

A grateful people hail their liberators ...

It's no surprise that stage-managed photographs of happy Iraqis embracing US troops made front pages in the mainstream press last month, while reports of angry Iraqis demonstrating against their occupiers were buried away on the inside pages if they appeared at all. Anyone with an iota of common sense knew that American claims to be supporting self-determination for the Iraqi people were lies.

Even before the war started the Bush junta were making it clear the Kurds wouldn't be getting any independence. Now US defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld has said that "an Iranian-type government with a few clerics running everything in the country ... isn't going to happen". What, not even if the majority want it? Well, the US regime said it was exporting American-style democracy, and let's not forget that the majority in America didn't want the Bush junta either.

The question of how much 'democracy' to allow will soon become a pressing one, as the radical Islamic movement continues to gain strength from a shattered country. Already, the slogan 'Islam is the solution' has begun to appear, printed on the walls of the broken buildings. Of course, a clerical state is the very last thing the infidel American regime wants. Why else did it support Saddam for so long, if not as a bulwark against Iran?

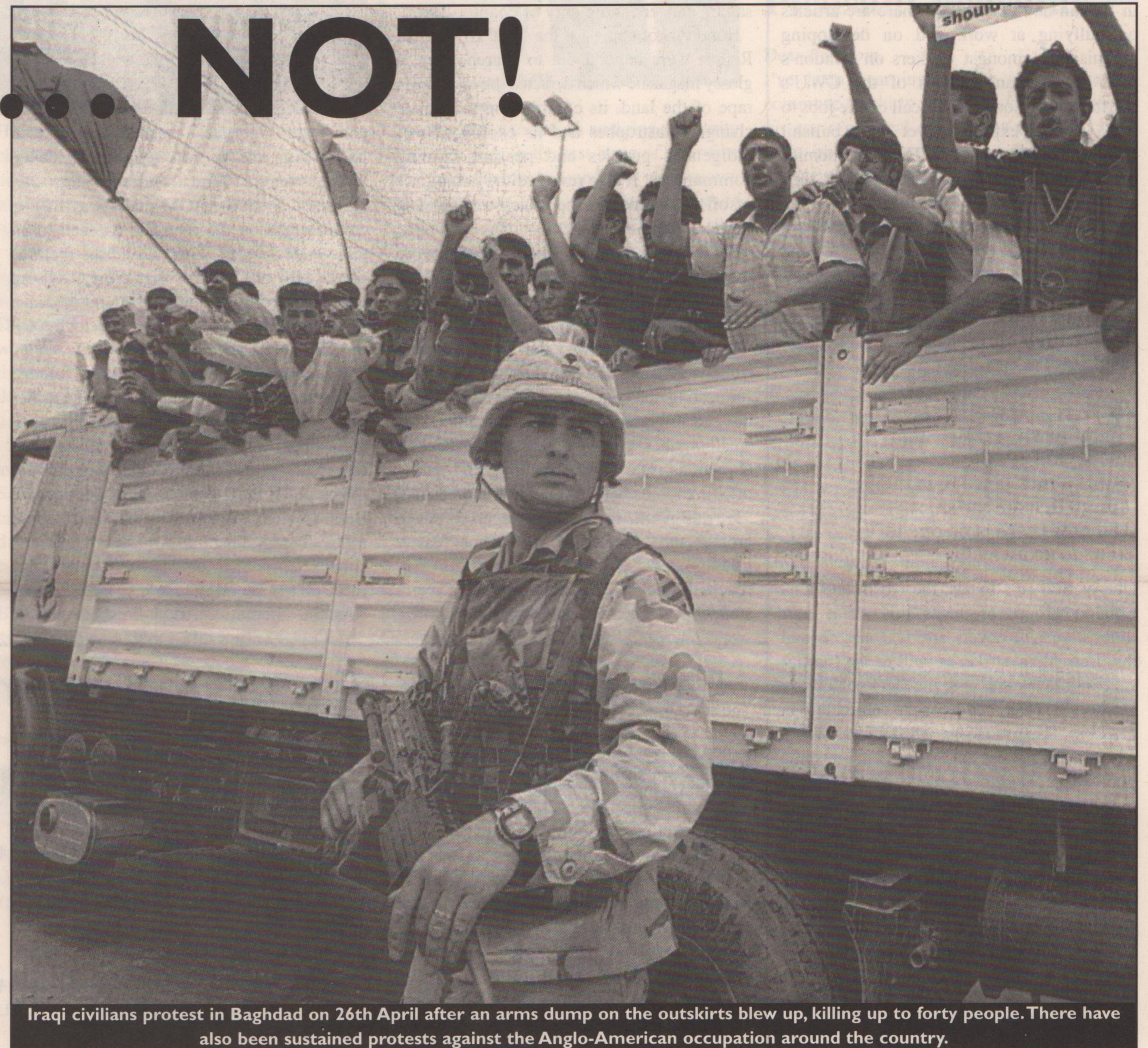
This issue exposes a deep flaw in statism. After all, why should people with radically different customs and wishes be forced to abide by the laws of others? If some Muslims want to be ruled by clerics, then fine. Just don't impose it on other people who aren't so keen. If the Kurds don't want to be part of US-dominated Iraq, then fine. Let them secede, as long as they don't impose their ideas on other people, then such experimentation is what liberty is all about.

Unfortunately, the state ignores the vast differences within humanity, forcing it into a procrustean bed of its own choosing. Rumsfeld's comments don't only expose the imperial ambitions of the American occupation, but also the limitations statism places on freedom.

Needless to say, an Iraq comprised of diverse communities would be a step towards anarchy, but it wouldn't actually be anarchy. While the communities might be voluntary, they'd only be libertarian if they were internally libertarian (that is, self-managed). Voluntary association, in other words, is a necessary but not a sufficient criterion for judging anarchy by. If it were, the current system of nation states would be 'anarchy' because nobody is forced to live in a specific state.

In summary, voluntary fascism is still fascism. The job of anarchists is to convince people that this is the case, to make them aware that liberty shouldn't stop at the community boundary (or the workplace door, for that matter). Picking masters isn't and can't be true freedom. Freedom requires self-management – the active participation in the making of a decision, by those affected by it.

Anarcho



Iraqi civilians protest in Baghdad on 26th April after an arms dump on the outskirts blew up, killing up to forty people. There have also been sustained protests against the Anglo-American occupation around the country.

George faces his dragon

The New Labour hierarchy and the Tory press are trying to oust Glasgow MP George Galloway. In one of the unlikeliest episodes in the history of reporting, 'journalists' from the *Daily Telegraph* said they'd stumbled across secret files in a looted and burned out Baghdad ministry building. These, the paper alleged, 'prove' that Galloway was in the pay of Saddam all along (Galloway denies the allegations, and has indicated that he will sue).

Still, we can see why the *Torygraph* published the story. Galloway has pained the establishment for some time. His anti-war position is obviously one good reason for smearing him. By implication, the rest of the anti-war movement is smeared as well, something we shouldn't let pass without a fight.

Few, if any, of the people who marched against the war on Iraq did so because of

George Galloway, an egotistical Stalinist who has visited Saddam on several occasions (though he was also criticising the tyrant's human rights record in the days when government ministers used to cosy up to him).

The reasons why we opposed the war haven't been changed by the *Telegraph* allegations, and this is a point anarchists should make clear. We opposed it because we knew the justifications we were being fed were a lie. We knew that a large number of conscripts and, quite possibly, a larger number of civilians would be killed and a humanitarian disaster inflicted.

We argued that war wouldn't bring freedom to the people of Iraq, but a regime change in which a new dictator would be installed to operate on behalf of American interests in the Middle East – a process which has now begun. We said that war

would be used to hide the class war, conducted by the state and capital against working class people, emboldening Blair and Bush to implement their neo-liberal plans whatever the wishes of their subjects.

All of this is being confirmed in practice now, and it shows the way forwards for the anti-war movement. If we want to slay the dragon of war, we must show that militarism and imperialism can only be fought when we attack the system that produces them – capitalism. No George, no matter how gorgeous he may be, can kill the beast. We have to do that ourselves. And we can only do it by building a movement which uses direct action and solidarity in our workplaces and communities to fight for freedom and equality. In other words, we need to apply the core ideas of anarchism.

Iain McKay

FREESHEET FAVOURITES



Catalyst
Issue 7
May 2003

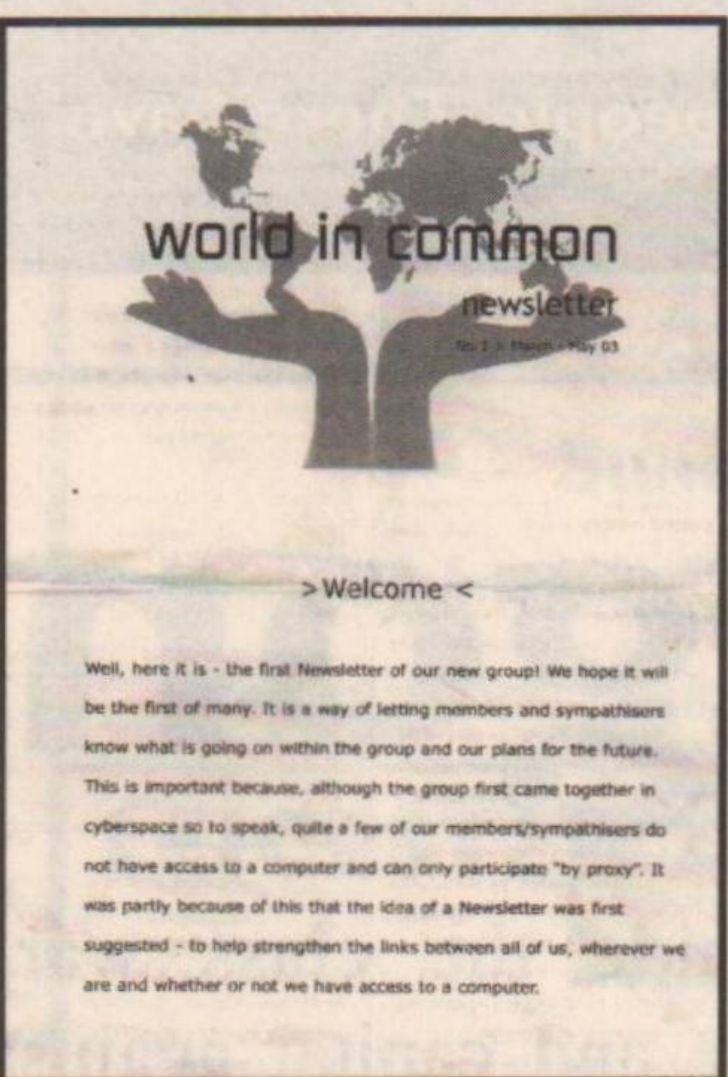
The freesheet of the anarcho-syndicalist Solidarity Federation, this issue of *Catalyst* reports on grassroots and workplace struggles in Britain and elsewhere. There are articles on bullying at work and on developing organisation amongst workers on London's tube. There's an analysis of the CWU's resistance to relocating BT call centre jobs to India and an exposé of yet more bullshit from union bureaucrats. "The real enemies of democracy aren't just in Baghdad, they are also in London."

Send SAE to Catalyst SF, PO Box 29 SW PDO, Manchester M15 5HW
Phone 07984 675 281 or visit www.solfed.org.uk



Solidarity
Issue 3
Spring 2003

One of SolFed's locals, the North and East London group, produces this sheet four times a year. It covers anti-war actions and the firefighters' strike, as well as the (partly) successful conclusion to the Hackney library workers' strike, previously reported in *Freedom*. This action was called off in January, when management backed down on some points. But *Solidarity* expects more struggle to follow – in future the workers' bargaining position will, it says, "be stronger than during the strikes, but will owe that to those strikes. So, the lesson is direct action works, but sometimes it works in mysterious ways!"
Send an SAE to NELSF, PO Box 1681, London N8 7LE or call 020 8374 5027 (ansaphone)



World in Common
Issue one
Spring 2003

This is the first newsletter of a new group, World in Common, a countrywide "network of people committed to inspiring a vision of an alternative way of living, where all the world's resources are owned in common". There's a short history of how the group came into being, from its Marxist roots to something "rather different" in nature and purpose. Unsurprisingly, this issue is partly a programme for the future, partly a discussion of what exactly this programme should entail. "We call on anyone broadly sympathetic with our aims to join with us to help build a strong, inclusive and principled movement for radical change".

Send SAE to World in Common, Box 44 Greenleaf Bookshop 82 Colston Street Bristol BS1 5BB or visit www.worldincommon.org

Campaigners confront BP carnival of greed

London

The Royal Festival Hall was host to two different, but similarly themed, gatherings on 24th April. The first was the BP Annual General Meeting, where shareholders and senior managers gathered to review the company's economic accumulation for the year. This event was flanked by an entourage of private security, police and surveillance teams. Recognising this auspicious event in the BP calendar was the Carnival against Oil Wars and Climate Chaos, ready to meet the delegates with music, jugglers, samba dancers and plenty of counter-info.

Hundreds of copies of the 'real' BP Annual Report were handed out to shareholders, a glossy magazine which depicted the company's rape of the land, its contribution to climate change catastrophes and its exploitation of indigenous peoples and peasant farming communities. It also revealed the complicity of oil companies in the attack on Iraq and other oil wars.

For over an hour, a samba band played tunes of resistance to drown out the talk of corporate greenwash and hypocritical concern over environmental impacts. Samba dancers wiggled their bottoms and streamed pink ribbons at delegates and the lines of police 'protecting' the entrance, while several women dressed in black greeted the shareholders. A small number of campaigners also made their objections clear inside, shouting and letting off stinkbombs before being forcibly ejected.

At one point, the dancers began to snake around the exterior of the venue, easily gliding past a small police line. As they reached the back entrance, they were stopped by a heavier mobilisation of police



and were vigorously pushed and shoved back, with one or two rougher incidents. There were several random 'stop and searches'. With the AGM under way inside, campaigners on the riverside listened to an alternative version. This had all the features of the real one, except that the PA system was provided by two mobile sound systems, mounted on tricycles. A new BP logo, 'BP the Frog', was unveiled.

On a more serious note, speakers included a representative from Colombian communities under daily threat from paramilitaries sponsored by corporate interests. A representative from the Kurdish communities talked about the human costs of the new BP Baku-Ceyhan pipeline, to be built across miles of natural habitat. Amazing poetry and singers combined against the destructive force that is the oil industry.

As the alternative AGM finished, a brief

downpour reminded us what April weather should be like. With the sound systems blasting out, and delicious veggie pasties being served, the event drew to a close. But not before the crowd again danced round the RFH as the delegates were leaving. BP. Be Prepared, there's more to come.

Burning Planet

www.burningplanet.net

• Inside the official AGM, BP Chairman Peter Sutherland insisted that the war on Iraq hadn't been fought over oil. He said Iraq didn't form part of the company's "current strategy", though he admitted it soon might. "We expect to take part in the rebuilding", he told delegates. He also said that BP was ahead of other oil companies in its work on ethical and environmental issues, pointing out that BP had even set up a committee to deal with such topics.

Constructive discussion at media meeting

Whitechapel

A meeting was held at the London Action Resource Centre on 15th April to discuss the present state and future direction of the anarchist press in Britain. Jointly convened by *Freedom* and *Black Flag*, it was attended by a range of people involved with these and other publications. A key point in the discussion was the need for greater unity in the anarchist movement. With *Freedom* changing and opening up, both it and *Black Flag* – the two main independent papers of the movement – could, it was suggested, be used as tools to achieve this.

It was said that, because they're independent, they can cover a wider range of opinions than *Organise!*, *Direct Action* or *Class War*, all of which reflect the views of their national federations to some extent. Several of those who attended also said that sharing resources between all the various publications would be a step forward.

It was argued that a lot of time is wasted by different groups producing propaganda and writing articles that all anarchists would agree on. Instead of five different leaflets against the war on Iraq for example, all arguing exactly the same thing, it would have saved effort to produce just one. This would, people thought, present a less confusing and more coherent picture of anarchism. It was noted that radical bookshops are folding and alternative publications are selling less, perhaps because people get their information from the internet.

One idea raised was for a unified publication, with pages for groups like the

Anarchist Federation, Class War and SolFed to use themselves. This unified paper could be given priority over these groups' own publications. It would, some people argued, be more popular, of higher quality (because of the pooled effort), easier to sell and more accessible than three or four different papers could be.

It was felt that reaching out to people outside the anarchist movement was the most important task. More theory, more analysis and fewer short reports of current events were called for, along with articles on

subjects such as basic economics. Criticism of other groups and anarchist ideas should, it was suggested, be treated as unconstructive. The discussion will continue later in the year, with a second meeting proposed for early in the summer.

Matt A.

Black Flag and *Freedom* are both looking for new contributors. Contact:

- *Black Flag*, BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX or blackflag@flag.blackened.net
- *Freedom*, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX or FreedomCopy@aol.com

NEWS IN BRIEF

• **Nestlé** Activists from Baby Milk Action will gather at Nestlé sites across the UK on Saturday 10th May. The food and drinks giant has long been a target because of "irresponsible and aggressive" marketing strategies in the third world, campaigners say.

Nestlé provides its breastmilk substitutes free to third world mothers, whose own milk then dries up, leaving them dependent on the company's products. These are particularly dangerous in some areas, because the substitute is provided as a powder which needs to be diluted with water. Baby Milk Action says a child dies every thirty seconds as a result of the Nestlé strategy, either from water-borne disease or as a result of insufficient nutrition.

Meet at 11am outside Nestlé sites at Ashbourne, Aylesbury, Castleford, Dalston, Girvan, Fawdon, Halifax, Hayes, Mallow, Staverton, Tutbury and York.

Campaigners will go into action again on 17th May, when they will protest outside the company's UK Head Office in Croydon. This is the anniversary of the International Code of Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes, adopted in 1981, whose provisions Nestlé is consistently accused of breaking.

Meet at 11am outside the Nestlé offices on Park Lane, Croydon.

• **Kent** Anarchists from across the county joined forces with other anti-racists to actively oppose the BNP last week. The fascists stood candidates for local elections in Chatham on 1st May. Stalls were organised in Chatham High Street, and leaflets were delivered in wards where racists were standing. Efforts were also made to confront BNP members directly. "It's vital that we show the BNP they're not welcome", said one Kent-based anarchist.

No words minced over nepotism – just heads

Plymouth

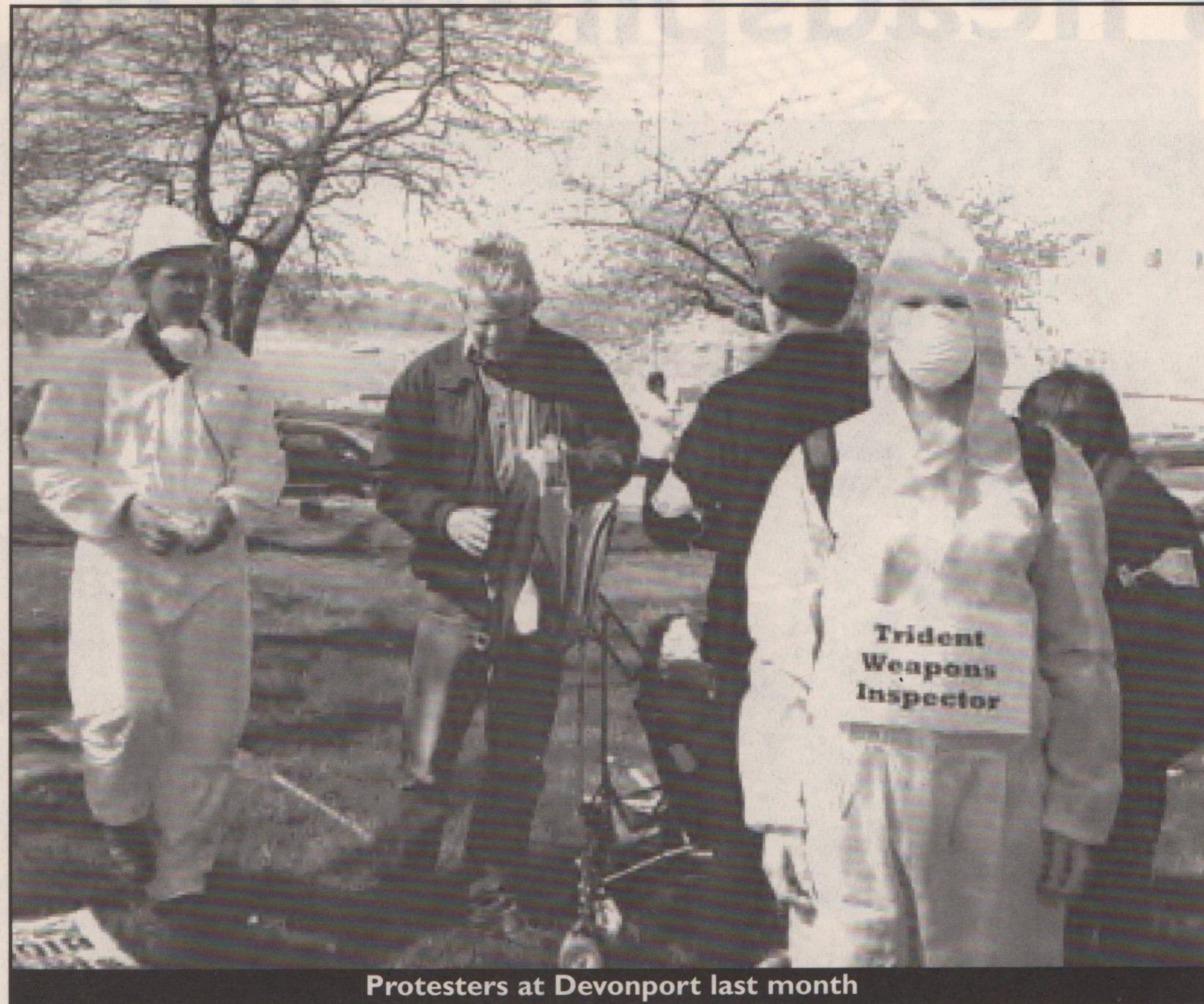
The BBC has discovered a swing of 60% in the number of people agreeing with Tony Blair's controversial Head Mincing policy for getting rid of nepotism and bureaucracy in the city, so long as it doesn't happen to them. A very small number, around a hundredth of Plymothians, have had their heads put through the mincer over the past few weeks, but things are almost back to normal now.

This follows thirty years of bureaucracy and nepotism from the City Council and the neo-Masonic organisation, Common Purpose, that has stifled the job market in the area. Only a handful of extremists are still saying that no innocent heads should ever have been minced over the issue, least of all those of the long-term unemployed.

But these people didn't even agree with the idea of the United Nations doing job interview inspections before people's heads were put through the mincer! The BBC interviewed a group of Plymothians in London who had to leave the city to get work, and one of them even said that mincing heads was wrong but necessary.

During the head-mincing process, a bureaucrat known as 'Pen-Pushing Pete', who had a reputation for devising twenty forms in one day and giving jobs to his whole family, was found with his head minced. But the rest of the bureaucrats have escaped across the River Tamar to neighbouring Torpoint, where it's alleged the government may be planning to mince some more heads (though they've denied this).

When the bureaucrats left anarchy broke out, with people taking jobs for themselves according to their skills. They blatantly said



Protesters at Devonport last month

"we're entitled to these jobs which are necessary, so we're taking them". Then they went off to drive buses, clean, construct, collect rubbish and so on. None of the charitable job creation schemes could get into Plymouth to create artificial jobs.

But some more sensible people went off to vandalise the Sundial in the city centre instead, and the government has now got some interview teams together to give people jobs in the proper manner, with interview panels and equal opportunities and anti-harassment policies.

Most of the people whose heads got minced were from the district of Swilly. One

youngster from there, Swilly Boy, who only had his head partially minced, touched the hearts of the nation when he got airlifted to the Derriford local hospital for treatment.

The *Sun* has done a human-face article with Tony Blair, saying it was very brave of him standing by his Head Mincing policy, because he could have lost his job if it failed. Blair said both his son and his wife stood by him so long as their heads didn't get minced. Nobody likes mincing heads. It's a hard decision to make and takes great courage, he said.

From our on-the-spot reporter
Janner Jim

• There will be an anti-Trident demo and Citizens' Weapons Inspection outside Devonport Dockyard on 24th May. The military base is home to nuclear submarines of the Queen's Navy. These include the T-class submarines which carry the British state's nuclear warfare capability, the Trident missile. HMS Vanguard, a nuclear submarine armed with 'conventional' weapons, is currently being held in the dry dock.

The base is also home to nuclear storage and recycling facilities. The Ministry of Defence has subcontracted all its programmes for the maintenance of its nuclear fleet to a private company, Devonport Management Ltd (DML). This is an offshoot of Root & Brown which is itself a subsidiary of one of George Bush's favourite companies, Haliburton.

The Trident Complex at Devonport, including the storage and processing facilities, is right in the heart of Plymouth, a densely populated city with 250,000 residents. It's just as near the smaller towns of Saltash and Torpoint, across the River Tamar in Cornwall – both of which have higher than average cancer rates.

One of the reasons Plymouth was chosen for the nuclear contract is because politicians have always believed its residents are passive. So the MoD and DML had been complacent until last year, when protests began in earnest. Since then, there have been demonstrations and non-violent direct actions. A Trident Ploughshares Peace Camp was held last November. We'll keep up the pressure on 24th May. For anti-nuclear activists in Devon, this will be an important milestone and hopefully it will be well-attended by people from the national and international communities too.

Sandra Leslie

Trident Ploughshares Plymouth

Assemble at 12 noon in Devonport Park

Developing co-operation to have positive impact

Members of the three class struggle anarchist federations in these islands – the Solidarity Federation, Class War and the Anarchist Federation – met last month to discuss closer co-operation on a range of issues and campaigns. Those attending weren't delegates or mandated by the federations in any way; rather, they were individual anarchists interested in seeing whether sustained, long-term co-operation was possible, and on what basis.

The main theme running through the discussions was the organisational weakness of the anarchist movement and its inability to intervene decisively or at key moments because of this weakness. It was felt that this in turn means the movement can't forge strategic alliances and has little visibility or credibility as a movement, whatever respect individual anarchists, libertarian groups or the federations themselves have from other groups at particular times or locations.

At the same time, there are critical struggles going on, and the terrain on which anarchists are struggling – anti-fascism, anti-war, anti-imperialism, globalisation and so on – appears to have features which favour anarchists and libertarians and in which our beliefs and ideologies ought to be able to strike a chord with others in struggle. Opportunities are there, it was felt, but can't be taken advantage of, condemning us to a marginal role.

The main lines of difference at the meeting lay in how far the federations could go in taking proactive steps to create the organisational structures needed to address these weaknesses, thereby assuming a leadership role –

a leadership of ideas, not of ideology or structure. Some thought that an organic approach to organisation should continue, with co-operation occurring where it could and between people choosing to co-operate, chiefly at the individual and local level. This organic approach is probably the ideal, but the question arose of whether it's enough, given the situation the movement is in.

Alternatively, could the federations become more effective and raise their visibility and credibility with other libertarians – punch above their weight – by taking the lead across a range of issues and actions, not exclusively or in an authoritarian way, but supporting and helping to co-ordinate struggle? It was generally felt that it was worth the attempt. People acting in local groups and on local campaigns felt their efforts would be more effective and sustainable with some kind of centralised support, higher levels of co-operation and solidarity. But how to achieve this?

The chief proposal was for a biannual congress of the federations, which would also invite local libertarian campaigns, anti-war and anti-fascist groups (among others engaged in class-based struggles) to discuss practical ways of increasing our effectiveness and developing strong class struggle initiatives. The congress should be almost entirely practical and highly focused, with the emphasis on action and capacity-building rather than on theory and analysis. The first one would be in May 2004, and the Anarchist Bookfair this October would be used as a springboard for it.

A second proposal was for co-operation in

creating a web-based anarchist clearing house, a site for contacts, resources, discussion and mutual support which would be a practical demonstration of our willingness to co-operate and a means of creating a class struggle consciousness among anarchists.

Thirdly there was a suggestion, to be discussed further, of developing a libertarian anti-fascist network for co-ordination, combining activities such as mapping the current situation, analysing the class nature of the fascist versus anti-fascist struggle, a national fascist watch and a gathering of libertarian anti-fascist groups at the earliest opportunity.

Finally, while there were other proposals which will be put to the federations as a whole to consider, there was general agreement that it was worth meeting again following feedback from other members of the federations. It was hoped that such a meeting would endorse the proposals put forward and go on to deepen levels of co-operation in the areas identified, as well as discussing areas of joint activity – such as prisoner support – which were only touched on due to lack of time.

All in all, this was a useful and productive meeting. There was a high degree of unanimity in terms of analysis, possible solutions and priorities for action – so much so that the meeting could have been of just one federation, not three. It showed that there are common views and understandings among activists and their organisations on both problems and solutions. If the work of developing co-operation continues, it's likely to have a positive impact on the

movement and to bring organisational gains to the class struggle. Watch this space!

Jerry

Anarchist Federation

On behalf of those attending

For more info on the three federations, visit:

Anarchist Federation – www.afed.org.uk

Class War – www.classwar.org

Solidarity Federation – www.solfed.org.uk

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Look up Run DMC on the net – it always mentions Adidas

I bet Jay's headspinning in his grave

by Chris Byrne

I was 'brand loyal' to Adidas as a kid due to the influence of rap group Run DMC. I had a personally imported Run DMC/Adidas t-shirt and 'official' badges. On 21st January this year, which would have been the group's murdered DJ Jason 'Jam Master Jay' Mizell's 38th birthday, Adidas, in conjunction with his wife and young sons, released a special commemorative edition of their Superstar trainer, named the Ultrastar. The shoe, which his sons helped design, features Jay's name and picture and only 5,000 have been made. All proceeds from the sales of the shoe are being donated to New York's Scratch DJ Academy, where Jay once taught aspiring young turntablists. Oh, that's alright then!

Meanwhile, Jay also serves as a pitchman for Dr Pepper soft drinks in their latest commercial. Dr Pepper Inc created the advert, in which LL Cool J pays tribute to Jay and the other members of Run DMC, before the DJ was killed in a New York shooting last October. The surviving members of the group, Joseph 'Run' Simmons and Darryl 'DMC' McDaniels, appear with Jay. The ad closes with a message in memory of Jay that was added later.

Marketing chief for Dr Pepper and Seven Up, John Clarke, said he wasn't concerned that the new soft drink ad might be seen as a



These tasteful models of Run DMC are now available from Freedom (no, not really)

crass way of cashing in on Jay's murder. Maybe it was because Run DMC were perhaps the first rap group to sign a marketing deal. After the group wrote the song *My Adidas* in honour of their preferred footwear, Joseph Simmons's brother Russell, founder of Def Jam records, approached the shoe company and convinced its executives

to sponsor the group's 1987 tour. Clarke said, "not only did Dr Pepper feel that it was appropriate, so did Run and DMC, so did Terri, Jam Master Jay's wife. So everybody seems to be extremely comfortable with the spot."

The more I looked into Jay's death, the worse it got. Even the funeral was a marketing

opportunity for somebody. The first line of the cbsnews.com said, "pallbearers wearing white unlaced Adidas carried the body ..." Was that really the most remarkable aspect of the occasion? I doubt his family needed the money, they must be millionaires. Will his young children forever associate their dead dad with Adidas and Dr Pepper? When will New York have a hip-hop culture museum to commemorate these dead pioneers?

I think Adidas wanting to be associated with the Jam Master Jay 'brand' in death, as well as in life, stinks. Not that it's unique to Jay – Yoko Ono continually allows the use of John Lennon's image for selling Apple computers, Absolut vodka and so on. She definitely doesn't need the money. 'Branding from beyond the grave' – taste is somewhat lacking, I think. But of course there's no such thing as bad publicity.

Nobody really complained about the corporate 'tributes' to Jay, not the press – the *Source* hip-hop magazine said they paid homage to "others who are fighting to maintain the true voice of hip-hop, including ... the efforts of Jam Master Jay's sons to honour their father with an Adidas tribute sneaker" – not even the family. This is because the two brands of Run DMC and Adidas had a history and synergy. They're now almost one and the same thing. And it's oft been alleged that Puff Daddy launched his pop career on the death of the Notorious BIG ...

Tiny movement, signs of growth

Aotearoa

The anarchist movement here (Aotearoa is New Zealand's pre-colonial name) is tiny, but showing some encouraging signs. At the moment there are functioning anarchist groups in Auckland (the Class War Youth Anarchist Organisation), Wellington (the Committee for the Establishment of Civilisation, the Freedom Shop collective and Wildcat) and Christchurch (the Anarchist Round Table, or ART). There are informal anarchist groupings in Hamilton and Dunedin as well, and a branch of the syndicalist union the Industrial Workers of the World in Dunedin.

A nationwide anarchist conference was organised by ART and held in Christchurch in 2001. This attracted around fifty people, which isn't bad considering that only a quarter of the population (900,000 people) live in the South Island, and that Aotearoa lacks a radical political tradition of any size.

The activities of these groups are varied. Some are focused on local community struggles, such as the Wellington anarchists who are involved in trying to stop a useless inner city road being built. This will destroy many dwellings, including the Freedom Shop, the only anarchist bookshop in Aotearoa. The struggle against the inner city bypass has involved occupations, riot police and demonstrations, as well as stopping an attempt by security guards to lock us out of the Freedom Shop entirely. The shop is still going, but its future is uncertain.

Class War Youth in Auckland were heavily involved in triggering off a high school strike last year in support of teachers, who were out on a massive wildcat strike of their own. They have also been involved in direct action against water privatisation in the city. ART in

Christchurch have been involved in setting up an activist centre (now defunct) and they've helped produce a community newspaper. Most groups have been active in opposing the American elite's wars on terrorism and Iraq.

The major weakness of the anarchist movement here, I believe, is that we have very little influence in the workplace. In recent years we've had some influence in local working class community struggles, but virtually no influence in the workplace itself. The IWW is trying to overcome this, and it's done some great work in supporting the struggle of wharfies (dockworkers) in the last couple of years, but as a union it hasn't really caught on yet.

On the positive side, the anarchist movement is now appealing to a far wider range of people than just the punks and hippies it was limited to ten years ago. There's been a move away from 'lifestyle anarchism' and liberal anarchism towards 'class struggle anarchism'.

This move has been stimulated by *Thrall* magazine, the major anarchist magazine in Aotearoa, which is produced by a collective of anarchist communists and anarcho-syndicalists. Its name is meant to suggest that we oppose all forms of slavery. *Thrall* offers an example of using the internet as a tool for decentralisation, as the editorial collective is based in both Wellington (in the North Island) and Christchurch (in the South).

Class struggle anarchism seems to be far more relevant to conditions in Aotearoa today, where we've been subject to a vicious neo-liberal assault on living standards, wages and working conditions that has put about 30% of the population below the poverty line. This assault has been far worse

than anything Thatcher, Major or Blair have ever managed in Britain, and the 'New Zealand experiment' has been compared, in its severity, to the neo-liberal policies enforced in Chile under Pinochet. Aotearoa has dropped from being one of the richest countries in the world in the 1960s to being a country with one of the lowest standards of first world living.

But the neo-liberal assault and an ongoing recession haven't resulted in much working class resistance. When this has taken place, such as in the wave of Maori land occupations during the mid 1990s, it's been isolated and bought off. Most New Zealanders are apathetic and feel powerless to change things, so there's little interest in radical politics as a result.

Yet the so-called 'anti-capitalist movement' (or anti-summit movement) of the last few years has revived interest in anarchism a little. We've organised many successful 'carnivals against capitalism' in Wellington, for example, which have attracted up to 800 people. This doesn't sound like much but, given that protests in Aotearoa tend to attract about fifty people on average, it's actually a relatively high number.

Through organising the carnivals, we've established some good networks with anti-capitalist Maori self-determination groups ('Tino Rangatiratanga'), who are part of the international People's Global Action (PGA) network. PGA Aotearoa organised a conference last year in Wellington, which was exciting because it was the first time radical Maori self-determination groups had been attracted to anarchism and decentralised ways of organising.

Toby

(of Wildcat and Thrall, Wellington)

Visit the Thrall website at www.freespeech.org/thrall

Classes clash

Iran

There were angry scenes in the city of Behshahr, Mazandaran Province, last month as workers protested against the continued withholding of their wages. The demonstrations began on 16th April, when textile workers at a chintz factory walked out. They were soon joined by other textiles workers, employees in other sectors and, finally, by other residents of the city. At the height of the disturbances, there were nearly 30,000 people on the streets. Cops and military personnel used teargas against demonstrators, and there were several reports of beatings.

Workers insisted they'd protest again if their demands weren't met. Some of them said they hadn't been paid for over two years. According to a survey last year by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, at least a million workers in Iran haven't been paid for period as long as 36 months. This has led to workplace occupations, strikes and the blockading of roads. There have also been demands for improved working conditions and better social security.

Activists from the International Alliance in Support of Workers in Iran said workers were sick of official disdain and violent treatment at the hands of state thugs. "One of the main barriers is the Islamic Republic's repressive and anti-worker labour law, policies and practices", the Alliance said. There is no right to strike and no rights of collective bargaining or workplace organising. Labour activists are frequently persecuted. Meanwhile, the last decade has seen cut-backs and falling living standards, as the government has pursued "economic structural adjustment" policies at the behest of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. For more info, contact alliance@workers-iran.org

Anarchist artist shows the way

Clifford Harper: Graphic Anarchy

The Newsroom, Farringdon Road, London EC1
(tel 020 7886 9898)

Mon to Fri 10am to 5pm, Sat 12 noon to 4pm
until 30th May • Admission free

Clifford Harper's work will be well-known to readers of *Freedom*. His images and designs have long graced this newspaper's pages, along with posters for the Anarchist Bookfair and various books and pamphlets (including a number published by Freedom Press). It's probably less well-known, among anarchists at least, that his artwork has appeared in many other places too – on the covers of Oxford University Press classics, in the *Nursing Times*, *Radio Times* and, perhaps most prominently, in the *Guardian*. So perhaps it's fitting that this show is in the *Guardian*'s Newsroom Gallery, opposite that paper's bland, modernist headquarters on London's Farringdon Road.

The show provides a unique opportunity to see fifty or so of Clifford's works in one place. It's an exhibition of an anarchist who uses his work as a means of making anarchist propaganda. Many of the works on display are of overtly political images – the Anarchist Bookfair posters and stickers, arts-and-craft style covers for political pamphlets, the book cover for *The Anarchists*, football-style trading cards of various activists, portraits of famous and not quite so famous anarchists, along with his set of anarchist stamps. With Mount Pleasant sorting office just down the road (where Clifford's own father worked), it can only be hoped that someone from the Royal Mail might pop in and decide to print some of these for real.

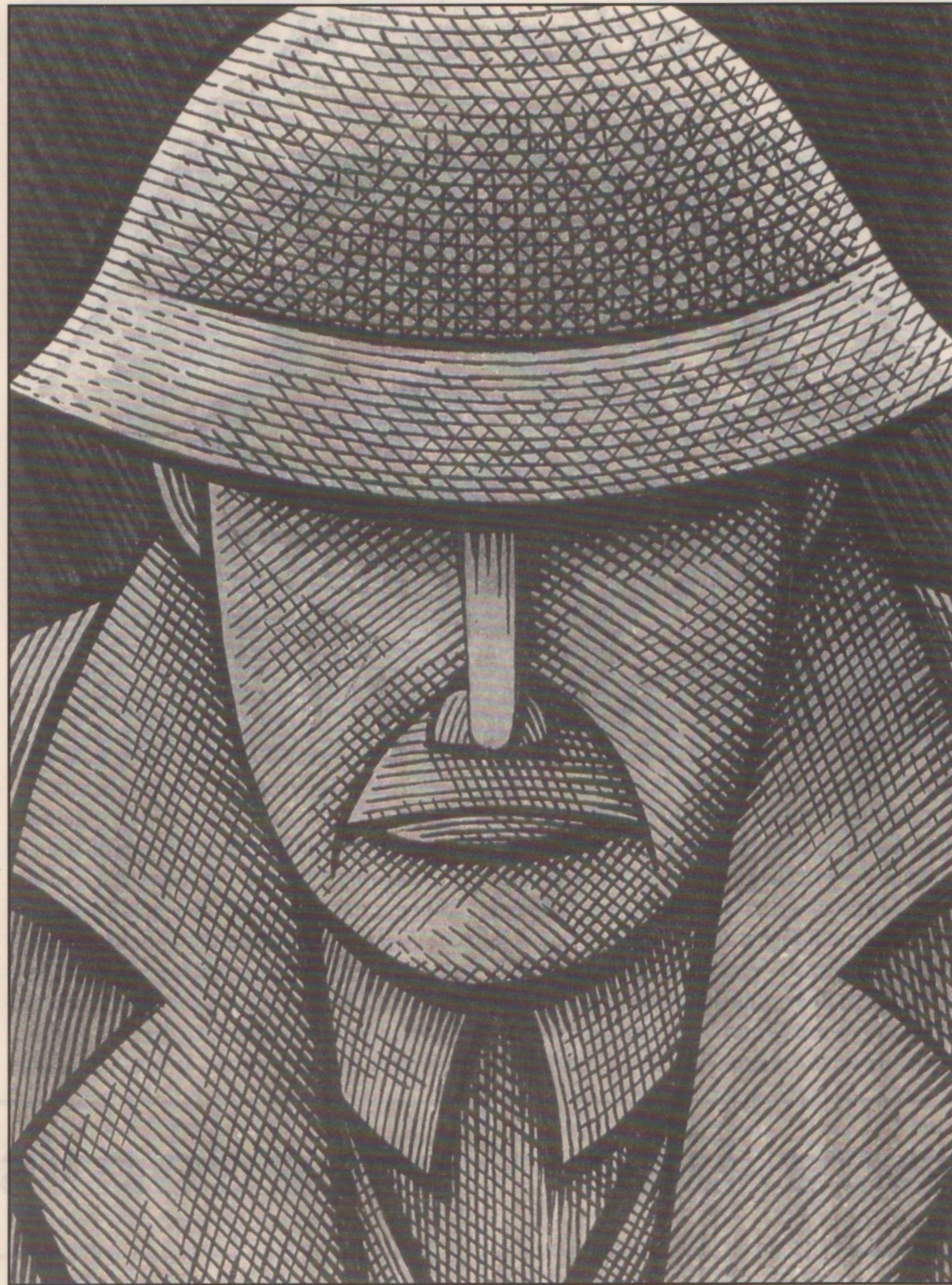
A set of drawings about the First World War particularly drew me in. Some were taken from Clifford's graphic novel *The Unknown Deserter*, the story of Private Aby Harris who was shot by firing squad in 1916. Another, called *1914*, is a single simple picture of three British soldiers caught in barbed wire, drawn like a rambling rose.

The fact that Clifford Harper is an anarchist through and through is just the icing on the cake. This really is very good art. My favourite pictures weren't actually the political ones at all but the ones depicting country scenes, many of them published in the *Guardian* as the Country Diary drawings. There's a flowing naturalism to many of the works, perhaps most notably in a drawing of a fisherman. Here Clifford creates a real sense of movement just through shading. The fisherman stands in a flowing stream, trees bending against the breeze, clouds moving across what looks like an autumn sky. There's nothing twee about it, no attempt to create a (false) rural idyll. You know the fisherman is an ordinary farmworker. A picture of a crowd crushing out of Goodge Street tube station creates a similar feeling of movement in a city context, all bustle and life.

I have just one gripe. It's great that the exhibition is free. But it would have been helpful to have more information about how Clifford produces his work. Many of the drawings look like linocuts, and it's only by looking closely at the cross-hatching that you can see they're actually drawn. I'm not an expert though, and I'd have liked to know more. But this is only a minor quibble. Full credit to the *Guardian* for putting this exhibition on. Get along while you have a chance.

Richard Griffin

See Agraphia.uk.com for more on Clifford Harper. Many of the books he has illustrated are also stocked in the Freedom Bookshop, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.



Drawing by Clifford Harper

Beck's Futures

ICA Gallery, The Mall, London SW1
(tel 020 7930 3637)

Mon to Sun 12 noon to 7pm
until 18th May

"The anarchist painter is not one who will show anarchist paintings but one who, without regard for lucre, without desire for reward, will struggle with all his [sic] individuality, with a personal effort, against bourgeois and official convention" – Paul Signac, 1902

'Beck's Futures' is meant to be about showcasing the latest in contemporary art. Odd, then, that the work on display seems so familiar and bland. There's a lot of contemporary art around at the moment. W.H. Smith's is full of arts magazines stuffed with stories about installations, abstract painting, video art and photography (the new painting). People are queuing three deep to pay £8.50 for a look at the Saatchi exhibition in County Hall. In the face of all this, 'Beck's Futures' feels old hat. Nothing challenging, and certainly nothing shocking. The new has become mainstream and conventional.

Two artists in 'Beck's Futures' claim a political motivation for their work which is at least loosely connected with anarchism. One collective, Inventory, are displaying a piece called *Insurrection*, a messy collage of photographs, posters, text and flyers for a (poorly attended) football match they organised in the middle of the Mall in London. Despite their crass slogans and revolutionary posturing, it's clear the match was a pathetically pale imitation of acts of reclaiming space. This was no insurrection, but a staged event for an art prize sponsored by a capitalist beer company.

There's no sense in Inventory's work of the real acts of senseless beauty you actually saw on Reclaim the Streets actions, when roads were dug up and trees planted, or sand put on top of the tarmac, complete with plastic palm trees and deck chairs. There's also no sense of confrontation with the state, surely the essence of insurrection. As the *Observer* cynically noted about the football match, "the pigs came along and crushed Inventory's freedom by protecting them from passing cars". I don't expect anyone

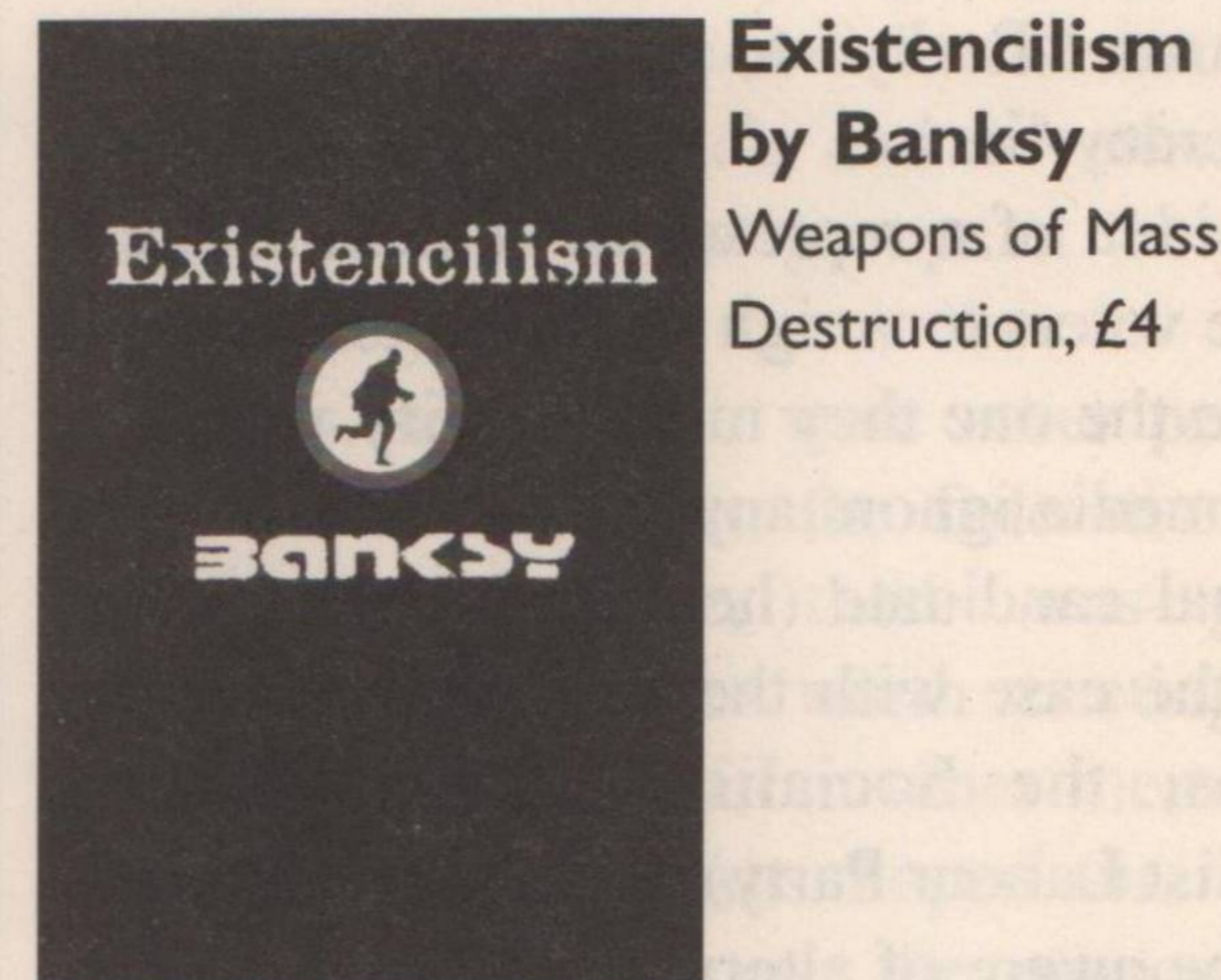
saw Inventory on Mayday.

Carey Young claims her work "situates itself in a context in which there is no 'outside' position from which to protest and nothing which can remain outside capitalist control structure for long". Seeing kids with expensive trainers branded with circled As, she may well be right. But in any case, I don't think on the outside is where Young wants to be. In one of her two video works she says "I am a revolutionary". In another, *Lines made by walking*, she presents her revolutionary credentials and claims a link with the Situationists by walking backwards and forwards through streams of commuters shuffling across London Bridge. As a political manifesto, these two works are (to be kind) tame. As art, they're just boring.

The trouble is that all the artists who appear in 'Beck's Futures' would rather be across the river in the Saatchi exhibition. As a result, they're conforming to the norm, to what's expected of Young British Artists. Their desire for reward is their main drive, whatever they may say. Given this, the best you can hope for is some decent variation on the theme. Bernd Behr achieves this with four of his video works, all displayed on (hidden) small monitors rather than normal, large and visible, television screens. Behr chooses his images because they look good. They'd make decent still photographs, but with video he can add extra dimensions like changing colour, shade and movement. This certainly struck me as a better use of video than David Sherry's video performance, which included him sewing balsa wood to the soles of his feet, or Alan Currall's video monologues, which included him listing who he'd leave his possessions to if he died (!).

The types of work displayed at the ICA are fashionable at the moment. They're collected, written about in the Sunday papers, hung in corporate offices, displayed in galleries and auctioned. Despite claiming links with cultural resistance, there's no attempt in any of the works to engage with ordinary people and their struggles. The 'Sensations' exhibition at the Royal Society of Art a decade ago heralded the start of what now passes for contemporary art in Britain. The Saatchi exhibition marks its conclusion. 'Beck's Futures' is already out of date. Time to move on.

Richard Griffin



What first attracted me to this book was my desire to see more of the brilliant stencils Banksy has done, on walls I couldn't imagine existed. I started to notice these pieces of stencil art (or graffiti, as some like to call it) around and about in London. I saw the massive piece by Banksy on Bankside (coincidence?), the police with big smiling yellow faces, and the little rats with guns, everywhere, but didn't have a clue what they were about. Then I saw *Existencilism*, Banksy's little black book.

This isn't the memoir of someone who mindlessly scrawls unreadable crap all over shop shutters. These are inspiring stencils, big ones, small, intricate or simple ones. In

my opinion, it's art which is free, accessible and brings a smile to the face of the person coming home through the concrete, colourless expanse that's the city.

Having said this, a little book can't really give a sense of how good these stencils really were when you saw them on the street. It's definitely way better to see this art on a huge wall and not on a page about two inches big. But it's only four quid and a good laugh.

Tom Chambers

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Also visit a wall, or www.banksy.co.uk

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A letter to an old friend

by Federico Arcos

*Like the stars, the night
Like the sun, the day
The dawn, the morning
The flower, the petal
The bee, the nectar
The beehive, the honey
The lover, the beloved;
So one carries the Ideal
In one's thoughts
And in one's heart.*



You ask me if I can define anarchism. It's very difficult for me to do concretely. Personally, I don't consider myself good enough to call myself an anarchist because I have always believed that to be one it would be necessary to reach the extreme point of sacrifice and to devote oneself without reservation to doing good, without limit and without cease. I can say that I still find myself tied to those endless commodities that contemporary society has created and, even though I try to limit them as much as I can, it will never be enough. The Tolstoyan spirit that commends the freedom of the isolated individual I will never be able to attain.

As you know, I grew up in the environment of a working class family with very limited means, when libertarian ideas were spreading and increasing the hopes of being able to create a better world. So at home I would read *Solidaridad Obrera* and *La Revista Blanca* or *Estudios*, the libertarian press. When my father was dismissed from his job

because of his advanced age, I would read the newspaper to him and to some of our neighbours who would gather at the door of our house to enjoy the fresh air, as was the custom in those days. As much from what I read as from the conversations that frequently took place at home at supper on workdays or at Sunday dinners, I became imbued with the spirit of the times and shared with my family the same concerns and strong desire to work to attain the ultimate goal of a Free Communist

Libertarian Society, a dream which, we were convinced, would soon become a reality.

Today, almost three quarters of a century later, it is very difficult for those who did not live in that period to comprehend the feelings, the disquiet, the sentiment, the unselfishness the workers felt, those who gave of themselves completely in unions and educational programmes, all at the cost of firings, persecution, imprisonment, torture, and even assassination. It was a unique

environment that came to shape thousands of compañeros. Brotherhood and sacrifice characterised the men and women who wrote those beautiful pages full of exploits that, today, they want to erase from history, but that still remain alive in the hearts and minds of those of us who learned how to understand those exploits and to relive them intensely.

After all this, I have not answered your desire to know what I think of anarchism. Anarchism should be the ultimate expression of freedom in all its meanings, a freedom that does not interfere with, and that always respects, the freedom of others. I could also say that, for me, anarchism is something more than the economic organisation of society based on the free association of individuals which existed in many collectives and villages in Spain during the revolutionary period of 1936-39, especially in Aragon, the Levant and Catalonia, and in other anti-fascist regions of the country. It should embody an implicit respect for life.

It is the reaffirmation of the human being, based on feelings and affection that make one perceive the yearnings, hopes, sorrows and pains that present themselves in the course of our existence. Perhaps I could say that I feel anarchism more in my heart than in my mind, the way hopeful lovers idealise their beloved. And, on this path, to love and to value all of humanity and nature for their own sake. Again, it is difficult for me to define it, and I'm sorry to disappoint you if I'm not clear enough to satisfy your request.

Democracy-lite

To be fair to the United States, they said they would bring democracy to Iraq and they're in the process of doing just that; democracy western-style, aka democracy-lite or I-can't-believe-it's-not-democracy. This means that the population can do all the chanting and moaning they want, provided they don't interfere with the business of ... well, business.

How does this work on a local level? Here in Bristol, you can march in the streets and chant 'no war', but if you try to enter a building you pay for with your taxes (e.g. the Army Recruiting Centre) you're stopped with as much force as necessary and often a bit more for good measure.

Ah! You might argue that in a democracy both sides must be heard; the army has a right to recruit and you have a right to protest. Okay, do anti-war protests have a multi-million dollar budget to put adverts in Bristol cinemas encouraging people not to join the army? No. Not that balanced then, is it?

Does the state protect the rights of its citizens? Only if you're not a threat. Ask Pat Finucane, murdered by the state. The military can and do ignore the laws of the democracy they claim to uphold. Look at how many people have been brought to justice for the direction of terrorist action in northern Ireland. None, and don't hold your breath waiting.

Locally, the police can ignore the laws of democracy to protect the status quo (not the band), as we've seen at anti-war demos where the police did all the rioting. How many cops have been brought to justice for this? None, and don't hold your breath waiting.

In a parallel of stunning irony, the US meets with chosen Iraqi 'leaders' to carve up Iraq's resources, protected by a ring of soldiers. The Iraqis can protest outside (democracy) and chant 'no to Saddam, no to America', but they can't go into the meeting (democracy-lite)

– they can't change anything meaningful.

At the same time, the EU leaders meet in Athens to rubber stamp another super-state with chosen 'leaders', protected by a ring of cops and soldiers. The citizens of the EU can protest outside (democracy) and chant, but they can't go into the meeting (democracy-lite), so they can't change anything meaningful.

Ah, you say, but these leaders are elected! In part. I'd love to hear a convincing argument of how Italy's Berlusconi, with a personal media empire, was 'democratically' elected. The alternative to Tony Blair is to elect another goon with a different spin machine, who'll do the same free-market neo-liberal policies. You choose to elect Pinky or Perky to the parliament of democracy-lite.

The idea of a representative democracy is for the voters to weigh up the candidates and choose the one they most identify with. But if the media ignore anyone but the business-as-usual candidate (here in Bristol this has been the case with the Bristolian Party, the Greens, the Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Labour Party), then how can people even be aware of alternatives, let alone vote for them?

So far, the only 'fringe' party to get any serious coverage has been the BNP, which is being used by the Labour Party as a stick to beat voters into turning out ("the Bristolian Party lumbers on, increasing the chances of a BNP victory every day" ...).

It echoes the words of Spanish anarchist Buenaventura Durruti, who said "no government in the world fights fascism to the death. When the bourgeoisie sees power slipping from its grasp, it has recourse to fascism to maintain itself ..." Democracy-lite, enforced down the barrel of a gun.

Anarchist 606

<http://anarchist606.blogspot.com>

Freedom's battlefield

At the height of the Cold War, in the face of nuclear stalemate, Bertram Russell said "remember your humanity and forget the rest". He was urging people in their tens of thousands to join the Committee of 100 in committing non-violent direct action against the state's preparation for nuclear war. It was at this time that the International Socialists came into being, to propagate the class struggle on an international basis without the authoritarian Leninism of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, vanguard party or 'democratic centralism'.

With the passage of time, the Committee of 100 decentralised and developed an anarchist mode of organisation, based on individual responsibility and solidarity through co-operative working groups and direct decision-making. With the advent of the Vietnam War, it shifted its focus away from nuclear war to the dynamics of war itself, and the need to address the whole mosaic of social oppression. A lesson learned was that a political party, no matter how liberatory, duplicates the structure of the state and prepares for taking formal political power by stepping into the shoes of the state machine which maintains class and transnational capitalism.

Sectarian political parties and freedom

In time, the International Socialists became the Socialist Workers Party, with their belief in the working class's 'historic role' – which didn't exist. They are stuck with this residual, nineteenth century dogma, that only means something to the Marxist parties because it gives them an ideology and ticket to political power.

What anarchist modes of organisation have learned is that politics must be participatory, inclusive, directly democratic, co-operative, non-hierarchical and outside the parasitic maw of state, class and capital.

Sectarian Marxist parties didn't stop the Vietnam War. It was wound up in 1973 because the American military machine was beaten. 58,000 'boys' came home in body bags, it was hugely unpopular, and grassroots non-violent direct action against the war brought it to a halt. It had raged on and off for fourteen years.

Has nothing been learned?

Sectarian politics based on Marxist dogma hasn't achieved a just, free and classless society, or stopped a war, anywhere on the face of this earth. The formal party-political process is part of the war-making machinery, and yields nothing but career structures for professional politicians. It reinforces the parasitism of the corporate state and its current global 'religious' worship of commodity, cash, violence, drugs and oil.

A non-commercial counter-culture was begun in the 1960s, but was crushed by the system. An effective anti-war movement must be based on counter-cultural beliefs, actions and institutions that support it. The struggle is against the enslavement of power and its manifestation in war, where troops are used as legitimate mercenaries for corporate power and oil barons. Can we have the flexibility and honesty to take the best of the radical traditions and create a movement capable of yielding and generating freedom for all?

Red Emma

worldchurchofcommerce@yahoo.co.uk

MANCHESTER RADICAL BOOKFAIR

Saturday 17th May from 11am to 5pm

Bridge 5 Mill, 22a Beswick Street

Ancoats, Manchester

see <http://www.radicalbookfair.org.uk>

What we say ...

The Stevens report, which was published last month, seemed to reveal new facts about the death of Belfast solicitor Patrick Finucane at the hands of the Ulster Defence Association. Its publication, we were told, like the instigation of the enquiry itself, demonstrated a new openness on the part of the British government. The state was said to be willing to admit past crimes and acknowledge the blood on its hands. But appearances aren't the same as facts. Of Stevens's 3,000 pages, only twenty were made available to the public. The British state admitted only what it could no longer deny.

Pat Finucane was murdered in 1989. Two gunmen burst into his home and shot him fourteen times in front of his wife and three children. Five weeks before, Home Office minister Douglas Hogg had told the House of Commons that "some solicitors are unduly sympathetic to the cause of the IRA" – an argument taken further by the UDA when it claimed, wrongly, that Finucane belonged to the organisation.

The Stevens Enquiry brief was to investigate the 'possibility' of collusion between the security forces and Loyalist paramilitaries in the killings of Finucane and others around the same time. The report finally revealed that William Stobie, the UDA member who'd supplied the weapons used to target Finucane, was a Special Branch informer who'd told his handlers the killing was to take place. (One of the weapons used, a 9mm Browning, was 'stolen' from a barracks of the state-owned Ulster Defence Regiment, later disbanded.) The UDA intelligence chief who'd personally scouted Finucane's home and briefed Ken Barrett, one of the killers, was a man named Brian Nelson.

Nelson, we now know, was 'run' as an agent by the Force Research Unit (FRU), one of three counter-intelligence units operating in the six counties of the north of Ireland. During this time, Nelson was implicated in at least 29 murders. He was certainly a notorious bigot, who had been jailed in 1974 for kidnapping and torturing a Catholic man with an electric cattle prod.

This track record made him an ideal UDA recruit, and properly qualified to work for British intelligence. He was answerable to Gordon Kerr, then FRU chief and now (for services rendered the British state) military attaché in Beijing. Nelson was later jailed, then relocated with a new identity. But, allegedly and mightily conveniently, he died just six days before the report's publication.

The Stevens report went so far as to admit that security forces sanctioned the killing of nationalists, that British intelligence (via Nelson and others) was involved in the supply of weapons and information to Loyalist death squads, and that – in effect – it ran the UDA (and another Loyalist terror organisation, the Ulster Freedom Fighters).

What the (published) report didn't say was that Nelson also helped procure shipments of South African arms for the UDA. It didn't detail the evidence for the existence or otherwise of 'Stakeknife', supposedly a senior Republican run by the FRU (whom many Republicans think is a further FRU bluff).

What it certainly showed was that, faced with an insurgent working class (in this case nationalist), the British state was prepared to run death squads and terrorists. Facts can't be denied, but they can be obscured. From Bloody Sunday, through its involvement in the 1974 Dublin and Monaghan bombings, through the murder of Rosemary Nelson (unrelated), the British state's murderous conduct of its longest war has too often remained hidden behind the 'democratic veil'. The Stevens Enquiry has been another exercise in official obfuscation.

Readers' letters

Blair bull

Dear *Freedom*,
I'd like to correct a slight error in the editing of my article ('Watch this space', 19th April). It should have said that Saddam was reported to "have" WMDs in 2001, not just in 2003. Yes indeed, it only took Blair four months to go from "the sanctions are working" and "we need absolute proof" of Iraqi involvement in 9/11 to seeing Saddam Hussein as an immediate threat to the world.

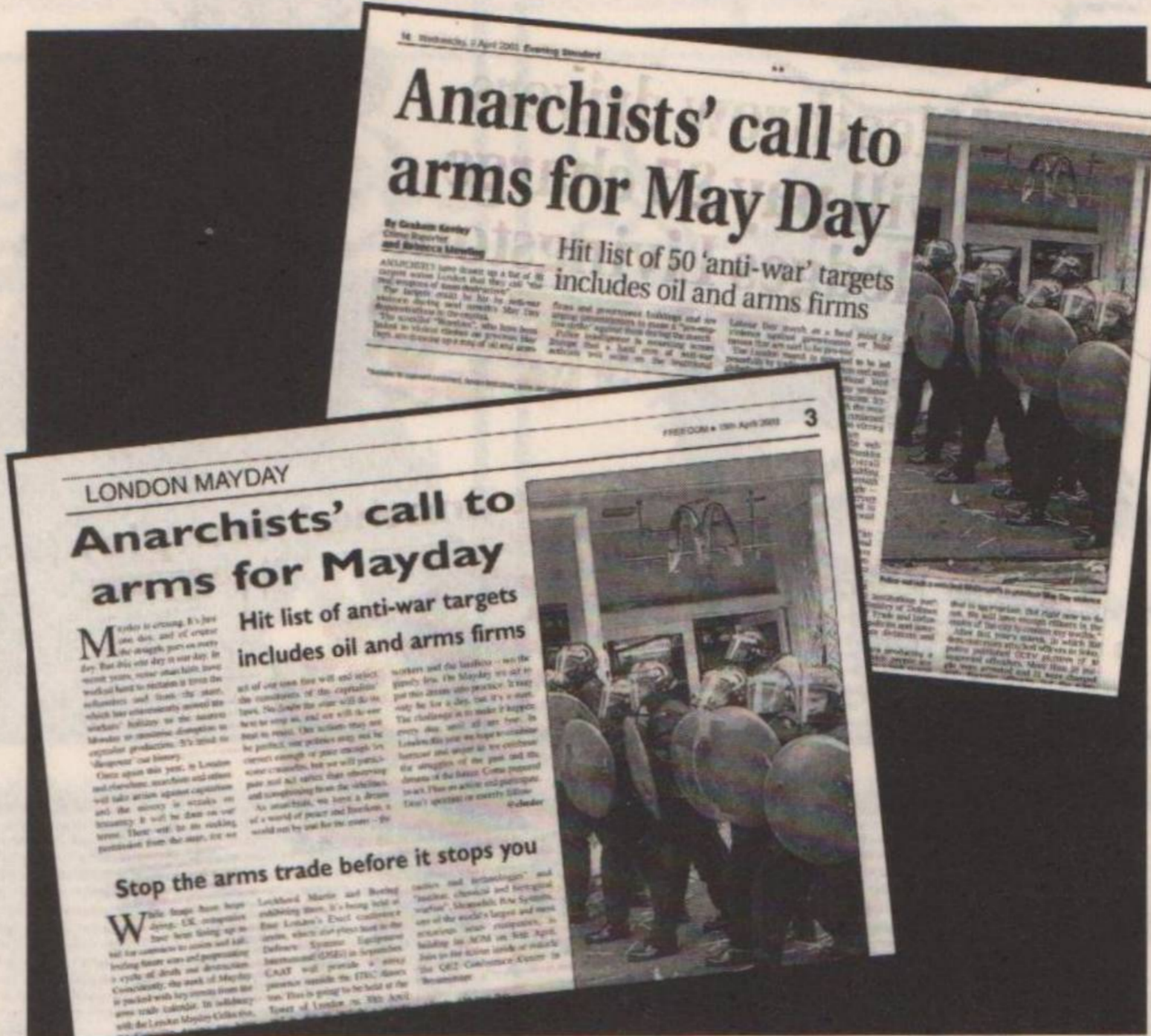
Needless to say, the invasion of Iraq has shown that the 'anti-war' imperialist bloc of France, Germany and Russia were totally correct. Saddam's dictatorship was no threat to the world at all. Rather than being the new Hitler, he was a tinpot dictator who ruled a clapped-out military machine. Its Soviet era tanks were decades old, while machine guns proved no match for the world's leading military power.

And now the fun begins. Where are Iraq's mysteriously missing WMDs? I'm sure Blair wishes this question would go away. Disarming Saddam, not regime change, was what this war was sold on. Some Iraqi WMDs, the prime minister said last September, "are deployable within 45 minutes of an order to use them". Now they've gone.

Blair might wish this question would go away. We have to make sure it doesn't. Did Saddam really hide them so well that they'll take months to find? What are the chances, do readers think, of the evil genius having cunningly managed to move them across miles of open desert to Syria before he scarpared? But that would be incredible surely – nearly as incredible as Blair's cheek in expecting us to believe the bullshit that's come from Downing Street and the Pentagon.

Anarcho

Fancy that!



Dear *Freedom*,
I was staggered to see an amazing similarity between a page in the last issue of your fine organ and one from London's well-known scandal sheet, the *Evening Scumbag* ('Anarchists call to arms for Mayday', 19th April). Was this just a coincidence? I think we should be told.

Dazed and confused
of Tunbridge Wells

Goodness gracious, isn't it funny how these things happen. Thanks for bringing it to our attention.

Class war ban

Dear *Freedom*,
If anybody is thinking of checking out the Class War website in any library in the London Borough of Camden, they'll find there's software blocking the site. After making a written complaint to the IT Department, I was told that this was because "it contains bad language". Of course, there's no problem at all accessing the National Front or the BNP – not a single one of their

sites is blocked. I'm wondering who's next on the censorship list for Camden libraries. This is another proof of what capitalist 'democracy' really means. If you dissent, you get banned. But at least the London Class War website still works (probably because it's new).

J.B.

Visit www.londonclasswar.org or www.classwaruk.org (as long as you're not in Camden)

Pleasant peasants

Dear *Freedom*,
I've been yearning to live in a peasant-commune for thirty years now. Over the years, my socio-political activity has prevented me from implementing this desire and putting my views into practice. And I've never found the right people, maybe because I'm a maximalist (a "purist"), maybe not. Any way, I'm asking people to join me in establishing a new commune here in Hungary, based on a traditional farm. We could plant a forest-garden and live independently, self-sufficiently and sustainably.

The way of life I suggest would be all these things: vegan, organic, agricultural, nonviolent, worldhuman, secular and rational, naturopathic, simple and modest. It would be anarchy in the real and practical sense, the most balanced social order. I'd also be interested in joining a similarly structured society in the UK or elsewhere in Europe. If any readers are interested, please could they get in touch.

Toma Sik

Toma@zpak.hu

Letters may be cut for reasons of space

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14th to 27th April 2003

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund
Upton, NC, £10; Newport, NF, £6; Coventry, LW, £5; Edinburgh, TM, £6.

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Total for 2003 = £324.00

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Total = £16.00
Total for 2003 = £433.00

Raven Deficit Fund
No donations this time.

Total for 2003 = £82.00

For many years, *Freedom Press* has split donations into these nominal funds. This has always created extra book-keeping work for us, at the very least. So to make everyone's lives easier, from now on any financial donations towards our work (which are still very welcome!) will be listed as general donations.

Any money we receive is carefully accounted for and, as part of our policy of openness, our books are open to inspection by other anarchists at any (reasonable!) time. Here endeth the lesson. Amen.

COPY DEADLINE

The next issue of *Freedom* will be dated 17th May, and the last day for copy intended for this issue will be Thursday 8th May 2003. Contributions can be sent to us at FreedomCopy@aol.com

CORRECTIONS

Our comrades from Manchester Solidarity Federation do meet at 8.30pm on Wednesday 7th May, but they don't meet in the venue we listed on 19th April. For their discussion of 'Iraq and the Middle East', the place to be is the Hare and Hounds in Shude Hill.

The exhibition we listed as Paul Petard's is actually an exhibition of the work of Paul Mattson, Laura Norder, Paul Petard and Guy Smallman. Visit The Foundry, 84 Great Eastern Street, London EC2 before 11th May.

As always, apologies all round.

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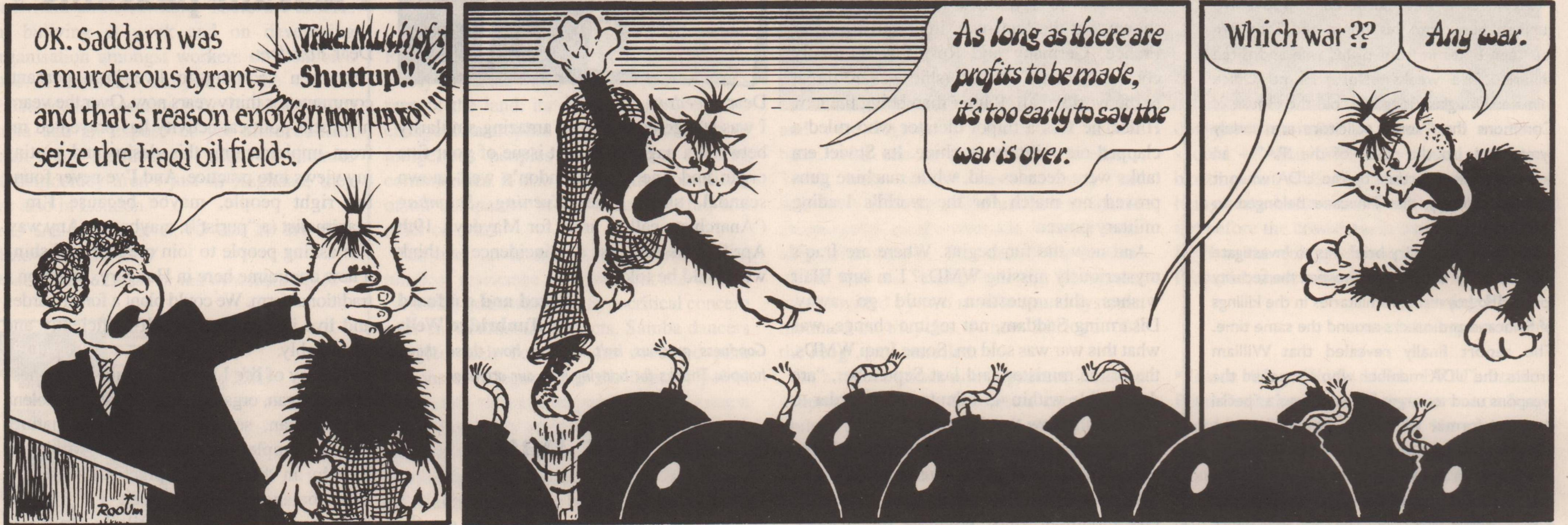
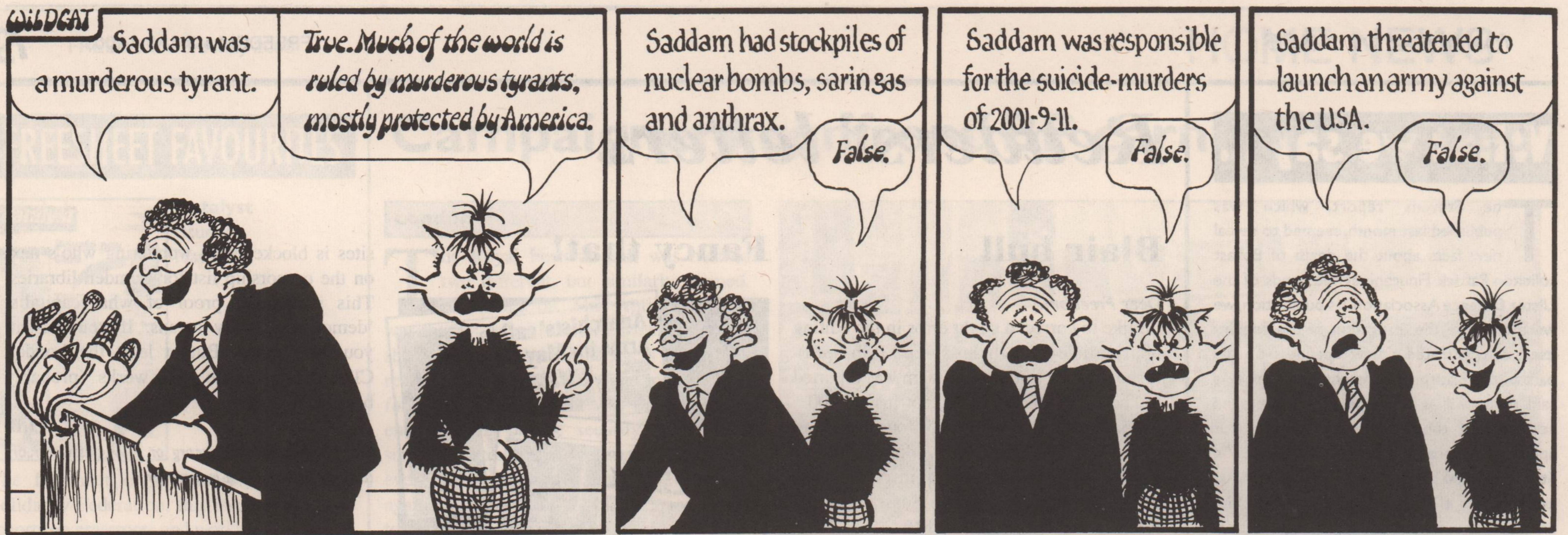
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www.cannabiscoalition.org • 020 7274 3364 • 020 7637 7467

TEA WITH AMERICAN AMBASSADOR
Sunday 4th May from 2pm
Meet St Johns Wood tube station to travel to north west corner of Regents Park, behind Winfield House (Ambassador's residence)

LEICESTER ANARCHIST FEDERATION
Tuesday 6th May at 8pm
Meeting upstairs at Ale Wagon pub, Charles Street, Leicester LE1
http://www.geocities.com/leicester_af/org.html

MANCHESTER SOLFED MEETING
Wednesday 7th May at 8.30pm
at Hare and Hounds, Shude Hill, Manchester
www.manchestersf.org.uk • www.solfed.org.uk

DISARM DSEi OPEN MEETING
Thursday 8th May at 7.30pm
venue to be confirmed
email disarm@dsei.org • tel 07817 652029 • see www.dsei.org

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

WOMENZONE
Saturday 10th May from 3pm
Practical politics, DIY radical propaganda and skill sharing for women
at LARC, 62 Fieldgate Street, Whitechapel, London E1

ANARCHIST FEDERATION
Saturday 10th May from 2pm to 5pm
'The French Connection - Anarchism and Organisation' with author David Berry (A History of the French Anarchist Movement 1917-1945)
plus refreshments, wine and French revolutionary music
at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn, London

BOYCOTT NESTLÉ
Saturday 10th May and Saturday 17th May
On 10th May from 11am to 12 noon gather at Nestlé sites around the country for the start of breastfeeding week.
On 17th May gather at Nestlé HQ in Croydon from 11am to 12 noon
see www.babymilkaction.org/

RED RAMBLES 2003
Sunday 11th May at 11am
Meet at war memorial on Monyash village green, Monyash, Derbyshire
for 5-6 mile circular walk via Lathkill Dale
email ain@ziplip.com • tel.07775 977136

'WAR ON TERROR' THREATENS US ALL
Public Meeting on Tuesday 13th May at 7pm
Hosted by Lord Rea, speakers include Mark Thomas, Gareth Peirce, Rashid Massoudi, Michael Mansfield QC, Mohammed Suleyman, Dagmar (Fairford protester), Sait Akgul and Jagdeesh Singh
Moses Room, House of Parliament, Westminster (St Stephens entrance)
see www.cacc.org.uk

THE PERFORMANCE CLUB N8
Tuesday 13th May from 8pm
Downstairs at the Kings Head, Crouch End Broadway, London N8
details at http://www.newagenda.org.uk/perfclub.htm

MANCHESTER RADICAL BOOKFAIR
Saturday 17th May from 11am to 5pm
at Bridge 5 Mill, 22a Beswick Street, Ancoats, Manchester
see http://www.radicalbookfair.org.uk

MANCHESTER DISCUSSION GROUP
Tuesday 20th May at 8pm
meet at Hare & Hounds, Shude Hill, near the Arndale Centre

ANTI-TRIDENT DEMO
Saturday 24th May • assemble at 12 noon
Assemble in Devonport Park for anti-Trident nuclear weapons demo and weapons inspection at Devonport Dockyard in Plymouth

BP & ESSO AT IMPERIAL COLLEGE
Tuesday 27th and Wednesday 28th May
The usual tyrants at Imperial College, London, for their £75,000 recruitment drive, so register your disdain (dates may change)
tel 020 7802 2410 • email info@risingtide.org.uk

JUSTICE FOR RAY GILBERT
Thursday 29th May from 7pm to 9pm
Public meeting to support prisoner Ray Gilbert
at The Friends Meeting House, Paradise Street, Liverpool

HARINGEY CRITICAL MASS
Saturday 31st May • assemble 11am
All welcome to assemble at Manor House tube for journey to Chestnuts Park Festival for 12.30pm
Haringey Solidarity Group tel 020 8374 5027

CLOSE CAMPSFIELD
Saturday 31st May from 12 noon to 2pm
see www.closecampsfield.org.uk

ANIMAL RIGHTS ACTIVIST GATHERING
Saturday 31st May to Sunday 1st June
Book your free place at the gathering near Tonbridge in Kent
tel 0845 4560284 • see www.farmedanimalaction.co.uk

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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