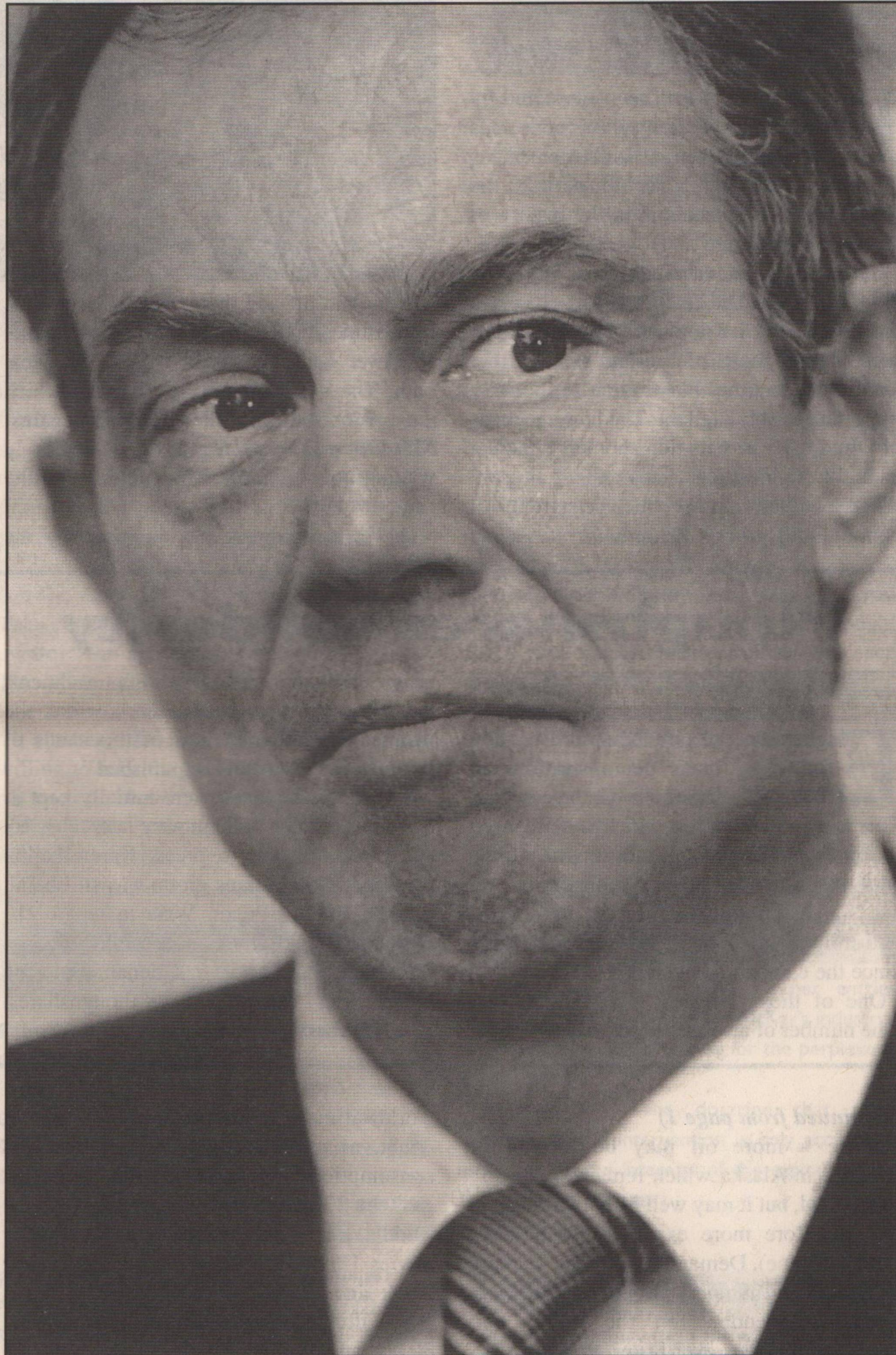
The British regime has lied about UNSCOM weapons inspectors and their initial ejection from Iraq. It's lied about Iraq failing to disarm after twelve years and omitted to mention how far UNSCOM believes it succeeded in fulfilling its original remit (a United Nations panel reported in March 1999 that "the bulk of Iraq's proscribed weapons programme has been eliminated"). So far the present weapons inspectors, in their own words, haven't found "an iota of concealed material", not a shred to corroborate the regime's dossier of 'evidence'.

Most of all, the regime has lied about why it's doing it. The reasons given for the war have been through a full New Labour spin cycle and still come out smelling fishy: weapons of mass destruction, a global threat, links with terrorism and finally human rights abuses. According to this latest justification, which conveniently overlooks British support for sanctions against Iraq that have killed upwards of a million people, the war will somehow be an act of charity, a grand gesture of militaristic largesse.

Much the same was said about the bombing of Kosovo in 1999 which, by happy coincidence, allowed the United States to establish a permanent military base called Camp Bondsteel in a region in which it had previously been funding feasibility studies for a billion-dollar oil pipeline.

For the USA, which it's estimated will need to import two thirds of its oil by 2020, regime change in Baghdad is a strategic necessity. With the leverage gained from control of Iraq's oil fields, it could flood the world market and drive down the price of oil. American and British oil companies stand to benefit. Russian, French and Chinese oil companies don't, hence in part the distribution of 'principled' opposition among the permanent members of the UN Security Council.

But oil isn't the principle motivation. All the indications are that Iraq is just the beginning. A brief glance at the website of the Project for a New American Century



reveals as much. The project, a think-tank that includes such senior hawks in the Bush administration as Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld and Paul Wolfowitz, describes itself as being dedicated to the "fundamental proposition" that "American leadership is good both for America and for the world".

Their stated aim isn't wider and deeper democracy, not real popular self-determination, but "global US pre-eminence". They lobbied the Clinton administration as far back as 1998 to launch a war on Iraq, something the British regime has so far failed to mention. But given the 'Special Relationship' between Washington and London, the regime knows it's certain to benefit from any consolidation in the United States Empire.

If it's a world of liberty, peace and plenty we want, then all murderous, corrupt and undemocratic regimes – that is to say all governments, whether they're American, British or Iraqi – must go. We've a lot to do, of course, before this can be realised. But we mustn't forget that, if these regimes feel compelled to lie to us, it's because they're scared.

For now we must build on the strength of public opposition and do all we can to frustrate the war effort at home. We must use every means available to us and remember our greatest strength, which is our numbers. Head for the military bases and take to the streets.

Anton Pawluk

A STARK CHOICE

The oil crisis of the 1970s shook the world and signalled the end of both the boom which followed World War Two and the relative calm in the class war. A fairly complacent capitalist economic system was shaken into urgent action on all fronts. The second oil crisis of the early 1990s merely amplified capital's need to act. Both crises caused major recessions that contributed to serious social upheaval as workers and the landless stood up to the capitalist system and variations of it. Well, you ain't seen nothing yet! Welcome to the 21st Century Energy Wars. They'll go on and on.

Capitalism has been preparing for the coming crisis. Aided by the decline and demise of the former Soviet Union, its intervention in the Middle East multiplied, both covertly and openly. As a result it was able to intervene much more decisively in the crisis of the early 1990s, caused by Iraq's invasion of the Kuwaiti kingdom, by physically invading Iraq and displaying to the world its military capability and power. Ten years on, US-led western capitalism's power has increased further, and little attempt is made to mask its naked greed and intentions – worldwide economic, military and political domination.

Yet despite its power, western capitalism remains vulnerable, as the recession we are now entering demonstrates. One of its Achilles' heels, despite its attempts to control events in the Middle East, remains its reliance on oil as a prime energy source. In mid-January, US oil stocks were at a 27-year low, whilst the cost of a barrel of oil was at a two year high of \$32. The current crisis in Venezuela, resulting from covert attempts by the US to regain control of the oil there, is largely to blame for this, as it's resulted in a huge drop in Venezuela's oil production. Venezuela, of course, is where the US currently obtains much of its oil. The ongoing war against Iraq will not help matters. But this is only the tip of the iceberg, as recent figures released by BP show.

The 2001 annual review of the petroleum market by BP, the environmentally unfriendly corporate giant, shows that proven oil reserves will only last around forty years at present production rates. Of those reserves, in 2001, 65.3% were in the Middle East (the Saudis had 25%, the Iraqis 11%), with a mere 6.1% in North America and 1.8% in Europe. Of oil production in 2001, the Middle East produced 30% (Iraq only 3.3%), North America 18.3% and Europe 9%. In theory, Britain's oil reserves could run out in five years, and the US's in ten years at current production rates.

Clearly these figures are not an exact
(continued on page 2)

**NO WAR
BUT THE CLASS WAR**

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

The word anarchy is used in several different senses. I use it in the sense of *Oxford English Dictionary* definition 1b: "A theoretical social state in which there is no governing person or body of persons, but each individual has absolute liberty (without implication of disorder)".

As a teenager, I was always ready to argue that anarchy was feasible, against anyone who denied it. Sixty years later I refuse to be drawn into arguments about whether it is feasible or not. The case cannot be proved incontrovertibly, and anyway, that is not what anarchism is about.

I first heard of anarchy as the final stage in the Marxist-Leninist programme of social progress (where anarchy is called communism). I was a member of the Young Communist League for four weeks, but I was always doubtful about the earlier part of the programme, seizing power and holding on to it for as long as it takes for people to become so interdependent that the state withers away. I was told that I wanted communism without having the revolution, but as I saw it (and still see it), I thought the revolution should start in the direction of anarchy, not in the precisely opposite direction.

The basis of anarchism is a belief about what society is for. As Charlotte Wilson put it, pedantically avoiding ambiguous words like freedom, the "true purpose" of society "is to give every member of it the largest possible opportunities in life". A society is "good in proportion as it answers ... its true purpose, and bad in proportion as it departs from that purpose, and, instead of enlarging the lives of individuals composing it, crushes and narrows them".

In Charlotte Wilson's terminology, anarchy is a society in which "opportunities in life" are unlimited. Anarchism strives towards such a society without worrying whether it is feasible or not. Our aim is for every individual to have "the largest possible" opportunities in life.

Donald Room

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 the address below.

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Anarchists in Serbia expect trouble in the wake of the killing of PM Djindjic

Death of a mobster

Prime minister Zoran Djindjic was assassinated on 12th March. Although most people in the West knew him as the man who took over from ousted dictator Slobodan Milosevic in 2000, anarchists in Serbia have consistently pointed out his links to organised crime and criticised his fawning attitude to the European Union and NATO. This is a response to the assassination from the Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative (A-SI) in Belgrade.

If Zoran Djindjic had been murdered by the infuriated working class, conscious of the genuine target and root of its discontent, his death would perhaps be remembered as substantial in the history of human civilisation.

But Djindjic, a criminal, was killed by other criminals. His death was part of a clash that isn't ours. It's a clash between groups who already hold power and control, but want more. In times like these it's especially important to stay vigilant. The consequences of Djindjic's assassination shouldn't distract us in the slightest for what's really going on.

The so-called reforms which he started will continue regardless. Thousands of people



will be laid off and their lives will continue to be ruined by the privatisation programme. Whoever takes over will follow the same path. The small amount of freedom which was gained during the rebellion against Milosevic will be taken away. We're nervously waiting now for further encounters with the forces of law.

The state of emergency imposed by the

state in the wake of the assassination, along with frightening pronouncements from the Ministry of Labour, both serve to confirm our fears. The assassination is going to be used as the pretence for repression of all dissident voices and attempts at organising resistance.

Members of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative appeal to the exploited in Serbia to organise themselves into strong revolutionary organisations in order to get rid of the essential problem once and for all. This is the economic system of exploitation – capitalism and the state. Only when these have been abolished will the words freedom, equality and solidarity regain their proper meaning.

The Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative refuses the orders of the Ministry of Labour, continues its normal activities and expresses solidarity with all those who aren't willing to sacrifice their goals just because of the death of a mobster. A different war is possible: the class war.

Anarho-Sindikalisticka Inicijativa

The A-SI have received a number of threats in the last week. Contact them at info@inicijativa.org

Ploughshares solidarity

Ireland

Eighteen people are facing prosecution following mass demonstrations at Shannon airport in County Clare. This is a civilian airport which is being used to ferry American troops and supplies to the Middle East. The latest demonstration, on 1st March, brought to fifty the number of anti-militarists who have been arrested there since the campaign began last October.

One of those arrested, Rab Fulton, said "the number of arrests, the seriousness of the

charges brought and the levels of punishments handed out are increasing. Meanwhile, the planned execution of tens of thousands of Iraqis goes completely unpunished."

Four of the eighteen were initially kept in custody, but three of them were later released. As *Freedom* went to press, Karen Fallon from the Ploughshares group was still being held in Limerick Prison. Write to her c/o 210 Le Fanu Road, Ballyfermot, Dublin 10.

Messages of support and donations to the defence fund can be sent c/o Ploughshares, 134 Phibsborough Road, Dublin 7

(continued from page 1)

science – more oil may be found, for instance in Alaska which remains relatively untouched, but it may well be harder to get at and therefore more expensive to produce (and consume). Demand for oil may increase as ever larger numbers of people worldwide become dependent on the motor car, depleting reserves ever faster. Presently, the US and Europe use up far more oil resources than the rest of the world put together. What is clear is that, in the coming years, the United States and Europe will come to rely increasingly on oil reserves which are not theirs. These are largely situated in the Middle East. So it's no surprise that the US is exerting itself to ever greater lengths on the economic and political situation in the Middle East. Or to put it more bluntly it's taking measures to control those Middle Eastern states that don't already do its bidding. Hence war on Iraq (but not Saudi Arabia), war on 'terror', and war on anyone or any ideology that opposes the domination of western capitalism.

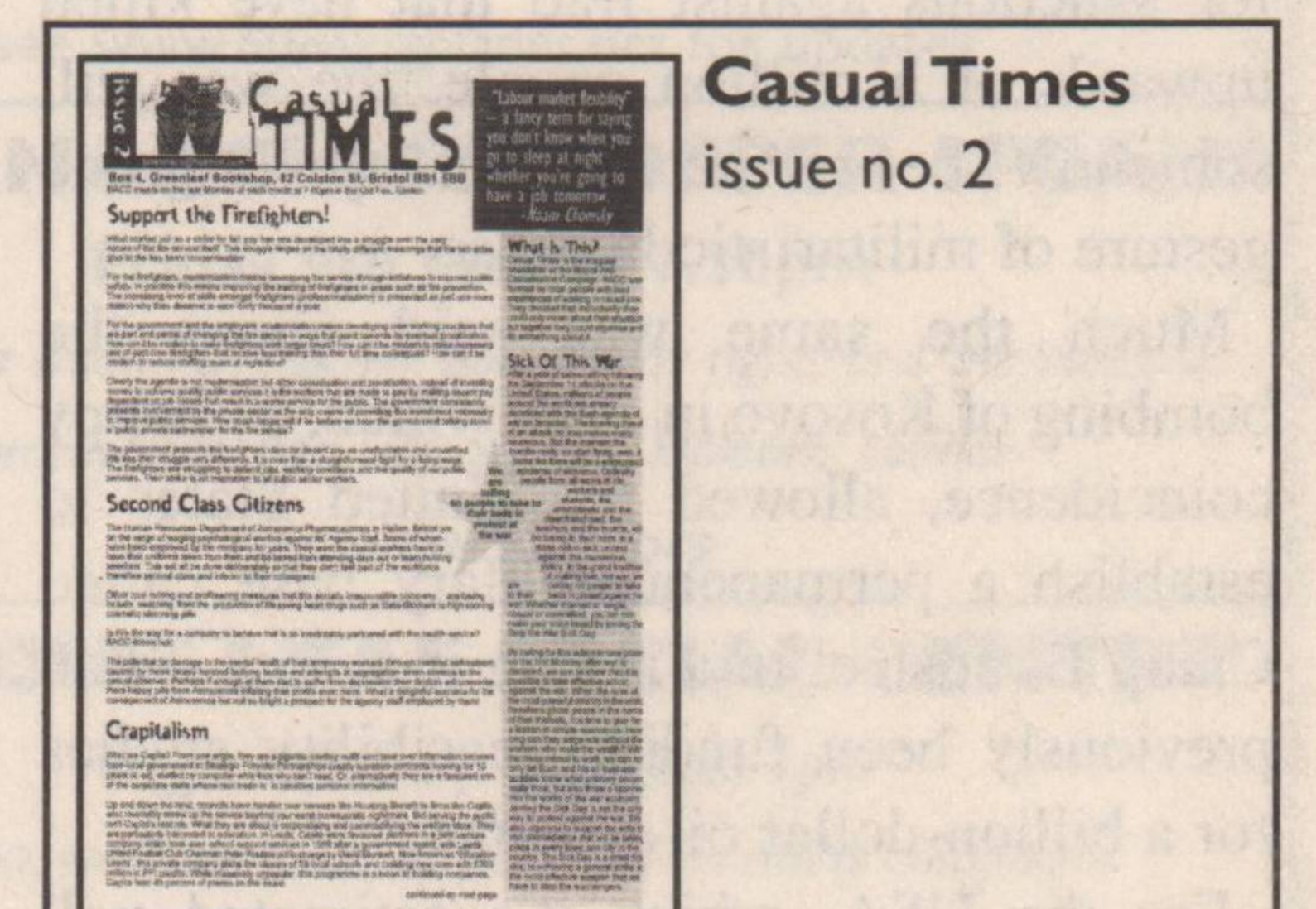
It gets worse for those of us who want a world free from war and terror. Probably the most effective current substitute for oil in many applications, such as home heating, power generation and vehicle use, is natural gas. But there is only approximately eighty years' proven supply of natural gas in the

world, at current production rates. Without doubt, as problems with oil escalate, gas consumption will increase. Where is this gas? In 2001, of proven gas reserves, the Middle East held 36.1%, and the former Soviet Union 36.2%, with Europe having 3.1% and North America 4.9%. Of gas production in 2001, North America produced 30.9% and Europe 11.9%. Once again the two largest consumers of energy resources can be seen to be running down their own stocks fast. So it's no surprise that they're seeking to influence and control everyone else's. No surprise either that it is so important to the United States and Britain to bring Russia on board, to the extent that the pay-off will be to allow Russia a free hand to carry on with all sorts of atrocities in its spheres of influence. State terror, committed by a friendly or useful state, is okay. Israel and Turkey are other obvious examples. At the same time, you can be sure that any alternative energy sources developed will be retained under the control of the same corporate giants dominating the capitalist system. Profits come first at all costs.

So where does this leave the vast majority of us, the world's workers and landless? The war on Iraq may last another year or five, but the energy wars will go on and on, and we'll be the ones who pay for it over and over again – recessions, inflation, instability, famine,

poverty, disease, environmental destruction and all the other consequences of capitalism. The choice between capitalism and a world of peace, love, plenty and freedom was never starker.

M.H.



This is the irregular newsletter of the Bristol Anti-Casualisation Campaign (BACC), a group of people with bad experiences of casual work who have decided to organise and do something about it.

It contains local and national news, a report on the government's most-favoured IT firm, Crapita (busy taking over housing benefit everywhere) and a guide to organising at work. Available for stamps from Box 4, Greenleaf Bookshop, 82 Colston Street, Bristol BS1 5BB. BACC meet on the last Monday of every month at 7pm in the Old Fox in Easton.

Stop the killing machine



Getting ready to murder the people of Iraq – an American B52 bomber at RAF Fairford on 14th March

They can run but they can't hide. Britain's warmongers may be avoiding public contact whenever possible, and they're certainly doing their best to ignore public opinion. But all over the country their offices and MPs' surgeries, their meetings and chummy get-togethers with cronies from the oil and armaments' industries, are receiving unwelcome visitors as anti-war protesters stay on their case.

Esso, which is owned by ExxonMobil, has

been a recent and much-visited target. Blair can't move outside Number 10 without protesters tracking his every move. On 11th March some thirty people turned out in London at 8am to look for Geoff Hoon, Secretary of State for Defence and Death. He'd been expected as the star-turn at a warfest entitled 'Transforming Defence in the 21st Century – Opportunities and Constraints' – we kid you not.

Jointly organised by *Jane's Defence Weekly*,

a sort of catalogue of weaponry, this event gathered together arms companies, military types and dodgy politicians from all the mainstream parties. A protest outside, called by Disobedience Against War, was met by absurd numbers of cops. Hoon, sadly, decided not to come until later in the day. And who can blame him?

M.H.

For more events see www.disobedience.org.uk and www.schnews.org.uk

• Coming soon: your chance to meet David Blunkett, Home Secretary, asylum-hater and architect of Britain's biggest ever prison population. One of Blair's most loyal and important henchman will be giving the annual lecture to the Parole Board for England and Wales on Tuesday 8th April at 6pm in the Gladstone Library, 1 Whitehall Place, Westminster SW1 2HD. There will be an evening reception from 6.45pm, all welcome.

The weekend of 5th and 6th April sees protest, nonviolent action and civil disobedience at military bases throughout the UK. Each event is organised on an autonomous basis, so every organiser and organising group might have a different view on the weekend. Ippy from the d10 group, which is arranging an action at Northwood on 6th April, says: "This land is our land, and as good custodians we should never allow it to be used for purposes which lead to the destruction of the environment. For those of us here in Britain who both oppose war and want to experience a peaceful future that requires a more harmonious and respectful relationship with our environment, we want to send a message to the military and their masters. For the common good and the common people: reclaim the bases!"

• Devonport

Weapons inspection on Saturday 5th April
Devonport is the largest naval base in western Europe and the home port of many Royal Navy ships currently deployed in the Gulf. Contact Mat on 01752 227 033

• Fairford, Gloucestershire

Weapon's inspection on Sunday 6th April
The American airforce base is the biggest bomber base in Europe, and the only launch pad in Britain for direct air raids on Iraq. This action has been organised by Gloucestershire Weapons Inspectors. For more information visit www.gwi.org.uk

• Fylingdales, North Yorkshire

We don't need star wars Saturday 5th April
This US Space Command base is an early warning station for ballistic missiles aimed at the United States. This action has been organised by the Free Fylingdales Network. See www.freefylingdalesnetwork.co.uk. Email neil_bye@hotmail.com or call 01287 660067

• Lakenheath, Suffolk

Celebrate the Footpaths! Sunday 13th April

RECLAIM THE BASES



A Scarborough student protests against the war on 6th March. The day saw walk-outs at schools around the country. Several students were excluded from lessons in revenge.

There are about thirty nuclear weapons deployed at this American base. The action has been organised by the Lakenheath Action Group. For more information visit www.lakenheathaction.org

• Northwood, Middlesex

Blockade, de-fence & autonomous actions Sunday 6th April (training Saturday 5th April)
Northwood is the British Permanent Joint Forces Headquarters, the heart of British military planning. The action has been organised by the d10 group, Voices in the Wilderness and ARROW. For more information visit www.thed10group.org.uk, www.viwuk.freeseve.co.uk or www.j-n-v.org

• St Athans, South Wales

Weapons Inspection on Sunday 6th April
This Glamorgan base is the largest station owned by the RAF, and is home to its only aircraft maintenance unit too. This action has been organised by Cardiff Anarchist Network and International Citizens Weapons

inspectors. For more information visit www.geocities.com/bozavine/can or www.icwi.org

• Stafford

Vigil, followed by march, Saturday 5th April (vigil starts at 12 noon in Stafford Market)
The RAF Tactical Supply Wing is based here. Over 100 men and women have gone from RAF Stafford to the Gulf to maintain the battlefield helicopter force. They oversee fuel supply, storage and delivery, making the base an integral part of the deployments being made by all three forces. Stafford is also the major equipment supply depot, and provides transport assistance for unit moves and the handling of large or abnormal loads. This action has been organised by Stafford Peace Council. For more information call 0845 3303877 or 07960 030038

General contacts for Reclaim the Bases: email reclaimthebases.org.uk or call 07887-585721

STOP THE CITY

Disobedience Against War are calling for street-blocking actions to bring London to a standstill the day after the war begins.

Capitalist power resides in the bosses' control of our labour power and in their control of the state. Our power resides in our rejection of work and in the streets where we live and congregate. In recent history, direct action has focused on disrupting the motions of everyday life, in Reclaim the Streets parties, the fuel protests, anti-roads campaigns, Mayday events ...

By confronting power in the streets we expose the vulnerability of capitalism and the potential we possess of changing our future by bringing this system of death and misery to a halt. Blocking roads in and out of commercial centres, airports, military bases and fuel depots can have a massive and strategic effect on the economy and the war effort. It's also something we can do with a few mates and a bit of imagination, or en masse with banners and music. We call for street-blocking actions the day after war starts, to physically confront and disrupt the capitalist economy. We hope this tactic spreads.

Visit www.disobedience.org.uk

In London, the first working day after war starts: meet at Edgware Road tube, 7am and at Old Street tube, 5pm. For demonstrations elsewhere check out www.schnews.org.uk.

Going on a demo? Take copies of Freedom to sell. Call 020 7247 9249 and tell us how many you need.

Why democracy is undemocratic

One of the strangest arguments against anarchist organisation is that it's 'undemocratic', an argument usually associated with Trotskyists. As this crops up with sad frequency it's worthwhile discussing the accusation in detail, says Iain McKay

Anarchists stand for federations of self-managed groups. Members of these organisations would decide policy directly, at open meetings. Anyone delegated by a group to carry out specified tasks or to attend federal meetings would be given a strict and binding mandate.

Failure to implement this would lead to the delegate's instant replacement, so ensuring that power would remain in the hands of all, with decisions flowing from the bottom up. Anyone put in a position of responsibility would be held accountable by the members of the group, and any attempt to take power away from the grassroots would therefore be stopped.

Forms of organisation like this don't spring from the brains of a few anarchist thinkers, independent of working class struggle. The notion of strict and accountable mandates appeared in the works of Bakunin and Proudhon after both became active in working class struggle.

Proudhon raised the idea during the 1848 revolution, while Bakunin talked about it after he became active in the struggles of the International Working Men's Association (as it was then called) in Switzerland. So these ideas were developed within the class struggle itself, often spontaneously. Both the Paris Commune and the Russian Soviets implemented such a system of imperative mandates.

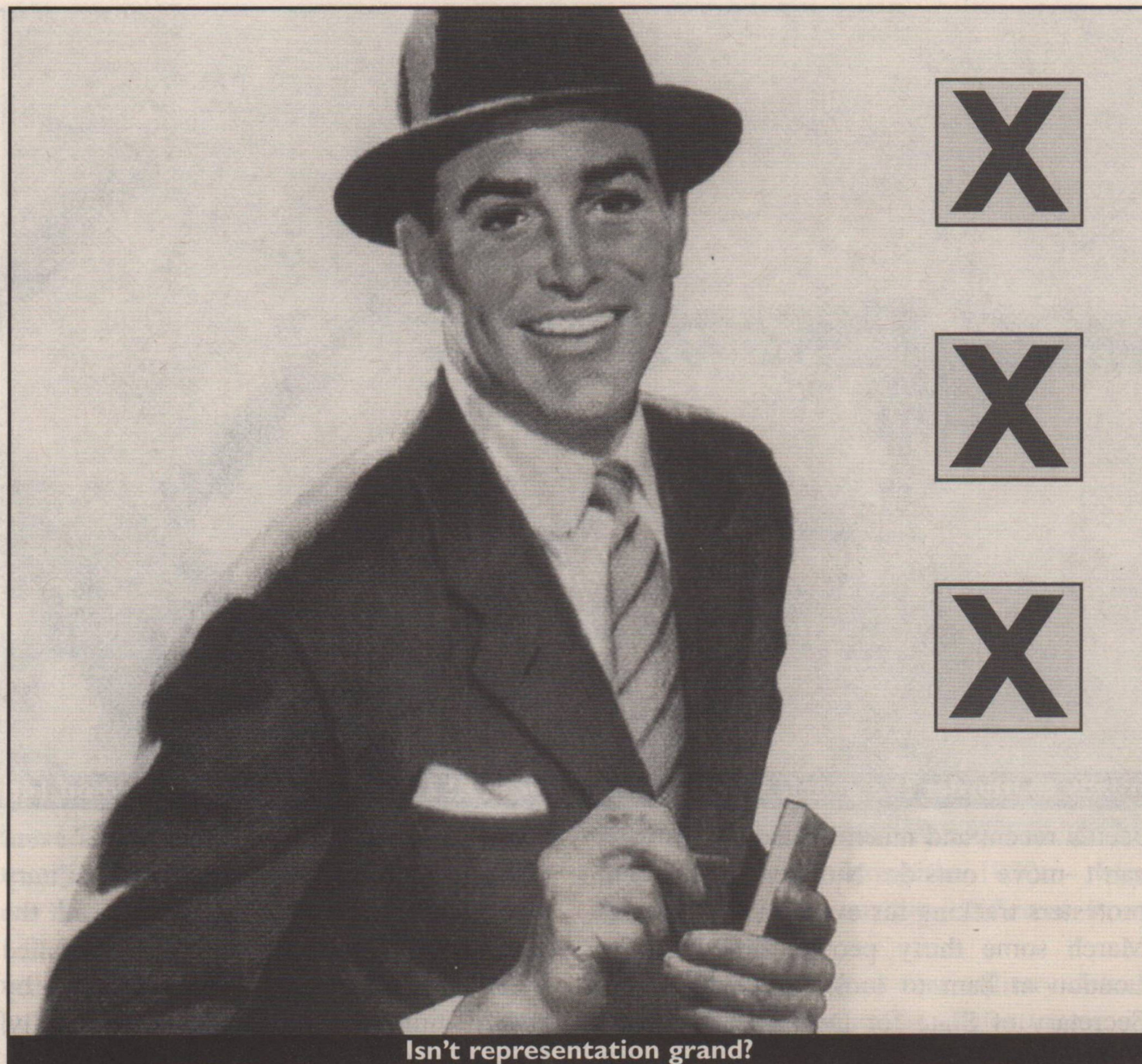
Anarchists have long argued that we should organise in ways that prefigure the kind of society we want. We often call this 'building the new world in the shell of the old'. In anarchist theory, the link between capitalism and a future libertarian socialist society is the class struggle. We start to build the structures of a free society when we fight against capitalism.

In support of our arguments we point to trade unions, factory committees, workers' councils, collectives, community assemblies and other popular organisations which have been created during numerous revolts and revolutions. These have later formed the basis for post-revolutionary working class management of society, before it's been undermined or destroyed by bourgeois or so-called workers' states alike.

Organising today

So the way we organise today is important to anarchists. We argue that freedom itself is the only school where freedom can be learned. We only become capable of managing society by making our own decisions and directly managing our own struggles and organisations. This is why we stress the need to organise our struggles against oppression and exploitation in an open, directly democratic fashion. Self-management today is the foundation for the self-managed socialist society of tomorrow.

But not everyone agrees. Some people say that anarchism (i.e. self-management) is 'undemocratic'. They argue that, while anarchist groups are directly democratic in theory, a small number of leaders still call the shots in practice. These leaders, they say, aren't accountable. Leadership roles are actually filled by those with the most time, charisma and experience. Because not all activists go to all activist meetings, it's



Isn't representation grand?

argued, a lot of decisions are made in meetings that only a few can attend.

A hierarchy exists, the critics of anarchism claim, but one that's masked by fine-sounding rhetoric. In fact it's worse still because there's no structure for changing this hidden leadership. Wouldn't it, they ask, be more democratic if some people were elected to meet regularly and do essential work? These could then be held accountable to general meetings later on.

Anarchists are always surprised by these arguments. The proposed 'democratic' solution sounds familiar, and with good reason – it is. It's what is commonly known as representative democracy, a basic principle of liberal bourgeois ideology. It seems strange that self-proclaimed socialists should try to reproduce one of the principles of capitalist politics in their anti-capitalist movements. But they do.

Surely, we might ask our critics, the influence of people with more time, charisma and experience would be the same or worse in a representative democracy (where the primary aim is to select a leader rather than to manage affairs)? So why is only direct democracy called 'undemocratic'? The key difference between the two types of organisation actually suggests the opposite: voters don't get to question their representatives while decisions are actually being made. They get left, instead, with a *fait accompli*. So isn't it representative democracy that's at fault?

As for the criticism that, under a direct democracy, decisions wouldn't be made by the whole group, the proposed solution – representation – guarantees that this is what will happen. The role of the group would be reduced to merely picking leaders to take decisions on the group's behalf. And in practice the leaders may not even have been elected by a majority of group members. Tony Blair was voted for by a quarter of the UK population. At the moment he is clearly ignoring the wishes of the majority with his planned attack on Iraq. Is this really more 'democratic' than self-management? It sounds more like autocracy than democracy of any form.

Defenders of bourgeois politics reply that leaders should be held accountable more often. But this doesn't really help their argument. After all, how can group members

hold their elected representatives accountable unless they meet to evaluate their leaders' decisions? And if they meet to do that, why can't they make the decisions themselves and mandate delegates to carry them out who can be subject to instant recall?

If people are deemed incapable of making their own decisions directly, we might also ask how they can be thought capable of evaluating their leaders' decisions. People who can pick their own bosses are mature enough to do without bosses entirely.

The self-proclaimed democrats are wrong. Anarchism isn't undemocratic. It's their precious democracy that is. A few leaders are empowered at the expense of the rest. The majority – the electors – have just one job. They get to pick who will tell them what to do until the next election. The arguments which are usually put against direct democracy are far more applicable to representative democracy. They work against a hierarchical system much better than they do against a non-hierarchical one.

Popular assemblies

Of course, all of this is an old debate. During the American and French revolutions, self-managed popular assemblies were created in

many towns and cities. The wealthy were horrified by this participation by the many in the affairs of society. They consistently favoured representative democracy over direct democracy and delegates, because they wanted to reduce participation and ensure minority class rule. Today in Argentina politicians are again calling popular assemblies 'undemocratic'.

It's strange to see self-proclaimed socialists advocate a structure that's explicitly designed to restrict mass working class participation in social decision-making. But this is what Trotskyists do, and perhaps it isn't a coincidence after all. The aim of Trotskyism is for the party to seize power on behalf of the masses.

The idea that the working class could actually run society itself is dismissed. As Lenin said, "the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be exercised through an organisation embracing the whole of the class, because in all capitalist countries ... the proletariat is still so divided, so degraded and so corrupted in parts ... that an organisation taking in the whole proletariat cannot directly exercise proletarian dictatorship. It can be exercised only by a vanguard, for the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be exercised by a mass proletarian organisation."

Trotsky held to this Bolshevik truism until his death. In the words of the Platform of the Opposition, "the Leninist principle, inviolable for every Bolshevik, [is] that the dictatorship of the proletariat is and can be realised only through the dictatorship of the party."

He repeatedly argued in favour of party dictatorship over the working class. "The very same masses are at different times inspired by different moods and objectives," he argued in 1939. "It is just for this reason that a centralised organisation of the vanguard is indispensable." Yet despite all this his followers have consistently called anarchists 'undemocratic' for advocating and implementing participatory decision-making in the revolutionary struggle! Meanwhile, and with equal consistency, they've labelled Trotsky and his ideas 'democratic'.

If working class people are deemed incapable of running the future socialist society directly, it's no surprise that Trotskyists don't support self-management in the struggle today, let alone within their own parties. They, no less than the bourgeoisie, want to retain power in the hands of a few – themselves.

Iain McKay

THE ANARCHIST PRESS: WHAT'S IT FOR?

A discussion meeting hosted by *Freedom* and *Black Flag* will be held at 7.30pm on Tuesday 15th April at the London Activist Resource Centre (LARC), 62 Fieldgate Street, London E1 (Aldgate East/Whitechapel tube)

As the anarchist movement in this country has developed over the last few years, we've asked ourselves questions about how we operate, what we want and how we get there. *Black Flag* and *Freedom* have both discussed the way in which these questions relate to the publications we put out. But we also want input from the wider movement.

Is there still any point in producing papers and magazines? How do we sustain them? How can publications which aren't produced by the national organisations – the Anarchist Federation, Solidarity Federation, Class War – reflect a diverse movement, be

accountable and stay open to new ideas and enthusiasm, all at the same time?

Are papers still better for getting ideas and news out than email lists and websites? Are magazines a useful way of developing coherent discussion?

We invite anyone who's interested in the anarchist press to come and discuss these and other issues.

For more information you can either email FreedomCopy@aol.com or join the *Freedom* email discussion list by sending an empty mail to FreedomAnarchistFortnightly-subscribe@yahoo.com

Timely look at technology's role

Cyberpunk and Cyberculture

by Dani Cavallaro

Athlone, £16.99

Dani Cavallaro's book is subtitled *Science Fiction and the work of William Gibson*. But it's much more than an analysis of Gibson's work. Instead Cavallaro uses Gibson as a starting point for exploring the intersection of postmodern philosophy, science and technology. Specifically, he examines how the science fiction genre of cyberpunk addresses virtual technology, technology and mythology, the body, gender and sexuality, the city and, finally, the overarching theme of the Gothic.

The term 'cyberpunk' refers to a genre of science fiction writing that came into being around the time of the publication in 1984 of *Neuromancer*, Gibson's first major novel. This work also coined the term 'cyberspace', which Gibson defined as a 'consensual hallucination'.

Cyberpunk differs from previous science fiction in that its subjects aren't faraway worlds, but the fantastic realities of the world we live in now. Despite the name, readers shouldn't expect to find much on punk itself in *Cyberpunk and Cyberculture*, as Cavallaro only briefly and incompletely touches on the cyberpunk's actual relation to punk.

According to Cavallaro, cyberpunk (like postmodernism) is a "radical rejection of Enlightenment ethos". It combines "in often baffling ways the rational and the irrational,



the new and the old, the mind and the body, by integrating the hyper-efficient structures of high technology with the anarchy of street subcultures".

Postmodernism rejects rigid absolutes and universal truths, and Cavallaro proceeds from this idea to show how the oppositions

listed above aren't clearly separated but instead leak, bleed and blur into one another. Following the book's content, Cavallaro's style isn't to argue definitely for one position or the other, but to show both the (potentially) liberating and enslaving possibilities of technology.

Stylistically, it's dominated by citation and quotation, primarily from Gibson's work but also drawing on a wide range of cyberpunk fiction, pop culture, film and more theoretical writings.

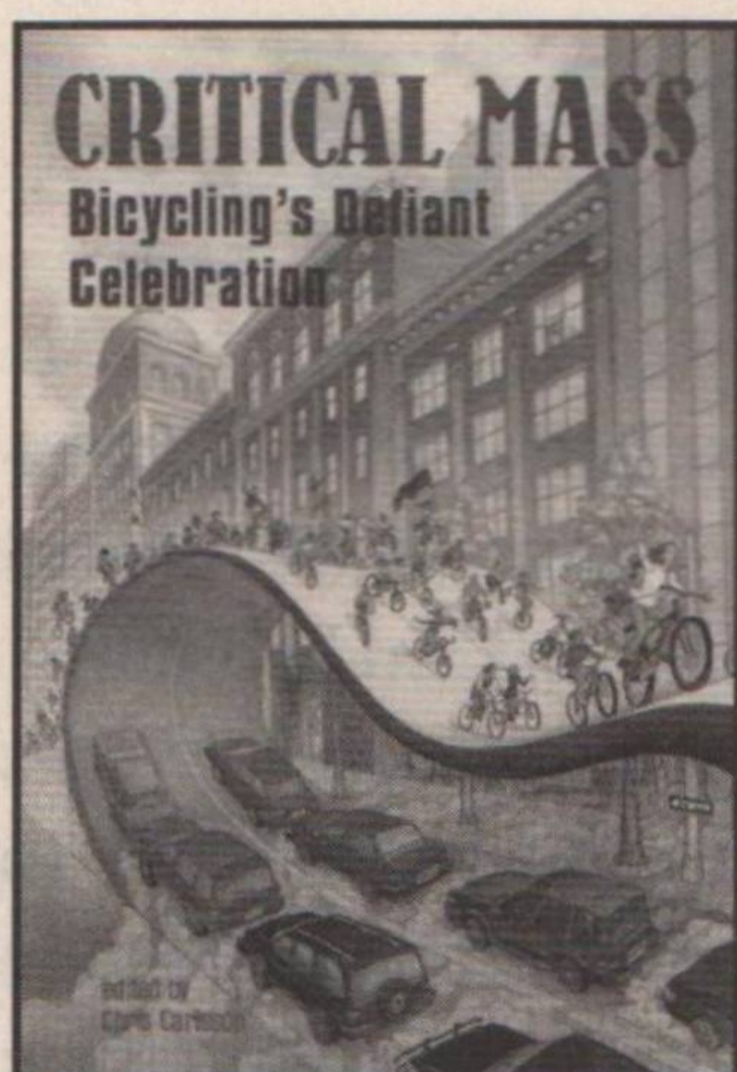
Although Cavallaro seems to present both sides of the debate over technology, a larger critique of the connection between technology and the concepts of postmodernism remains absent. Critics like the primitivist John Zerzan have argued that, by accepting the neutrality of technology, postmodernism actually supports the advance of technology and strengthens its control over us. Cavallaro fails to address this crucial point, because he only considers postmodernism and technology as separate entities in relation to one another, not as part of a self-reinforcing system.

This is a book for those who have read works of cyberpunk and Gibson, but also for those who want a general introduction to the genre. Cavallaro does a commendable job of explaining the concepts of postmodernism, though readers with no experience of the jargon and structure of academic writing on it may find parts of the book frustrating.

Over all, *Cyberpunk and Cyberculture* is a timely look at the increasing role of technology in our society, when the boundaries between what we used to consider science fiction and the reality of the present are rapidly disintegrating.

bea

Cyberpunk and Cyberculture is available from Freedom Press at a reduced price of £8 (post free in the UK, add £1.20 elsewhere).



Critical Mass
edited by Chris
Carlsson
AK Press, £12

It says a lot about modern life that a group of people getting together once a month and cycling round their city should attract such interest. This collection of analyses, experiences, critiques and advice is a record of a movement that started in San Francisco in 1992 and spread all over the world in the next decade.

A Critical Mass is a uniquely visible form of anarchy, disorganised but co-operative. It's not just a protest in support of cyclists' rights or to highlight the effects of car culture on our lives and the environment. It's also an experiment in freedom.

"Critical Mass is not a protest but a demonstration, in the simplest sense of the word. It is a demonstration of social space, the rarest bird in America. It works, because people automatically feel it's right, though many of us have never before experienced free public space. Critical Mass cuts through the noise and inertia of the American transportation system and teaches us to carve a wedge of our city for ourselves. It feeds us a reality we use to create a vision."

Like many demonstrations, the exact meaning of a Critical Mass is open to interpretation. Some people criticise it precisely because of this unfocused approach, and believe the moment should become more visibly politicised. But others value the open, fluid nature of its comment on the alienation of urban culture.

There's been a temptation to use Critical

Mass as just another form of protest, with rides against oil companies and warmongering. London recently saw a 'Pedal for Peace' against the attack on Iraq. But surely the greatest possible use of this discovery is somehow to develop it into a wider context.

The truly inspiring passages of this book can also be the most frustrating. In his contribution, Michael Klett describes Critical Mass as a "uniquely democratic experiment". It certainly is that, but what can we do now with its results?

James Holland

Critical Mass is available from Freedom Press, price £12 (post free in the UK, add £1.80 elsewhere)



Basic Bakunin
(new edition)
Anarchist Federation
£1

Bloody brilliant! This pamphlet does a remarkable job of summarising the basic ideas of Mikhail Bakunin, the founder of revolutionary anarchism. It covers his analysis of modern class society, the state, bourgeois democracy and Marxism. On every count, Bakunin has been vindicated by later experience. This edition also contains a new section on Bakunin's views on religion. Moreover, it gives a good account of his ideas on how to create an anarchist society and what that society could look like.

Bakunin's ideas on revolutionary unionism and the role of the anarchist organisation are explained extremely well in a short space. This explanation exposes the Marxist claims that Bakunin rejected collective class

struggle and organisation for the nonsense they are. As an added bonus, *Basic Bakunin* explains what Bakunin meant by the phrase 'invisible dictatorship'. Rather than signify any desire for personal dictatorship, as the Marxists claim, he simply used a bad expression to signify the way an anarchist group would work within the class struggle, by the natural influence of its members arguing the anarchist case within working class organisations.

Of course the pamphlet isn't perfect. For example, the references to Militant Tendency should have been revised in the light of that group's split in the 1990s. There should have been more emphasis on the fact that

Bakunin's vision of revolution predicted key aspects of both the Paris Commune and the Russian Soviets. And it would have been nice for the pamphlet to explain why the Anarchist Federation rejects Bakunin's syndicalist ideas on trade unions. But these are minor points. The pamphlet is great and well worth a quid.

Iain McKay

Basic Bakunin is available from Freedom Press, price £1 (add 20p postage and packing in the UK, 50p elsewhere)

Books by post from Freedom Press
84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX
enclosing cheque/PO with order

— OBITUARY —

Brian Behan and John Lawrence

Brian Behan and John Lawrence both died at the end of last year, John aged 87 and Brian aged 75. Both of them had a keen sense of justice which led them first into the Marxist movement and then, naturally pissed off with the confrontation tactics of the Marxists, to anarchism.

They first met in prison, following the St Pancras rent strike. Brian was on strike from the South Bank site and John was involved in the rent strike. The South Bank workers marched to St Pancras to show their support. Both men ended up in jail.

In the 1960s they formed the London Mayday Committee, based on mutualist ideas. It was also a genuine syndicalist organisation, with no officials and no subscriptions, that felt strong enough to call strikes with a deal of success. The Mayday bank holiday is a direct result of this agitation.

Blacklisted in the building trade, Brian went to university instead. He later became a lecturer in a printing college. After John was

hounded out of the NATSOPA trade union by the leadership, he moved with Brian to Brighton.

John had the rare gift of talking, speaking and writing exactly the same way. This made him an impressive speaker and leafleteer. Brian was quite the opposite, his style theatrical, loud and passionate, but he too was extremely effective. One of his contemporaries said, "our plan was to keep our heads down for two or three days, then Brian would speak in the canteen. Nine times out of ten we would be on strike".

In the Mayday Committee we held debates and campaigns on issues as diverse as the abolition of work, the census and restoring Mayday as a workers' day. This was backed up by public meetings and the soapbox, in pubs and in the street. It was in this hothouse of ideas and action that many of us received our education, and Brian and John were our teachers.

Peter Gold

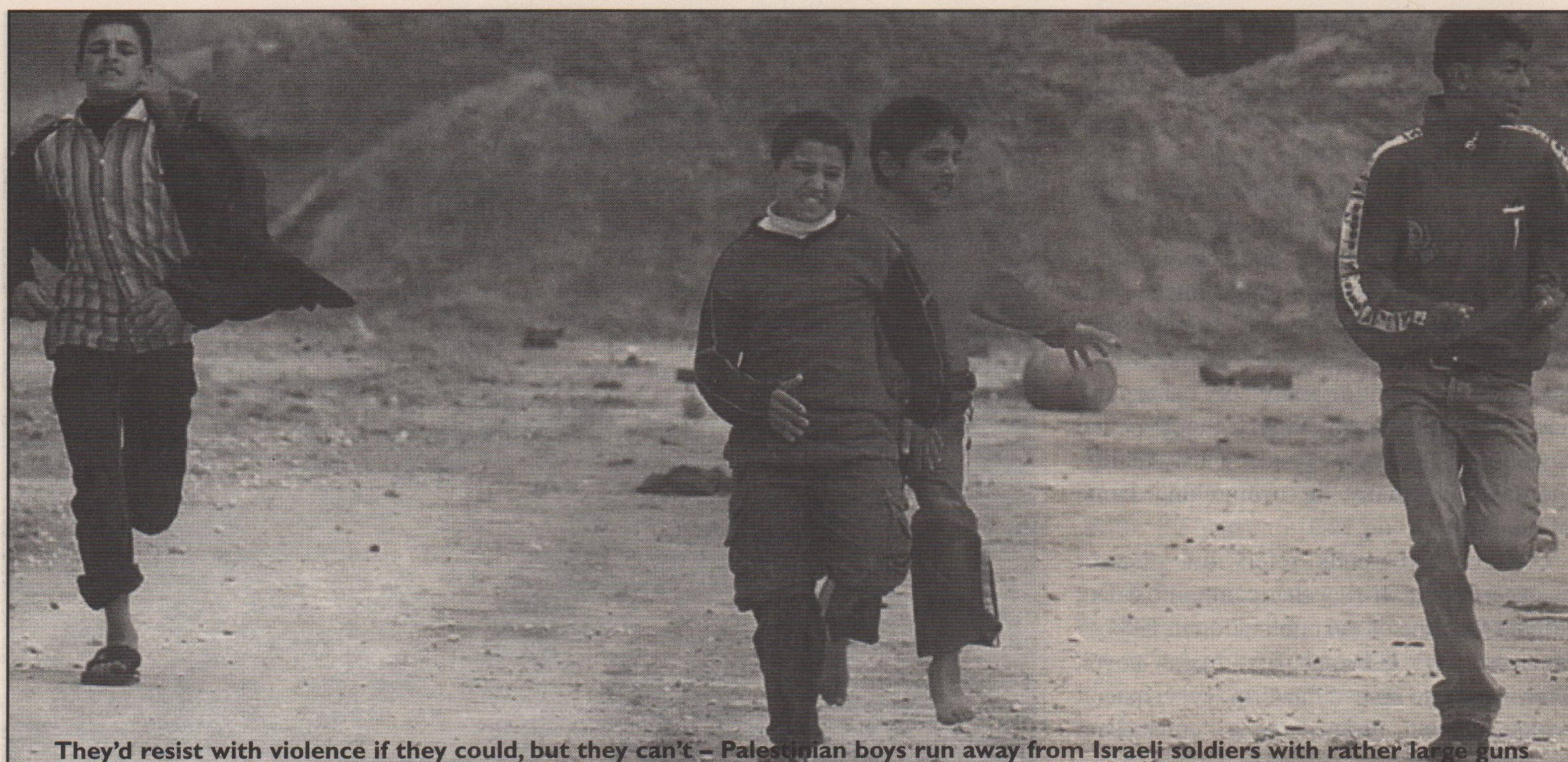
The illusion of non-violence

Ideally all human conflicts would be solved through non-violent, rational debate between open-minded people. There are, however, few situations where conflicts of material self-interest between groups have been solved through non-violence. The more that's at stake, the more likely it is that change will involve violence of some sort.

The examples of allegedly non-violent revolution and social change given by Dave Rolstone are no exception ('Tactics for fighting imperialism', 22nd February). Indian independence was brought about through the efforts of Indians, but they used violence in various times and places to achieve it. Where they followed Gandhi's example of non-violence, they were treated with outright brutality by the British armed forces, and often retaliated.

The same is true of the civil rights movement in America. Blacks may have been largely non-violent, but the state apparatus and WASP terrorists certainly weren't. Many civil rights activists were assassinated or had their houses burned or bombed. Churches where people organised were razed to the ground. Savage beatings of peaceful protesters were the norm. Moreover, the gains achieved were small, though still a step forwards. The right to piss in the same toilet as white folks and to vote in sham elections hardly represented a revolution.

The fact remains that, whether Indians and African-Americans were violent or not, their attempts at bringing social change about led to violence. They either took the beatings passively or defended themselves, therefore



They'd resist with violence if they could, but they can't - Palestinian boys run away from Israeli soldiers with rather large guns

resorting to violence. I don't see how anyone can find this resistance problematic.

To argue that such episodes as these were non-violent is to ignore the violence perpetrated by the state and other reactionary forces against the agents of social change. Implicit within this argument is the idea that state violence is more legitimate. If it is, then we must surely accept the state's other roles as legitimate too. Either that or we pursue some sort of 'moral high ground'. But must we even to the point where it makes defeat inevitable?

The Spanish anarchists, communists and liberals decided to take up arms against

fascist aggression during the 1930s - why should we expect anything different from other people?

Dave Rolstone argues that military defeat of the Israeli forces by Palestinians is impossible, and I agree with him on this. But I would add, "as long as American aid finances the huge military costs of Palestinian oppression, and those around us are apathetic or ignorant of this oppression".

Change at home is a necessary requirement of change abroad, and unqualified support for the freedom of those violently oppressed by political authorities is necessary if we're

to prove we believe in peace, justice and freedom, and that anarchist ideology is relevant to those with no established anarchist tradition.

If authoritarian Muslims are the only ones who show Palestinians unqualified support in their struggle for control over their lives and the resources under their feet, then authoritarian Islam is the only ideology that can be relevant to Palestinians. And why are we debating non-violence against aggression while Britain is embarking on yet another imperialist war?

José Martí

New federation: a report from NAN

Iain McKay asked what the Northern Anarchist Network (NAN) does and how it does it ('Practical Suggestions', 11th January). One of the useful functions of *Freedom* is to help anarchists be self-critical. Without this minimal strength we'll be confined to obscurity. This means that the past successes of the NAN need to be set alongside its present, serious problems.

There's a relatively small number of people who call themselves anarchists and who contribute to our movement. There's also a huge periphery, sympathetic to our ideas, who don't want to be given a label and who'd be surprised to learn how close to us they are, politically and emotionally. A major task for us is to attract and keep their active participation.

Imagination is needed to show how we can connect with a much wider range of people than we do at present. For example, we spend much of our energy on workplace struggles, but how meaningful are they to people who will never have a job or whose 'working lives' are far behind them? I don't suggest that we should ignore activity of this type, just that it needs to be seen in perspective.

The major influence on the Northern Anarchist Network is class struggle anarchism - in less archaic language, helping the have-nots against the haves. The NAN has been criticised for not shouting loudly enough about this influence.

A problem with the class struggle outlook is its 'workerism', the impression that only those who are 'workers' can lead our discussions. This marginalising, 'prolier than thou' stance marches over contributions to *Freedom* and elsewhere. Its influence on the NAN is now almost total, in spite of the bad-tempered infighting at our last meeting on 8th February.

At one time, the NAN was an umbrella group. Its organisers put its value above the often-conflicting constituent parts. We were fortunate in retaining a small group who, in spite of deep personal and political differences, thought our fragile organisation was worth their efforts. Central Manchester was accessible to them, which resulted in the NAN being run by a reluctant and unelected executive.

With a few exceptions, reported in this newspaper in the last two years, the Manchester Libertarian Discussion Group has done little except organise NAN gatherings. At one time this same 'discussion group' was the base of radical activity in Manchester too. It's been a case of too few people doing too many jobs.

An unwritten rule at our gatherings has been that, apart from invited speakers, we don't 'make speeches' at each other. Making relationships has been seen as more important than rhetoric. This tolerance, and the friendly atmosphere we engendered, is now damaged, perhaps beyond repair. Creating a good atmosphere was a product of some self-awareness from the people who came.

The question, then, isn't of expecting people to "join one of the existing federations", as Iain suggests. We need to ask why so few come to any kind of anarchist meeting. Is it because the airing of certain egos is a prime task, or that some of us feel safer in our own, self-comforting little circles?

A difficulty of trying to keep our umbrella organisation going has been that we've seldom discussed anything but well-packaged class war material. We've succeeded in having some well-attended meetings, but we've failed to cope with anything outside of

class war and industrial militancy.

This narrowness has resulted in a reluctance to look at wider issues. Where if anywhere, for example, are the threads of continuity of thought and action in our patchwork of activity? Where is our unity of purpose, the values and vision that hold us together? Of the vast numbers who have marched against the war, some will have been drawn to our meetings. We'll quickly lose them if the lessons I've outlined are ignored.

Martin Gilbert

There are difficulties which have to be overcome if we're to create any composite anarchist federation. The working class is fragmented, if not utterly splintered, and as individuals and groups we tend to identify with particular splinters, social or geographical. Each of them represents just a fraction of the working class as a whole. As anarchists, we need to be able to overcome splits amongst ourselves, without slagging each other off. This is the only way we'll be able to make any constructive contribution through creating a new national federation.

To judge from my very limited experience, the Northern Anarchist Network has the right atmosphere though in practical terms it's perhaps been more effective in its heartland of the north west than across the north of England as a whole. This in turn raises the question of whether the anarchist movement has sufficient numbers at a local level, widespread enough to make talk of a national federation at all meaningful. Maybe we should do more as individuals in our own communities and let any organisation arise out of the practice?

Martin Bashforth

Paul Maguire says that I "wilfully misinterpreted" his comments ('Practical suggestions, part two', 22nd February). Far from it. I simply drew the obvious conclusions from them. As he'd failed to discuss my practical suggestion for community assemblies, I felt justified in assuming he meant support for electioneering. I stand corrected, though I'd point out that he's still failed to offer any practical organisational suggestions for anarchists who want to build working class resistance.

Yes, direct action "over immediately relevant community issues" is the key, but without community organisation this will just be anarchists acting on people's behalf, not community self-organising and solidarity. Surely community assemblies are the only real way of "working with other people" in the manner Paul suggests?

Ironically, Paul goes on to wilfully misrepresent me. I don't stress workplace struggle over community organising (or vice versa). He says I'm "proposing an organisational solution" instead of addressing the "political cause" of "the weakness of the anarchist movement". But organisation and politics can't be so easily divorced. In organising together we discuss our ideas and develop our politics.

I'm glad to say that progress toward joint anarchist activity is increasing, albeit slowly. Through discussion we can identify issues to work on together. Placed within a longer-term strategy aimed at building militant, libertarian workplace and community alternatives, this can strengthen both our influence and our ideas. The first step, I think, is organising together (even informally). If we don't take that first step, we stay still where we are.

Iain McKay

What we say ...

“Blunkett goes back to his roots to fight disorder”, crowed the *Guardian* last week over the Home Office's white paper on 'anti-social behaviour'. The government's proposals, if implemented, would compel 'wayward' parents to go on residential 'good parenting' courses. Social workers and the police would be given powers to remove persistent young offenders from their families, placing them instead with specially trained foster parents. There would be new fast-track punishments, including evictions, for nuisance neighbours. Pubs and clubs which became locations of 'persistent disorder' would find themselves shut down.

There's something surreal about all this, as if Home Office advisers had been to see films like *Far from Heaven* and *The Magdalene Sisters* and concluded that the 1950s really was the decade of hope and social stability. People would have no truck with sending girls to convents these days, official thinking seems to run – let's try enforced fostering instead.

Blunkett is keen to spin the idea that all of this has something to do with quality-of-life issues in working class areas. But as usual the New Labour agenda is one of repression in the guise of reform. According to the Home Secretary, "Britain has never been at a more insecure moment. World insecurity is creating a thirst for security at home. Anti-social behaviour is actually the foundation and root of insecurity." But this notion, that working class communities are being ravaged by plagues of out-of-control teenagers, spraying graffiti, setting cars on fire, pissing in phone boxes and terrorising pensioners is bullshit.

The sole message of government policy for the last 25 years has been that self-advancement is good, solidarity bad. This has been accompanied by wave after wave of privatisation in the public utilities, cuts in local authority expenditure, council house sell-offs and gentrification.

Yet working class communities remain cohesive. Most people still live alongside each other with a reasonable level of mutual aid and respect. Dog eat dog isn't at all the order of the day. The real problems are caused by drugs, crime and delinquency, but these are best solved by working class self-organisation outside, and against, the state.

Alienation and anti-social behaviour are inevitable within capitalism, the products of a society which is concerned with profit above all else, where stability and community have to be defended against the inroads of capital. When Blunkett talks about 'security', he means the good order of capitalist society. His target is a working class hedonism which says that drugs, drink and sex are more important to the quality of daily life than low-wage work.

Civil society – the life that takes place in the shadow of the state – is, for capital, a site of potential disorder. "If you don't enforce respect", Blunkett has said, "then disorder magnifies". The respect at issue isn't respect for each other but respect for the state and the good governance of capital. Disorder is manifested by a general disregard for the need to work harder, work longer, work for less.

In the eighteenth century, Patrick Colquhoun argued that "good order and security will prevail" through a "more correct and energetic system of police" (he meant police in its widest sense, as the general process of public regulation). The new White Paper on tackling anti-social behaviour is the latest stage in New Labour's long-term project. Blunkett is concerned with maximising the policing of the everyday life of the working class. The only security that's at issue here is the security of class society, the securing of the rich at the expense of the rest of us.

Readers' letters

Mutualist roots

Dear *Freedom*,

Further to the discussion of David Dane and his views (letters, 8th March), co-operatives and mutual aid societies may well have become conservative and failed to produce a mutualist society. Nonetheless they remain as a practical example for working people. Where do anarchist communists find such an example in daily life?

Furthermore, in more than forty years in the workforce I've yet to meet a fellow worker who favoured anything even approaching anarchist communism, whereas many of them were implicitly mutualist. Anarchist communism remains only an idea, whereas mutualist anarchism at least has roots in the real world.

Larry Gambone

Visit the mutualist website at www.mutualist.net

Masonic ritual

Dear *Freedom*,

I read your editorial with interest ('What we say', 8th March). But I have to say it didn't really go very far. It's all very well opposing prisons and the law, but the real power that needs to be faced up to is the power of international freemasonry. Strip away capitalism and the state and it's the masons you find. They're the foundations on which the whole pyramid (an appropriate metaphor) is built. The whole of British institutional life exists to maintain their power and influence.

It's strange that anarchists have never been willing to take the subject on. Either they're not aware of how far the monster's tentacles stretch or they're scared to think about it. If it's ignorance that's the reason, it's a poor

excuse. Fear would be more understandable. But until anarchists overcome this fear, their critique of the institutions of power in society is going to remain sterile and ineffective.

A. Reader

Pacifist view

Dear *Freedom*,

As we drift into war, the causes are often pushed into the background. One cause is our role as the second-in-line arms trader in the world. We, alongside the USA, have armed and still arm many countries. Many of us opposed to this war on Iraq are also opposed to arms sales full-stop. So we raise the question of the ethics of arms traders. It's now time to consider the ethics-of-work rather than the work-ethic.

Every individual has a personal choice and conscience, even though hardship may result from taking a stand and being unemployed. Workers in Cheltenham's GCHQ, USAF Fairford and related military camps and communication centres can leave their jobs and take up ethical work, hard though it may be financially.

Indeed, isn't it useful for individuals to grow and develop personally by taking a radical stance for what they believe is right? Out of such personal courage comes change and growth. I realise that this isn't easy to do, but it only happens when it has been thought about and worked out carefully by each individual. I served three years in the Royal Engineers, and only grew aware of my political objections when I was already on 'the reserve'.

I came to understand that I had become a pacifist, so I sent a letter to my reserve commander telling him I would never serve

in military uniform again, for any reason. Each person has many responsibilities, so only that individual can take what action appears necessary to fulfil his or her personal commitment.

Dennis Gould

Polly's secret

Dear *Freedom*,

The journalist Polly Toynbee has just published a book called *Hard Work*, excerpts of which were published in the *Guardian* recently. In this she details the working conditions endured by millions of workers since their jobs in the private and public sectors were outsourced and privatised. She describes a situation in which millions of jobs have been lost, millions of people have suffered wage cuts, working days have lengthened and union representation has dropped. What she doesn't reveal is her own part in bringing this situation about!

Toynbee was one of the first to desert the Labour Party for the Social Democratic Party in the early 1980s. From that time until the present she has consistently attacked trade unionists as 'dinosaurs', exhorting them to forget any ideas of job security and to learn to live with 'flexibility'. She congratulated Thatcher for her anti-union laws and for destroying what she called the "male-dominated trade union establishment". She even stood as an SDP candidate in the 1987 general election.

Will Toynbee apologise for her inglorious role in creating the working conditions she criticises? Or will anyone reading her book notice the same smell I did – onions, very useful for bringing on crocodile tears?

Keith J. Ackermann

DONATIONS

17th February to 16th March 2003

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund

Wrexham, PE, £2; Sittingbourne, RG, £11; Bradford, CR, £1; Glasgow, JTC, £50; Bristol, RS, £8; Weston-Super-Mare, KF, £6; Hailsham, KM, £1; Sogndal, FR, £6; Uxbridge, RS, £3; Porthmadog, CJ, £11; Wolverhampton, JL, £3.

Total = £107.00

Total for 2003 = £223.00

FP Building and Overheads Fund

Portsmouth, PB, £6; Wrexham, PE, £2; Uxbridge, RS, £3; Wolverhampton, JL, £2; Swindon, CW, £5.

Total = £26.00

Total for 2003 = £190.00

Raven Deficit Fund

Wrexham, PE, £2; Wolverhampton, JL, £2; Ashton under Lyne, MV, £5.

Total = £9.00

Total for 2003 = £63.00

COPY DEADLINE

The next issue of *Freedom* will be dated 5th April, and the last day for copy intended for this issue will be Thursday 27th March 2003. Contributions can be sent to us at FreedomCopy@aol.com

CORRECTION

An important definition, which other entries referred to, got left out of Iain McKay's industrial dictionary last issue ('A guide for the perplexed', 8th March):

• 'laissez-faire' – the doctrine that state interference and intervention is only acceptable when it is in the interests of the capitalist class (see 'economic liberty')

Apologies all round

TRIBUTE TO ARTHUR

A commemoration of the life of Arthur Moyse, sometime art critic of this newspaper, is being held in central London on 31st March. See back page for details.

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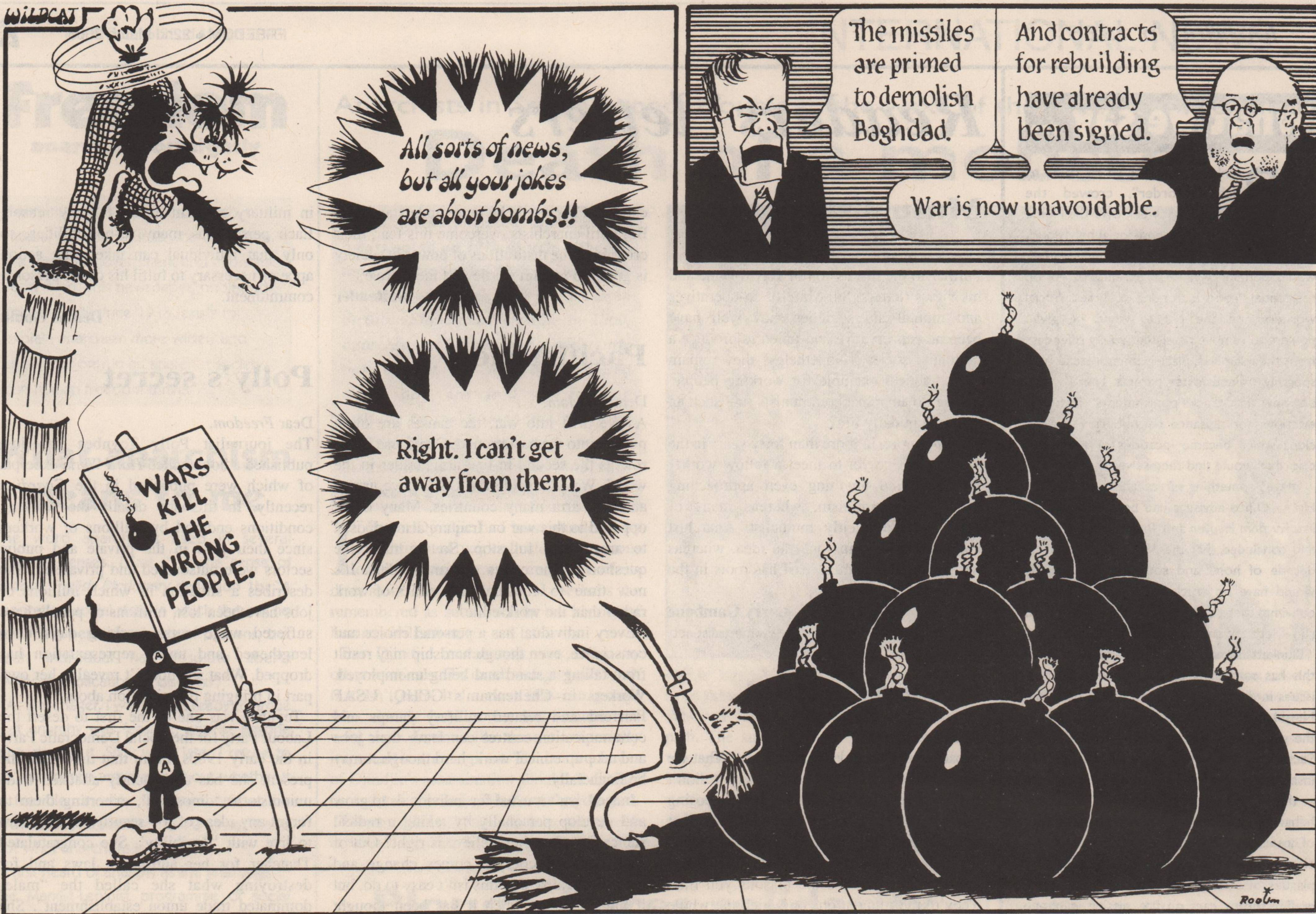
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WILDCAT



CRYSTAL PALACE PROTEST
 Friday 21st March from 7pm to 9pm
 Meet at Crystal Palace Parade for protest and press photos to request Bromley Council reopens Crystal Palace Park hill top

FAIRFORD ANTI-WAR DEMO
 Saturday 22nd March • assemble 12 noon
 Meet on junction of High Street and Park Street to demonstrate at USAF Fairford in Gloucestershire
 see <http://www.gwi.org.uk>

MENWITH HILL ANTI-WAR DEMO
 Saturday 22nd March
 'Foil the base' to disrupt satellite signal receivers with foil kites, balloons, puppets, etc., at Menwith Hill spy base in North Yorkshire
 see <http://www.now-peace.org.uk>

BLATANT INCITEMENT PROJECT
 Monday 24th March from 10am to 5pm
 A day of sharing facilitation and groupwork skills and experiences to be held at Hebden Bridge, West Yorkshire
dowhatyouaretold@breakthelaw.co.uk • 01524 383012

FOE PIPELINE PROTEST
 Tuesday 25th March
 Construct a stretch of pipeline through central London to symbolically link to key organisation backing the Baku-Ceyham oil pipeline
 see foe.co.uk for further details
 contact 0207 566 1673 • alex@foe.co.uk

INDYMEDIA @ THE OTHER CINEMA
 Thursday 27th March at 9.30pm
 'Drowned Out' directed by Franny Armstrong will be shown at The Other Cinema, 11 Rupert Street, London W1 (020 7437 0757)
www.uk.indymedia.org • www.spannerfilms.net

THE PERFORMANCE CLUB W10
 Thursday 27th March from 8pm
 At the Whoops Bar, Portobello Green, Thorpe Close, London W10
 details at <http://www.newagenda.org.uk/perclub.htm>

LONDON ANARCHIST FORUM
 Friday 28th March from 8pm to 10pm
 "Kropotkin Revisited" (speaker Steve Ash)
 at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn, London
 contact: antines@yahoo.co.uk

KYOTO MARCH : LONDON
 Saturday 29th March
 Campaign against Climate Change march from ExxonMobil HQ in Leatherhead to rally at Imperial War Museum
 contact info@campaigncc.org • see campaigncc.org

CRITICAL MASS
 Saturday 29th March at 6pm
 Critical Mass gathering at NFT under Waterloo Bridge, London

WORTHING ANTI-WAR DAY
 Saturday 29th March from 10.30am
 WAW holding anti-war day at Friends Meeting House in Mill Road

WEAPON OF MASS CONSTRUCTION
 Sunday 30th March from 2pm
 Mayday planning meeting at LARC, 62 Fieldgate Street, London E1
 see www.ourmayday.org.uk

A TRIBUTE TO ARTHUR MOYSE
 Monday 31st March from 5.30pm to 8pm
 at Flowers Central Gallery, 21 Cork Street, London W1
 for further details contact Milly on 020 7439 7766

REGENERATION = GENTRIFICATION?
 Monday 31st March at 7.30pm
 Discussion meeting looking at latest attempts to regenerate working class White City area, organised by West London Anarchists and Radicals in basement of West 12 Bar, 74 Askew Road, London W12
 contact war1921war@yahoo.co.uk

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>

THE PERFORMANCE CLUB N8
 Tuesday 1st April from 8pm
 Downstairs at the Kings head, Crouch End Broadway, London N8
 details at <http://www.newagenda.org.uk/perclub.htm>

LEICESTER ANARCHIST FEDERATION
 Tuesday 1st April at 8pm
 Meet upstairs at the Ale Wagon pub in Charles Street, Leicester LE1
 see http://www.geocities.com/leicester_af/org.html

MANCHESTER SOLFED
 Wednesday 2nd April at 8.30pm
 Manchester Solidarity Federation meeting on 'War and Oil' at the Hare and Hounds, Shude Hill, near Arndale Centre
 see www.manchestersf.org.uk

ANTI-WAR BENEFIT
 Thursday 3rd April from 8pm to 2am
 with Nomadix Roots, Bryan Wilson & Sounds of the Earth, and more at The Lord Cecil, Lower Clapton Road, London E5

CND CYMRU ANNUAL MEETING
 Saturday 5th April at 11am
 Meeting at Capel y Morfa, Portland Street, Aberystwyth
 contact 01550 750 260

CARNIVAL AGAINST OIL WARS AND CLIMATE CHAOS
 Thursday 24th April
 Big party at the Royal Festival Hall, South Bank, London – for further info contact london@risingtide.org.uk
 see www.burningplanet.net for updates

THE 'ANARCHIST' COPPER SPEAKS
 Friday 9th May at 7.30pm
 Commander Brian Paddick will talk on gay rights and the police at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn, London
 see www.galha.org

USE YOUR LOAF SOCIAL CENTRE
 Veggie café every Friday from 7pm
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 Hotline: 07984 588807

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 many events - check website for details
 The London Action Resource Centre, 62 Fieldgate Street, London E1 IES (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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