

FREEDOM CONTACT PAGE

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Freedom Press
IN ANGEL ALLEY
84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH ST.
LONDON E.1

COPY DATE for next issue:-
3rd September. SEND US YOUR NEWS

INTERNATIONAL

WESTERN EUROPE

Federal Republic of Germany

Baden: Karin Bauer, Info-Büro,
Postfach 161, 717 SCHWABISH HALL
Anarkistisches Bund. Publishers
of 'Anarkistische Texte', c/o
Libertad Verlag, Postfach 153,
1000 BERLIN 41
Libertäres Forum e.V., Postfach
100755, 1000 BERLIN 36

Initiative Freie Arbeiter Union
(Anarcho-Syndicalists), PAU,
Repsolstr. 49, Hochpaterre links,
2000 HAMBURG 1

East Westfalia
Anarchistische Föderation Ost-
westfalen-Lippe: Wolfgang Fabisch
Fabisch, c/o Wohngemeinschaft
Schwarzwurzel, Wöhrener Str. 138,
4970 BAD OEYNHAUSEN 2

'Gewaltfreie Aktion' groups
throughout FRG, associated with
WRI. For information write Karl-
Heinz Sang, Methfesselstr. 69,
2000 HAMBURG 19.

FRANCE

Fédération anarchiste française
3, rue Ternaux, 75011 PARIS
(groups throughout France)

ITALY

Gruppo Hem Day, c/o Giovanni
Trapani, Via A. Tittoni 5,
00153, ROMA.

NETHERLANDS

De Vrije Socialist, Postbus 411,
UTRECHT

SCANDINAVIA

Denmark
Regnbuen Anarkist Bogcafe, Meijlgade 48, 8000 AARHUS
Anarkist-Syndikalist Bogcafe,
Studiestraße 18, 1455 COPENHAGEN
Rainbow Anarchists of the Free
City of Christiania, c/o Ailan
Anarchos, Tinghuset, Fristaden
Christiania, 1407K COPENHAGEN

Sweden

Frihetlige Forum, Landsvägsgatan
19, 41304 GOTEBORG

Stockholm: Box 110 75,
S-100 61 STOCKHOLM is now the
address for both Revolutionär Anarchists Organisation and
Frihetlig Forum Stockholm who
are no longer at their former
address.

AUSTRALIA

New South Wales

Black Ram, PO Box 238, DARLING-
HURST, N.S.W. 2010
Bisintegrator!, PO Box 291,
Bondi Junction, Sydney, N.S.W.
Sydney Anarcho-Syndicalists,
Jura Books Collective, 417 King
Street, NEWTOWN, N.S.W. 2042
Sydney Libertarians, PO Box 24,
DARLINGHURST, N.S.W. 2010

Queensland

Libertarian Socialist Organisa-
tion, PO Box 268, Mount Gravatt,
Central 4122
Self-Management Organisation,
PO Box 332, North Quay, Queens-
land

Victoria

La Trobe Libertarian Socialists,
c/o SRC, La Trobe University,
BUNDOORA, 3083

Monash Anarchist Society, c/o
Monash University, Clayton,
3168 MELBOURNE

Libertarian Workers for Self-
Management, PO Box 20, PARKVILLE
3052

South Australia

Adelaide Anarchists, PO Box 67,
NORTH ADELAIDE 5006

Western Australia

Freedom Collective, PO Box 14,
MOUNT HAWTHORN 6018

TASMANIA

c/o 34 Kennedy Street, LAUNCES-
TON 7250

NEW ZEALAND

PO Box 2052, AUCKLAND
PO Box 22-607 CHRISTCHURCH
Daybreak Bookshop, PO Box 5424
DUNEDIN

CANADA

Open Road, Box 6135, Station G,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

U. S. A.

California
Free Socialist, PO Box 1751,
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94101

Minnesota

Soil of Liberty, Box 7056, Pow-
derhorn Station, MINNEAPOLIS,
Minn. 55407

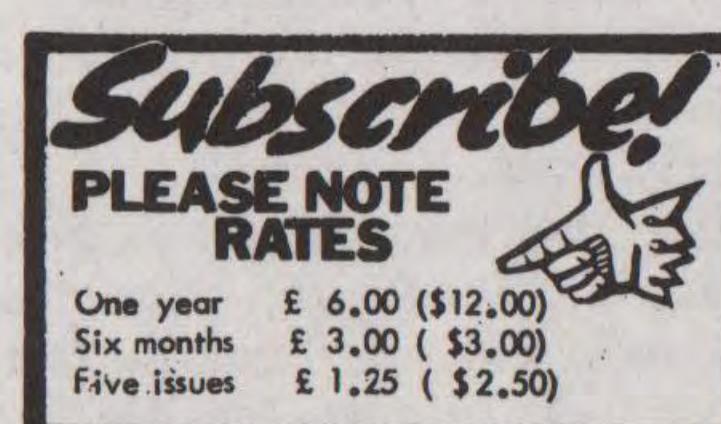
New York

Libertarian Book Club, Box 842,
GPO, NEW YORK, NY 10012

SRAF/Freespace Alternative U.,
339 Lafayette St., NEW YORK CITY,
NY 10012

Texas

Houston SRAF, South Post Oak Sta-
tion, PO Box 35253, BOUSTON,
TX 77035



Printed by 'Ian the Printer' who wishes to state that he has very strong views regarding page 15 of the Review Section and strongly objects to his life and the numerous people (including the disabled and single parent families) his machines print for being put at risk by people who, whilst boasting of their exploits and emphasizing the financial damage done to their 'enemies' (inc. a firm of printers), do not attach for obvious reasons, their home addresses to copy that they expect others to print. Apart from any legal repercussions, if it is legitimate for them to attack their enemies in this way what makes them think that it isn't equally legitimate for the other side to counter-attack. I live next to my machines and being disabled cannot afford the luxury of printing such 'HIT LISTS' in future issues and although I am equally opposed to animals being exploited I do not wish to become another casualty in a war not of my making, using methods I don't approve of from a moral and practical/tactical point of view. P.S. I am not going to append my own hit list of successful non-violent actions that I have carried out for causes I believe in but I thought I would just mention the existence of such a list in case some of my critics think I am yet another old soft armchair critic worried about my personal safety and livelihood! Why always go for the 'soft option' - a machine is neutral and it has feelings too! Worldwide my fellow printers are under attack from right-wing and left-wing totalitarian and fascist states/organisations. The ALF attack on a print shop could set an awful precedent in this country. Of course if you don't want to have your copy printed in the future, go ahead and give the enemies of our written words the excuse to attack us. Talk about playing into the hands of the enemy. It's bad enough when one's so-called comrades don't pay their bills but physically attacking print shops could be the last straw!!

MEETINGS

Italy

A meeting on Anarchism and Non-
violence is being planned in
Cesena (Forli) Italy for autumn
1979 or spring 1980. Depending on
the number of participants it is
proposed to hold 'working commis-
sions' on subjects such as anti-
militarism, disarmament, self-
management, teaching, feminism,
power and violence (could non-
violent power exist?).

Material, papers, contributions
to expenses, addresses and new
contacts should be sent to:
Lombardo Antonioni, via Placenza
66, 15100 Alessandria, Italy
(tel. 0131-444238).

International conference on the
study of Self-Management, Venice.
Proposed dates: End Sept. or
mid-Oct. 1979.

Following successful internation-
al conferences in the past, the
Giuseppe Pinelli Libertarian
Studies Centre in Venice, Italy
is to hold an international con-
ference on the above subject in
conjunction with the anarchist
magazine *Interrogations*. Anyone
interested in taking part, col-
laborating or sending works or
papers, please write to the
organising secretary at Centro
Studi Libertari, V. le Monza 255,
Milano 20126, Italy.

LONDON WORKERS MEETING
on Unemployed, Part-time & Moonlighting
Mon. Aug. 13th. 8.00pm
Metropolitan pub, Farringdon Rd. E.C. 1
(nearest tube - Farringdon)

A Grand Anarchist Summer Ball.
Saturday, 18 August. Sunset - sunrise.
Admission £2.00. Music, food, clowns,
jugglers, sword swallowers, grand
raffle, spot prizes, drinks, herbals etc.
At Metropolitan Wapping Wall, E.1.
(Phone 488-0602). Near Wapping tube.

'History of London Anarchism - Where
are we going?' 12 August, 8 pm.
Roebuck Hotel, 108a Tottenham Court
Rd, W1. (Near Goodge Street tube).

DESIRÉS
Anyone in Wandsworth/Battersea/
Clapham interested in forming an
anarchist group contact D. Elder,
28 Swanage Road, Wandsworth, SW18

PUBLICATIONS

As from Sept. 25th, the 'Anarch-
ist Student', a student news and
theoretical journal, will be
available by post at £1 for bund-
les of 25 copies. The paper will
consist of an A3 broadsheet.
Contributions, etc. welcome and
should be sent to PNL Anarchist
Society, c/o Student Union Office,
The Polytechnic of N. London,
Prince of Wales Road, Kentish
Town; London N.W.5.
The paper will appear termly and
will be cover-priced at 5p per
copy.
Please get articles in by Sept.
15th at latest.

Published by Freedom Press, London E1
Printed by Magic Ink, Margate, Kent.

anarchist fortnightly Freedom

Anarchists & Irish *SCAPEGOATS ALL!*

From a document prepared for 'Persons unknown'
by the Belfast Anarchist Collective.

DESPITE the obvious differences bet-
ween the conspiracy case of the six
anarchists in Britain and the conflicts in
Northern Ireland, they must be seen in
the context of how the state is prepared to
repress those who pose an actual or
potential threat. They are part of the
one operation.

Before going into all that's happening
in the North let's take two areas by which
to compare the situations in Britain and
Northern Ireland. The conspiracy trial
is now set to begin in September. That'll
make it almost one and a half years from
the date of arrest. Which is not unusual
in itself. But with the continued refusal
of bail for Ronan Bennett that makes one
and a half year's imprisonment, even if
our comrades do get off.

In Northern Ireland this is systematic
policy - to hold people from 6 months to
up to 2 years, only to drop the charges
just before the trial for lack of evidence.
It serves the same purpose as intern-
ment by putting someone out of circulation
for a year and warning that person
and his or her friends what will happen
if they don't keep in line. In Britain there
is a particular twist in that the Anti-
Terrorist Squad is attempting among
other things to justify itself.

Secondly, political status and crimin-
alisation. Here we have an interesting
contrast between the British State's
response to the political climate in
Northern Ireland and that in England.

During the last 10 years of the North's
turbulence there has been a consequent
questioning of such roles as the police,
the courts, the army, parliamentary
political parties, and the State itself.

This highly charged political atmos-
phere has necessitated a policy, first
by Rees, then Mason, now Atkins, to
'criminalise' opposition to the State.
'Political status', first granted by White-
law to those convicted of overtly political
crimes after a hunger strike, was with-
drawn and the prisoners became like the
rest of the prison population. It's now
simply a question of 'law and order'.

Although the police are using criminal
procedure to prosecute a few anarchists
and thereby to bolster their own credibil-
ity, the political connotations are what
makes it possible.

In Northern Ireland this was tried, but
proved unsuccessful because of different

circumstances. To politicise or crimin-
alise the activities of subversives is
simply a choice of tactic for the State.

METHODS OF STATE REPRESSION

It is important to detail these methods
as applied in the North, both because
you know what to expect, and because of
the immediate implications for you in
Britain. As Marx said, 'A nation that
enslaves another cannot itself be free'.
(Oh, why didn't Bakunin say something
on Ireland; it would have made our job
so much easier!)

An example of this is the Prevention
of Terrorism Act. Because of the way
the state is able to portray its own role
and that of its opponents, it can pass the
PTA here without much opposition -
aided of course by an SAS bomb and the
nationalist nature of the IRA campaign.

1. The Flexibility of Laws

a) First there was the Special Powers
Act which was brought in at the birth of
the State. But with the international public-
licity given to the latest 'troubles' the
blatant trampling underfoot of civil lib-
erties (eg. the abolition of *habeas corpus*
and the introduction of *internment*)
proved embarrassing to the social-
democratic image of the now EEC-con-
scious British government. So now we
have the Emergency Powers Act, with
its so-called 'trial', but even more vic-
ious in its creation of more offences,
with heavier sentences.

b) When the British soldiers first came
over it was discovered that their arrest-
ing of people was illegal. So overnight
the position was remedied by parliament
and made retrospective!

c) The Payment of Debt Act was intro-
duced to recover money from those on
the mass rent and rates strike which
followed internment.

d) The PTA was rushed in, not only to
be seen to be doing something, but as a
way of gathering information and intimid-
ating Irish people.

e) Towards the end of the year screws
in Northern Irish prisons went on a work
to rule. Because people were not making
their remand appearances, a little piece
of legislation appeared whereby the courts

could operate without the prisoner con-
cerned being there.

2. Courts

a) With the ending on Internment we got
the Diplock courts. Trial by jury was
abolished. Written statements as evid-
ence are now accepted so there is no
chance to cross-examine the witness.
Despite the well-documented evidence
of torture, signed confessions are almost
always accepted. Most people in the
Diplock courts are convicted in this way.

b) As already mentioned remand is
openly used as a form of internment.

3. Prison

During internment the compound sys-
tem of housing prisoners was very sim-
ilar to the POW status during the Second
World War. Education, work, discipline
and recreation were organised by the
men in the 'cages' themselves. This
lasted through to Detention, a change in
name only. But with the coming of the
Diplock courts and criminalisation, a
whole new cell system was built on the
same site, taking the form of H-shaped
blocks.

As a protest the republican prisoners
have refused to wear prison clothes and
do prison work (neither of which they
had to do before). This resulted in a
series of punishments - no exercise,
hardly any visits, no reading material,
and a refusal to allow the cons to go to
the toilet to wash up without their prison
clothes. In turn they refused to slop out.

4. Security Forces

a) There is the sheer intimidation of
heavily armed troops and police on the
streets.

b) The blanket harassment of areas,
eg. Turf Lodge, during the Queen's
visit.

c) After bomb scares everyone is made
to feel the pinch. The idea here is to
make the community fed up with 'terror-
ism' by mass stop and questioning.

d) The right of soldiers and police to
stop, question and search. If you refuse
to give your name, address, destination
and place just left, you are liable to a
fine or imprisonment.

Cont'd p2....

Freedom

TOWARDS A READER'S MEETING!

One continual topic of debate in these columns is what FREEDOM is, or what it ought to be. An anarchist periodical can take several forms, depending on what it sets out to do. Like most things in life it will take elements from various fields and combine them. For us there are a number of spectra which might be put forward, for example; theoretical/news, strategy/tactics, appealing to outsiders/acting as house journal for the committed. At one time or another a wide range of journals have appeared, each with its different mix of emphases. Historically, FREEDOM has been "anarchocommunist" and its approach has been "general", that is, it has not emphasised one particular strain of anarchism to the exclusion of others, but has sought to act as a platform for all. (We are not suggesting, of course, that we operate with grand impartiality. Obviously the paper will be coloured by the individuals who are involved in producing it at any given time. We are suggesting the area the final mix comes out in.) This tendency has become more marked in the 1970's, now that there is no longer a weekly "newspaper" and a monthly "heavy", but one production, merging the two. It is generally accepted that our "Review Section" does a reasonable job. Oh, we're not saying that it doesn't have its faults. We are aware of some of them and always welcome comment, which may bring up others. We're working on it. But just for now, we'll leave it on one side.

The "News Section" is the more "immediate" part of FREEDOM. It seeks to be more topical and hence tends to generate more heat. It tends to set the tone for the paper, so the cracks tend to show more. And, of course, it has the front page, which raises questions of presentation. As we hinted above, FREEDOM attempts to balance several approaches. We are the most frequent and regular English language anarchist magazine (By this we are not intending to denigrate the fine efforts of those who produce such as Peace News, the Hastings Anarchist Group, who have a weekly newsletter or the comrades who are working towards a weekly London newspaper). Because of this, and our historical tradition (we are in volume 40 of continuous production and Freedom Press goes back 93 years) to some extent we are cast in the role of the British Anarchist Establishment. No value judgment intended, this has both positive and negative aspects, we're just trying to be realistic. What all this leads to is that juggling of approaches again. We go some way by the news/review split. Rather more problematic is the newcomer/housejournal divide.

The story of the last outcrop of this debate illustrates some of the relevant points. Last August (Vol. 39 No. 15) we carried a piece, titled "Towards A Better FREEDOM". The immediate stimulus for

this was a price rise and it pointed out some of our problems. This was followed by Alan Westfall's lengthly "Suggestions" (Vol 39 No22). This contained many of the arguments both for and against, although we feel that AW's emphasis was misplaced in many cases. However, as regular readers will have noticed, the article had been somewhat overtaken by events, as many of the suggestions were being introduced, even before we received AW's piece, for example the printing of more reports by groups and of activities, discussion on organisation and so on. As the debate continued in the letter columns, its topic shifted from the role of FREEDOM to the value of a mass movement.

We don't have such a movement in this country. We have a number (increasing) of "purist" anarchists, who have, in the past, proved incapable of building a lasting organisation and a number (increasing) of "libertarians", who are involved in various campaigns. In other words, it's the newcomer/housejournal spectrum again. (Incidentally, don't think that the presence of a "mass movement" will remove the debate; it certainly doesn't in Spain) Somehow, FREEDOM has to be of value to both. To do this there are a number of things which it must include, for example both articles on news issues of the day from an anarchist viewpoint and reports of activities from anarchist groups and from individuals who are involved in various campaigns. Obviously, we need input from these sources. Part of our historical legacy has been a lingering suggestion that we tend to be isolated. Whatever the justification for this (and the present collective repudiate it. Apart from anything else, as anybody who knows Angel Alley would agree, this is hardly a cosy environment for armchair theorising), to a large extent we are as isolated as you make us. Production of the paper involves a large expenditure of time and energy.

Add to this the various difficulties in physical production and you can see where some of our problems come from. As was pointed out above, we now carry more reports of activity. This is not due to any sudden conversion on our part. It is due to those involved telling us about it. Responsiveness is reciprocal. A suggestion, we get accounts of demos, why not send a preview, discussing the reason for the demo, and why, you, as anarchists, are supporting it.

It is to consider, any other, matters that we will be holding a readers meeting. The last one was, to put it tactfully, unproductive. We were inexperienced in these things. This time we shall have more idea of what we want from the meeting. But, don't worry, you'll have plenty of opportunity for your say. This is to introduce the topic. All responses are welcome, in fact demanded. In the next issue a member

of the editorial group will continue with a description of how we actually produce the paper, to serve to demonstrate the problems, and opportunities there. This may also be of use to anybody who is interested in producing their own publication. Other aspects will be aired in the issues before the meeting.

We recognise, of course, that there is no Final Answer to all of this (and a good thing too) As has been implied above the debate reflects that within the movement as a whole. However, we hope to continue to act as a general anarchist platform, for both theoretical and practical issues. This meeting will be part of that.

TIME AND PLACE

The Reader's Meeting will be held at THE ROEBUCK, TOTTENHAM COURT RD, LONDON W 1 on FRIDAY SEPT. 21st. at 7.00pm

WE'RE SKIPPIN' AN ISSUE!

Due to pressures of holiday times and the like, we shall be missing an issue. Our reappearance shall be in four weeks and dated Sept. 8th. See you then.

ANARCHISTS & IRISH

...From pl

5. Men at the Top

Merlyn Rees learnt a lot in Northern Ireland and could then use his tricks of the trade as Home Secretary in Britain. Mason and Creasey (GOC) both served in Oman together and were reunited in control of Northern Ireland.

Because of the publicly questioned impartiality of the local RUC, British chief constables are appointed to the hot seat of RUC chief. And no doubt the experience will come in handy some day.

6. Technology

The development of riot control equipment has been well documented, from water cannon to CS gas to rubber bullets to plastic shields (as seen at Lewisham).

Less spectacular but more important in the long term is the use of computers. It's routine to be stopped and questioned in republican areas, and also common to be lifted (some people on a regular basis) and held for a few hours by the army. This is all part of low key intelligence gathering (who, where from, friends, pubs, jobs etc). This information is fed into a central computer sys-

Return to Tolpuddle REMEMBER SIX MEN!

22 JULY 1979 no doubt dawned for Len Murray much as any other day. No particularly earth-shattering decisions to take, no drastic re-thinking to be done, nothing too loud and nothing too strident to upset the comfort of the status quo. July 22nd was the day when he addressed the Tolpuddle Martyrs Memorial Rally in a beautiful Dorset village. The weather was perfect, the grass never greener, there was no particular challenge clouding his view of the assembled faithful, all was clear and simple and so quiet that people were to be seen nodding gently to sleep on the lawns of the Memorial Cottages. Odd dogs lazily scratched at a few fleas - the only visible signs of irritation. The assembled throng were lulled and mesmerised by safe platitudes after cliché in the carefully-prepared and polished speech of the General Secretary. In fact I was shuffling from foot to foot waiting for the vital spark to come from somewhere. But come it did not. Fire was there none. Just routine - another day in the General Secretary's Social Calendar. A few sweaty hands to shake, a wreath to lay on a martyr's grave in the churchyard, then back to what really matters - the mind numbing grind that is a managerialist's lot.

I had driven down from North Devon to Tolpuddle hoping, somehow, to return new-inspired. What an opportunity this day held in fact - a day when we remember six men who were arrested and sentenced to transportation for their political views - ring any bells? They suffered

hard and harrowing experiences overseas and we remembered their courage and the inspiration they gave. However, we also realise what still has to be achieved amongst the timeless poverty, degradation and oppression. One could tell that the people who had travelled to the rally were hungry and ready for inspiration to take back home to the routines of their working lives. They looked tired and stale and needed new fighting words to summon up the energy to continue caring and working for better pay and conditions and for better lives. The NUAWA (National Union of Agricultural and Allied Workers) gave out a leaflet headed "The Fight the Tolpuddle Martyrs Began is Not Over Yet". One knows what they mean. They are living on a basic minimum of £43 for a 40-hour week. But fighting talk was there none - nothing to shake the State's slumbers as it had a Sunday lie-in and eventually thumbed through the establishment Sunday press. Yawn. The same old literature on the Labour Party and CP bookstalls. Yawn. The same old literature on the Labour Party and CP bookstalls. Yawn. Curiosity slightly aroused and a few hopes raised by the sight of one banner 'TORY-LABOUR: TWO WINGS OF A SINGLE BIRD OF PREY' ... only to find it being carried by the 'Revolutionary Communist League of Britain'. Yawn. If you were able to cut through their rationalisations, would they ever see the joke? Yawn. "OH, for a Muse of Fire!" was all that was in my mind as we walked back to the car

assed badly with equipment stolen and its editors and printer imprisoned.

In London, though events have not reached this stage and 'political violence' (not from the state, of course) is the headline of the day. Originally in the North the cry was "No violence is justified for political ends". But now violence is criminal, not political (with again no reference to the state's violence).

8. Welfare State

a) The DHSS computer has already been mentioned. As far as is known social workers are being asked to complete a personal form on everyone who receives a service. Because of pressure from professional associations, address and national insurance numbers are not included, but age, sex, employment, family position, and most important, a geocode, are given. The geocode, a 7-digit number, can pinpoint the address to within half a dozen houses in the street.

b) The Payment of Debt Act, introduced to recover money from those on rent and rate strike through deductions from their welfare payments, has been extended to

park past a yawning police woman and two rather bored looking PCs.

It would have been so good to see an alternative, anarchist presence - banners, bookstalls, leaflets, noise, joy - to relieve the same old party political compromises, the low profiles and the grindawful tedium of stale propaganda. I am sure that this rally is just the kind of event at which an anarchist presence is needed. Maybe the tasteful tedium of past years has been too much - maybe the 45p pints of ale in plastic containers and the plastic sandwiches at 40p (in the rip-off Martyr's Arms, the only pub in the village, who have a monopoly for over pricing once a year) were too much. In which case, bring your own crates of ale, your own food, your own selves and your own energies NEXT year. Please! The date (please note it) is Sunday, July 20 1980. Ring Dorchester 2345 for details or write to Peter Venn, 2 West Walks, Dorchester for details. Let's give those tired and hungry people something to remember. Let's point out that people are still being punished and harrassed by the State for their political views. Let the crowds who do not know what freedom can mean read a paper of the same name. Let James Hammett 'Champion of Freedom' not turn in Tolpuddle churchyard, as a wreath is laid beneath his headstone by a platinising member of a ruling class.

ANN

anyone who owes rent or rates. Last summer it was again extended to cover gas and electricity arrears.

PTA AND TROOPS OUT

Iris Mills and Ronan Bennett were first picked up in Britain a year ago and denied the usual rights of access to a lawyer etc because they were Irish or living with an Irish person.

Racism is inherent in British social democracy. The NF is a product, a real threat on the streets, but a bogeyman compared to the police harrassment of minorities - blacks, gays, and Irish.

The PTA and the Immigration Laws are the two most racist symptoms of British society. Even a UDA spokesperson recently said, "If I go to England, I'm still a paddy". They are aimed against people who don't fit into the social democratic way of life - not against a political faction. So coordination of protest is difficult. For this reason anarchist groups such as 'Persons Unknown' should generalise their protest. Anarchists are increasingly the scapegoats of states. They must support those who face a similar predicament.

CAPENHURST THE STORY SO FAR

BACKGROUND One of the problems in putting out propaganda about Capenhurst (and acting on it) is the relative obscurity of the processes involved. If you're demonstrating against, say, a nuclear power station then it's fairly easy to convince people that it could kill them (especially after Harrisburg) but most people haven't the faintest idea about what goes on at an enrichment plant and even the demonstrators are likely to get the odd isotope mixed up.

The basic idea is that uranium comes in a number of forms (isotopes) depending on how heavy the nucleus is. Most uranium is the isotope known as U238 which is pretty useless for reactors. However, a small proportion is made up of fissionable isotopes, principally U234 and U235. The idea of enrichment is that you increase the proportion of fissionable isotopes to between 2 and 4 per cent, arriving at a fuel which can be used in reactors. Capenhurst enriches all the uranium used in British reactors and is therefore the keystone of the British nuclear industry. If, for some reason, Capenhurst were forced to close, the British Nuclear Fuels would have to import enriched uranium (probably from Holland).

The method of enrichment which is being used at the moment is gaseous diffusion. Uranium oxide will react with fluorine to make a gas, uranium hexafluoride ('hex' for short). This can be put through a series of screens which remove some of the U238. However, this is an expensive process and a different one is being introduced. This uses a centrifuge which separates the isotopes by spinning them. The Uranium Enrichment Company (URENCO) has started to build centrifugal plants - one at Almelo in Holland, the other at Capenhurst in Cheshire. The British section of URENCO is owned by our old friends BNFL (the two other partners being Holland and West Germany).

OPPOSITION Naturally this did not escape the eagle eyes of ecologists and an organisation was set up - 'Stop URENCO'. Its arguments are:-

1. Enrichment is a part of the nuclear industry so all the traditional anti-nuclear arguments apply. In addition, the enrichment process has its own dangers; eg. 'hex' is not only radioactive but also highly corrosive, so no prizes for guessing what would happen if a cask of the stuff leaked.

2. The centrifuge can be used to make 90 per cent enriched uranium - the stuff you make bombs with. Strictly speaking, URENCO is opposed to proliferation of nuclear arms but, since it has been trying to sell enriched fuel to Brazil (which has not signed the non-proliferation treaty) their defence looks rather weak. It is likely that in three years' time Pakistan will have an 'Islamic bomb' thanks to information stolen from a URENCO subsidiary.

3. URENCO is buying uranium from Namibia, breaking United Nations sanctions (for what they are worth) and contributing to the oppression of black Africans. Safety standards in Namibian uranium mines are likely to be even lower than in Australia and America.

The first demonstration was held last year and is generally reckoned to be a flop. There was a march through Chester, followed by a seven mile walk to the Capenhurst site. BNFL had allowed us to demonstrate peacefully in their car park, so this was all that happened. Some workshops were held, including an anarchist one, but nobody came up with any breathtaking ideas. Still, we made our presence felt, getting good coverage in the local paper and *The Guardian*, and the shortcomings of this 'very long Sunday stroll' were realised.

The recent events of 14-15 July have been more worthwhile; a chance to do something rather than just wave a black flag. One strong point was that the action was divided. Apart from letting us fool people about our numbers (*The Guardian* even thought we had 400 people) it gave scope for different levels of action. To start off we had propaganda; giving out leaflets in Chester and the towns around Capenhurst. This was followed by symbolic action; a march around Chester's walls and an all-night vigil at the site. Finally, on Sunday, there was an attempt at direct action. I say, 'an attempt', because it didn't do much in practical terms, mainly because those who chained themselves to the gates were cut off very quickly. An inspired but rather impractical plan to weld the gates together never got off the ground because of the secrecy it would have required (you can't just run up to the gates and do it). However, there were good points about the direct action.

Symbolic actions and those direct actions which do not need secrecy should be more widely known before they happen - I only found out through *Peace News* 'Events' section a week before the last happening. At present people who aren't on the 'Stop URENCO' mailing list tend to stay in the dark and this is the main reason for writing this article.

WINSTON SMITH

To get on the mailing list, write to the Stop Urenco Alliance, c30 95 Oxford Road, Manchester

into the small hours. Although there were about three people who tended to do most of the talking to reporters, URENCO PR officers (!) etc, the rest of the demonstrators seemed to know what they were up to and there seems no real danger of an informal leadership structure growing.

3. I though relations with the police were good, although some folk might disagree with me here. By good I mean that we managed to stay on speaking terms but were not prepared to give in to them in any way. It's a matter of respecting them as human beings (even if some of them are bloody aggressive human beings!) while not respecting their role as servants of the State or in other words, it's fine to chat to a policeman but it's not on to do what he tells you. Incidentally, the bit on *Radio City* about the only contact between demonstrators and police being some 'friendly banter' is bull.

4. We divided ourselves into two types: action people and support people. The supports did things like holding the keys of people who were chaining themselves, taking names of people in case of arrests, keeping phone numbers of lawyers etc. As the situation changed so did people's tasks.

WHAT NEXT? First and most important, it is necessary to publicise the Capenhurst issues more widely, both inside and outside the anti-nuclear movement. It could be as important as Torness (or even more so?) or it could just be forgotten.

Second, the plant needs to be constantly subjected to harassment. If direct action is linked to symbolic action we are limited in what we can get away with, but small groups of saboteurs could drop in whenever they feel like it to set off sensors, short power lines (as at Malville), make loud bangs or whatever they liked. A word of warning though - the nuclear police are armed!

Symbolic actions and those direct actions which do not need secrecy should be more widely known before they happen - I only found out through *Peace News* 'Events' section a week before the last happening. At present people who aren't on the 'Stop URENCO' mailing list tend to stay in the dark and this is the main reason for writing this article.

SLAVE MENTALITY!

Dear Editors

Recently you published three attacks on individualists and individualism by Jack Robinson, Alan Albon and Paul R. Buckland. I would like to reply to them.

Jack Robinson ('How Free is Free Enterprise') attempts to bracket Benj. Tucker with Ayn Rand (who does not, incidentally, 'accept' anarchism). He is quite wrong. Contemporary 'Tuckerites', such as the late Laurence Labadie and Ken Knudson, are highly critical of the economics championed by Rand, as indeed would have been Tucker himself. Alan Albon ('To Be and To Have') claims that the sovereignty of the individual is a 'misnomer', for it is only in relation to the collective identity that the individual can identify him/herself.

To deny self-sovereignty is to deny the essence of anarchism. If I cannot exercise sovereignty over myself it follows that some other person(s) or entity will. (1) In Alan Albon's view this 'sovereign' is to be something called 'the collective identity'. In other words, what he is proposing is another species of authority which, in the name of a verbal abstraction called 'solidarity' expresses the interests of a dominant, or would-be dominant group. (2)

He complains that 'capitalism' means that 'everything is organised through a third party'. But what would his 'real collective' be but a 'third party' mediating between individuals? If I cannot be a sovereign individual relating directly to other individuals when I so choose but must go through a 'collective', then I am in no better position than I would be under 'capitalism' as he defines it. (3)

Albon quotes Fromm's description of Stirner's 'picture of the bourgeois obsession with property', a description which gives nothing of Stirner's views at all. Indeed, Fromm, despite his theoretical acrobatics about the use of language, here puts language to some strange uses. Individual liberation from 'social chains' is surely a negative act, a throwing off of moralistic restraints. Self-ownership is surely a positive state, the exercise of self-sovereignty - which knows no 'duty'. It certainly involves investing one's energy in the success of one's own person, but is not confined to this.

Such an investment is, however, frowned on by Fromm and Albon. But what would be their alternative? Investing 'one's energy' in the success of other persons? From such an abdication of one's own power grows the power of the Church, State and other 'third parties'. It is the soil in which authority roots (4).

Alan Albon rightly states that 'anarchists have always contested the view that human nature required to be moulded into some form of social behaviour by mental or physical coercion'. But can he not see that the moralistic passage from Spinoza that he quotes in the previous section of his article also implies coercion? Once the talk is of 'right liv-

ing' and 'the requirements of human nature' it is only one step to defining what is 'right' and 'required' and to assembling the physical, mental or moral coercion to enforce these definitions (5).

Indeed, I find it puzzling that Albon should try to present Fromm's latest pastoral letter, *To Be And To Have*, as a case for anarchism. It would be tedious to put in question all the usual vagaries and contradictions which in this book, as in his previous ones, Fromm enunciates in such a pious manner; but a few can be mentioned.

Fromm claims that because some unnamed 'primitive societies' have no sexual taboo therefore they 'function without exploitation or domination' and 'do not have to break the individual's will'. The argument that sexual taboos are the only source of domination is ridiculous. The existence of any type of taboo means that its violation will be punished - hence domination exists. And it is precisely because the 'primitives' live so firmly inside a 'collective' in which the concept of individuality is unknown that punishments for the violation of taboos are so severe. Indeed, where there is no conflict of interests, where 'solidarity' prevails over all and everyone, there is no need to talk of breaking 'the individual's will' for there is no individual will to break.

Of course, the view that the past is better than the present is one of Fromm's constant themes. Hence his usual reverence for the Middle Ages. He praises the Catholic Church for trying to 'enforce the application of Christian principles' between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. He yearns for 'the late medieval culture' because then 'people believed in the vision of the City of God'. He ignores the grotesque poverty, the servility, the superstition and the persecution that were rampant at that time. Like all visionaries in reverse he is so dazzled by his vision that he does not allow crude facts like these to spoil the argument.

Albon quotes Fromm's description of Stirner's 'picture of the bourgeois obsession with property', a description which gives nothing of Stirner's views at all. Indeed, Fromm, despite his theoretical acrobatics about the use of language, here puts language to some strange uses. Individual liberation from 'social chains' is surely a negative act, a throwing off of moralistic restraints. Self-ownership is surely a positive state, the exercise of self-sovereignty - which knows no 'duty'. It certainly involves investing one's energy in the success of one's own person, but is not confined to this.

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Paul Bucklands ('Anarchists Come to Judgement') stab at individualists is so pathetically ignorant that it hardly deserves a reply. However, I would point out that 'anti-organisationalism' has also been put forward by 'anarcho-communists'



"And so, Brothers and Sisters, this meeting unanimously endorses the Branch Resolution."
-- "I oppose it Madam Chairman."
"Then, Brothers and Sisters, with, as usual, the exception of old Sid this meeting unanimously endorses the Branch Resolution."

who have been all for the 'workers' struggle' and who were not 'student drop-outs'. Luigi Galleani and L'Adunata dei Refrattari were two examples.

Buckland states that 'individualists and egoists' cannot be anarchists. If by 'anarchist' he means a member of 'a minor current in the Marxist left' I agree with him. If he is not an individualist who places his own interests before those of any collective, then he must be a collectivist who can only see individualists as functions of an organised group. If he is not an egoist who lives for himself, then he must be an altruist who lives for others (7). In other words, he is suitable fodder for the Marxist religion. He is not, however, an anarchist as I understand the word, for the consistent anarchist cannot be other than an individualist and a (conscious) egoist.

Sincerely
S.E. PARKER
London W2.

Editors' Note

- (1) Not necessarily
- (2) Alan Albon expressly rejected the concept of sovereignty by denouncing it as a misnomer, and did not supplant it by a collective identity. This latter he suggested is a measuring stick by which individual identity can be measured. Identified, even, but not necessarily dominated. SEP is only tall as compared to our shortness; brainy as compared to our stupidity; right as compared to our wrongness.
- (3) As soon as you 'relate directly to other individuals' you create a 'collective'. It remains a 'real collective' as long as the individuals remain identifiable and not submerged.
- (4) SEP continually uses an 'either/or' argument, which doesn't necessarily follow.
- (5) This is why Alan 'contested' the view!
- (6) Isn't a 'collectivist' attitude which assumes complete agreement with a writer's whole philosophy solely on one review of one book?

PLUG!

Dear Comrades

The 30th June FREEDOM contained two "where should the movement be going" articles. I should like to comment upon them.

First, "Anarchy in the 80's" which begins "it is important that we immediately open a debate about the role and nature of the anarchist movement".

Sorry, Millie Jackson, you're not "opening" it, you're just joining in it. Debate of this kind does take place in FREEDOM and other publications which circulate mainly amongst anarchists, and it also takes place in publications with a deliberately restricted circulation such as the Internal Bulletin of the Anarchist Communist Association (which has been coming out every month for over two years now).

I realise Millie probably wasn't even aware of the existence of the latter. But it is one of the most important anarchist publications, and is likely to remain so.

Millie says "there are real problems in trying to achieve a mass circulation anarchist paper".

We in the A.C.A. would certainly agree with that, we know most of them from personal experience.

But I can't agree with her that "Zero nearly made it". Zero never got within a million miles of it for the simple reason that the Zero Collective didn't even try. In their published statements they made it clear that they were aiming at people who were already politically involved in "left" or "feminist" movements, and not at the millions of ordinary working class people "outside".

The only paper which has ever attempted to reach the masses (and I agree it's not a roaring success) is the A.C.A.'s "Bread & Roses". This isn't just my opinion - the declared aims of all other libertarian publications as revealed in their editorial statements show it to be a fact.

While some scepticism about declared aims is understandable, if a horse tells you from its own mouth that it doesn't intend to run far, you've gotta believe it.

Millie says "small wonder that the Libertarian Communist Group (formerly A.W.A.) felt more at home with Socialist Unity".

Well I didn't like some of the attacks on A.W.A. - I wrote to BLACK FLAG replying to one but they chose not to print my reply - but I can't agree with Millie about the LCG. It was NOT "formerly the A.W.A." It was formerly one wing of the A.W.A., and the reason they felt more at home with Socialist Unity is that that is where their middle class Marxist politics took them.

When it comes to actually saying what we should be doing, Millie suggests everything - and nothing. Free universities, anarchist radio stations, and much more besides, but what out of all this should be given priority? Surely we should at least have a tentative suggestion for priority.

Out of the whole article, one sentence sticks out. "Our inability to organise even a small industrial organisation is a major weakness".

Precisely. And in a revolutionary situation it could be a FATAL weakness. So from my point of view, that has to be the priority.

Now the article "Anarchists come to Judgement". Unlike the writer I didn't enter the anarchist movement with "bright eyes and a degree". And I didn't have to "meet a worker" to make me notice reality - having been born into the working class, and having remained in that class all my life, I knew it from personal experience.

But having said that, I agree with virtually everything Paul Buckland has to say.

The only point of "disagreement" as far as I can see is that Paul simply doesn't seem to be aware of the existence of the A.C.A. and our paper BREAD & ROSES.

No-one, it seems, outside of the respective editorial groups, has any say in what goes into any of the papers or journals".

Except for BREAD & ROSES, which is controlled by the members of the A.C.A. and if anybody anywhere in the country wants a "say", they can have it by joining the organisation whose paper it is. As a member of the A.C.A. who has never been one of the delegated editorial group, I can vouch for the fact that they do pay attention to what the membership says (because they have to).

In addition, we have invited wider participation in the paper, including specific invitations to the Syndicalist Workers Federation, the Direct Action Movement, and the Anarcha-Feminist Network. In the case of the SWF we spelt out in writing that they were being invited to take part in the editorial control of the paper. In the case of the other two groups we weren't sure how well organised they were - we didn't know if they were able to properly delegate editors. But we left the possibility of their taking part in editorial control open. (No replies from any of these three groups by the way).

"The views of individuals or groups can be (or are being) totally censored by the cliques involved". Again, in the case of the A.C.A. not guilty.

"It is usually anarchist policy not to try and reform existing institutions by joining them but instead to form totally new ones to replace them".

Well, yes, provided that the new ones you form are actually different. There is not point at all in creating a carbon copy of an existing institution. If you want something very much like what exists then you DO join the existing one.

Paul finishes his article with a list of things that an anarchist organisation needs. He could have been quoting from one of the earlier A.C.A. internal bulletins. The kind of organisation he describes has existed for some time. Oh, we don't do enough that is "relevant to the class struggle" - who does? - but you don't get round that problem simply by forming a Mark 2 organisation. Like-

wise with "commitment". These are problems of ANY organisation.

"So why don't we form an organisation like that?" - We in the A.C.A. did. And we did it first. The puzzling question is why didn't Paul Buckland join the A.C.A. instead of seeking to form the A.C.A. Mark 2?

Yours fraternally

Dave Coull, London N.5

DISTORTING?

Dear FREEDOM

In answer to Michael Chruszczewski's letter (30 June) the reviewer (myself) was not at least consciously distorting *The Lovely Years* by Rainer Kunze. As to whether the author is distorting life in the German Democratic Republic - the German Democratic Dictators certainly think so, but I would suggest Michael gets a hold of the book so he can judge it for himself.

One point, though. When the author states that schoolboy alias N is being penalised for failing to volunteer for a military academy, he is referring to a specific case. General warnings may (and should) be drawn from it, but the case itself remains specific and should be viewed as such. If, for example, I say that a member of the Anti-Nazi League called Blair Peach was killed in Southall by British policemen, someone using Michael's line of argument could accuse me of distortion on the grounds that, (1) there are members of the ANL who have not been killed by policemen, (2) there are people living in Southall who have not been killed by policemen, (3) there are policemen who have never killed anyone, and (4) it is possible for me to walk along a pavement without being killed by policemen. These accusations would be justified if I were alleging that the entire population of Britain, or of Southall, or of the ANL is being systematically killed off by the police.

But I am not. I am saying one specific man, in one specific place, in one specific instance was so killed, and conclusions about general police behaviour, etc, may be drawn from it. The same is true of Kunze's book. I'm glad that Michael knows of German conscripts who are not so harassed, and of German Christians who do not kill themselves. So what?

Neither I, nor the author, deny it. In fact, if I may quote myself, "were it literally a case of such violent extremes, few dictatorships would last very long".

Nor is it claimed that this brutality and militarism is uniquely true of the GDR and is not true of any other state anywhere on earth. On the contrary, if we see similarities with Britain, say, or the US, it shows us how alike our state systems really are underneath the political verbosity of their respective ruling classes.

Yours
CHRIS MACKAY
Edinburgh

LETTERS

DUSTBIN OF HISTORY

Dear FREEDOM

I thought John Clark did a very good demolition job on bolshevik ideology and its connections with aspects of the original works of Marx but would like to make a few critical comments.

John appears to directly equate Marx's 'forces of production' with the 'technological structure of society'. My own reading of Marx and certain lesser known Marxists, suggests this is incorrect and that Marx in fact means by 'forces of production' the material forces - including machinery, means of transportation and communication, the working class itself and the body of scientific and technological knowledge of the era. This different interpretation doesn't necessarily render John's criticism of the 'Marxists' invalid, since many of them appear to make the same error. It might however create a better understanding of Marx's own ideas. As an aside Castoriadis (or Cardan, whom John mentions favourably) also makes this error, which accounts, in part, for some of his own over zealous criticisms of Marx's original works. Still Cardan is well worth reading and his works are readily available from us in pamphlet form. I'd also recommend in the same connection, another Solidarity pamphlet, 'A Contribution to a Critique of Marx' (10p), although I don't agree with its pessimistic conclusions.

Whilst consigning the state capitalist proposals of modern day Lenins and Trotskys to the dustbin of history, we may also be obliged to do the same with the traditional anarchist alternative of 'free communes, voluntarily federated'. We certainly need a massive decentralisation of production and urban life compared with much of modern capitalism, but it seems both unrealistic against the present background of social interdependence on a world scale, and undesirable in terms of material standards of living and variety of social roles, to return to a system of totally independent and self-sufficient communes, without any permanent ties. Furthermore the ecological Wholeness of our world requires some world wide organisation on more than a makeshift basis.

It still seems true that world capitalism has created both a class with a direct material interest in establishing a libertarian communist society and supplied the concepts of individuality, freedom and communism which we use today. A world revolution in the advanced areas of capitalism in 1917 might have been

able to relate to and develop upon 'primitive' forms of communal life in other areas, but today such 'primitive' forms have all but disappeared.

I think failure to think through these issues has led many anarchists to be over optimistic about the revolutionary potential of the 'ecology movement', many of whose activists are propagating either irrelevant (dirt farms in remote parts of Wales) or downright reactionary (support for capitalist austerity programmes) policies.

Fraternally
MIKE BALLARD
Solidarity (Manchester)
c/o 109 Oxford Road
Manchester M1.

HITLERISM NOT UNIQUE

Dear FREEDOM

In the FREEDOM Review for July 14, Jack Robinson wrote an article about the Roman Catholics and the Jews of the Nazi period. He writes "Hitler had his quota of Nazi Catholics, despite his pagan pretensions, even he had a lingering aura of Catholicism ..." In fact, the supposed 'paganism' of Hitler is totally false. The heads of the Nazi hierarchy, Hitler, Goering and Goebbels, were all Roman Catholics who never, to their dying days, renounced Catholicism. Hitler is on record as attacking the neo-paganism of the SS, as recorded in Speer's book *Inside the Third Reich*. In it, Speer writes, "Around 1937, when Hitler heard that at the instigation of the party and the SS vast numbers of his followers left the church because it was obstinately opposing his plans, he nevertheless ordered his chief associates, above all Goering and Goebbels, to remain members of the church. He too would remain a member of the Catholic Church, he said, although he had no real attachment to it. And in fact he remained in the church until his suicide".

Whilst pagans were actually persecuted by Hitler, who had no time for such things. Himmler was the chief exponent of the pseudo-pagan rites with which he invested the SS. Hitler, from all accounts, was a materialist whose chief interest was his own personal power. His antisemitism was in the direct line of Roman Catholicism, for antisemitism is a peculiarly Catholic trait.

In antiquity, the Pagans had no interest in persecuting the Jews, and only after the conversion of various lands to Catholicism do we hear of anti-semitic activities. The Jews were expelled from England in 1290 by Edward I, a Roman Catholic king, and it was not until the advent of the superprotestant Cromwell that Jewish people were again permitted

to settle in England. Because of the supposed anti-Christian activities of the Jews, the secret Vene of medieval Germany numbered them among its enemy. The Catholic countries of Europe have always been antisemitic, hence the vestiges of Nazi ideology in Spain and Portugal, and in their spiritual colonies in South America.

Hitler had a slogan which it has been politic for the Christians to forget: "Indem ich mich des Juden erwehre kaempfe ich fuer das Werk des Herrn" (By resisting the Jews, I fight for the work of the Lord). You can't get much more overt than that!

Elsewhere in FREEDOM Alan Albon details the perversion of history perpetrated by the mass-fodder newsreels of the 30s cinema. The travesties in the accounts of Spain are paralleled in the present-day accounts of Nazism. Nazism is always portrayed as something unique which sprang fully formed as out of nowhere. Its roots in Prussian militarism and chauvinism are swept under the carpet for to admit them would by analogy admit that those roots are under the present German regimes, whether of the Communist or Federalist variety. Hitler's role as Republican Kaiser is never shown in that light, and the position of Nazi racism in the mainstream of Catholic fanaticism likewise is never broached. Amid a welter of misrepresentations and propaganda, anarchists can winkle out the kernel of truth. Throwing aside the burden of pro-Jewish, pro-Nazi, pro-Communist, pro-Christian twaddle, the Nazi experience may be seen as the apotheosis of German (and by analogy, nationalist) fanaticism. This fanaticism, based on a blind acceptance of authority, is not unique either in place or time.

Hitler's genocide of the Jews merely echoed the British extermination of the Tasmanians and Newfoundlanders, and his deportation of thousands parallels the British treatment of the Banabans, who have just been sold out once again. Hitler's methods of government were standard for police states in all places and times. His use of military trappings was a continuation of the Kaiserly parades which caused traffic chaos in Berlin before the First World War - the swastika was the emblem of the Baltic Freikorps which rampaged in Latvia in 1919-20 shooting Bolsheviks and Jews.

The crimes which governments have perpetrated since the downfall of Hitler show us that the end of Nazism did not mean the end of authoritarianism. Genocide continues in Paraguay, as it did in Rwanda and Biafra, and racism continues in South Africa and Vietnam, to mention but two authoritarian countries of opposing political hue. To believe that Hitler's tyranny was unique and is now gone for the good of the world is an attractive but totally false and dangerous fallacy.

NIGEL PENNICK
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- 107 The Present Moment in Education(Paul Goodman)
- 108 Big Flame Flickering, an attempt at workers' takeover
- 109 Bertrand Russell and the Anarchists
- 110 Jump my brothers Jump, Tim Daly's poems from prison
- 111 Anarchism, Freedom and Power
- 112 Southern Africa
- 113 Women in Prison
- 114 Goldman, Berkman and the dream we hark back to
- 115 Students and Community Action / McLuhanism
- 116 Instant Anarchy/Pop Festivals
- 117 Urban Environment
- 118 Work and Surplus

Each 15p
Postage on 1 copy 7p; 2 copies 9½p, 3-4 copies 12p, thereafter allow 3½p for each copy up to ten copies.

Anarchist Review **Freedom**

11 August / 79
Vol 40 No 15

ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT SPECIAL

HUMAN TYRANNY IS BEING OVERTHROWN!

By Gary Treadwell & Ronnie Lee



Monkey operated on to prepare for head transplant

Animal Liberation is Our Liberation

ANIMAL LIBERATION can no longer be classed as unrealistic, for people are beginning to see that liberation is total; it cannot work on a speciesist basis. If we fight to liberate people from oppression, logically that fight must also include non-human animals. If we ignore their rights we are guilty of speciesism - another major obstacle on the road to freedom.

It cannot be denied that animals respond to pain and fear. Therefore, if one knowingly inflicts pain and fear, or causes demand for a product (i.e. meat, eggs etc.) which involves such infliction, then that person is on the same level as the tyrant s/he hopes to overthrow.

Animal liberationists have to face greater opposition than any other libertarian group. Because the majority of the world's population are speciesists only vegans and vegetarians who are not guilty of causing any suffering to non-human animals can claim to be non-speciesist. We haven't the space to go into detail on speciesism, but we can tell you that the arguments used against speciesism were once the same arguments used against the liberation of women or blacks (and in some cases still are).

The following is a passage written by Jeremy Bentham at a time when black slaves had been freed by the French but in the British dominions were still being treated in the way

we treat animals today. Bentham wrote:

'The day may come when the rest of animal creation may acquire those rights which could never have been withheld from them but by the hand of tyranny. The French have already discovered that the blackness of the skin is no reason why a human being should be abandoned without redress to the caprice of a tormenter.'

'It may one day come to be recognised that the number of legs, the vinosity of the skin, or the termination of the os sacrum are reasons equally insufficient for abandoning a sensitive being to the same fate. What else is it that should trace the insuperable line? Is it the faculty of reason, or perhaps the faculty of discourse? But a full-grown horse or dog is beyond comparison a more rational, as well as a more conversable animal, than an infant of a day or a week or even a month old.'

'But suppose they were otherwise, what would it avail? The question is not, can they reason nor can they talk, but can they suffer?'

Recommended reading:

Animal Liberation by Peter Singer; Jonathan Cape, £4.95-1976

The Last Class Barrier?

IN ITS anti-election statement, 21 April issue, among various other comments on feminism, industry, the state, nuclear power and agriculture, FREEDOM pointed out that, "Rarely referred to, but real and important, is the close link between human and animal liberation - between human exploitation and the factory farm or research laboratory, between the destruction of the earth's ecology and the destruction of other animal species . . ."

I wonder how many anarchists would disagree with this statement? To judge from those I know, the anarchist conferences I've been to, the anarchist papers I've read, probably not many. That term of abuse 'vegetarian-pacifist' (as opposed to flesh-eating urban guerrilla?) has become rapidly dated. And while the last few years have seen a spate of books and discussions seeking to place the animal liberation/rights movement on the same level as human-orientated ones, anarchists such as the two writers of this Review have been imprisoned for actually doing something; a group such as the Animal Liberation Front has been setting an example in direct action and sabotage from which other groups seem so far to have held back.

One symptom of the change in climate on this subject is a recent and unprecedented case in U.S. legal history, when a judge was faced by lawyers with the question of whether a charge of 'theft' (read, release into open sea) of the dolphins Kua and Puka from a marine research centre in Hawaii, could be defended on the basis of the 13th Amendment, which bans involuntary servitude or slavery.

The learned judge, as it happened, came to the conclusion that dolphins are not regarded as human beings by Hawaii state law, so wouldn't allow the 13th Amendment to be used. The case drew wide publicity. But, as judges do, he seems to have missed the point and, fundamentally, it is this: if we regard the liberation (or the rights) of the human species - of both sexes, of all races and ages, and of all degrees of mental and physical condition - as an aim of vital importance, can we

not on similar principles to those on which we base this aim extend it to the other species of the earth; and what then are the consequences of our doing so? But if we cannot, why not?

The writer Brigid Brophy, has remarked of animal liberation that "To me, then, it all looked - and indeed still looks - straightforward. Once my imagination has embarked on a course of thoughts making for social justice it inevitably carries me clashing through the class barriers, including speciesism, which may be the last barrier to fall . . ."

Can this be true? To accept a link between human and animal liberation is, it might be said, one thing, but to accept that animals are an oppressed class, indeed the most oppressed of all, is quite another. Doesn't this amount to a sort of heresy against the human race? Don't human beings have other things to think about at a time when some men - and some women - still don't see that women have been, and remain, an oppressed class; when some men don't even see their wives as quite human . . . I refer to the words of a contemporary 'Master of the Hunt, somewhere recorded for posterity: "Horse-whipping a hunt saboteur is rather like beating a wife. They are both private matters".

I'm sure we all know what we think of this little witticism. Yet how many of us still believe that the question of other species is just that - a private matter, a matter of individual conscience alone? How many of us are still in hiding behind the last class barrier?

GAIA

This review has been written and illustrated by Ronnie Lee and Gary Treadwell of the Animal Liberation Front with a preface by another comrade. We should like it to be one of several reviews on issues of relevance to anarchism, devised and written by individuals or members of other groups. Would anyone interested in this idea let us know, either by contacting us here in Whitechapel or at the readers meeting which we plan to hold in September?

EDS

THE ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT is concerned only with direct action. For too long the animal welfare movement has given way to compromise and has maintained a nice cosy low-key image which, we believe, poses no threat to animal exploitation. The battle has always been fought from behind a pen, in a nice cosy armchair, without any front line. Apart from the Hunt Saboteurs Association, who fight blood sports in the field, most animal welfare societies condemn ALF activities as violent, destructive and aimless.

The ALF is not violent in that much care is taken to prevent injury to people and many raids have been called off because of possible confrontation. In any case our aims are for human as well as (other) animal liberation. The ALF is destructive, but only to property used to inflict, promote or transport animal exploitation. As for the ALF being 'aimless', we are the front line in the fight for animal liberation. We are the ones who have risked our freedom. We are the ones who are harrassed by the Special Branch, we are the ones whose phones are tapped and who are on file on the police national computer. Yet organisations like the RSPCA take the credit when a particular animal cruelty is ended or reduced, despite the probability that it was probably direct ALF pressure, THREAT which brought this about in the first place.

We are convinced that our tactics are the only way to bring an end to human tyranny over the animal world. Seven people, including ourselves, have served prison sentences for ALF activities, and no doubt others will share the same fate. Hopefully one day we can all sit back for a while in the satisfaction of knowing that we were instrumental in the downfall of animal exploitation; but until that day the ALF will continue to liberate animals from laboratories, factory farms, etc. and destroy property used to oppress non human animals.

The Only Way



The State vs. Animal Rights

ONE OF THE main cock-ups the animal protection movement has made for itself is its constant reliance on the state to provide protection for animals.

As anarchists we are not in favour of calling upon state violence, i.e. legislation, to protect animals, and prefer other methods of protection such as education and direct action.

Even if one were not an anarchist, however, it would become obvious only after a little thought that the existence of the state and its actions have hindered, more than they have helped, the cause of animal liberation.

Firstly, the state directly exploits animals itself. Several of its ministries have their own vivisection labs, including the Ministry of Defence. In the notorious Porton Down establishment animals are tortured with bacteria and nerve gas and shot with the latest weapons.

Secondly, the state gives vast economic support to organisations and individuals involved in the exploitation of animals. Huge grants, amounting to many millions of pounds a year, are given to medical research, industries which test their products on animals, and those involved in intensive farming.

Thirdly, state laws operate directly against those who seek to carry out effective action to prevent cruelty to animals. The law of theft operates against those who rescue animals from vivisection labs and factory farms and so on. The law of criminal damage operates against those who carry out acts of sabotage against property used in connection with cruelty to animals. The state acts far more savagely against those who prevent animal suffering than against those who perpetrate it. It's usually a £50 fine for torturing a dog. Animal liberation militants have been sent to prison for several years merely for damaging property.

Fourthly, the existence of the state has meant that the huge amount of the energy of well meaning animal protectors has been sadly and utterly wasted.

All the long hours spent collecting signatures for petitions, writing letters to MPs, are all for nothing when the letters and petitions are hurled into the waste paper basket. If all the energy had been used on such things as education and direct action instead of on mournful pleas to those 'in power', very

little of it would have gone to waste. Some people at least have learned how to be kind to non-human animals and at least some animals would have been rescued from suffering.

It seems obvious therefore that before we can properly liberate animals we must free ourselves from the tentacles of the state. We must learn that we ourselves have the power to organise and act against cruelty and oppression: we don't need an act of parliament or a policeman.

In wrecking a vivisection laboratory, in saving hens from the cramped cages in a battery unit, in disrupting the hunt from killing their quarry we are not just liberating animals from tyranny and oppression. We are also liberating ourselves.

Vivisection

"In the first (experiment) animals were exposed at various distances to blast from 70 lbs of high explosive placed (in paper containers) on the ground; in the second, animals were exposed to blast from the explosion of charges of hydrogen and oxygen in balloons ... The animals were sometimes allowed to take up their own positions in wire mesh cages, and at other times were so arranged that the position in which they were placed was maintained during the period of the explosion ... The closest an animal was placed to the charge in any experiment was 13 ft. and the farthest 70 ft".

We are told that "the most outstanding lesion was bilateral traumatic haemorrhage in both lungs, varying in degree according to the distance of the animals from the charge. Occasionally lesions have been found in other organs (e.g. liver, intestine)". Also "in all cases where the degree of lung injury has been sufficient to kill the animal blood was found in the bronchial tubes, the trachea, and usually the mouth and nose. In marginal cases where animals survived a few minutes after the explosion, bloodstained fluid has also been observed staining the saliva and bubbling from the nose".

Similar experiments to determine the psychological effects of blast on animals, including monkeys, were carried out for the ministry of home security and recorded in *The Lancet*. They were exposed to blast from charges of gelignite at a distance of 6 to 14½ feet. They were held fast in steel cylinders and changes in the heart rhythm, blood pressure, respiration and cerebral activity were recorded by suitable electrodes implanted under the skin, in the subcutaneous tissues, or screwed into the skull in the case of two cats and two monkeys.

To quote one typical instance, "This particular animal was dead when seen 15 seconds after the explosion. Death was due to damage to the head. The contents of the middle ear were disrupted; there was blood in the nose, nasal sinuses and mouth ... Although its neck was stretched by the explosion and its head was apparently displaced, no vertebral lesion was seen".



Burnt out van at HARRIS BIOLOGICAL SUPPLIES



Chimpanzee inoculated with Syphilis for research purposes.

SPORTIVE BUTCHERY

THE TERM 'BLOODSPORTS' is used by animal protectionists to refer to any activity where an animal is persecuted primarily for sport. Thus the term covers such activities as hunting with hounds and most forms of shooting and angling.

In Britain such animals as deer, foxes, hares, otters, mink and coypu are hunted with hounds. The whole procedure is usually an extremely cruel one as the terrified animal is often chased for a considerable period of time (sometimes for over five hours) and if it does not escape can suffer an extremely unpleasant death by being torn apart by the hounds.

Hunting with hounds in one form or another takes place in every months of the year and there are several hundred packs of hunting hounds in Britain.

Hare coursing is another form of hunting where dogs are used. Two greyhounds are released to chase after a hare who has been frightened in from the surrounding countryside - and the spectacle often ends with the screaming hare being torn apart in a tug of war between the two dogs.

Many different kinds of birds are shot in this country. Some of these unfortunate creatures are later used for food but the exercise is almost always carried out primarily to give enjoyment to the human participants. Many 'sporting' birds, such as pheasants and partridges, are bred and specially reared to be blasted out of the sky by the gunmen when the right time of the year comes around. The gamekeepers who keep these birds alive for their masters and their well-to-do chums to shoot usually slaughter any creature in the area (foxes, stoats, birds of prey etc) who might pose a threat to the survival of their charges.

As well as being a totally unnecessary taking of life, shooting is frequently very cruel, as all too often a bird is not killed outright (very few of the gun-toting sportsmen are crack-shots) but flutters to the ground only wounded, and if it is not found by a gundog will more likely than not die a slow and agonising death.

Angling is a pastime that is indulged in by a wide cross-section of the British public and it is rarely challenged as being cruel - probably because a fish is harder for people to relate to than 'warm-blooded' creatures such as foxes and otters. It is a scientific fact, however, that fish are just as sensitive to pain as mammals and so it follows that angling must cause untold suffering to these creatures.

There are several organisations which exist to combat hunting in one or more of its forms. The RSPCA is opposed to hunting and shooting for sport and is soon to come out against angling. The League Against Cruel Sports campaigns against deer hunting, fox hunting, otter hunting and hare hunting and coursing, but its activities are very much directed towards parliamentary 'change' and so it has not (as can be expected) managed to achieve very much. There are also organisations which concentrate on just one aspect of bloodsports, such as the west country based Save Our Stags group.

Two organisations are involved in direct action against bloodsports. These are the Hunt Saboteurs Association and the Animal Liberation Front. The Hunt Saboteurs Association has existed since the early 60s and takes direct action in the field against hunting with hounds. The saboteurs blow horns to distract the hounds from their quarry and spray strong smelling solutions onto the ground to cover the scent of the animal who is being pursued. The HSA has also invaded the arena at hare coursing tournaments on many occasions and has carried out occupations of establishments connected with hunting. At its recent annual general meeting the HSA passed a motion which commits it to opposition to and action against shooting and angling.

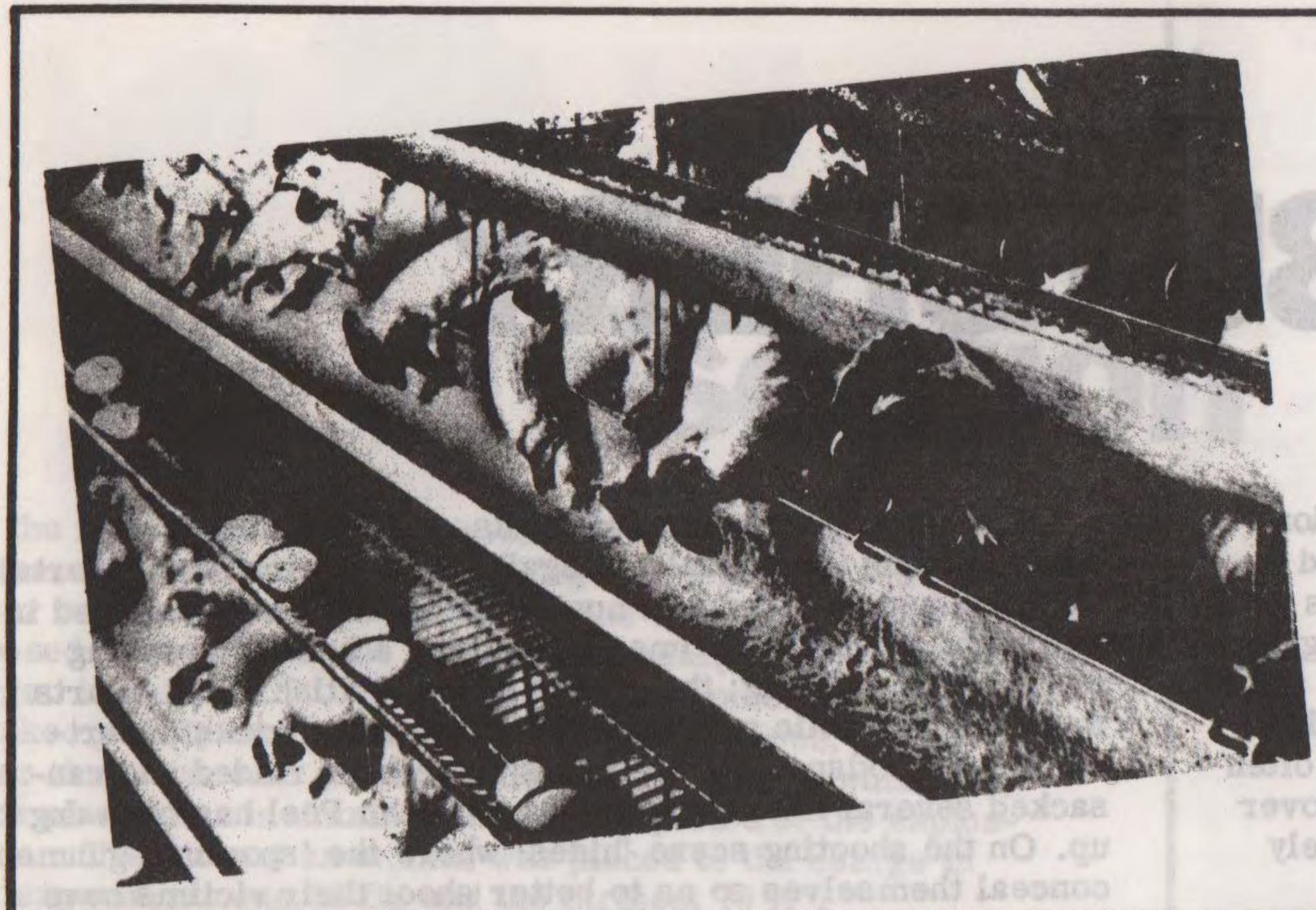
The Animal Liberation Front has, since its inception, taken militant (and usually illegal) action against bloodsports. Vehicles and equipment at hunt kennels have been damaged in late night raids, sometimes preventing a hunt from taking place in the morning; the offices of the British Field Sports Society (the public relations office and dirty tricks department for bloodsports enthusiasts) have been raided and ransacked several times, and hunt hero John Peel has been dug up. On the shooting scene 'hides' where the 'sporting' gunmen conceal themselves so as to better shoot their victims have been smashed by ALF activists, the offices of a gamekeeping magazine have been raided and gamebirds have been released from cages and enclosures. The main ALF activity against angling has been its campaign against stores which display and sell angling equipment. Hundreds of pounds worth of fishing floats have been secretly broken in branches of Woolworth throughout the past couple of years.

Because of the success of the direct action campaigns against these bloodsports fanatics have replied with increasing violence to those who actively oppose them. Last fox-hunting season several hunt saboteurs were taken to hospital following incidents of violence by hunt supporters.

Not wanting to be left out the courts have bound over many HSA members to keep the peace and several have gone to prison after refusing to do so.

It is hoped that direct action against bloodsports will rapidly increase - and it seems bound to do so as more and more people become disillusioned with the parliamentary approach to achieving change.





BATTERY FARMING

PEOPLE are horror stricken when they hear about concentration camps. 'It's inhuman' they say. But they are prepared to go out and buy their battery eggs, veal cutlets and other flesh products without batting an eyelid. Why is it 'inhuman' to throw people in concentration camps but OK to subject animals to conditions even worse than those at Belsen for instance?

The following facts speak for themselves, and please all you non-vegetarians, remember them when you trot down to the supermarket or butcher to buy your flesh products:-

It has been scientifically proven that a well-balanced vegan or vegetarian diet is adequate for humans (and cheaper).

In broiler plants between 2000 and 6000 chickens are slaughtered per hour, according to the speed at which the conveyor belt from which they are suspended travels. The birds are killed by manual cutting of the throat and are then processed through scalding tanks and defeathering machines. Normally the bird loses consciousness from loss of blood 50-75 seconds after venesection but death may not occur for some 3½ minutes. This means the bird enters the scalding tank alive.

Battery chickens are imprisoned five at a time in cages 18 by 20 inches; sad when you think that the average wing span of a chicken is 32 inches. The birds are denied their behavioural instincts, like perching, flying and dust bathing. The light is maintained for up to 18 hours a day and they have to stand continuously on wire. Sadly, this often brings about feather pecking and cannibalism because of the boredom. And 'civilised' human beings in all their 'glory' remedy this by cutting off their beaks.

In veal units calves are confined to crates 22 or 24 inches wide and remain in them all day and all night. They are unable to exercise. In fact they cannot even turn round. They are fed an all-liquid diet which is deliberately short in iron and so gives an unnatural white colour to the veal. They often suffer from sub-clinical anaemia. Water is withheld from them so that the thirsty calves drink more and more milk substitute gruel, thus increasing their live weight gain. Then, after 14 weeks they are taken from their dark, silent, prisons and slaughtered so that people can slobber over the prestigious flesh.

Pigs are also sentenced to a life of hell in battery cages. The reason for all this inhumanity is greed. More eggs, more money, prestigious veal, more money, etc. etc.

The Animal Liberation Front asks you to boycott all flesh products. For if you don't, then you are causing a demand for all these atrocities.

* * *

There are many other trades which deal in animal cruelty, i.e. fur trade (probably one of the worst), circuses, zoos etc. The Animal Liberation Front is stepping up the battle for animal rights. But we need your support, and so do the non-human animals who suffer from the hand of human tyranny every day.



Any offers of help, either active or financial, are needed. The Animal Liberation Front can be contacted at this address:

ALF
Box 190, Peace News,
8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham

ALF HIT LIST

NOTE

A more recent hit list is not available from the ALF at present. Since 1977, however, ALF activities have been continuing all over the country. On occasions these have encountered criticisms that 'liberated' animals are not helped and could be harmed. In the end the attitude you take depends on how much value you give freedom and how much you believe animals suffer from pain and captivity. But in fact the ALF reply is that much care is taken in selecting targets and preparing actions, and that no animals are released without a home being provided for them, or who are not thought capable of being able to fend for themselves in the wild. Full coverage of ALF activities will be given in the forthcoming ALF bulletins. (Gaia)

£. Damage	Date	Details of Damage
800	July 1976	Pfizors Ltd (Pharmaceutical company)
1,000	Aug	Col. Storey-Pugh (Breeder and experimenter)
1,000	Aug	Essex Union Fox Hunt
1,000	Sept	Wilton Fox Hunt & Courtenay-Tracy Otter Hunt
90,000	Oct	Delconzi Mink Farm (Fur Farm)
800	Nov	OLAC Capel Isaac (Lab animal breeders)
3,000	Dec	Old Berkshire Fox Hunt
2,500	1977 Jan	West Kent Fox Hunt
800	Feb	Earlsbrook Stud (Lab animal breeders)
12,000	March	British Field Sports Society (Hunt protectors)
2,000	March	Evans Ltd Carshalton (Lab animal breeders)
6,000	March	Warwickshire Fox Hunt Mollington
3,000	March	Malvern Research Station
10,000	April	Shipton Ltd (Game bird breeders)
500	April	Evans Ltd Carshalton
1,000	May	Billy Smart's Circus
1,000	June	Corrad & Sons (Biological suppliers, lab animal breeders)
2,000	June	Exeter abattoir
10,000	June	Sutton Bridge, Lincs.
5,000	June	Sutton Bridge, Lincs.
3,000	June	Mixbury
250	Aug	Hambledon Fox Hunt
1,000	Aug	Col. Storey-Pugh (Breeder & experimenter)
1,500	Aug	Gilbertson & Page (Hunting printers)
7,000	Aug	Worthing, Sx.
3,000	Aug	Shamrock Farms Ltd (Lab animal breeders)
1,000	Aug	Dartmoor Otter Hunt
500	Aug	Blackmoor & Sparkford Vale Fox Hunt
2,000	Aug	Cotswold Fox Hunt
500	Aug	Cattistock Fox Hunt
500	Aug	Orchards Farm, Gt Missenden (chick breeders)
20,000	Aug	Tucks Ltd (Lab animal breeders)
3,000	Aug	Froxfield Rabbits (Breeders for lab & fur trade)
75,000	Sept	Consultox Ltd (Taxicologists & cosmetic testing on animals)
		3 pregnant beagles rescued (they had 11 pups)
		Offices wrecked
		Kennels raided, vans immobilised (cub hunt called off as result)
		Kennels raided, vans wrecked
		1500 silver foxes released into wild
		14 beagle pups rescued
		Kennels raided, tack destroyed
		Kennels raided, tack destroyed
		14 beagles rescued
		Offices wrecked, files taken
		Mice rescued, office wrecked
		Point-to-point wrecked (called off as result)
		25 dogs & 40 cats rescued
		Pheasants released
		Pens smashed
		Mice rescued, office wrecked again
		Booking caravan burned
		Toads, salamanders, frogs & snakes rescued, offices wrecked
		Lorries wrecked
		2 seal-culling boats burned
		Fishery protection vessel (that was to aid cullers) wrecked
		5 empty battery broiler houses burned
		Kennels raided, vehicles damaged
		Offices wrecked (again)
		Files stolen
		Offices wrecked
		Fishing boat gutted by fire
		Offices wrecked
		Van burned
		Kennels raided, vehicles burned
		Kennels raided, tack destroyed
		Kennels raided, vehicles damaged
		Property damaged
		Buildings (not containing animals) burned
		580 rabbits released, 50 rescued, vehicles damaged, offices wrecked
		Offices & labs wrecked, files destroyed