

Palestine: an eyewitness report

"This moment is both an opportunity and a test for all parties in the Middle East: an opportunity to lay the foundations of future peace; a test to show who is serious about peace and who is not. The choice here is stark and simple. The Bible says, 'I have set before you life and death; therefore, choose life'. The time has arrived for everyone in this conflict to choose peace, and hope, and life." – George W. Bush, 25th June 2002

Whoever wrote these words for Bush carefully avoided the fact that the US donates more aid to Israel than to any other country on the planet, something like \$15 billion a year. Despite Israel's continued refusal to recognise both UN resolution 242 and the international calls for the withdrawal of its troops from the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, the US hasn't bombed Israel once. Yet it's been very busy bombing dozens of other countries who've done nothing to contravene international law.

As many anarchist writers attest, the difference between the words of liberal democracies and their deeds are often vast, but in the case of the USA the sheer hypocrisy of Bush's 'serious' call for peace is staggering. Above all, bringing the Bible into the argument is hardly a helpful contribution to a conflict that's prolonged by a fanatical adherence to interpretations of ancient religious texts.

Gunfire, live ammunition, plastic bullets, sound bombs, heavy machine guns, shells, tear gas, tanks, jeeps, Armoured Personnel Carriers, soldiers, checkpoints, collective punishments, demolished houses, police brutality, prison, armed teenage Zionist settlers who terrorise olive pickers for kicks – these are just a few aspects of the turmoil that constitutes everyday life for the Palestinian people, thanks to fanaticism like this.

Some claim two cultures are strangling each other and no side is better or worse off than the other, but this is plain wrong. I've seen Tel Aviv. There are no checkpoints there. There are tidy streets that haven't been ripped up by bulldozers. There's employment. There are bars, open shops, cinemas and theatres. There's no occupational army, with tanks on the streets that kill, detain, humiliate, beat and arrest people every day.

There's tension there of course, but it's the tension of a population that won't listen. It's the self-destructive tension of blind arrogance, bred by the security of knowing that, whatever you do, the biggest and most powerful imperial power in the world will always look after you. Israel is the spoilt brat of geopolitics, facing the resistance of a more restrained, civilised neighbour that refuses to give in. The Palestinian civilisation may have been driven into the mire of poverty, martyrdom and death, but it won't leave its

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Beyond bourgeois 'democracy', the popular assemblies of Argentina are proof of a ...

Revolution in progress



On 20th December last year, thousands of Argentinians took the streets of Buenos Aires as their country's economy collapsed. This year, to mark the first anniversary of the start of a South American revolution, days of disobedience are being held around the world. To find out about some of the events that are taking place in Britain, visit www.wombles.org.uk
Iain McKay assesses the prospects for permanent change in Argentina, page four

Key win in Norway case

The morning was freezing but bright and sunny as we cycled to Trondheim's law courts on 26th November. A cyclist was on trial, following a Critical Mass ride in the city on 21st September. Inside the court, everything was still. The players were a three-judge panel (one permanent judge and two lay judges drawn from the community), the police lawyer, one witness for the prosecution (a police officer), the cyclist himself and nine witnesses for the defence. All the witnesses for the defence were present in court, but the cyclist wasn't allowed to call any of them.

In the end, the cyclist won, even though he'd been denied his rights to representation and to call witnesses. The trial lasted four hours and the verdict was given in the afternoon. He was found not guilty on two out of the three charges made against him.

On the first charge, of resisting arrest, the court found that passive non-reaction to arrest (going limp) wasn't the same as resisting it. This set a precedent, of course, in a legal debate that's been discussed for years.

The second charge, of carrying a dangerous weapon, was important for the following reason. The cyclist had in his possession a 'Leatherman', a multi-purpose tool handy for bicycle repair. Carrying it isn't illegal except under certain circumstances. One of these circumstances (here's the important part) is on a demonstration. The legal argument then centred (you guessed it) on whether a Critical Mass is or isn't a demonstration.

The police lawyer went all out on this one. By finding the cyclist not guilty, the court in effect declared that Critical Mass isn't a demo and is, therefore, legal. In fact, it was labelled a 'congregation' both in the court's

papers and in its verdict. This choice of wording may just sound like legal jargon, but it'll have an extremely important and positive impact on the treatment of riders who take part in future Critical Mass rides (or congregations).

So, the cyclist was cleared on two out of three charges. On the third count, of failing to identify himself when asked to do so by police, he was fined just 2,000 kroner. The court refused to levy costs against him, and he'll get his Leatherman back. In addition, neutral reaction to arrest isn't resistance and Critical Mass rides are now legal in Trondheim. The court's decisions throughout were unanimous. The police have appealed against the verdict. Central to this is their outrage that Critical Masses can now ride legally. They're insisting that a Mass really is a demonstration after all.

Christa

Freedom

anarchist fortnightly

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

What anarchism means to me

Anarchism for me is the affirmation of all life, and this suggests that we should enjoy life and help others – in the very widest sense and in varying degrees – also to enjoy life. I am therefore against anything that diminishes life on earth – war, violence, exploitation, oppression, injustice and the degradation of the natural world. Anarchism for me means learning from our forebears, which does not entail the silly idea that by doing so we are worshipping our ancestors. Like Ayi Kwei Armah, I think the present is where we get lost “if we forget our past and have no vision of the future”.

To me, anarchism means everything from digging my allotment to protesting against capitalism and war, and entails encouraging and supporting all forms of social life that help the realisation of those slogans of the French Revolution, liberty, equality and fraternity (which, to me, are intrinsically linked). I thus support all forms of anarchism, although personally I am a bit of a recluse and have little in common with the mystics, egoists, nihilists, terrorists – poetic or otherwise – and anarcho-capitalists.

Like the late Nicolas Walter, I do not see the main types of anarchism as necessarily opposed, for (as he wrote in his book *About Anarchism*) “in our private lives we are individualists, doing our own things and choosing our own companions and friends for personal reasons; in our social lives we are mutualists, making free arrangements with each other and giving what we have and getting what we need by equal exchanges with each other; in our working lives we would mostly be collectivists, joining colleagues in producing for the common good; in the management of work we would mostly be syndicalists, joining our colleagues in deciding how the job should be done; in our political lives we would mostly be communists, joining our neighbours in deciding how the community should be run”. But this political philosophy needs to be combined with an ecological sensibility.

Brian Morris

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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homeland or give up its claim to it.

As a confirmed anarchist, I have a deep suspicion of ‘democratic’ representatives. My suspicions are visibly justified here. The Palestinians are attacked from both sides, by the murderous violence and daily oppression of the brattish Sharon government and by the ineptitude and corruption of the Palestinian Authority (PA) that continues to tax these people and do little to help them in return. Granted it has its hands tied, but it could at least try to help people in their daily lives.

More is done for social welfare by the most extreme Islamist militias than by the Palestinian Authority, and with less corruption too. Yes, Arafat has the support of many middle class Palestinians who are part of a relative elite, but talk to people in the refugee camps of Nablus or Jenin, and you’ll most likely hear a different story.

Arafat’s deputy said last week that the call for an armed struggle was a ‘mistake’. This judgement came rather late. In the last two years, there have been nearly 3,000 Palestinians killed and tens of thousands injured. Most of these have been between the ages of 12 and 21. They were nearly all children or young people.

It was also an arrogant statement because it assumed that, without this call, the people would simply have done nothing. A call for non-violent resistance, I believe, would have vastly helped the Palestinian cause abroad, but it wasn’t made. Instead, as each martyr operation has taken place, non-violent resistance has been sidelined in media coverage. In fact, non-violent resistance is the norm here. Most people resist the occupation in this way, breaking curfew, refusing intimidation, remaining calm under fire.

The Palestinian non-violent direct action movement stretches back to the 1930s and beyond. But who ever hears about it in Britain? Instead the PA is portrayed (as Sharon likes it to be) as the grand puppet master of the Palestinian people, urging them into violent conflict with a giant nuclear power. The truth is that no Palestinian government will ever be in control of the Palestinian people to that extent. Statehood of this kind is simply another form of occupation, and the Palestinians always resist occupations. They are skilled in this because they’ve been occupied for centuries.

Implicit anarchism

An anarchist recognition of authority from the bottom up is evident everywhere here. The communities of Balata or Asker camps are stronger models than any nation state for a non-hierarchical social organisation. People gain respect, not by wealth, but by what they do. The honour is given to volunteers, medical relief workers, builders and martyrs.

The rich Palestinian businessman whose palace, built before the present intifada, still stands untouched beside the bombed out chaos and rubble of south Nablus, has no respect here, because he’s done nothing for the people. He has palaces all over the Arab World, so he doesn’t come here any more. Meanwhile, his wealth still protects his property from both Israeli and Palestinian outrage. Below this manifestation of extreme wealth lies the central checkpoint between Jerusalem and Amman Street. This place cuts the city in half and is the site of regular humiliations and violence against the people by the Israeli army. It happens every day.

The curfew is broken every day now too, though six months ago no one dared to venture out. People were killed in the street and left unreached for days, their bodies eaten by the birds. Now, gradually, the mass resistance of the 250,000 people of Nablus has come to make the curfew look like a



An Israeli checkpoint on the West Bank

joke. The soldiers punish people – perhaps fifty a day – but they’ve given up shooting them. Shooting didn’t work.

Despite all the murders by the Israeli Occupation Force (IOF), you’ll find more graffiti of hate on the subway walls of a deprived London suburb than on the walls of the Balata or Aska refugee camps in Nablus, where dozens of young martyrs have come from and where the first intifada showed its strongest presence. The walls are filled instead with memorial posters to these young people. The city of Nablus is one huge memorial, a city mourning, resisting, but refusing to hate its oppressor.

The Israelis want to see the hate so they can feel justified in what they do here. But instead, the people of Nablus remain calm, waiting for the right moment to act, in the most effective way, even if they have to die. They continue their lives in this way. The taxi drivers continue driving through the hazardous streets, at risk of being shot at from every street corner, carrying people to and from military checkpoints where their taxis are often confiscated and made into roadblocks for a whole day. The ambulance drivers continue to face detention and ambulance searches, as they try to reach victims of the latest IOF murder.

The most visible resistance is from the children who chance their luck in mass stone throwing at tanks, which respond with live ammunition. If there were an Olympic event of throwing stones, the Palestinian under 16s would win gold, silver and bronze every time. I’ve been in the Nablus region for five weeks, and I haven’t yet witnessed a Palestinian fighter shooting at the Israeli army. But I’ve seen the Israeli army, settlers and police abuse, brutalise, humiliate and fire at children, school boys and girls, men, women, old people, vehicles, homes, cars and even donkeys. All the courage shown by international activists doesn’t come close to the courage of the Palestinian people in their continual resistance to occupation by the fourth largest army on the planet.

My British nationality is an issue here. The British are seen by many as responsible for the creation of the state of Israel, a state the Ottoman empire refused to grant to the Zionist Movement in the nineteenth century. The Balfour Declaration of the 1920s, in which the British government committed itself to the establishment of a Zionist state, is one of the most destructive documents in modern history, a promise that’s been more horrifically realised than any speech by George W. Bush ever will be.

Given this history, the British sycophancy towards the US government doesn’t help its reputation one iota. This is why I came here. How can I live with the stolen riches Britain has – riches gained from hundreds of years of colonialism, theft and murder – and not do something to help the people my government’s robbed? To write about it isn’t enough.

That’s all the present governments do. They won’t act to give the Palestinians their freedom. They won’t promise anything without guarantee of subservience to their globalising project. After all of the history the Palestinians have endured at the hands of the British and American superpowers, why should they even listen? So I act directly, non-governmentally, and not just with words in an English so mired by the history of imperialism. I must help these brilliant people retrieve what’s been taken from them.

Palestinians have always chosen life, peace and hope like everyone else. The problem is that these choices are being taken from them every day by the bloody, murderous monstrosities of super-powered state terrorists who leave them no choice but martyrdom – a hope for a better life than this one, but only after death.

Ceri Gibbons

Ceri is currently working with the International Solidarity Movement. In November he was detained by Israeli troops for several days. He writes from Nablus.



Anarcho-Syndicalist Review
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The latest number of north America’s syndicalist paper is a double issue, featuring reflections on ASR co-founder, the late Sam Dolgoff, as well as two essays by the man himself. One of these, ‘Kropotkin’s revolutionary philosophy’ is reprinted here for the first time since its original publication in 1933.

There are feature articles on Argentina, Palestine and the anti-globalisation movement, as well as news, letters and reviews. There’s also an obituary for Zambian anarchist Wilstar Choongo, who died in 1999 aged only 35.

Available from Freedom Press at £3.50 (plus 50p towards postage and packing in the UK, £1 elsewhere).

What the public think

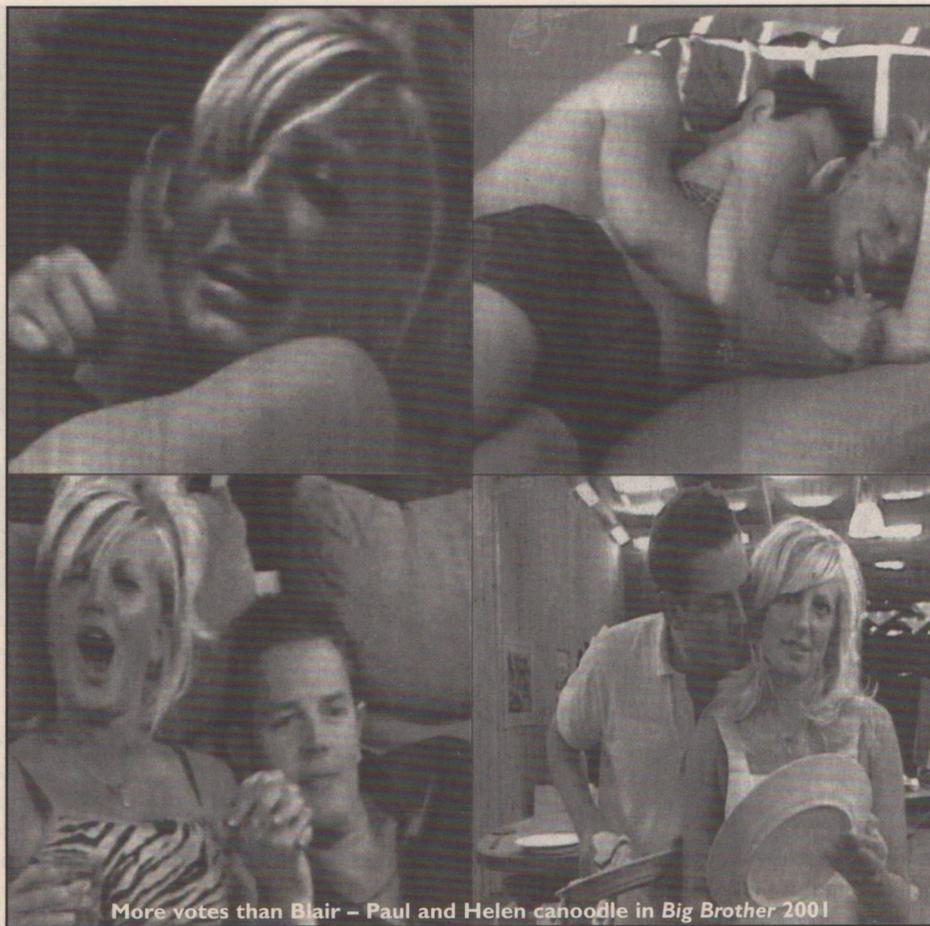
Liberal democracy doesn't work and, after a decade or more of trade union sweetheart deals, workers don't think there's any point in joining a union. Who says so? The government's British Social Attitudes (BSA) Survey, published last week. The survey, the nineteenth of its kind, is an influential annual report on the attitude of the British public towards social and political issues. Coverage of the survey in the mainstream media concentrated either on the welcome news that we're becoming less racist and homophobic, or on trivial facts. We learned, for example, that most of us phone our mothers at least once a week.

Far less attention was given to the political messages that emerged, one of the most important of which was that next to nobody trusts the institution of government. Asked whether they thought democracy was working, just 2% of Britain's population said yes. That's right – only two people in a hundred have faith in the state. When Labour was elected to power, the figure was 33% – poor enough, as it seemed at the time.

The public is sceptical and cynical, not only of government but also of elections. What's the point of trudging down to a polling station to choose between Tweedledum and Tweedledee, when both of them will go back on their promises as soon as they get their grubby hands on power? What's the point in voting anyway, when the real power resides in corporate boardrooms and the White House?

With turnout in elections plummeting and more people voting in *Big Brother* than in political elections, liberal electoral democracy is in crisis. New Labour's desperate attempts to revive it, from mayoral elections to Sunday voting, have failed. Last week Nick Raynsford, the minister responsible for local government, launched a 'soundings exercise' across England to check the level of interest in regional assemblies. He shouldn't have bothered. He's wasting his time and our money. A thumping three quarters of the population doesn't want regional assemblies, according to the BSA Survey.

It isn't only government the public has rumbled. They've also sussed that there's little point in joining a trade union if all the union wants to do is cuddle up to manage-



More votes than Blair – Paul and Helen canoodle in *Big Brother* 2001

ment with a partnership deal. According to the *Financial Times*, the survey revealed that "workers are less likely to belong to a union than they were twenty years ago because the overall advantage in joining has fallen". In the days when unions took industrial action, the result was that workers in unionised workplaces won higher wage increases than their colleagues elsewhere. That, of course, is why the bosses hated the trade unions so much – they gave workers a bigger share of the profits. Not any more.

Particularly since the mid 1990s, the amount of extra money you'd see in your pay packet as a result of being in a unionised factory or office has fallen sharply. The price of belonging to a union has risen in contrast. The result, unsurprisingly, is that fewer people now join. In 1983, half the respondents to the BSA Survey belonged to one. This year, less than a third did.

Partnership deals and no-strike agreements have done more to weaken the unions than all the legislation brought in by Thatcher ever could. No wonder the new general secretary of Amicus, Derek Simpson, says he wants to tear up the sweetheart deals his predecessor (and Tony Blair's favourite trade unionist), Sir Ken Jackson, signed. If he doesn't, he soon won't have any members left! Of course, all this is good news for anarchists. We've argued for over a hundred years that reformist trade unions and governments won't deliver for working people. It looks like the message is getting through. It may stick in the throat that this is probably more due to Sir Ken Jackson and Tony Blair than Bakunin or Berkman, but what the hell. As we move into 2003, we're well and truly in the majority. Better phone and tell your mum.

Richard Griffin

God beats culture

London

In November 2000 the megalomaniac leader of Lewisham Borough Council, self-styled mayor Dave Sullivan, set up the Lewisham Culture and Urban Development Commission. Its brief was to make Lewisham a cultural centre, based on low-level gentrification in the north of the borough. This was linked with a move by the Laban Centre for dance, and was intended to build on the reputation of Goldsmiths College for contemporary arts. Lots of councillors got to visit Barcelona, and a 150-page report was produced.

But two years later Sullivan has gone, ousted by ordinary Labour Party members fed up with his ego; gentrification has pushed many artists, as well as others, out of the north of the borough; and Lewisham now finds itself the only London borough without a cinema. The Catford ABC was always a bit of a fleapit, but at least it was there for those who couldn't afford the West End prices for local entertainment offered in neighbouring Greenwich. It couldn't compete with the multiplexes and closed earlier this year, its owners looking to sell rather than invest and come up with more innovative programming.

You'd think this was bad enough, but the building has been bought by the Universal Church of the United Kingdom of God, who want to turn it into a conference centre and church. This is the same outfit that recommended Victoria Climbié for exorcism, some time before its members abused and murdered her. The borough council has replied to representations from Lewisham Humanist Group, saying that the decision will be taken by planning officers. Local anarchists are considering a campaign of direct action if planning permission is granted to this dubious outfit.

Martin H.

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NEWS IN BRIEF

• **East London** Workers in Hackney libraries went on strike for two days at the end of last month. This was the culmination of a series of actions which have shut all seven of the borough's libraries every Saturday for a year. The first day of the weekday strike, 25th November, was called to mark the anniversary of the Saturday strikes. The second day, 26th November, was over the issue behind the dispute, the refusal of Hackney Council to pay weekend rates for Saturday working.

In a long-expected move, the council has sworn to start hiring scab labour from next month to cover the Saturday shifts. North and East London Solidarity Federation are asking for support on the first day the scabs are used, which has now been confirmed as Saturday 11th January. Activists are asked to gather at the Central Library that morning at 8.15am.

In a separate move, Hackney Council last month announced that new mayor Jules Pipe will receive what officials called an 'allowance' of £65,000 for his part-time job. This is the same amount as Hackney planned to spend on hardback fiction in 2002.

Members of his 'cabinet' will get £35,400. "This is a kick in the teeth for Hackney's employees and residents", Unison joint branch secretary Brian Debus said.

Get in touch with NELSF at PO Box 1681, London N8 7LE or call 07799-251 035.

Correction: contrary to our front page report on 16th November, workers in Hackney libraries do get London weighting. It was the Saturday-enhanced pay, withdrawn in 2001, that was paid at national rates (without London weighting). Apologies for the error, which was ours rather than our correspondent's.

• **Firefighters** Thousands of people from across Britain protested in London on 7th December in solidarity with the firefighters' demands for more pay and against the threatened 'modernisation' of their service. Activists said the march, which ended in Hyde Park, was one of the biggest trade union demonstrations in over a decade.

Meanwhile, activists in Woking are organising a support group for striking firefighters and they need more people to come forward and get involved. Contact them on 07986-004 712.

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Argentina one year on

It's a year since the people of Argentina took to the streets in protest at the iniquitous official response to a deepening economic crisis. The popular uprising, in a country once hailed as a model of neo-liberalism, exposed the human results of over twenty years of structural adjustment plans and 'free market reforms'. The economy was a mess. According to official figures, the recession of the previous four years had seen the poverty rate balloon from 31% to 53% of the population, while unemployment rose from 14% to 21.4%.

The ensuing revolt reached massive levels. Seven million workers took part in a general strike. Soon afterwards, the president declared a state of emergency when hungry people began to loot shops and supermarkets. But Argentinians had had enough. In Buenos Aires alone, over a million voiced their anger at the discredited political elite by defying this state of emergency and taking to the streets. The protests have continued ever since.

What was significant about last December's revolt was that, as well as taking to the streets, people began to organise to manage their own affairs. They decided to take their fates into their own hands, organising themselves to make real changes in their situation. As they did this, the basic ideas of anarchism were confirmed.

Anarchy in action?

The first development in popular self-management came in the form of neighbourhood assemblies. After last year's protests, the demonstrators took their revolt back home with them. Neighbourhood assemblies multiplied. By February, there were over fifty in the capital alone. These in turn began to federate. In Buenos Aires, an inter-neighbourhood assembly now meets once a week and an average 3,000 local co-ordinators from all the city's neighbourhoods participate in it. Yet the local assemblies remain autonomous, rotating the work of organising and co-ordinating the inter-neighbourhood areas.

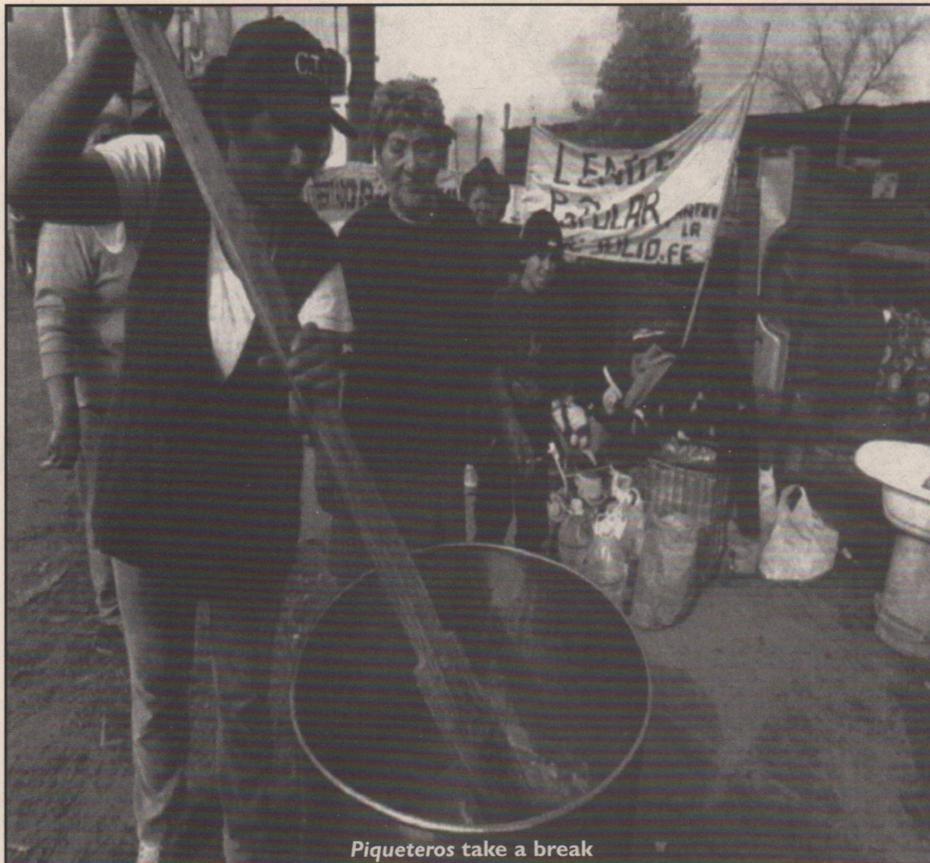
The assemblies are organised non-hierarchically and they're open to almost everyone. People get a chance to discuss the problems they face and to organise effective ways of dealing with them. But over time the assemblies have moved beyond discussing and protesting to more direct forms of action, such as organising houses and other buildings, including abandoned hospitals. Reclaimed spaces have been used as social centres and as places for the homeless to stay, as alternative schools and healthcare centres.

One neighbourhood has transformed a supermarket into a cultural centre, meeting place and shop where they sell – among other things – the pasta produced in a nearby factory that's been occupied by its workers. A theatre is planned for the basement.

The creative potential of people crushed under hierarchy is expressed in thousands of ways. Everywhere sees the same determination to build from the ruins of the crisis a new and better society. People in Argentina are creating a new way of thinking about politics and economics, one based on direct action and self-management. It has nothing to do with parties or the state. The basic idea of anarchism, self-management, is gaining support. The idea that 'the people must govern through its assemblies' is being discussed and put into practice.

Industrial anarchy?

Significantly, popular anger hasn't just been turned on the politicians. It's also been aimed at their cronies in industry and the



Piqueteros take a break

banks – the capitalist class. Another direct challenge to the capitalist system is appearing, in the form of the occupation of factories by their workers. Faced with the closure of workplaces, workers have taken them over and began to run them themselves. In some cases enterprises are doing better now than they did under their previous owners.

Although the occupied businesses have mostly been factories, they've also included a supermarket, a clinic, a Patagonian mine and a Buenos Aires shipyard. Most of them have introduced equal wages. Equality has also been applied in terms of power, with decisions being made by a direct vote of regular assemblies. Shop stewards and co-ordinators have been limited to carrying out mandates from the grassroots. Most of the occupied workplaces have been turned into co-operatives, rather than socialised. This is only to be expected, as the movement has just begun.

The new co-operatives have survived the economic crisis for many reasons. The elimination of both the owners' cut and the higher wages that used to be paid to managers has helped. So has the replacement of a few minds at the top with those of the whole workforce.

Apart from saving thousands of jobs and softening the precipitous decline in the nation's once formidable industrial production, the factory takeovers show that the relationship between capital and labour needn't exist. By restarting production in the occupied factories, workers have shown that a class of owners and order-givers isn't required, that working people can manage their own productive activity.

While many of the occupations have occurred within a legal framework (some groups have even rented their factories), the movement has the potential to become more widespread, and more revolutionary.

The danger is that these new worker-owned workplaces could become an end in themselves, with the revolution stopping at the factory doors. Either the co-operatives federate into workers' councils or they'll slowly but surely degenerate back towards capitalism. At the moment, they also seem limited to expropriating closed workplaces. The next step must be the expropriation of all capital by workers' associations.

Needless to say, events in Argentina over the last year have alarmed conservatives, who correctly detect a threat to private property rights. But in an economy that's long put profit before people, these occupations have popular support. And they're spreading.

It's generally accepted that co-ordination is essential. The workers in the occupied Zanón ceramics factory in Neuquén, for example, have already convened two national meetings of occupied factories. Forty neighbourhood assemblies have also been involved, which helped build links between the workplace and the community. In March, about two hundred people from neighbourhood assemblies and human rights groups converged on the worker-controlled Brukman textile factory, forcing the retreat of seventy riot police who were acting on a judge's order to reclaim the property.

The occupations are part of a general tendency for the direct expropriation of capital by the people. One Argentinian anarchist has said this process is Zapatismo applied for the first time in the cities.

Self-management as both means and end

As one young Argentinian woman put it, "I dream of this, that my children and the children of my comrades could find a way of life here, leave the vices outside. Leave becoming depressive, turning to the alcohol and the vagrancy that the system gives us and that they could find this new form of making politics without political parties".

She's a member of the *piqueteros* in Solano, a poor neighbourhood on the outskirts of Buenos Aires. The *piqueteros* are groups of unemployed workers who use their unemployment as a basis for organising and struggling for a better society. They predate the current revolt by about six years and have developed a new form of struggle – the road block. They block main roads, refusing to move until the government gives in to their demands. In Solano, a thousand of them take to the streets – and this is just one neighbourhood in the city.

Like their tactics, their ideas are original. They don't demand money. Nor do they demand the right to become mindless wage slaves in meaningless jobs. They want to do work they consider important – 'genuine work', as they call it. They don't want to

empower the state to act for them. They meet and decide what the priorities are for their neighbourhoods – keeping them clean, repairing the schools, running local services and industries. They don't wait for the state or capital to solve their problems because they know it won't ever happen.

While the *piqueteros* are unemployed, they don't consider this a bad thing. They don't want to go back to being exploited. They like to think of themselves, not as unemployed workers, but as autonomous workers. They don't want to restore capitalism, but to create something new in its place. In the words of another woman *piquetera*, "from this absolute poverty in which they have submerged us, from this taking away of our dignity that they tried to impose on all the workers, what we are doing is building from this poverty the bases (and perhaps it sounds very fancy) of a new society. Of a society which is being born and which can grow with dignity from below. From poverty, but with dignity, free, independent."

Where now?

Where can the Argentinian revolt go from here? There are two basic options. The left will see new elections as the way forward. With a left government, they'll argue, different policies could be followed and open repression of the movement could be prevented. But the net effect of this would be to hand over the movement to new politicians. It would transfer the struggle from the streets and workplaces to capitalist institutions. The focus of struggle would be placed on a few leaders, not on the mass of the population.

The only other way is to recognise that elections aren't relevant, that the struggle isn't to win elections but to strengthen and develop all the autonomous struggles and organisations. This means building a real power in society, a popular power based on direct democracy, self-organisation and direct action. This is the logical implication of *que se vayan todos*, the great slogan of the Argentinian uprising – 'out with them all'.

And in fact this slogan is already being extended to acquire a deeper meaning. Political, social and economic power is being questioned, fought and undermined by popular power, self-organised and self-managed in workplaces and communities alike. Whether they know it or not the Argentinian people, like thousands of other working class people across the world, are applying the principles of anarchism within and by their struggles. They're showing that another world is possible and they're creating it in the here and now.

People in Argentina are applying the same ideas the Zapatistas did when they rose up in Chiapas in 1994. They're providing inspiration for struggle against capitalism throughout the world. That's why their revolt is important for us in Britain too.

No revolt lasts indefinitely. Either the Argentinian experiment will go the whole hog, replacing state and capital with community and workplace assemblies and their federation, or the powers that be will regain control and make the people pay for the fear they've inspired in their rulers. This is why the 'Days of Disobedience' called for the anniversary of the revolt are so important. We need to show that, while Argentina may be out of the news, we're still watching and supporting the Argentinian people. And the best support we can give is to promote class revolt here.

Iain McKay

The unknown anarchist



Fast forward – “It is not peace to send English troops to slaughter the Afghans” (1843) ... an AC-130 Spectre in Afghanistan (2001)

Thursday 12th December was the anniversary of the birth, in 1787, of Thomas Hodgskin, an undeservedly unknown British anarchist. His eminence is acknowledged only in Marxist circles, due to Marx’s favourable comments on his economics, his anti-bourgeois political position and his efforts in working class education. He may have been long neglected, but Hodgskin’s most enduring practical legacy, Birkbeck College, which he founded in November 1823 as the London Mechanics Institution, still exists today.

Unlike the anarchism of William Godwin, Hodgskin’s politics took more than just an individualist stance. Like the American Josiah Warren, Godwin had seen society as a necessary but pernicious evil. Hodgskin, on the other hand, saw it as humanity’s ultimate condition, and his ideas went further than Godwin’s philosophical anarchism ever could. He certainly didn’t share Godwin’s ambivalence towards anarchy, though he did

recognise that human beings have a tendency to submit to “the very worse governments [sic]” rather than live in it.

Hodgskin’s writings are unquestionably anarchist, though he didn’t adopt that name himself. Yet he seems to have been overlooked by writers on anarchism, both within the movement and outside. He opposed all laws, all authority and government. He recognised that any legal system must be in opposition to peace and order. Comments such as those below are still poignant today.

Fred Day

“In fact, we have a police whose character has been written in the blood of innocent men, for it sold them to death and the infamy of the gallows. Nor do I believe any extension of its powers would prevent one crime or hinder one disturbance. It is certain that every policeman must be paid from the produce of the labourer, and because his occupation is disgraceful he must be well paid, and in

proportion as the police is numerous, so is the labourer reduced to poverty; the inequality of his condition is farther augmented, and this causes more crimes than the best organised police can suppress” (1820)

“Till the right of property shall be founded on principles of justice, and not on those of slavery; till man shall be held more in honour than the clod he treads on, or the machine he guides – there cannot, and there ought not to be either peace on earth or goodwill amongst men” (1825)

“No class of men live in such a state of perpetual amazement and alarm at the occurrence of events which they did not foresee, and being quite unprepared to meet, attempt to check by violence, as those statesmen who pretend to direct the march of nations. Notwithstanding, they continue to look on human society as a machine put together and regulated in all its movements

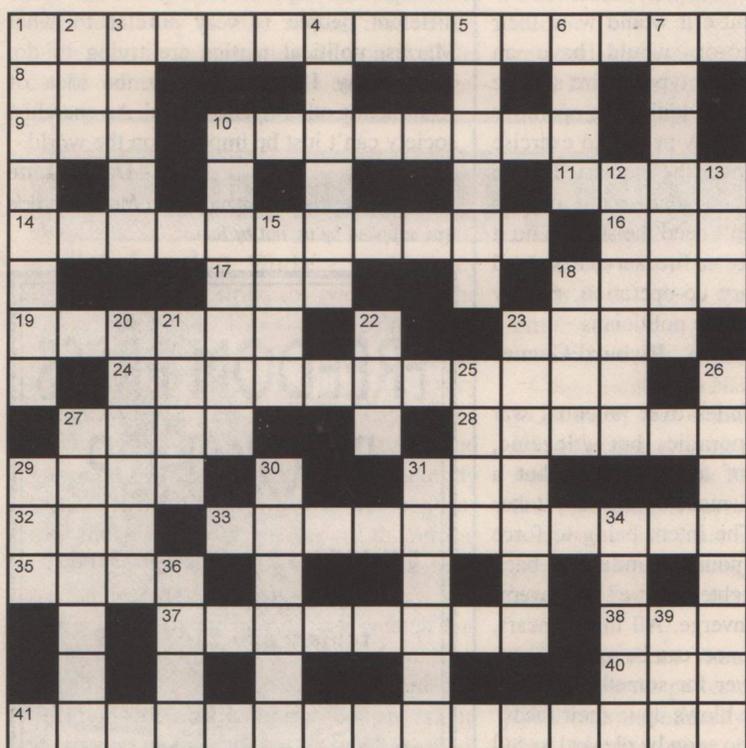
by the politician; and they endeavour to make us believe that it would fall to pieces if it were not for the preserving power of his master hand” (1827)

“My disparagement of the lawgiver’s labours arises, not from the religious dogma that ‘all man’s works are evil’, but from a conviction that, in attempting to regulate society, he has miscalculated his power” (1832)

“It is not peace to send English troops to slaughter the Afghans, however treacherous and cruel that people may be, for they never injured England. To bombard the towns of Syria and murder its people is not peace” (1843)

“Man is born into society, as he is born a human being. Laws do not create it. He is gregarious like sheep; and, like the bee, works in common to procure his own and the general sustenance” (1857)

Freedom Prize Crossword compiled by Bjarni Halfnelson



Across

- 1 Slogan from writings of 1 down – tether if stropy, getting annoyed. (8,2,5)
- 8 Dog retreating as sectarian Northern Irish Police force advances. (3)
- 9 Singleton, as the Queen refers to herself. (3)

- 10 Trembles I get in the Industrial Workers of the World. (8)
- 11 One of two in a whole – Sculthorpe gets loud at the end. (4)
- 14 10 down’s creator has a strange almond odour! (6,5)
- 16 Enemy of little Friends of the Earth. (3)
- 17 Aussie outlaw Kelly backing study? (3)
- 18 Be this to thine own self in most rueful situation. (4)
- 19 What the bureaucrat holds when not on frozen water? (6)
- 23 Proper gathering of unspeakable pursuers (pursued by sabs?! (4)
- 24 Anita adopts peculiar evolutionary adjustments. (11)
- 27 Sing till deranged! (4)
- 28 Grain measure as mode of public transport starts helping. (6)
- 29 Uncommon, it’s just cooked through! (4)
- 31 Hold wrestler down for entry into hole in the wall. (3)
- 32 Private organ at centre of hurricane. (3)
- 33 Ecowarrior anarchists of a decade ago peculiarly besting road (near Winchester). (6,5)
- 35 Rove about for former *Freedom* owner/editor. (4)

- 37 Eroded, drag around breaking act apart. (8)
- 38 Alternative press distributor has a different alias! (3)
- 40 Busty bird? (3)
- 41 When men forswore crazily utopian novel by William Morris. (4,4,7)

Down

- 1 Libertarian journalist Pierre-Joseph, creator of 1 across, could be in favour of confused hunting dog following on. (8)
- 2 Unbroken series, broken urn. (3)
- 3 Major part of hydrosphere, when nothing leads holding a point in can. (5)
- 4 Site of gallows-tree near Hyde Park Corner, taking turn by twisting around. (6)
- 5 Make a mistake backing school-children, it seems! (4,2)
- 6 Make a mess of marijuana resin. (4)
- 7 Post-nuke radioactive particles sound argumentative. (4-3)
- 10 *Freedom*’s cartoon strip is a sudden strike. (7)
- 12 Ref has disagreement over again. (6)
- 13 Amount charged within safe environment. (3)

- 15 River quiet – how still waters run? (4)
- 18 Sent round for decades. (4)
- 20 Lighter and more equitable. (6)
- 21 Lied about not working usefully (or toiling uselessly!). (4)
- 22 Direct Action Movement to stop the flow? (3)
- 23 Rogered the Royal Canadian Police Force who always get their man? (7)
- 25 Long-billed wading bird found in Carib island? (4)
- 26 Spaceman ingested to detach from means of production. (8)
- 27 Outfit for new baby, nothing (colloquially) missing from famous French soldier of American Revolution. (7)
- 29 Churchman briefly starts revolution! (3)
- 30 Jumpy red dog, an artful Dickensian pickpocket. (6)
- 31 Drop an arrangement otherwise to forgive. (6)
- 34 Angry, that is to say shortly captures an informer. (5)
- 36 Betting probability when old Penny sods about. (4)
- 39 Blackcurrant crème de cassis drink, named after anti-Nazi mayor of Dijon. (3)

Send your completed crossword to Freedom Prize Crossword, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX, to arrive by 2nd January 2003
The first correct entry drawn from the Freedom hat will win a copy of *Bending the Bars* by John Barker and a *Housmans 2003 Peace Diary*

Politicians, don't police

I had more sympathy than I'd expected with A.R.'s views on tagging ('It's causality that matters', 30th November). As a kid growing up in north London, I used to go 'wilding' with a group of mates. We'd trash bus shelters, phone boxes, car windows and the like. The reason was simple enough – we were bored, angry in a non-specific way and looking for an 'ecstatic' alternative to our daily lives. If someone had come up to us and given us a beating or sprayed us with paint, we'd have looked to fuck them over in return.

The solution to the kind of apathy and resentment that festers into anti-social behaviour isn't just to police the estates ourselves, but to politicise them. A few of your correspondents have made this point, but it's easier to say than do. If we're intervening politically, our starting point can't just be the existing politics of estate life. Working class communities have complex politics – a mixture of progressive and reactionary angers. We can't just embrace what exists. We have to have an agenda of our own, and solutions to argue for.

Moreover, the issue of 'self-policing' is complicated nowadays by the springing up of 'mothers against violence' type groups, particularly in the black community and against 'black-on-black' gun violence. However much these address real community fears, all too often they're linked in with, and supported by, the police (for example the Metropolitan Police's Operation Trident). There are many mayoral or local council



initiatives, which have been designed simply to set up a network of police informers within the black community.

There are plenty of useful counter-examples. One is the Dublin anti-dealer campaigns, which were accountable to community meetings and were themselves targeted by local police (with anti-drugs activists getting longer sentences than the dealers). In the rush to argue for 'self-policing' we ought to remember that, with the reintroduction of stop and search, a better place to start for a lot of us is still the need to mobilise against

the harassment of communities by the police.

In north London now the police openly carry out armed patrols, purportedly in response to 'drug-gang violence' which they've easily tolerated in the recent past. Any intervention around issues such as these has to deal with police harassment, the fact that prohibition and poverty foster the drugs economy, and the fact that both are an escape from the shit of daily life while ensuring we're too fucked up to mount any challenge to it.

Linda M.

The fire this time

The firefighters were certainly well organised and prepared for the dispute ('Modernising the fire service: an anarchist manifesto', 30th November). They may 'lose' public opinion as it drags on, of course, but public opinion never helped the ambulance workers fourteen years ago, though they had 96% support. It's certainly a good idea to visit Fire Brigades Union (FBU) pickets and show them support. It's also an opportunity to point out to work-mates that direct action works, particularly if the firefighters are successful.

Most of the government's modernisation agenda is about making cuts and undermining the union, and it needs to be exposed as such. It's also worth talking to ordinary FBU members about the strike and what's going to happen next. I have it on good authority that the FBU is likely to disaffiliate from the Labour Party next year.

The alternative posed by the left is that unions should begin to pay the political levy into whichever of the 57 varieties they support. The alternative from the right is that unions (meaning workers) shouldn't get involved in politics at all.

I suggest that anarchists argue for the retention of the political fund but try to break it away from political parties. It should be used instead for political campaigns that are in the interests of working class people generally. The obvious examples are things like fighting the Private Finance Initiative in hospitals and schools, defending council housing from sell-offs, supporting anti-racists, refugees and anti-deportation campaigns.

In certain cases, this could go further. The National Union of Miners has always been anti-nuclear, for example, and I daresay the rail unions might look more kindly on anti-roads campaigns than, say, the T&G. This is an issue the left are in disarray on, while

most workers don't want to give anything to the Labour Party, period. It could be tailor-made for us.

Martin H.

Your manifesto for modernising the fire service suggests you want to encourage people to organise their own fire protection rather than rely on the state. How might such protection be provided in an anarchist society? Suppose I place a bet with a bookie that my house will burn down next year. If I win, which is to say my house burns down, I'll be covered against at least some of the loss, perhaps all of it. Clearly the bookie will want it to be a safe bet, and so is likely to offer different rates if I have a fire extinguisher in my house or an alarm connected to a local fire station. Equally, in order to reduce what he has to pay, he might employ a fire brigade to put the fire out for me.

This method would allow people to pool their risks and is basically how insurance companies operate. But what if you can't get insurance? Firstly, remember we'd all be richer without the state to impoverish us. Secondly, in densely forested countries like Scandinavia and Canada, where the state has obliged people to take out fire insurance, people have met this demand through voluntary co-operation. They've formed co-operative fire insurance companies which share their profits and insure against risks that more conventional firms feel are too great to cover.

Co-operative insurance is a widespread phenomenon. During the nineteenth century, Friendly Societies provided mutual insurance for their members in the UK. Covering sickness, old-age support, unemployment, injury at work and hire of doctors, Friendly Societies were voluntary, voluntarily funded, and run democratically by their members.

Until 150 years ago, there were a number

of different fire brigades. Now we have only the one, a monopoly imposed on us by the state. Because the state monopolises the provision of fire protection, it also stands as a monopoly buyer of fire brigade workers' labour, so it can pay them as little as it likes. The people, equally, are offered no choice between fire services.

Under a system of co-operative fire insurance companies, people could join whichever co-op they liked. Because it would want their membership, a co-op would have an incentive to provide the type of fire service its members wanted. In addition, co-operative membership would allow people to exercise democratic control over the industry. People can organise their own provision of fire protection. They don't need the state to do it for them. Let's have a fire service shaped entirely by voluntary co-operation, run by those who use it, not the politicians.

Richard Garner

Are the anxieties over potential war and the sporadic, but telegenic, outbreaks of terror nothing but a poker-player's bluff, made to raise the stakes in the class war? The intent being to force the emergence of industrial militancy back by breaking the firefighters' nerve? For government, all issues converge. All that appears, accident or coincidence, can be made use of. Everything is a cover for something else – that is, until fortune blows up in their faces.

In what we shall too soon be pleased to call the bigger picture, this dual emergency of class war and international inter-capitalist strife, where the bad news competes with worse, where secrecy juggles with propaganda, the question for a desperate government becomes what is to be marked for burial and what shovelled on top for public consumption.

Monsieur Dupont

See editorial, right

Market socialism

It was interesting to read Iain McKay's response to my thoughts on anarchism ('David doesn't get it', 30th November). His comments came with a photograph of an alleged sweatshop. Does this mean somebody thinks anarchists who advocate using some sort of market mechanism are supporting sweatshops? It would seem from this that the only alternative is for libertarians to support a violent upheaval which would bring in a communist society. I don't think this is the case.

While strong on his criticism of markets, Iain doesn't come up with a coherent account of how a modern industrial society could coordinate production, supply and demand while ensuring high quality. How could this all be done with groups of people who don't know each other on a face-to-face basis?

Proudhon certainly supported competition between enterprises, but it's difficult to see how he could have decided which enterprises were successful without considering economics and hence markets of some sort. The fact is that Proudhon wasn't a communist. In fact he can be seen to have supported a form of market socialism.

It wasn't my intention to suggest that price is the only process to be considered in economic activity. But abolishing money can be seen to create a mass of other problems!

I presume Iain is referring to the anti-globalisation and anti-capitalism movement when he refers to people across the globe refusing to pay the tithes to this church. I think much of this movement is actually concerned with creating economies people can have more control of on a local basis, rather than a desire to create anarchist communism. I think this preference is right.

As Iain recognises, the question of violence is important. Being involved in a civil war has no appeal to me nor, I suspect, to other people. I doubt whether the outcome would be an anarchist society. I see a plurality of methods, using economics and non-violence to help move society in a more libertarian direction.

The working class isn't homogenous. In the 21st century it's very pluralistic. I think attempts to impose a unity on all these different people is very similar to what Marxist political parties are trying to do. That's why I still stand by the idea of 'contracting other relationships'. An anarchist society can't just be imposed on the world.

David Dane

Editorial note: the illustration to Iain McKay's article was supplied by us, not by Iain.

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What we say ...

In his pre-budget report last week, 'Iron Chancellor' Gordon Brown said that, due to the economic slowdown, it would be necessary to maintain the government's 'tough line' on inflation for the foreseeable future. This, Brown observed, would have 'implications' for pay increases. No prizes for guessing that the pay in question was that of the firefighters.

So far as the government's concerned, it can't afford to give the FBU 16% (never mind the 40% firefighters originally demanded) unless any rise is funded through changes in working practices and 'productivity'. Never mind that measuring 'productivity' in relation to an emergency service is nonsensical. What's meant is job cuts to fund a deal.

The FBU dispute is crucial for Brown and New Labour, both in itself and because of its implications for public sector pay. In itself, it represents the first real challenge New Labour politicians have had to face from the unions, and they intend to win. More generally, the dispute's critical for Labour because of the prospect that an FBU victory would lead to strikes across the public sector.

When New Labour say the FBU proposals would be 'inflationary', they reveal just how meaningless the idea of inflation is. Apparently the 40% rise politicians awarded themselves this year wasn't inflationary, nor are massive settlements for company bosses across the private sector. Equally, the fact that government plans for the public sector have been funded by a huge rise in consumer spending is left out of the reckoning. It seems that household debt has no inflationary implications. In fact, the only 'inflation' factor is workers' pay! It's all very strange.

In the weeks leading up to the pre-budget speech, the government's friends in the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) were calling for more tax cuts and tax breaks for business. Clearly the £3.1 billion cut in corporation tax this year wasn't enough. Britain's corporate tax is the lowest in the world at 30%. In 1973, less than thirty years ago (but before the redistribution of wealth to the rich which has been the hallmark of the Thatcher, Major and Blair years) the figure stood at 52%.

The bottom line is this. Who gets taxed most, who pays for the minimal social provision on offer, who gets to take home the lion's share – these are political decisions. In a capitalist society, these decisions will always be taken in the interests of those with power against the interests of those without.

Calling for an increase in top tax rates might make sense from the perspective of Keynesian economics, but it's not going to happen. Capitalism is based on the exploitation of labour. One manifestation of the struggle between classes is the struggle over distribution of income between wages and profits. Capital needs workers to work longer hours more intensely. It needs to pay less for more. Some of this has been forgotten in the years of defeat, the years when we were told we were all middle class really.

The bosses will always shout crisis when they're faced with an upsurge of working class militancy. But their 'crisis' isn't our problem. With Andy Gilchrist quick to sit at the negotiating table and other union functionaries hinting at a pay freeze, the FBU rank and file need to wrest control of their fight from FBU leaders.

Meanwhile, we must set up support groups round fire stations and encourage militant support from other public and private sector workers. Whenever Brown and his cronies in the CBI talk about what's 'affordable', we should resurrect a slogan that hasn't been heard since the Winter of Discontent all those years ago. WE WANT EVERYTHING.

Readers' letters

Acting the goat

Dear *Freedom*,

For the record, the Anarchist Federation has no axe to grind with Brian Bamford ('Pissing in the wind', 30th November). Nowhere have we as an organisation seen fit to question the very many important contributions Brian has made to the class struggle movement through decades of tireless activism. Now, Brian, would you kindly remove your equally highly esteemed goats off our green and burgeoning front lawn please.

Frankie Dee
Liverpool AF

Mayday obsession

Dear *Freedom*,

Paul Maguire's obsession with Mayday seems to cloud his judgement (letters, 16th November). In fact, London Maydays have been a very good example of the organisers informing people about the law and the need to say 'no comment' if arrested. The Legal Defence and Monitoring Group (LDMG), in co-operation with the Mayday organisers, provided legal workshops at the Mayday 2000 conference and at the squatted social centres in 2001 and 2002. Legal advice, written by LDMG, was carried on the websites.

In all three years, LDMG distributed thousands of bust cards and provided a team of legal observers. Afterwards, we sought out witnesses and supported those charged through the court process and, for the unlucky few, during their prison sentences.

The effectiveness of this work can be judged by the response of the state. In 2000, a legal observer had his notebook confiscated by the cops. Also in that year, the *Sunday*

Times ran a smear story. In 2001 it was the turn of the *Daily Mail*, and an (unsuccessful) complaint was made to the Law Society about the solicitors we work with.

This year, the harassment became more direct, with the cops' Forward Intelligence Team photographing people attending our benefit and targeting legal observers.

Just as importantly, we've tried to do all this without creating illusions about the state or falling into the trap of talking about 'rights'. This is work we continue all year round.

Paul Jones
Legal Defence and Monitoring Group
c/o BM Haven, London WC1N 3XX
Visit www2.phreak.co.uk/ldmg/index.php

Not sectarian

Dear *Freedom*,

I think the Socialist Party of Great Britain is trying to reach a dialogue with other anarchists about the way in which we can defeat capitalism (Letters, 30th November). I don't think they're 'positionalist' in their approach to us. We should engage them and help unite them with us, not be sectarian.

Mick Vick

Road to Damascus

Dear *Freedom*,

Thank you for the review by Donald Room of my book, *Freethoughts* (30th November). But may I correct some factual errors? My Damascus Road was Lewisham public library, not Bromley. The date of my conversion to atheism was 1949. The sacred cow spelt her name Mother Teresa, not Theresa.

Barbara Smoker

Can you help?

Dear *Freedom*,

A group involved in the non-violent direct action movement of the 1950s and 1960s is working to make the records of that movement available, particularly for the benefit of activists. Our first project is to identify individuals and archives holding materials, and to create and publicise a website and electronic archive.

The group has set up an organisation, the Non-Violent Direct Action Archive Trust, and it's seeking charitable status. Do any *Freedom* readers have copies of material from this period? We'd ask them not to send it to us yet, but please to contact us. Does anyone know who might have material? To find out more or to make a donation, please get in touch.

Terry Chandler
NVDA Archive Trust, 52 Woodstock Road,
London NW11 8QE
Phone 01223-503 986
Mail.secretary@archivetrust.com

Dear *Freedom*,

I hope some of your readers could help me. I'm studying anarchism in the north east of England from 1945 to 1995. This is for a North East Labour History Society that will hopefully become a chapter in a book next year. If anyone can help me, I'd like to hear from them. Historians pay too little attention to the British anarchist movement, and I'd like to help rectify this.

Lewis
PO Box 17A, Newcastle NE99 1TA
paletinyo@yahoo.co.uk

For reasons of space, letters may have to be cut

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25th Nov to 8th Dec 2002

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Telford, GB, £3; Glasgow, IM, £20; Newport, TP, £6; Southampton, TR, £1; Abingdon, MB, £30; Wolverhampton, JB, £4; Stogursey, GS, £10; Argyll, BV, £3; London N7, SU, £5.

Total to 8th December = £82.00
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Liverpool, MD, £2; Telford, GB, £3; Abingdon, MB, £30; Wolverhampton, JL, £4; Silsden, JR, £2; Argyll, BV, £3; Newport, SG, £25; Burton-on-Trent, PM, £5.

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Raven Deficit Fund

Manchester, MV, £5.

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The next issue of *Freedom* will be dated 11th January, and the last day for copy intended for this issue will be Thursday 2nd January.

Contributions can be sent to us at FreedomCopy@aol.com

NEWS FROM ANGEL ALLEY

There will be a four-week gap (instead of the usual fortnight) between this issue of *Freedom* and the next. The first issue of 2003 will be published on 11th January. Meanwhile, the decorating demons of Angel Alley will be swinging into action again. This time *Freedom* Bookshop comes under the brush. Please send all your offers of assistance to FreedomCopy@aol.com

The Bookshop itself closes after the Solstice party on 21st December. It will reopen, all shiny and new, at 11am on Saturday 4th January. We hope all our readers and contributors have a most excellent festive period, and again take this opportunity to thank our friends and comrades at Aldgate Press for their hard work on *Freedom* during the year.

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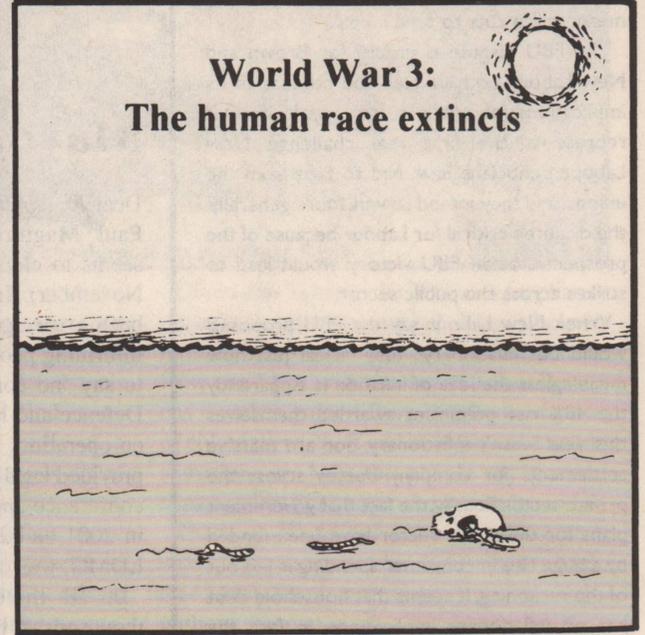
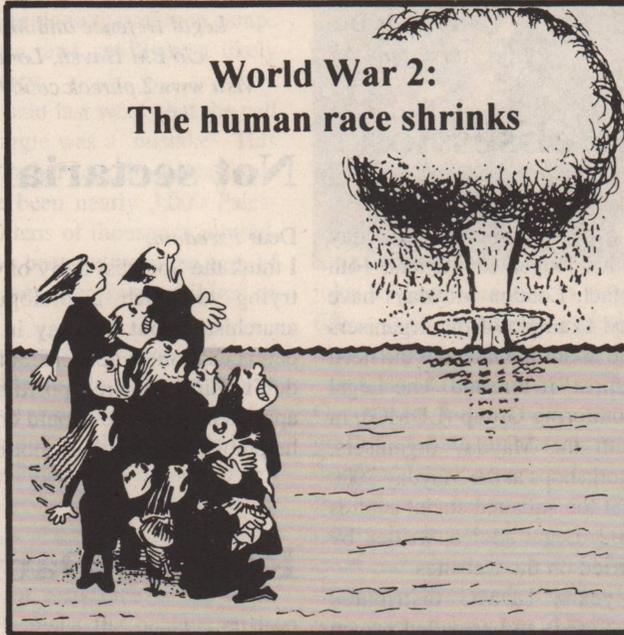
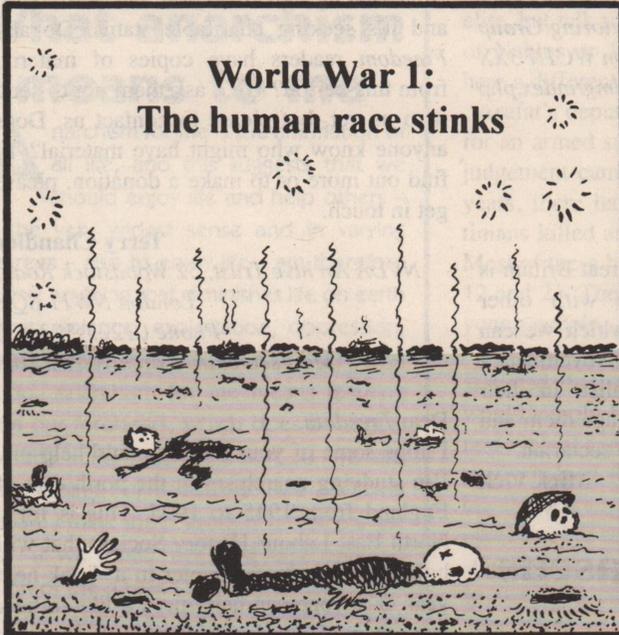
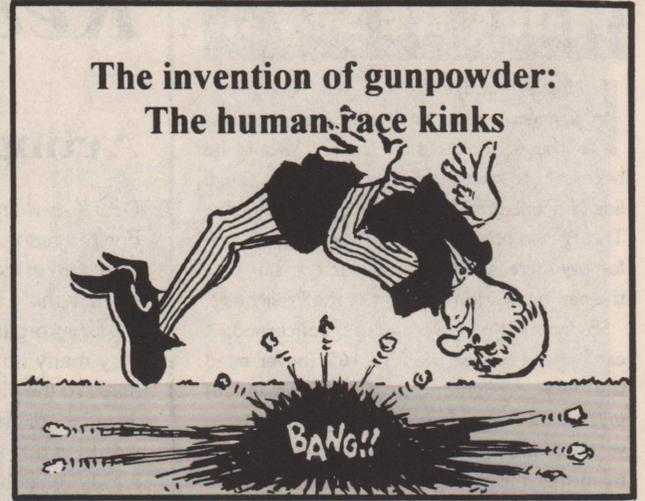
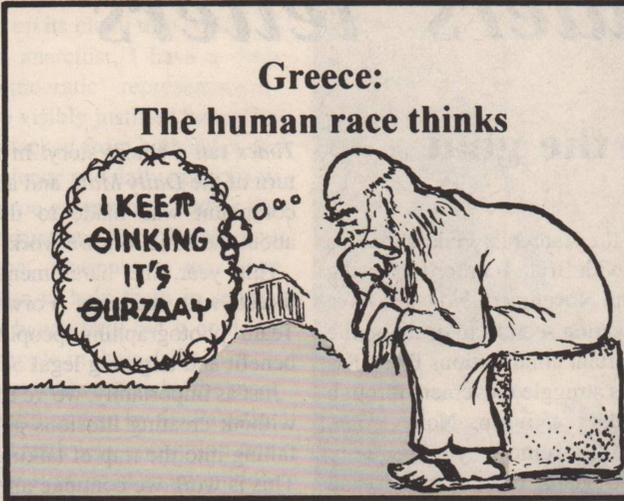
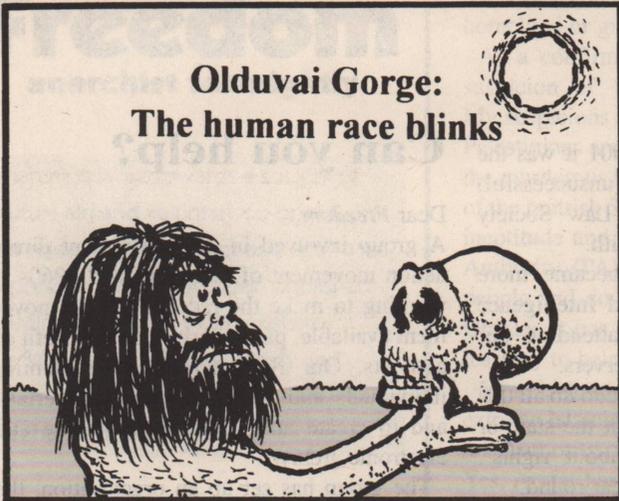
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Saturday 14th December at 12 noon
The Gloucestershire Weapons Inspectors will request entry to USAF Fairford in response to the arrival of US stealth bombers see <http://www.gwi.org.uk>

WELSH PEACE RALLY
Saturday 14th December from 12 noon
Y Maes, Caenarfon • with Samba Bangor organised by Arfon Justice and Peace

'INJUSTICE' SCREENING & DEBATE
Monday 16th December at 7pm
Migrant Media invites you to a screening of Injustice film at Brunei Gallery, 10 Thornhaugh Street, London WC1H followed by debate with families, film-maker and representatives from the Metropolitan Police organised by Black Londoners Forum • entrance free see www.injusticefilm.co.uk

ANARCHIST READING CIRCLE
Every Tuesday from 8pm
Currently reading *The Female Eunuch* by Germaine Greer contact: insurrectionist73@yahoo.co.uk

COMEDY NIGHT
Tuesday 17th December from 8.30pm
downstairs at The King's Head, Crouch End, London N8 featuring Yap, Sir Gideon Vein, Whatsername, Den and the Ligger, Nick Revell, Tony Allen • admission £5/£4

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

ARGENTINIAN NIGHT
Wednesday 18th December from 7.30pm
Film and talk about the uprising in Argentina, plus food at the Union Tavern, Camberwell New Road, London SE5

LANCASTER RE-SOURCE CENTRE
Wednesdays from 12 noon to 7pm
Check out the fair trade café and local campaigns base at the new Re-Source Centre, 78a Penny Street, Lancaster contact: 01524 383012

'ARGENTINA IN REVOLT'
Friday 20th December at 8pm
'Argentina in Revolt' film followed by discussion, at the William Morris Community Centre, Greenleaf Road, Walthamstow organised by Walthamstow Anarchist Group • admission free see www.walthamstowanarchy.org.uk

CLASS WAR CHRISTMAS SOCIAL
Saturday 21st December from 7.30pm
upstairs at the Wenlock Arms, 26 Wenlock Road (off City Road) in Hoxton (Old Street tube). As well as the usual food and drink, we will be showing a new Class War video.

CARDIFF DAY OF ACTION
Saturday 21st December at 1pm
Meet by Nye Bevan's statue in Cardiff with banners, costumes, musical instruments or whatever for global day of action against exploitation see <http://us.geocities.com/bozavine/can/>

CLOSE CAMPSFIELD DEMO
Saturday 28th December from 12 noon to 2pm
see www.closecampsfield.org.uk

LEICESTER ANARCHIST FEDERATION
Tuesday 7th January at 8pm
upstairs at the Ale Wagon pub, Charles Street, Leicester LE1 see http://www.geocities.com/leicester_af/org.html

HACKNEY LIBRARIES PICKET
Saturday 11th January from around 8.15am
North & East London Solidarity Federation are calling for an anarchist contingent to gather at the Central Library in Hackney to prevent the use of scab labour. NELSF, PO Box 1681, London N8 7LE • 07799 251 035

ANTI-WAR DAY SCHOOL
Saturday 18th January from 10am to 6pm
Day school on revolutionary opposition to the war at the London Action Resource Centre, 62 Fieldgate Street, London E1 see <http://www.disobedience.org.uk>

TACT SOCIAL NIGHT
Tuesday 21st January from 9pm
This TACT social gathering for anti-capitalists will be upstairs at the Princess Louise pub, 208-209 High Holborn, London.

DISOBEDIENCE ANTI-WAR BENEFIT
Saturday 25th January from 8pm
A disobedience anti-war benefit featuring singer-songwriters Leon Rosselson and Robb Johnson at the London Action Resource Centre, 62 Fieldgate Street, London E1 • admission £6/£4 see www.disobedience.org.uk

DON'T ATTACK IRAQ
Saturday 15th February at 1pm
Meet in central London to demonstrate against war on Iraq. see www.stopwar.org.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>

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

USE YOUR LOAF EVENTS
Veggie café every Friday from 7pm: cheap food, drink, and a chance to hang out, meet people, watch videos ...
Infoshop: we have loads of free stuff on many campaigns ring hotline or call in to find out more ...
Use Your Loaf, 227 Deptford High Street, London SE8
Hotline: 07984 588807

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

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