

FREEDOM

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FREE/DONATION



NO JUSTICE NO PEACE

FRANCE DIDN'T LET BRUTAL POLICE IMPUNITY PASS WITHOUT INCIDENT



ALSO INSIDE THIS ISSUE

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PLUS THE FREEDOM FUNDRAISING REPORT

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ANARCHISTS AND ADMIN

One day, after a successful revolution, in that bit of political theory where Marxism tends towards anarchism, the State will wither away and we will no longer have the government of people but the administration of things. Public administration would become concerned with technical issues rather than the coercion implied by laws.

I think this is too idealistic — it pretends that politics, at its heart an argument about how resources are allocated, will disappear just because the resources are allocated “scientifically.” But I am more concerned with the idea of administration here: what is it and why should we worry about it?

It’s usually defined as the day-to-day running of an organisation, though can sometimes be used to mean the government of the day. It’s not something that everyone can do: there are certain aptitudes that make for good administrators, such as an attention to detail and a good memory, that can’t be learnt.

But a lot of administration is about processes: the secretary of a campaign or anarchist group might deal with

correspondence, arrange and give notice of meetings and make sure minutes are circulated. All this is administration — it is not political because the decisions lie with the whole group.

It’s something that a lot of anarchists are pretty bad at. This is not in itself surprising — the urge to action that drives a lot of anarchists tends to worry about admin a lot later. It’s also why a lot of anarchist activity is cyclical — the people who can hold all this together burn out or move on, often without sharing any of the skills needed so that no-one can take over. Admin skills, or how to run a group/campaign, should be part of any activist’s skillset, just so that the wheel does not need to be constantly reinvented.

But it is not just in the world of activism that admin happens. All organisations need administration: most know this. Private companies will pay for good admin. But when it comes to the public sector, “admin” is a nice easy cut for image-conscious politicians.

It’s not cutting front line services, after

all, and who wouldn’t object to NHS or council managers being reduced? Of course, when the admin departments are cut, it’s usually the lower-paid workers who get cut, and the work they did still needs to be done.

Some public services are approaching this by trying to use technology. If you phone your local hospital or council, the machine that answers will ask you who you want to talk to. Let’s hope your accent isn’t too strong and you know how to pronounce the person’s name in the same way the machine does. Others just expect the front-line workers to do their own admin. If someone is a really good doctor, I’d rather they were treating patients and had passed the admin to someone who was a good administrator. But what do I know?

It is just one aspect of austerity — but when you encounter basic administrative incompetence in your everyday dealings with the public sector, you have to ask how many other hidden cuts are also affecting services.

Svartfrosk

WHY WOULD ANARCHISTS ORGANISE?

There are many misconceptions about the politics and intent of anarchism in the media, some accidental, some deliberate — the most popular of which is the myth that we’re all about chaos.

Little could be further from the truth, indeed the famous circled A is historically a symbolic acronym. Anarchy is Order.

While we have our share of chaotic adherents and experiences, and sometimes comrades’ methods are very direct, we have no desire to simply break the system.

We also want to replace it with something better, known as the Beautiful Idea.

What that idea represents in its specifics differs from person to person, as with every broad creed (capitalism included), but for the last 150 years, from individualism to mutualism, to anarcho-communism, anarcho-syndicalism and libertarian municipalism the irony is that we are often obsessed with organisation.

Which will happen when you’re trying to frame a whole other alternative society

to the one we have now.

This paper is itself produced by an organised anarchist collective, Freedom Press, and covers some of the broad range of topics where you will find anarchists fighting for a better future. It includes a listing of groups on pages 18-19 who are always looking for support. We’d be delighted if you want to join us.

The editor

editor@freedompress.org.uk

freedomnews.org.uk



For people interested in this sort of thing, the main typefaces are Langdon, Alfa Slab One and Centabel Book. Dingbat symbols are taken from 1910 issues of Emma Goldman’s Mother Earth magazine.

Kindly printed by Aldgate Press



DECADE OF DIRECT ACTION



Based on a “direct action casework” model of community organising pioneered in Ontario, Canada in the 1990s, the London Coalition Against Poverty was formed in 2007 to fight against the worsening squeeze on welfare provision which had been occurring under successive Labour governments.

Organised on horizontal lines, it immediately made a splash with punchy actions such as occupations of jobcentres and housing offices demanding that councils keep to their legal commitments, and for many years operated out of the Freedom building in Whitechapel. LCAP now operates as a series of local groups in Hackney, Haringey, Islington, Kilburn, Southwark and Lambeth.

Below, an organiser with Housing Action Southwark and Lambeth (HASL) writes about the current state of play and how LCAP is arranged.

The London Coalition Against Poverty is 10 years old this year, and HASL also celebrated its fourth birthday in April. As we noted and celebrated in LCAP’s most recent general meeting, as groups of people directly affected by housing and other poverty issues it’s an awesome achievement to be running for these lengths of time.

Another theme of that meeting was the many successes our groups have achieved recently. Despite compiling a long list of the problems we face — including issues relating to organising our groups, common housing troubles, as well as much bigger issues and policies that affect and will affect us — our list of successes was actually longer.

Our general meetings, hosted this year by HASL, bring together other groups in the coalition and sister groups from across London who organise practical solidarity, mutual support and collective action.

As well as the regular LCAP housing groups, we were joined by Housing Action Greenwich and Lewisham, North East London Migrant Action, and Latin American Women’s Aid. The LCAP general meetings (which are supposed to happen every three months or so)

are really valuable chances for our local groups to meet together to share tactics, ideas, problems, and experiences, as well as to discuss how we can co-ordinate and link up better between our groups.

For many groups in the coalition, local group meetings have been very busy, so it can be hard to step back and reflect on how we are doing things, how we can do things better, and how we get to the root causes of the problems affecting our communities. The LCAP general meetings provide a good space for this to happen and where we can discuss answers to the problems and questions we have together.

As with our local group meetings, where we raise housing problems we are facing and try to deal with them collectively, LCAP meetings help us deal with group organising and wider issues collectively, sharing years of experience and giving us much needed energy and strength.

Many of our members have children and children’s activities at all of our meetings are something we are trying hard to improve. For this LCAP meeting we had three adults who helped facilitate children’s activities, including the creation of a beautiful “homes not borders” banner. The children themselves also provided a helpful reminder towards the end of the meeting that it was time to finish and have cake; they did this by running around us in a circle with increasing ferocity.

During the meeting we split into smaller groups to focus on a topic or issue that we wanted to work on and to make it easier for people to contribute to the discussion. We looked at internal group issues: how to increase membership and build a group up and how to share out work within our groups.

For wider issues we looked at: housing and migrant rights, private landlords, and the introduction of five-year council tenancies as part of the Housing and Planning Act. We made sure our discussions were action point focused so that we could return as a big group with some concrete steps.



Our small discussion groups generated lots of good ideas and plans that we’ll be working on putting into action. The meeting also gave us energy for building stronger links between each other and organising more together.

Sometimes north London can feel very far away, but it was so valuable and fun talking with our friends from Haringey and Hackney. Meeting others from across London organising in similar ways reminded us that we’re much bigger than we thought we were.

To find out more about LCAP, go to lcap.org.uk, or you can get in touch with member groups using the contact details below:

Housing Action Southwark & Lambeth
07741 910-527
HASLemail@gmail.com

Hackney Housing Group
07931 698-438
hackneyhousinggroup@gmail.com

Haringey Housing Action Group
07932 241-737
housingaction@haringey.org.uk

Islington Poverty Action Group
islingtonpovertyactiongroup@gmail.com

Kilburn Unemployed Workers Group
07724 843-973
kilburnuwg@gmail.com

WHEN YOUR NEIGHBOUR

In 2012 Theresa May announced the creation of the “hostile environment” for “illegal migrants.” This new policy framework has extended the powers of the Home Office to everyday life. Whilst immigration power has traditionally always been exercised at external borders, the multiplication of internal checkpoints has reached hospitals, jobs, homes, banks and any other service, public or otherwise, in which the State wants to extend its tentacles. By passing a raft of authoritarian measures, the State equips itself to create and criminalise new categories of social undesirables.

Mechanics of networked borders

The tendency towards the total policing of foreigners rests on the democratisation of immigration powers to public servants and other individuals in everyday life. The immigration officer becomes your landlord, teacher, neighbour, doctor, support worker.

There are different ways to ensure or enforce participation. Some have been imposed through legislation, such as fines and prison sentences against landlords and employers. The automation of information sharing between government departments has also allowed them to bypass confidentiality in GP surgeries and schools. The integration of a number of databases is also part of this strategy. Others, such as homelessness charities, have been feeding intelligence to Immigration Enforcement teams and taking them out on joint patrols to snatch foreign homeless people. Similarly, any visits to the custody suite will see foreigners questioned about their immigration status. Incentives take the form of payment-by-results and other profitable contracts.

The State’s approach to migrants normalises a climate of gatekeeping and convinces individuals they have a “duty” to collaborate in the policing of themselves and each other.

Beyond legalistic action and radical humanitarianism: solidarity as attack

Whilst supporting those affected by the hostile environment is important and



pragmatically necessary, the legal system was made even more inaccessible through the imposition of economic barriers, terminating recourse to Legal Aid for immigration matters and skyrocketing fees.

The State’s agents and their collaborators don’t need warrants or authorisation to abuse their power, use intimidating tactics wearing their legal uniform or violently arrest people. Unlawful action by the State is common practice. All of this backed up by indefinite incarceration. And it’s almost entirely privatised, profiting the usual suspects (Mitie, Serco, G4S).

It would therefore be self-defeating to confine our response to legalistic action, losing individual agency by appealing to the institutions which create arbitrary categories of “illegals.” Solidarity has to move beyond even the most radical humanitarianism. Solidarity with migrants has to take the form of an attack on the institutions and individuals which control or manage borders in all their forms.

Breaking the chains of collaboration, creating no go zones

Rather than unifying forces into a mass movement operating at a discourse level and keeping hierarchical social relations intact, we must multiply disruptions in the every day and build a culture of

anti-collaboration, self-defence and antagonism.

Anti-collaboration: Don’t Snitch!

Creating a culture against collaboration has to take many forms. As explained above, there are physical and digital forms of participation, some of which have been automated.

The information generated by the democratisation of border enforcement must be disrupted. And just as much as the State is gathering data from more and more aspects of our lives, it also means that it is possible to multiply points of resistance. These can be actualised through individual or collective actions, depending on the task at hand. Refusing to input certain information into databases is a case in point, though if it was too easily visible, altered/wrong information could also be submitted, thus escaping the scrutiny of an overzealous manager. It would be even better if workers refused to collaborate collectively, refusing to become immigration officers in disguise.

The other side of developing an anti-collaboration culture names and shames those snitches who can be identified, especially those in position of responsibility in building the hostile environment, For example, those within the Department of Education or NHS

IS YOUR JAILER

Digital who secretly signed away the confidentiality of GP surgery and schools should be identified and confronted, both professionally and privately.

For those on the uncomfortable inside, the release of information in the public domain or anonymously to people who can act on that knowledge is becoming more and more necessary. In 2014, a Whitehall civil servant leaked information about impending immigration raids. Not only did this enable resistance to raids, it also highlighted the methods on which immigration enforcement relies, such as racial profiling.

Self-defence

Whilst knowing your rights will not destabilise the system as such, it is common practice for enforcement agencies and their subcontractors to abuse their power and intervene unlawfully.

Spreading information on Police and Immigration Powers can help people in feeling more confident to challenge authority and its agents. In London, the Anti-Raids Network holds weekly stalls in Haringey, Peckham and Deptford, connecting with local shopkeepers (targeted by raids) and residents. Antagonistic literature about police violence, prison abolition, other sites of struggles (e.g. Calais, Ventemiglia, Greece) and analytical reports have been welcomed by passers-by at the stall and re-affirms the network's stance against any form of hierarchy, authority and discrimination.

The collective aspect of self-defence relies on the proximity of social relations in the neighbourhood so that immigration raids can be resisted successfully. In some areas, this coming together of people has happened quite spontaneously.

However if we are to challenge raids consistently, some ways need to be devised to ensure the alarm is raised when immigration officers appear and raids are about to happen. Local phone trees have been created and they work best where people are based in the neighbourhood. They should not rely on an army of activists coming to the rescue.

Fighting back: No Go Zones

Whilst anti-collaboration and self-defence are good ways of knowing your enemies and building new social relations, they tend to be reactive in terms of strategy.

Without attacking the machinery of policing and immigration enforcement, our efforts will always be one step behind. So in the spirit of taking the initiative, it seems necessary to map out the many points of possible disruption with a view to sabotage or disrupt the chain of collaboration aimed at controlling, detaining and deporting foreigners.

In addition to sabotage, the possibility of creating "no go zones" reverses the dynamics of fear, giving Police and Immigration something to think about before entering certain areas. There are several examples to get inspiration from, whether in the suburbs of France or in the Zone to Defend (ZAD) where land is being re-appropriated from State dispossession.

There are enough guerilla tactics and new technologies to create zones. One of the bigger challenges will require that we also find alternative ways of resolving conflict and disputes, not internalising police behaviour amongst ourselves or challenging it when being displayed.

Concluding words

The hostile environment builds on the previous normalisation of surveillance, collaboration, criminalisation and repression, and ramps it up further. The more we let the border and its violent racist logic contaminate the fabric of everyday life, the harder it will be to counter.

Resistance can not only disrupt the mechanics of the border regime but also serve to promote a different set of social relations and rejection of authority in our neighborhoods. The time to act is now.



UPDATE: SISTERS UNCUT

Sisters Uncut in Bristol have been carrying out protests against cuts and closures. The group occupied the Cheltenham Road library for 12 days this Spring protesting the closure of services and the housing crisis. The library site has been sold to developers and is going to become a development of private flats.

Last December Bristol Sisters disrupted a council meeting calling for more rehousing to be made available for women who are in refuges.

Since the economic crisis of 2008 domestic violence has risen, but more than 30 shelters have been closed down, some refuges are now only sheltering people for 12 weeks and some are not taking women from outside the local area, which is dangerous as it is important for survivors to be able to go far away from their attacker if necessary. The latest housing benefit cap is also a threat to refuges as most rooms are funded by housing benefit.

Sisters Uncut is open to all women and non-binary people, there are new groups opening all the time, check the website for a group near you.

Alongside multiple London branches, as of this year there are Sisters Uncut groups in:

- * Portsmouth
- * Doncaster
- * Bristol
- * Newcastle
- * Glasgow
- * Brighton
- * Liverpool
- * Edinburgh

sistersuncut.org
sistersuncut@gmail.com

LAW: PRE-CHARGE BAIL



Anarchists are fabled for getting into direct action-related scrapes with the law, and although the reputation is often undeserved anarchist groups such as Green and Black Cross do keep a close eye on legal matters. In this article, **Dennis Coles** looks at major changes to pre-trial detention policy.

Recently we were presented with one of those rare occasions when a right-wing Conservative government comes into near open conflict with the police Establishment in all its forms — from the Police Federation to the College of Policing.

On Monday April 3rd the Policing and Crime Act 2017 came into effect.

The act contains several measures, which will be discussed more in further articles on the Freedom News website, but chief among them was a provision to limit pre-charge bail to 28 days — further extensions of which can be authorised first by higher police ranks and then magistrates.

This is a huge break from the previous state of things where bail could be extended indefinitely by custody sergeants and led to situations where people were kept on bail for months or even years without any charge presented to them.

This change is significant and hugely positive, providing a much needed-check on custody sergeants who knew they could get away with inflicting lengthy bail terms without any scrutiny.

Police bail is nominally used to keep a track of suspects after interview whilst further investigations take place. In reality pre-charge bail was used as a pseudo punishment in itself, keeping people in a stressful legal limbo where the potential of a trial and subsequent punishment was held over their heads.

Even if all investigations were eventually dropped, pre-charge bail would often discourage people from engaging in further direct actions and protests — a great benefit for the police whose main mission is enforcing the status quo of capitalism and State repression.

Of course the cops aren't happy about the loss of a widely used tool in their arsenal. The College of Policing, responsible for setting standards across the policing infrastructure of the UK, ludicrously whinged in a report that the new restrictions would allow another Ian Huntly to slip through the gaps.

One question legal support organisations and law firms specialising in protest law have had is how the cops were going to respond to this change.

The police have known about the new legislation for a long time, and have had a long time to prepare a response. Their dilemma is an obvious one. Senior officers, those of the rank of inspector or higher, lack the capacity to take on the administrative load of approving bail extensions at the previous rate.

On the other hand cops still want to keep tabs on the people they are investigating, in order to charge them at a later date, or just harass them.

We saw an immediate change in police practice in arrests occurring after the change in the law.

In cases that have come to the attention of legal support organisations arrestees have been released with a form notifying them of further investigations into their case (specifically stating that they are not on bail).

Contact details, such as an address and a telephone number, were taken in the hope that people can be found later to be charged and brought to trial.

Needless to say this is incredibly flimsy. Unlike bail people no longer have a legal requirement to return to a police station, instead the police have to come and find anyone they want to rearrest.

This adds a huge workload to police services already facing cutbacks and it might mean a lot of cases will be dropped due to lack of resources.

Another thing we're likely to see in the coming months is an increase in people being charged after they have been interviewed and within the initial period of custody following an arrest.

This may seem like a daunting prospect but it can work to your benefit. It gives the police and CPS much less time to gather evidence such as CCTV and the CPS will be forced to disclose preliminary evidence it will be relying on at trial, giving you a much earlier opportunity to prepare a solid defence.

It may be that the new bail restrictions mean police officers will push much harder for confessions or other incriminating statements in interviews as they know it will be much harder to find and charge you if you don't have to answer to bail.

As always, standard know your rights guidance applies. Use a recommended solicitor with a track record in defending protest cases, do not accept any kind of police caution and always answer "no comment."

There is no doubt that these new bail limitations are a setback for public order cops looking to keep radical action off the street. Senior police officers will be certain to be looking for ways to circumvent, subvert and weaken the new law, and it is important that anarchists and other leftist radicals keep up to date on any future changes to police practices.

Legal support organisations such as the Green and Black Cross and the Legal Defence and Monitoring Group rely on donations to carry on with their work. The printing of bust cards, court support and travel are all some of the things that need funding. If you win money off the cops, or are just loaded, consider giving them some cash so they can carry on keeping people out of jail.

Green and Black Cross

greenandblackcross.org
Protest Support Line: 07946 541-511
gbclegal@riseup.net
@GBCLegal

Legal Defence and Monitoring Group

ldmg.org.uk
ldmg@riseup.net



MORE CELLS, LESS CARE

Two major campaigns on prisons are being run throughout this year as solidarity and reform groups face up against government plans to move prisoners ever further away from family and friends.

Megaprison expansion

The Empty Cages Collective and Community Action on Prison Expansion (CAPE) campaigns are calling for people to get involved in fighting at what they say is a crucial stage in government plans to build new megaprisons across Britain.

New facilities at Full Sutton in east Yorkshire, Hindley in Wigan, Rochester in Kent and Port Talbot in south Wales were announced by Justice Secretary Liz Truss the spring, adding to a number of other sites which are either newly built, such as HMP Berwyn near Wrexham, or under consideration, such as in Greater Manchester, as part of a major expansion programme.

CAPE said in a statement, supported by Empty Cages: "Prison expansion will not reduce crime. Prison expansion will not reduce the reasons people commit crime. Prison expansion will not help reduce trauma and harm. However, prison expansion will further damage communities already suffering from cruel cuts to local and national support services. It will continue to break people, and allow deep social problems to be hidden in cages.

"When the government claims that there is no money available for frontline services, and then finds over a billion pounds for new megaprisons, it is

hypocrisy. More crucially, it is not an answer. Even by their own standards, prison is an ineffective way to prevent re-offending. And the US clearly shows us that mass incarceration is a toxic and devastating policy.

"Instead of building prisons, why don't we build our capacity to support people? Rather than shutting down provision for homelessness, addiction and domestic abuse, why don't we expand them? Rather than selling prisons as "new jobs," why don't we create more meaningful employment that allows communities to actually support each other?"

A mapping project by Freedom (freedomnews.org.uk/prisons-expansion) suggests that the placements of the new facilities will have a huge negative impact on inmates. A "new for old" of HMP Berwyn for HMP Pentonville for example, allows the selling off of a potentially highly profitable site in central London in exchange for moving prisoners far away from loved ones to facilities requiring long and expensive journeys, punishing families and further isolating inmates.

In the wake of the collapse of the Titan jails scheme in 2009, the Conservatives have been scrabbling to find ways to add up to 10,000 places to the massively overcrowded system, which currently counts 85,500 inmates — nearly 21,000 of whom are "doubled up" in cells designed for one.

You can get involved and find out more via info@capecampaign.org

Imprisonment for Public Protection

Smash IPP is running a year-long campaign against the hidden scandal of people serving indefinite sentences under legislation which breaks human rights law and was formally repealed five years ago.

Nearly 4,000 people are serving IPP (Imprisonment for Public Protection) sentences in British prisons. Parole delays, prison overcrowding and neglect are all leading to unprecedented suicide rates.

Smash IPP said in a statement: "Many of us have friends and family who are locked up with indefinite sentences, and we are painfully aware of the effect that this uncertainty can have on the health of our loved ones and our families and communities.

"We are prison abolitionists, and do not see the release of IPP prisoners as incongruent with our ultimate goal of the destruction of all prisons. We view it as a lifesaving measure, considering the rates of suicide and self harm among people serving IPP sentences are even higher than the rest of the prison population."

A mother of a man serving an IPP describes it as a "death sentence." Another person jailed under the scheme wrote how "our families are doing the sentence just as much as us, is it right for them to never know if we will ever come home? Sometimes I feel that if I died it would be better for them because they could bury me and move on."

Check out smashipp.noflag.org.uk or email info@smashipp.noflag.org.uk



JOHN BULL BELIEVERS F

Article 50 (or as some hope, article 1950 or, for the most optimistic, 1850) has finally been invoked. Few would have believed in 2016 that within months, elements of the Tory party would be threatening war with Spain. Or that a party which is incompetent on so many levels (not least economic) would do so well in the polls. But then, under Cameron the Tories realised they can talk centre ground, even leftist, but track even further to the right.

On every level Thatcherism is recognised to have failed, from the broken housing market, to railways unfit for purpose, a dysfunctional labour market etc. Or more correctly, the reality is being admitted but the root causes are being carefully avoided.

But how have the electorate acted? To reward the very party which caused the problems to be begin with. In spite of — most recently — stifling a recovery from the 2008 global recession and producing years of stagnation by imposing austerity, the Tories are rated as being more economically competent than Labour.

As for “tackling Labour’s deficit,” well they may have a plan but Osborne’s was to eliminate it in one Parliament — and we are facing a lost decade, at the end of which we shall still have one. Truly, that will be their deficit, as their policies have ensured we need to borrow not to invest but to fill the holes they created.

It was somewhat surreal to see Theresa May proclaim that other parties “put their own political interests ahead of the national and local interest” when the Brexit vote itself was the product of infighting within the Conservatives and that all sections of her party place the interests of the few ahead of all others.

For the rich have got richer while the poor have been punished. May seemingly loves the “just about managing,” as she and her party have created the conditions by which so many are created. Unique amongst developed nations, Britain saw a combination of economic growth and falling wages since the 2008 financial crisis.

But May was right in one way, as the facts are indeed “contrary to the stereotype which is sometimes promoted” about the Tories. They have always believed “in the



good that government can do,” for the few.

Anti-union laws do not “just happen” — they need to be passed by a government and implemented. Council housing does not get sold off by itself, nor do local councils ban themselves from building more. Privatisation of key industries at knock-down prices doesn’t happen as if by magic, nor do corporation tax and benefits cuts just happen at the same time. These, and so much more, need a government to do it — and as anarchists have always argued, being the defender of the wealthy is a prime role of the State.

May says Brexit creates an opportunity to create “a stronger, fairer, better Britain” but it was not the EU which stopped that

happening before. It was the Tory party and its policies which made Britain unfair, worse and weaker — at least for working class people.

She proclaims that the Tories are “the party of people who work hard and play by the rules.” But who makes those rules? As the famed economist Adam Smith once noted: “Whenever the legislature attempts to regulate the differences between masters and their workmen, its counsellors are always the masters.”

The net effect of these Tory (and Labour) policies are clear even to May when she proclaims that “we must and will ensure that hard work is decently rewarded” but simultaneously proclaims “that the rules are properly adhered to

FACE A RUDE AWAKENING

by everyone, without fear or favour” — the very rules urged by the master class and implemented by her party which produce the situation she pays lip-service denouncing.

The reason is obvious enough. Labour produces all wealth but the product is monopolised by those to whom we sell our labour and liberty. How much of our product remains in our own hands is not set by natural laws but rather by struggle. If workers stand up, organise, strike, then wages will rise. If they do not because “the rules” are such to make this difficult then hard work will only reward the owning class. If you regulate strikes you regulate the labour market and as Smith recognised: “Whenever the law has attempted to regulate the wages of workmen, it has always been rather to lower them than to raise them.”

The Tories have never been against the State — just against it helping anyone bar the masters. Thus May proclaimed that the Tories “want ambitious local councils” and “effective local councillors elected” yet her party did more to centralise government power than any other. Still, remember that “local government account[s] for a quarter of all public spending” and that money can and must be given to capitalist companies (“in collaboration with other important local institutions”) by means of outsourcing. The public purse has not been fully funnelled into private hands yet.

Similarly with Brexit. Before the vote, numerous experts said leaving the EU would be such a huge undertaking that it would empower the executive and State bureaucracy, for Parliament would be unable to oversee it all. The so-called “great repeal act” being mooted — which would convert all EU law into UK law — legalises this power grab. For a vote which was meant to be about Parliamentary

sovereignty, its supporters are less than happy at letting that Parliament, or the people, have any kind of say.

But then, as the anarchist philosopher Pierre Joseph Proudhon pointed out long ago, referendums empower the government, not the people.

For it is the government which both sets the question and, more importantly, interprets the result. May did just that to try and keep the rabid-right of her party happy, the right-wing media on board and herself and her party in office. Now that the people “have spoken,” those politicians and media barons seek to ensure we do not get the chance to speak again — nor, apparently, the very Parliament whose sovereignty they demanded.

Brexit was never truly about the EU, but rather securing a right-wing coup. The notion of a progressive-minded “Lexit” proclaimed by some (even the “revolutionary” left) was always delusional given the balance of class forces. The choice in the vote was between which section of the ruling class would predominate. Which flavour of neo-liberalism would continue to be imposed.

By 37% to 36%, fuelled by decades of lies which reached a frenzy last year, the English-nationalist ultra-reactionary section won. What they could never have achieved by Parliamentary means they can now do under “Red, White and Blue” Brexit and other meaningless platitudes.

Ultimately, if the Tories gave a toss for Wales, the Midlands, etc then these regions would not need to receive EU funds.

And only those who have not been paying attention will be surprised when, as with North Sea Oil in the 1980s, a Tory government decides to use the monies no longer going to the EU to fund tax cuts for corporations and the top 5%. Putting “£350 million a week” on the side of a bus does

not translate into policy decisions — for it is the government, not the people, which determines what Brexit actually means.

Brexit did have two possible benefits. First, Nigel Farage disappearing back into his hole. Second, the rabid-right would lose the scapegoat they have blamed for the problems caused by the politics they championed and implemented. Sadly, Farage has decided not to get his life back but the latter may still come to pass.

Perhaps people will realise that the real reason their pay has not risen is not due to immigration but rather British anti-union laws. Perhaps they will realise that they are being squeezed is due to British policies ensuring more and more income flooding to the top to reward those who do nothing but own it.

Perhaps they will realise “playing by the rules” means being an obedient little servant to a British ruling class who will always seek their own enrichment first and shape the rules accordingly? And that their vote has resulted in a power-grab by the rabid-right of the British Tory Party to increase the policies which produced the “left behind” in the first place?

So where does that leave us? Well, if all we do is vote then we will continue to be ignored by those in power. Real power lies outside the ballot box — but only if it is organised in our workplaces and communities. It is there were we must challenge the scapegoats and point to the real causes of our problems while building real alternatives.

The Tories know this, which is why we have the most draconian anti-union laws outside of dictatorships and why they have aimed to outlaw all forms of effective direct action. Laws can and do remain dead letters in the face of popular protest, and that is what must be organised if anything is to change for the better.

Iain McKay



BRUTALITY OF FRANCE'S

*This article was originally written for **Harz Labour**, a journal published by comrades involved in autonomous struggles in the West of France. It was published amid some of the largest anti-police protests of recent times against police impunity following the rape by baton of Théo, a 22-year-old social worker in the early part of the year. It was a moment of convergence between radical left groups and collectives of victims of police violence, the vast majority of them from the popular suburbs (banlieues) of major French cities.*

Like a lot of people, we were outraged by the rape of Théo by four cops in Aulnay, by the beatings and racist insults that followed as well as by the IGPN (the French police disciplinary body) and the Ministry of Interior's denial of what happened. Like many others, we are outraged but not surprised.

And those who were still hesitating to declare their hatred for the police were then convinced by police unions' defence of their colleagues (one union spokesperson went so far as to say that "bamboula"¹ is "more or less appropriate" [in reference to Théo]).

As riots and demos continue, it is becoming difficult to ignore the testimonies of family members of those killed by the police, along with stories reminding us that acts of police violence are not rare "blunders."

As the collective Urgence Notre Police Assassine (Emergency: Our Police Kill) explains, racial profiling, racist insults, acts of humiliation and beatings are expressions of a neo-colonial French republic. But they are also the everyday means of law enforcement. To phrase it like a sociologist, getting people used to humiliation aims to produce the habitus of humility.²

Forty years ago, philosopher Michel Foucault identified a paradox in the notion of "justice:" the term works as a demand on the side of the oppressed and as a justification for the oppressors. Indeed, it is "justice" as a concept that is called upon every day by the institution of the same name when it prosecutes protesters and rioters on the premise of enforcing order.



The same concept of justice is used when State agents urge protesters to calm down, promising that they will ensure justice for Théo.

At the same time, the visibility and irrefutable nature of police violence and discrimination evoke feelings of injustice for the victims. Recently thousands clashed with police outside of courts in Bobigny, many shouting "justice for Théo," after denouncing the violent acts and lies of cops, attorneys and judges. Though some rioters call for justice, actual solidarity against police is rooted in an ethics that works against legality, or ignores it altogether.

Reading the appeals of the "Truth and Justice" collectives, which bring together families of victims and their supporters, one can understand the difference between dignity and outrage. These groups do not ask anyone to be surprised or to feel pity; they organise. They do not ask for help; they fight.

How can we create conditions for a society without police? This is the question posed by the ongoing revolts.

Demos and riots are more than just an initial burst. They also disseminate the basic practices of self-defence, they help in overcoming fear, and they reduce police to the rank of armed force guarding a demarcated camp. But riots must also be empowered by other means.

Samir Elyes, from the Mouvement de l'Immigration et des Banlieues (Immigration and banlieues movement — MIB), reminds us of this in an interview published on the website lundi.am.

When talking about the reactions to the murder of Abdelkader Bouzian in 1997, he declares, "We organised the way we felt was best and the one we were familiar with: the riot [...] But this had to be followed up with popular education. Our neighbourhoods are not void of politics — there have always been autonomous struggles and movements, but they have been stifled by stand-ins for the Socialist Party (PS) and the right."

In the US, antiracist movements share the slogan of police abolition. Along with the idea of prison abolition, this demand gives direction to all the daily practices

POLICE HAS PRECEDENT



Pic: doubichlou14 CC2.0

that seek to pragmatically organise without police. These diverse practices include methods to settle conflicts, acts of disobedience, calls to “decriminalise” most offences, and even the call to replace fear with a policy of mutual attention and trust.

The judicial system, as it exists in the West, is the rigid form, full of exceptions, established to regulate life in society. But this system has not always existed. We can track its history and decode its mechanisms, which are closely intertwined with the gradual development—since the 16th century—of modern States and their colonial Empires, of economic domination, globalisation and criminalisation of migrants.

Created during the last decades of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th, that is to say in the wake of the birth

of political economy, the function of the police is twofold.

It is the link used to make our lives conform to laws that would otherwise remain abstract. And, in all its brutality and illegality, it creates the norms necessary for the functioning of society.

We are mistaken in believing that the police is repressive above all. The police is constitutive and normative, that is to say, it models the vital component of existence to give form to an order. This order is, however, not irreversible. Along with the discredit of political classes and institutions, the revolt following the rape of Théo is not a short term reaction, it reveals a profound divide within our society.

The renewal of high school blockades in Paris and Seine-Saint-Denis as well as demos in all the cities that organised against the loi travail a year ago and in all

the popular neighbourhoods have been very encouraging signs.

The same can be said when the families of people killed by the cops call for convergence.

Beneath discourses, and despite the segmentation of the social body operated by the powers-that-be, in different places there is an irreducibility in self-defence practices and acts of defiance towards police.

This is the basis for realities to meet and become explosive. As many protesters remember the wounds and mutilations that came under the cost of trying to maintain order last Spring, and at the very moment when a law extending immunity for the cops when using violence has just been voted through, it is increasingly important that all those who do not feel safe in the presence of police join forces.



1 An extremely racist derogatory term to refer to black people.

2 Dider Fassin is an anthropologist and sociologist who has done extensive work on police

ANARCHISM IN BRITAIN 1930-1950

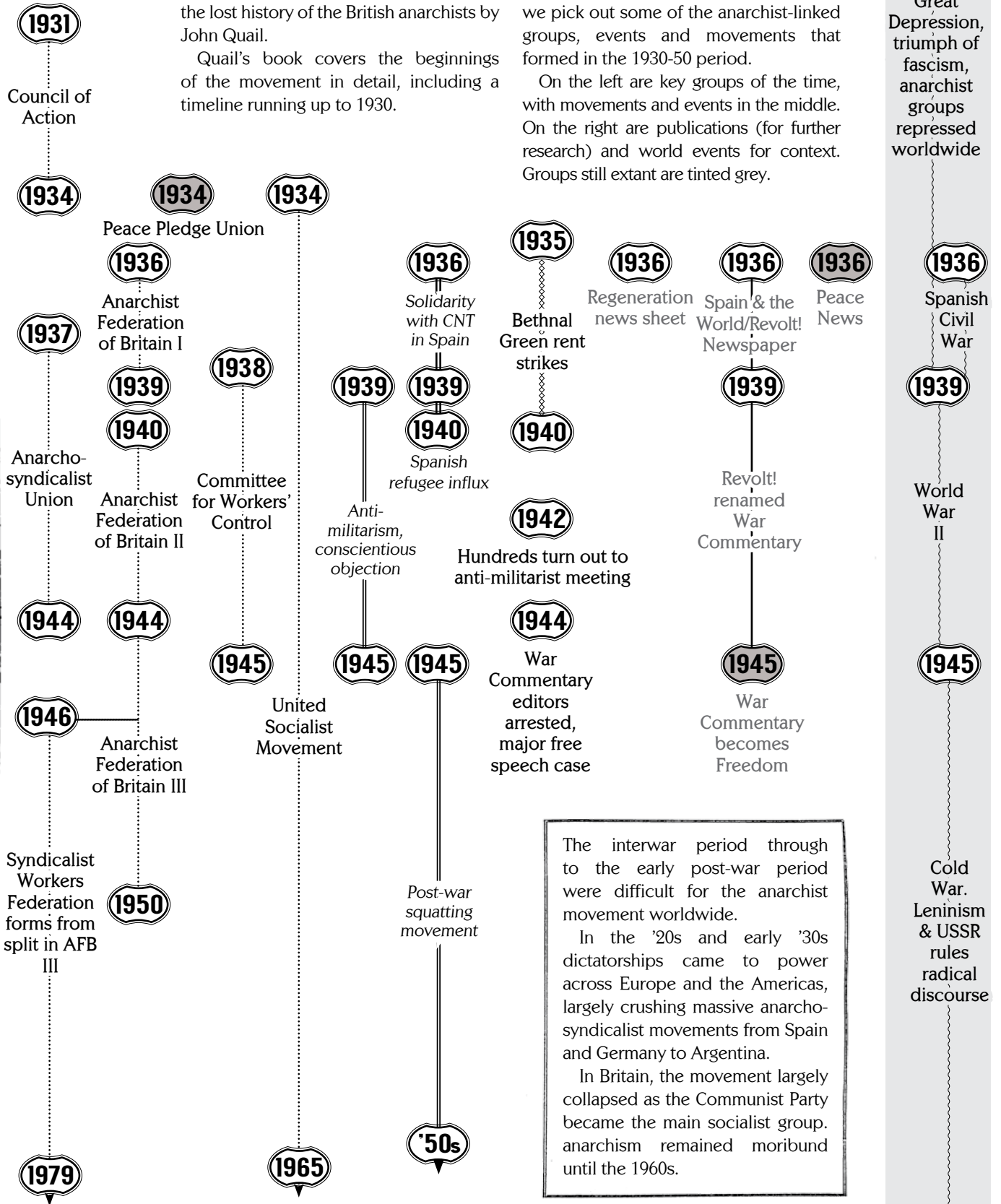
As part of its ongoing work on the history of the anarchist movement, Freedom Press is soon to reprint *Slow Burning Fuse*, the lost history of the British anarchists by John Quail.

Quail's book covers the beginnings of the movement in detail, including a timeline running up to 1930.

But what happened after that point?

In this timeline, the first installment of a brief overview running through to 2016, we pick out some of the anarchist-linked groups, events and movements that formed in the 1930-50 period.

On the left are key groups of the time, with movements and events in the middle. On the right are publications (for further research) and world events for context. Groups still extant are tinted grey.



The interwar period through to the early post-war period were difficult for the anarchist movement worldwide. In the '20s and early '30s dictatorships came to power across Europe and the Americas, largely crushing massive anarcho-syndicalist movements from Spain and Germany to Argentina. In Britain, the movement largely collapsed as the Communist Party became the main socialist group. anarchism remained moribund until the 1960s.

EDITORIAL

This summer issue of Freedom Newspaper published on May 1st, International Workers' Day. It's a curious affair for modern anarchists, as we memorialise the Haymarket Affair of 1886 which kicked it all off but we are surrounded by a constant corporate shrieking. "Looking to get away for the summer?" "Buy this and make life complete!" "Is your beach bod ready?"

The cacophony makes it hard to be heard, to remember, to tell vital stories. A shortlived revival in the early 2000s aside, our marches and rallies to mark the Martyrs of 1886 and the winning of the eight hour workday have become muted, outshouted, reduced both by our movements' declines and by the very rights that were won — activists quite rightly disappear to recuperate, and the listing services for leftie events thin out as summer advertising dominates the skylines.

But that class memory is important. For we have rights descended from it, enshrined on paper, which are being eroded by the drip drip of capitalist equivocation and pressure. Now more than ever we are edging closer to the bad old days than the good, and many of the thousands of participants in the Haymarket rally on that cold, rainy Chicago evening in 1886 would recognise the casualised, precarious atmosphere that has steadily invaded our working lives, driven by wolves in new tech clothing.

The Illinois city was at that time in the midst of a mass migration of vast scope, growing from 300,000 citizens in

1870 to 2.7 million in 1920. Immigration and the reactionary racism which trotted along beside it characterised the experiences of most of these workers. Leaflets calling them to arms in the cause of equality were written in multiple languages, encouraging resistance against 12-hour days with no security of work.

Capitalists, bloated and arrogant in the most extraordinary disparity of wealth that had ever been seen to that time, were proclaiming a new order of technological wonder. What was good for the wealth creators, they believed, was good for the toiling masses being gouged for rent in heaving, overcrowded slum housing.

The cyclemakers of the Western Wheel Company, lacking in working security, rights and dignity, rushed to build the economy which now sees their great, great grandchildren manically cycling round those same streets strapped to Deliveroo boxes, working long hours for little pay as part of a "new" economy that is, really, anything but.

The workers' demand then, for the eight hour day, was never just about leisure, it was about forcing a transformation of our relationship to those who owned the factories. Our forebears saw themselves being treated as chattel to enrich the greedy few and demanded better, taking on not just the fear of worklessness, but the violence of hired pinkertons gunning down ringleaders.

They weren't helped by the State, which took the opportunity of a bomb being set off at that May 4th Haymarket rally to arrest and try eight anarchists for conspiracy, none of whom had thrown it and some of whom had not been to the event. August Spies, Samuel



Fielden, Adolph Fischer, Albert Parsons, Michael Schwab, George Engel, Louis Lingg and Oscar Neebe were put in the dock with a judge, Joseph Gary, whose vicious bias made him notorious worldwide. The jury was deliberately filled with rightist partisans, the evidence juked, the verdict rigged. Engel, Fischer, Parsons, and Spies were hung, Lingg committed suicide, the rest were jailed.



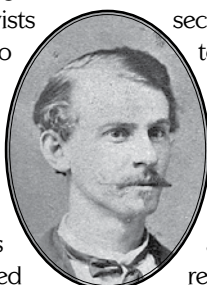
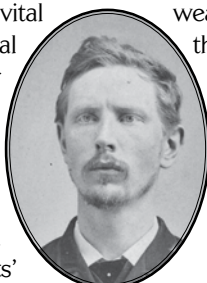
Newly-installed mayor John A Roche ordered a ban on banners, flags, arms or music at the funerals. But 16,000 people marched behind the coffins nonetheless. Hundreds of thousands more lined the route. It was a day like no other in US history, a detonation of working class pride and solidarity that would echo around the world, avalanche into a global movement that ground out the rights we see being slowly stripped away now.



It would not be until John Peter Altgeld became Illinois governor in 1893 that any element of the United States government, left or right, would admit murdering its enemies on false grounds. Altgeld freed the remaining three Haymarket Martyrs, admitting as he did so that the jury was packed, that Judge Gary was dishonest. He was duly turned into a pariah by the press.



Chicago taught us something, and it gave us something. It taught us never to trust in our rulers. It gave us trust in ourselves. As capitalists prey on our division today, telling us that we don't deserve better, that we're obsolete and a burden on them, it remains a beacon that can and should cut through the desperate chatter of marketing vultures.



THE BIG REBUILD: UPDATE

Working on volunteer-led political projects, especially bricks and mortar ones, can often feel like an endless and thankless sort of task. Cashflow problems, lack of relevant expertise, high turnover of key organisers and sometimes feuds and scandals are just some of the pitfalls which periodically need dealing with, usually by people who have many other things to do.

84b Whitechapel High Street has seen its share of all the above since it was bought by the Vernon Richards-led Freedom Press in 1968, with the help of donations and a substantial bit of support from his family.

From the multi-decade feud Vero maintained with Albert Meltzer until the day he died in December 2001, to fascist bombings and the long, slow process transitioning to provide a home for many other groups on the libertarian left, Freedom has often felt like a two-steps-forward, one-step-back sort of process.

Our most spectacular example of this has been in recent years, since an attempted firebombing of Freedom bookshop in 2013 which only failed to put us down for the count after a wonderful rallying round of our friends and allies, some of whom we had no idea existed.

In a matter of months we were back on our feet, but it did force us to re-examine how we were doing things, and to consider sustainability in the long term.

At the time we were running a loss-making newspaper with an audience in the low hundreds, a bookshop which was perennially under-resourced, a publishing house that had thousands of books in boxes which stretched back 40 years and weren't bringing in enough money to cover our costs.

And we also had the building to look after, which all involved agreed represented the most important part of Freedom at that time — a large physical space in the heart of London, with good transport links and owned outright by a dormant trust (so it could survive in the event the Collective didn't).

The movement has nothing else like it, and unlike the publication of paper propaganda, it is near-irreplaceable as a physical asset for anarchists in the capital. Even before the fire we had opened the space to help the Advisory Service for Squatters, Corporate Watch, Haven and LCAP.

It was a huge amount of work and at most there was a dozen of us helping out at any one time — sometimes half that — none as a full-time role.

So over the following three years we changed how the place was running. We brought other building users in to have a direct democratic say in how it was run and to help organise it. We closed the newspaper as a monthly production, lifting a huge financial and labour-intensive burden off our shoulders and allowing us to focus on making everything else work.

Over that period we went from loss-making to breaking even for the first time in a decade. We now have a decent online shop (freedompress.org.uk), news site with near-daily updates about anarchist goings-on around the world (freedomnews.org.uk), we bring out these less frequent free journals for physical handout, and began publishing sustainable, short-run titles again.

But then in January 2016 we had another big shock. A survey from the Friends suggested we would need up to £50,000 to secure the building for the long term (works needed are listed on the right).

We had an immediate crisis. The trustees of the building were in favour of selling, as it seemed unlikely we would be able to raise the cash. The building users voted to stay, as it seemed unlikely we would be able to find somewhere suitable to move to and no-one wanted the value of the building to end up in an account somewhere to eventually drain away.

In the end it was decided to look for the money from the movement, and prioritise immediately essential works in year one. And in this, we have once again been humbled and delighted by our comrades from Britain and the wider world.

Since we formally opened our campaign to raise the first £13,000 of the rebuild cash needed last autumn we have raised £9,242, with more due to come in — all in solidarity from comrades, no loans, no grants. We're already talking to people who know a bit about the construction trade (though if any project management help is on offer that is welcome!) and are confident that over the next few months we'll hit our first set of targets.

We've still got a long road ahead of us, a lot of money to raise, but this sets us up to eventually achieve what had seemed impossible — spending our 50th year in the Freedom Building at 84b Whitechapel High Street making it fit and ready to stand for another 50.

Anarchist political projects can sometimes be hard work. They can burn us out, make us feel like we've wasted our time, even leave us embittered. But the legacy of the hundreds of people who have worked on maintaining Freedom as a voice of the Beautiful Idea, a nail house in the face of banks' machinery chewing on Tower Hamlets' working class neighbourhoods, is still there. A seed beneath the snow.

Our thanks to you all.

ABOUT US

Freedom Press is an independent, non-sectarian, non-profit publishing house and bookshop collective dedicated to preserving and promoting anarchist ideas.

First established in 1886 by Charlotte Wilson as a voice for the anarchist tradition, Freedom has published more or less erratically ever since, making it the oldest such organisation in Britain, and possibly the English-speaking world.

Alongside our own extensive back catalogue we stock thousands of books, papers and pamphlets, as well as the latest magazines, periodicals and newsletters from all the major anarchist and radical groups.

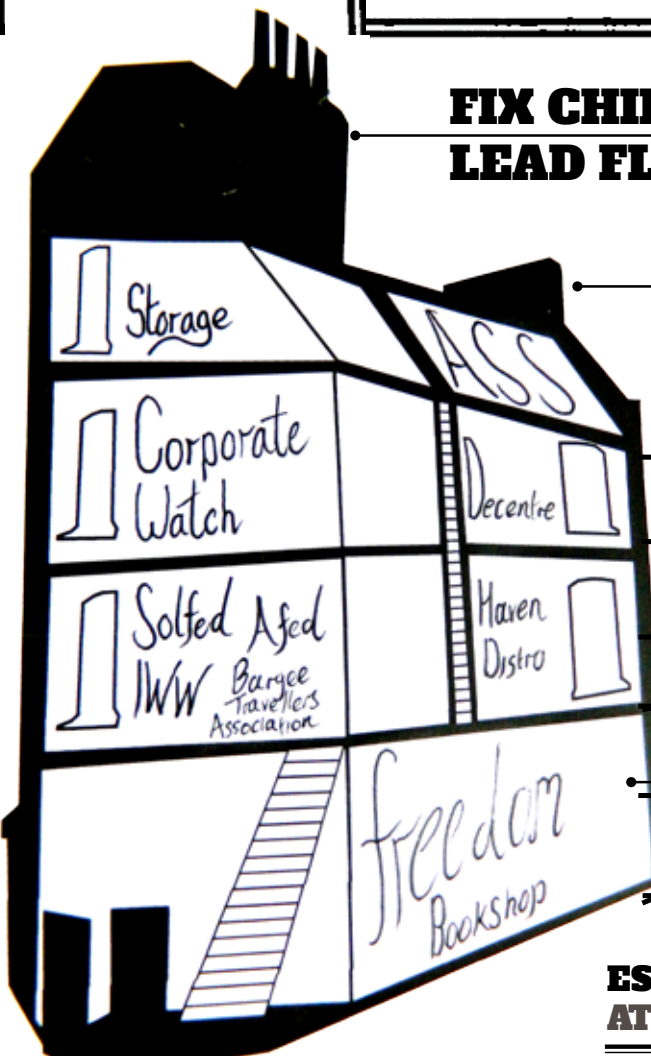


FUNDING NUMBERS

YEAR 1

Following a survey done on the Freedom building, the Collective has been working out how to get a number of key major works done.

On this page we run down the first tranche of works, how much it will cost, what we've raised and how you can help us to get it all done.



FIX CHIMNEYS, ROOF FELT, LEAD FLASHINGS £1,400 ✓

PARAPET REPAIRS £600-1,500 ✓

UNBLOCK GUTTER £200 ✓

SCAFFOLDING £2,500(ISH)

BRICKWORK REPOINTING £5,000 ✓

ESTIMATE: £9,800-10,700 PLUS VAT AT 20% AND £1,000 CONTINGENCIES

RAISED: £9,242
REMAINING: £3,758

We're also fundraising at gofundme.com/thebigfreedomrebuild and blogging at freedomsbigrebuild.wordpress.com

DONATING

ONLINE
www.paypal.me/fbuildingcollective

CHEQUE
Payable to "Freedom Press," mail to
84b Whitechapel High st, London E1 QX

HELPING

EMAIL
freedombuilding@lists.aktivix.org

TELEPHONE
(07952) 157-742
and leave your details

UP NEXT...

Lower-priority works we'll need to do later include damp proofing (£2,000), staircase repair (£3,000), wall/ceiling repair, (£1,000), window repair, (£7,000), decoration (£5,000) and roof insulation (£1,000) — among other things.

FASCISM, MAO AND

TALKING TO AUTHOR GABRIEL KUHN

When looking at liberation movements and struggles for social justice, especially non-pacifist, there seems to be an emphasis on the folks who clash physically, and often lose, with property and authority. This is discussed a bit in *Who's Afraid of the Black Blocs*. Is this an accurate, albeit short and generalising, representation? What are some of the other roles that are vital in supporting movements? How do you think movements can attract more members to these other roles?

These are really big questions. I'll try to differentiate a bit.

To begin with, we must not confound militant liberation struggles with street fighting tactics such as the black bloc. Black blocs are largely an urban First World phenomenon. They have their place under certain circumstances but the realities of militant masses in the Third World fighting both national and international oppressors is very different.

With respect to black blocs and militant resistance within First World autonomous movements, there have certainly been problems with fetishising the young, male streetfighter. There have also been problems with adventurism, irresponsibility, and a lack of both political and strategic vision. This does not discredit the tactic but it challenges us to reflect upon its use and improve it, mainly by tying it to broader social movements and other means of resistance in a collaborative effort that involves a bigger diversity of people.

Mass movements that employ militant means might have similar problems, but the variety of these movements is so big – from spontaneous popular uprisings to Maoist people's armies – that it would be utterly inappropriate to make any generalisations. Where these problems exist, they need to be addressed, but to decide on whether or how this has to happen is up to the people involved on the ground.

Which roles are vital to support movements? I won't gather points

for originality here, but the answer is: any role that strengthens the research, analysis, propaganda, mobilisation, and confrontation that movements require. All kinds of people will be attracted to these roles as long as the struggle promises them a better life and they feel empowered rather than reduced to pawns in someone else's game.

Since the election of Trump, have you seen or heard changes in attitudes in Sweden such as an increase in fascist attacks or activity?

I don't think that what has been dubbed "everyday Trumpism," that is, the emboldening of the far right to seize public space and harass and humiliate people, has significantly increased in Sweden or other European countries because of Trump winning the election. Hate crimes — in particular directed against migrants and refugees — have been up for a while and there has been a strong anti-feminist and anti-civil-rights backlash.

But Trump's victory certainly boosted these tendencies. One only needs to read the far-right's publications or related websites. Trump's victory is hailed as a confirmation that the chauvinistic politics of the far right indeed capture the will of the people. The US presidential elections have a huge impact the world over and in this case it has been particularly bad.

Why do you think militants are drawn to Mao or Maoism?

In the 1960s and 1970s, Maoism seemed to be a bridge to world revolution as a Third Worldist adaptation of Marxism-Leninism. Radicals around the world rallied behind it. With the crisis that the Left has been experiencing since the end of the Cold War, the onset of neoliberalism, and the political and economic developments in China, the revolutionary hopes put in Maoism largely disappeared. In the First World, Maoism nearly went extinct.



In some Third World countries, however, among them Nepal, India, and the Philippines, fairly strong Maoist movements survived. The appeal of Maoism for Third World revolutionaries remains the application of Marxist-Leninist principles to the conditions of poor peasant societies. Today's resurgence of Maoism among First World radicals is, in my opinion, due to three reasons:

1. A fair number of First World radicals have grown tired of what J. Moufawad-Paul, in his book *The Communist Necessity*, has called "movementism" — the belief that as long as people are in some way politically active, revolutionary change will occur based on the convergence of their efforts. Many radicals have come to see this as a dead end and believe that common strategies and visions are required to help this process along. We could also call this a critique of 21st century anarchism in practice. Maoism provides a tighter analytical framework for

ANTI-IMPERIALISM

political action and a clearer vision of revolutionary change.

2. Maoism still benefits from its image as an unorthodox and progressive variety of Marxism-Leninism, given its Third World appeal, the historical background of the Sino-Soviet split, the radicalness of the Cultural Revolution, and a certain affinity with post-colonial studies. Loosely speaking, it's more hip than tired old Leninist stuff.

3. Even when the Third World communist movement was in decline, there have been Maoist mass movements, posing a threat to the capitalist order and, in the case of Nepal, contributing to groundbreaking political changes (even if the subsequent actions of leading Nepali Maoists have been the subject of much criticism).

These are strong material manifestations of political engagement. In contrast, anarchism sometimes seems to have little more to offer than a few infoshops in gentrified neighbourhoods of First World cities. Needless to say, anarchism's influence goes further in many ways, but some radicals are attracted by the large-scale social changes that Maoism promises.

What are some of the most important current theory-centered concerns or work for libertarian anti-imperialists for the next five or 10 years?

a) We have to find ways to combine national and international (or transnational) working-class struggles. Nationalism has been dividing the global working class since about 200 years, creating various layers of workers, toiling and living under extremely different circumstances. It is one of the most effective means of "divide and conquer" ever conceived. Workers from one nation state see workers

from another mainly as competitors, which is expressed in protectionism, anti-immigration sentiments, and plain racism and chauvinism.

The far right is exploiting these sentiments the world over. A truly internationalist working-class struggle means to identify the workers' true enemies — the rich and powerful — and to formulate a common vision for achieving justice in global production and distribution. For workers in the First World — sometimes referred to as the "labour aristocracy" — this might imply the loss of some privileges that the imperialist order has bestowed upon them. Workers find it no easier to let go of privileges than anyone else.

But no matter how difficult the challenge, it needs to be taken on if we want to get anywhere.

b) We need to slip libertarian convictions into this process without sliding into "movementism." I consider an alliance of radicals with different ideological backgrounds mandatory if we want to play any role in current struggles.

One of the anarchists' main tasks would be to keep the development of coercive power structures in check, which is a danger that is always looming. Anarchism has its shortcomings, and certainly not all the answers we need considering the complex societies we live in.

But it needs to be part of the revolutionary process in order to avoid pitfalls of the past. I don't think it helps to throw hysterical fits whenever someone assumes "authority" or when a "hierarchy" is emerging, but someone has to make sure that no such structures consolidate, become a means in themselves, and form a new class of rulers.

In terms of historical scholarship, where do you think the anarchist and anti-imperialist movements need more work?

To me, what seems most important is to analyse revolutionary change. How did it occur? What were the circumstances? How do they compare to the ones we are facing today? What happened afterwards? What went right? What went wrong? I think we have largely lost our grip on revolution. People still like to throw the word around to distinguish themselves from "reformists" or "liberals", but very few can articulate what they actually mean by it.

We have to rectify this, provide the term with meaning again, and pursue relevant politics.

What is your current project that is closest to publication? Will you share some of the projects you currently have in the works?

I have just completed a German translation of Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor's excellent book *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation*. This is coming out soon. The next bigger project is another translation, this time into English. Kersplebedeb will publish an English edition of Torkil Lauesen's *Det globale perspektiv*, which I am very excited about.

Torkil was a member of the so-called Blekingegade Gang, a group of Marxist revolutionaries in Denmark that committed various high-revenue robberies in the 1970s and 1980s and passed on all the proceeds to Third World liberation movements. I already collaborated with Torkil for the PM Press book *Turning Money Into Rebellion* and am looking forward to doing so again.

Gabriel Kuhn was interviewed by "Luther Blissett" a pseudonym used by many authors on the libertarian scene since 1994.



WHO'S WHO AND WHERE



A HAPHAZARD LIST OF FRIENDLY BRITISH GROUPS

PLACES



- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1 SCOTLAND
ACE (Edinburgh)
Calton Books
(Glasgow)</p> | <p>6 SOUTH
Cowley Club
(Brighton)
Hydra Books (Bristol)
Kebele (Bristol)
October Books
(Southampton)</p> |
| <p>2 NORTH-WEST
News from
Nowhere
(Liverpool)
Partisan
(Manchester)</p> | <p>7 LONDON
56a Infoshop (SE17)
Black Cat Cafe (E5)
Common House (E2)
DIY Space for London
(SE15)
Feminist Library (SE1)
Freedom Bookshop
(E1)
Housmans Bookshop
(N1)
London Action
Resource Centre (E1)
Mayday Rooms (EC4)</p> |
| <p>3 NORTH-EAST
1 in 12 (Bradford)
Jepps Books
(Sheffield)
People's Bookshop
(Durham)
Margins (Sunderland)
Star & Shadow
Cinema (Newcastle)
Wharf Chambers
(Leeds)</p> | <p>OTHER LOCAL FOLKS
Bristol Radical History
Radical Glasgow
Haringey Solidarity
Group
Housing Action
Southwark & Lambeth
London Coalition
Against Poverty</p> |
| <p>4 WALES
South Wales
Anarchists</p> | |
| <p>5 MIDLANDS
Five Leaves,
Sumac Centre
(Nottingham)</p> | |

RADICAL ROUTES CO-OPS

- Branches (Bradford)
- Burrow, The (Manchester)
- Cornerstone (Leeds)
- Coventry Peace House
- Dragonfly (Oxford)
- Equinox (Manchester)
- Federici (Birmingham)
- Golem (Swansea)
- Gung Ho (Birmingham)
- Highbury Farm (Monmouthshire)
- Hive, The (Bradford)
- Mary Ann Johnson (London)
- Neds (Nottingham)
- Nutclough (Hebden Bridge)
- Out of Town (Brighton)
- Plan B (Manchester)
- Random Camel (Ipswich)
- Rockdove Rising (Manchester)
- Rose Howey (Liverpool)
- Share Instead (Sheffield)
- Skylark (Brighton)
- Talamh (South Lanarkshire)
- Walden Pond (St Leonards on Sea)
- Wild Peak (Peak District)
- Xanadu (Leeds)

GOT MISSED OUT? It's not a deliberate snub! You can contact the London Anarchist Bookfair and add your name to their list. To find the groups featured, Google is not your friend but it will reveal all.



SOLIDARITY

Angola 3 Campaign
 Anti Fascist Network
 Bargee Travellers Association
 Black Lives Matter
 Boycott Workfare
 Calais Migrant Solidarity
 Disabled People Against Cuts
 Fuel Poverty Action
 Hunt Saboteurs Association
 No Borders
 Peace in Kurdistan Campaign
 Shut Down Yarl's Wood
 Travellers Solidarity Network
 UK Zapatista Solidarity

'justice'

Anarchist Black Cross
 Campaign Opposing Police Surveillance
 Empty Cages Collective
 Green and Black Cross
 Fitwatch
 Legal Defence & Monitoring Group
 Netpol
 Police Spies Out of Lives

GREEN

Breaking The Frame	Plane Stupid
Coal Action Network	Reclaim The Power
Earth First!	Rising Tide
Frack off	Seeds for Change
Just Seeds	Social Ecology London

SUPPORT

Advisory Service for Squatters
 Anti Raids Network (helping migrants)
 hacktionlab.org (tech for activists)
 Haven Distribution (books to prisoners)
 Radical Routes (housing co-ops)
 Riseup.net (email lists for radicals)
 SQUASH campaign (squatter support)
 Veggies Catering Campaign

media

- Active Distribution
- AK Distribution
- Aktivix
- Anarchist Studies
- Anarchist Voices
- Anti Capitalist Art
- Aufheben
- Autonomedia/Minor Compositions
- base publication
- Brave Heart Distro
- Christiebooks
- Corporate Watch
- Dissident Island Radio
- Endnotes
- Entartete Kunst
- Elephant Editions
- Five Leaves
- Footprint printers
- Godhaven Ink
- Insurrection News
- Kate Sharpley Library
- Libcom
- PM Press
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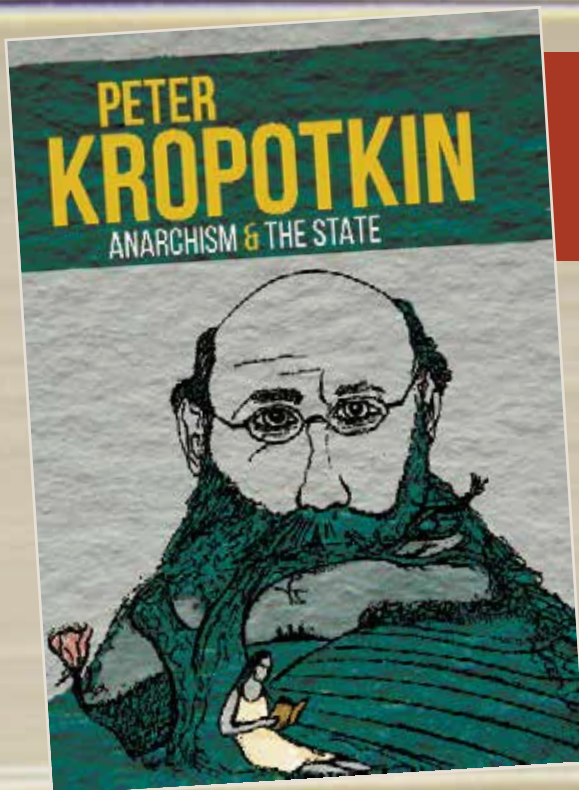
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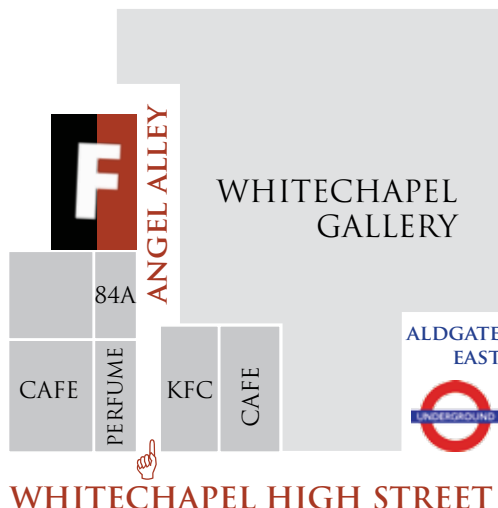
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