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MA'M demo gets busted

Nearly everyone who turned up on an anti-Jubilee celebration in London last week was arrested, allegedly as a 'preventative' measure. The arrests, on 4th June, came after 50-60 people gathered outside London's Tower Hill tube station ready for the Movement Against the Monarchy's 'Execute the Queen' street party.

The 'party' started around 11am, but little had been organised. The group stood around for a good ninety minutes. Half of them retired to a nearby pub while the other half, comprising members of the Anarchist Youth Network and people who wanted to be a bit more active, headed towards the City.

Minutes later, the breakaway group was stopped and surrounded. We were told that we'd be temporarily detained to 'prevent a breach of the peace'. About an hour and a half later, a white police bus drew up and the 25 or so people present were told they were being arrested, again to prevent a breach of the peace. At the same time, police decided that those drinking in the pub were obviously scaring Her Majesty. So they were nicked too, much to their surprise.

Like something out of an old slapstick comedy, they were bundled out by heavily tooled-up cops, and thrown into two London Transport buses which had just been commandeered. These were then driven at breakneck speeds through the capital (complete with scrapes to the buses!), before the protesters were deposited at eight different police stations, spanning the width and breadth of the capital.

About forty people were arrested. They were all released without charge after the Jubilee celebrations had ended. These new tactics by the police are worrying. Orders to implement them came from a Chief Superintendent Webb, so it can't be passed off as a 'mistake' by plods on the ground.

Many of those arrested are now planning to take legal action against the police. As anarchists, we must expect repression. After all, we want to abolish the state and capitalism, and we can't reckon on the forces of darkness acquiescing in our demands.

But we shouldn't be afraid to use every method available to try and stem attacks against us. Unless this is challenged, we face being routinely arrested merely for being anarchists – the tactic of mass arrests before demonstrations is already commonplace in the United States.

C.S.

Contact the Legal Defence and Monitoring Group at ldmgmail@yahoo.co.uk or write to BM Box Haven, London WC1N 3XX, tel: 020-8245 2930. There's also a meeting for those arrested, see back page.

The struggle continues



A Palestinian trying to enter Ramallah last week through the Israeli wire.
Support the Palestinian resistance, 10.30am on 15th June, Whitworth Park, Manchester.

Free Tomek Wilkoszewski

On 25th June, there'll be an international day of action for Tomek Wilkoszewski, the Polish student framed on murder charges six years ago. He was given a fifteen-year prison sentence in 1996 after being fitted up by an alliance of fascists and the state. A student in Radomsko, he had several times been a victim of the fascists because he came from a village nearby rather than from the town itself.

One day in March 1996 several 'strangers', including Tomek, were attacked again. They defended themselves and one of the fascists was stabbed. He died later while waiting for an ambulance, and Tomek was accused of his murder. Prosecutors said that, because he'd been attacked in the past, he had a

motive. A few eyewitnesses claimed he'd had a knife, though no attempt was made to identify the knife used against the fascist with the one Tomek was alleged to have owned.

Polish anarchist Laure Akai says the verdicts are typical of the Polish 'justice' system. "This is what 'justice' is about – high penalties for the nonconformists and the poor, and mild penalties for the mafia and the thugs". But there are positive signs. Tomek's case has been taken up by anti-fascist groups and Poland's Anarchist Black Cross. It's also featured in a film, *Riot*.

Write to him in English at: Tomek Wilkoszewski, Zaklad Karny, Ul. Orzechowa 5, 98-200, Sieradz, Poland

Visit his supporters' campaign: www.tomek.most.org.pl

•Nazis in Bialystok have come under increased pressure from local antifascists. There are almost daily acts of resistance against them. Recent nazi attacks have been repelled, leaving fascists seriously injured. Consequently they've continued their co-operation with police in fitting up activists.

After one recent antifascist demo, five activists were detained. One well-known nazi swore that they'd attacked him on 1st June, and on the basis of his statement all five were charged with assault. This is the latest attempt by nazis to suppress militant antifascists. They couldn't do it by physical attacks, so they've decided to ask the police for help instead.

Bialystok ABC

Freedom anarchist fortnightly

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

What anarchism means to me

The struggle against authoritarianism is a main task. Reflecting on it in its many forms gives opportunity to deal with the authoritarianism in ourselves. The search requires emotional strength and has little to do with intellectual analysis. Its locus is within the relationships we make with people. The 'revolution' is the way in which we behave towards each other now, believing in each other rather than trusting political blueprints.

We can dispense with social superstructures, the hierarchies they engender and the authoritarian relationships which result. People can run railways, schools and hospitals – anything. They do not need the superstructure of managerialism. Similarly, the state comprises extraneous bits of superstructure. Once belief in the state is gone, an infinite range of possibilities is exposed.

While dealing with short-term, material problems we need to keep hold of long-term visions. Anarchism offers the inner strength for long-term dedication to change because of the ways in which we believe in each other, in spite of our too-frequent rows and lack of solidarity. You might call it strength of spirit or morale. It is seen in the tenacity to oppose oppression/organise resistance.

My view of anarchism is that it cannot be the pursuit of a perfect society, because that is a contradiction in terms. Society is made up of real people, with their own imperfections and contradictions. We are at our most effective when we engage with 'ordinary' people who are confronting everyday problems.

Yet patronising opponents of our social philosophy label us 'utopians', equating anarchism with the unachievable. If anarchists contribute anything to a better system than we have now, it will be a mix of deists, atheists, leftwings and rightwings, reflecting our present dynamic diversity. The main difference will be that anarchism will be a main guiding force. It is a journey we travel, not a final goal.

Martin S. Gilbert

Freedom Press

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Poison in the Mersey air

For the last two years, Kirkby residents have been campaigning to highlight the dangers posed by a Sonae chip-board factory in the town. On 3rd June, they were vindicated again when an explosion destroyed part of the site. This was the second explosion at the factory within the

last twelve months. It was reported that one worker was seriously injured and required emergency surgery. Concerns that the blast resulted in poisonous toxins being discharged into the air remain unanswered.

A local group, Knowsley Against Toxic Sonae (KATS), has been active in campaign-

ing on behalf of local communities concerned about toxic emissions and noxious fumes from the plant. Earlier this year, an 'independent' study concerning the levels of formaldehyde emissions (a carcinogen known to cause asthma, respiratory diseases, throat, lung and nose cancer, birth defects and allergic reactions) found that the amounts discharged could have a detrimental effect on the health of local people.

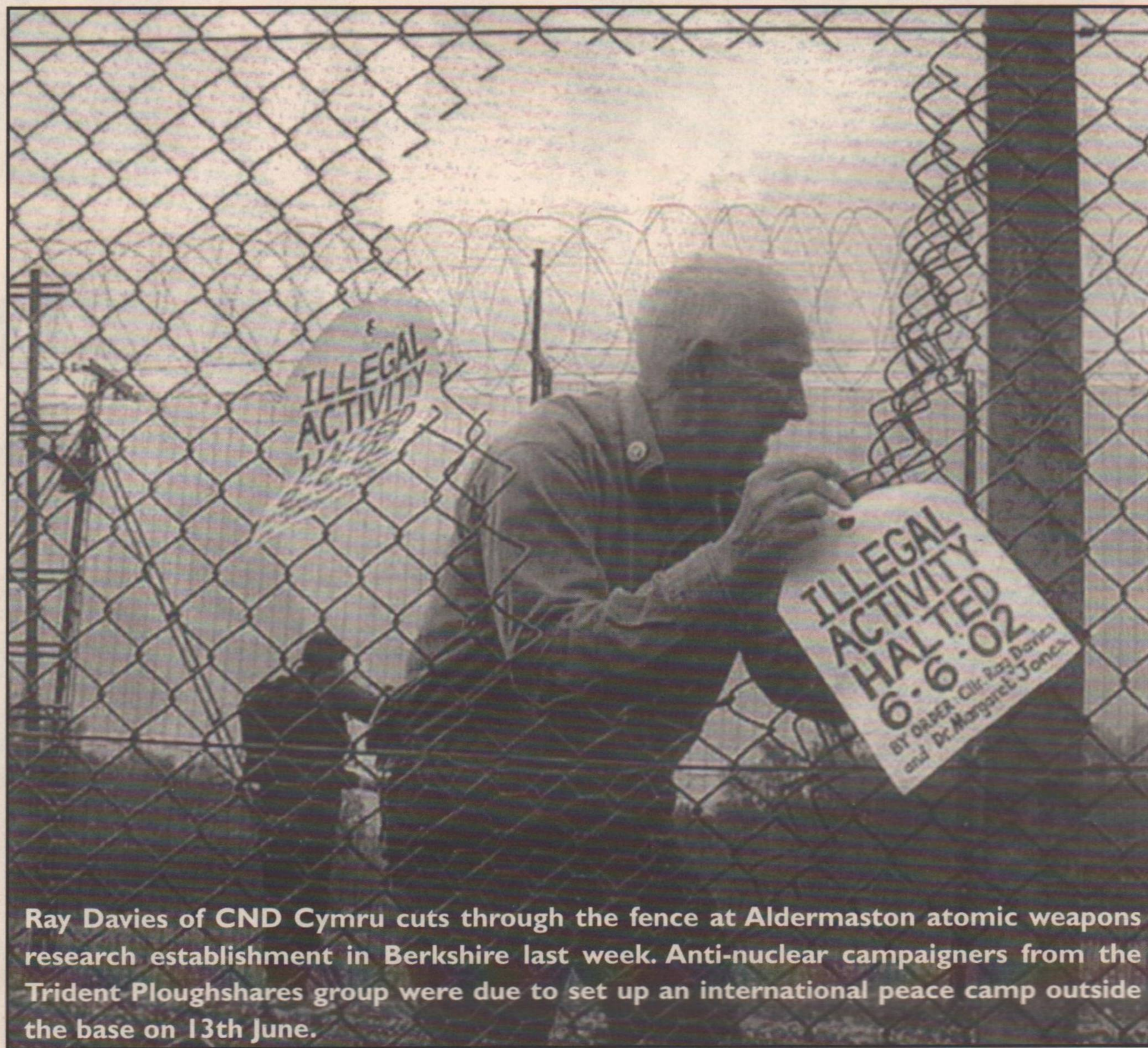
But it should come as no surprise to find that emission levels are lower than government safety levels allow. After all, what's the health of ordinary people worth, compared to the massive profits made by a global capitalist concern like Sonae – the world's largest manufacturer of wood panels?

While anarchists work to expose and protest against the exploitation and injustice at the heart of global capitalism, it's easy to forget that the results are also present on our own doorsteps. Working class communities, with legacies of high unemployment, are also seen by the moneymakers as easy targets when it comes to finding places for their dangerous, poison-producing incinerators and factories.

Although local campaign groups are to be applauded, it's ultimately with tactics of direct action and the principles of anarchism that any real change will be made. So-called 'independent' enquiries and sham government 'safety' levels will disappear as workers and local communities discuss their needs amongst themselves. Then it would be up to them to define their own levels of safety and decide if these harmful, profit-driven enterprises should be dismantled and community energy and space put to better use.

Paul H.

Anti-nuke camp



Ray Davies of CND Cymru cuts through the fence at Aldermaston atomic weapons research establishment in Berkshire last week. Anti-nuclear campaigners from the Trident Ploughshares group were due to set up an international peace camp outside the base on 13th June.

56a free school

This month there's a free school at the 56a Infoshop near the Elephant and Castle, London. Here are some of the sessions to be held in 56a itself.

Saturday 15th June:

12 noon Polish class

Sunday 16th June:

2pm Society of the Spectacle reading group

2pm Computer recycling workshop

Tuesday 18th June:

6pm Feminist utopian science fiction reading group

Wednesday 19th June:

3pm Clay oven making (children welcome)

6.30pm Italian class

Sunday 23rd June:

1pm Carpentry workshop

2pm Society of the Spectacle reading group

7pm Singing for all

Monday 24th June:

1pm Carpentry workshop

4pm Knitting workshop

Tuesday 25th June:

4.30pm First Aid

6pm Feminist utopian science fiction reading group

7pm Shaw method swimming

Wednesday 26th June:

3pm Clay oven making (children welcome)

6.30pm Italian class

Friday 28th June:

7pm Non-monogamy agony aunt

Sessions to be held elsewhere include making sex toys, shiatsu, corsetry, womb warming, queer banner making and suit making.

For information on all of these and more, visit www.eroding.org.uk/freeschool or you can email freeschool56a@yahoo.co.uk

The 56a Infoshop is at 56 Crampton Street, London SE17 (Elephant & Castle tube).

Industry news

• Rail services across the north of England were halted on 1st June when guards on Arriva Trains Northern went out on strike. RMT members staged the 24-hour stoppage after rejecting a proposed pay offer. Arriva insisted that guards were well paid, but strikers said the bosses' offer of 4% wouldn't reduce pay differentials within the company. Guards employed by the firm had previously staged several days of action, and were due to strike again on 7th June. Station staff at the same company also held a 48-hour strike at the end of May, again following their rejection of a 4% offer.

• London council workers were due to strike again this week, in support of a claim for increased London weighting. The workers, all members of Unison, said they'd planned the stoppage for 12th - 13th June following a successful one-day strike last month.

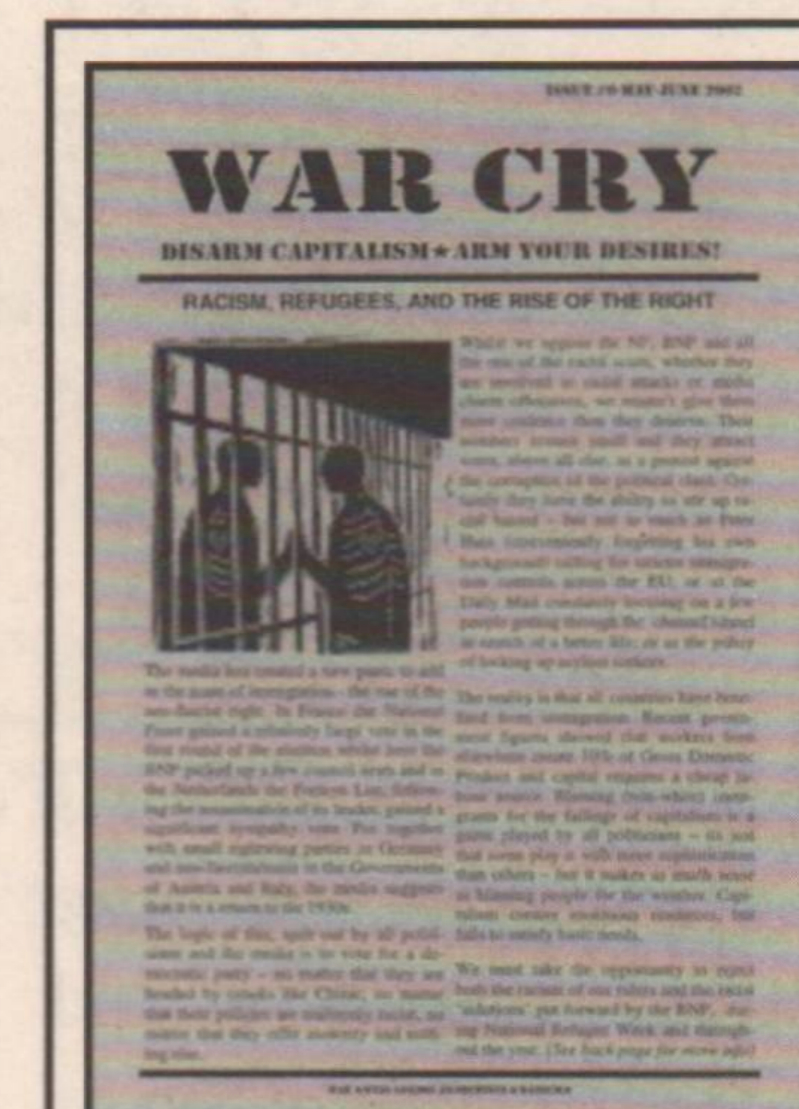
Faced with the threat of a strike, local authority employers last week agreed to enter negotiations. But in a management move one Unison activist described as 'unhelpful', talks weren't scheduled to take place until 13th June.

• Local government unions have called a ballot for strike action across Britain on 17th July. Representatives of Unison, the GMB and the T&G last week said they were confident the strike would go ahead. Local government workers in England and Wales have demanded a 6% payrise. But bosses have responded with an offer of only 3%.

The average full-time wage for over 700,000 local government workers is under £13,000. The average attendance allowance

for a council leader (who works part-time) is £12,403.

• The Communication Workers Union (CWU) was due to ballot its London members this week over a call for strike action. Activists said the strike was necessary to support Mick and Tom Doherty, the postal workers sacked in 2000 after false allegations of involvement in football hooliganism. Despite being directed by an employment tribunal to reinstate the pair immediately, the Post Office has so far refused to comply.



War Cry, no. 6,
May-June 2002

This is the bi-monthly paper of West London Anarchists and Radicals (WAR), designed to "irritate, inform and antagonise". The current issue contains articles on Mayday, the rise of the right and the jubilee – "fuck the jubilee and the rest of the royals, thank heavens it doesn't happen very often". There are also reports and listings for events in and around West London. 'Disarm capitalism! Arm your desires' Available for stamps from WAR, c/o BM Makhno, London WC1N 3XX Contact war1921@yahoo.co.uk

Let the refugees in

Starting today, 15th June, there's a week of action in support of refugees. This has been called by refugee support groups, including Barbed Wire Britain and the National Coalition of Anti-Deportation Campaigns.

There will be demonstrations today at Harmondsworth detention centre in Middlesex and Scotland's Dungavel removal centre, followed by protests in London and Glasgow on 22nd June.

Report from West London Anarchists and Radicals

When the headline of the *Daily Mail* screamed 'anarchy' recently, it wasn't the proclamation of a new world or even a report about Mayday. As the story below the headline revealed, it referred to the fact that the French authorities had scaled down the number of guards on the Channel Tunnel.

The following day's front page pictured a few frightened-looking asylum-seekers emerging from the tunnel, following their dangerous journey. To say that the *Daily Mail* is obsessed with the issue of asylum would be an understatement. Refugees have become the scapegoats of Europe, blamed for all capital's failings, a threat to the very fabric of society.

Every day the press carries racist stories suggesting that we're being 'swamped' by 'bogus' asylum-seekers. This chorus is then taken up by politicians from across the spectrum. Government minister Peter Hain,



Different times, same story - Arab refugees leaving Palestine in 1948

forgetting his own origins as an exile from apartheid South Africa, is the latest to jump on the bandwagon.

Having created a climate of fear and distrust, the media and government pose a simple solution - more immigration control. Government ministers and opposition MPs compete to devise more and more oppressive measures. Paying less than poverty levels

allow, vouchers, detention camps, Europe-wide immigration guards, the reintroduction of a 'white list', mass deportations to Afghanistan by the Royal Air Force - all of these have been proposed in recent months.

The reality of asylum, of course, is very different. Figures from the United Nations were released earlier this month to show that the number of refugees has been falling for a decade, despite continuing wars and desperate needs all around the world. Asylum-seekers come mainly from a few obvious places - Somalia, Afghanistan, Palestine, eastern Europe. Most have undergone dangerous journeys to get here, in search of security both personal and financial.

As revolutionaries, we oppose all forms of immigration controls. The world belongs to humanity as a whole, and the destruction of all borders is a necessary step towards the creation of a world human community.

West London Anarchists & Radicals
War1921@yahoo.co.uk

Picket the *Daily Mail* at 6pm on Tuesday 18th June. Meet at Derry Street, London W8 (tube: High Street Kensington) with banners, flags, drums and whistles

Ray Gilbert still inside

Liverpool

Two dozen people attended a meeting on 31st May to highlight the plight of working class prisoner Ray Gilbert. Ray has been in jail for over 21 years for a crime he didn't commit. Consistent with the often-voiced criticism from the Mark Barnsley campaign, there wasn't an anarchist in sight save me.

Believe it or not, a cop came to the meeting. But her presence was predictably negative and only served to exacerbate the injustice done to Ray. It was the cops, after all, who contrived to set up Ray and John Kamara in the first place, following the killing of a Liverpool bookie in the aftermath of the 1981 Toxteth riots. John was exonerated after nineteen years inside. Policing is a business like anything else, and has to show a dividend. Working class people like Ray Gilbert and Mark Barnsley are the unfortunates on whom the cops prey for their statistical 'success'.

The usual array of local MPs who'd promised to be there didn't show, but credit where it's due - Bruce Kent, the priestly CND veteran, spoke at length, very convincingly, on what was an extremely difficult set of circumstances to negotiate. As he said, neither Ray nor John could have been prosecuted successfully today. But two decades ago it was different, and Ray still languishes behind bars as a result of that police failure and haphazard investigation.

Solicitors are planning to lodge a fresh appeal on Ray's behalf with the Criminal Cases Review Commission later in the year. As an immediate priority, though, supporters are asked to lobby through the usual channels (MPs, the Home Office and so on) to have him moved closer to home on compassionate grounds, on account of the poor health of close family members and their difficulty in travelling to Buckinghamshire to visit him. A few people are also trying to form a working group to campaign on his behalf.

F.D.

Ray always needs stamps and contributions towards his photocopying costs. Write to him at: Ray Gilbert H10111, HMP Woodhill HU6A CSC, Tattenhoe Street, Milton Keynes, MK4 4DA

News in Brief

• **Camden** A new community-based anarchist group has been set up in north London. The Camden Solidarity Group covers the area of Camden Borough Council, and so far has concentrated its campaigning around gentrification and other housing issues. For more details, contact them at CamdenSolidarity@hotmail.com

C.S.

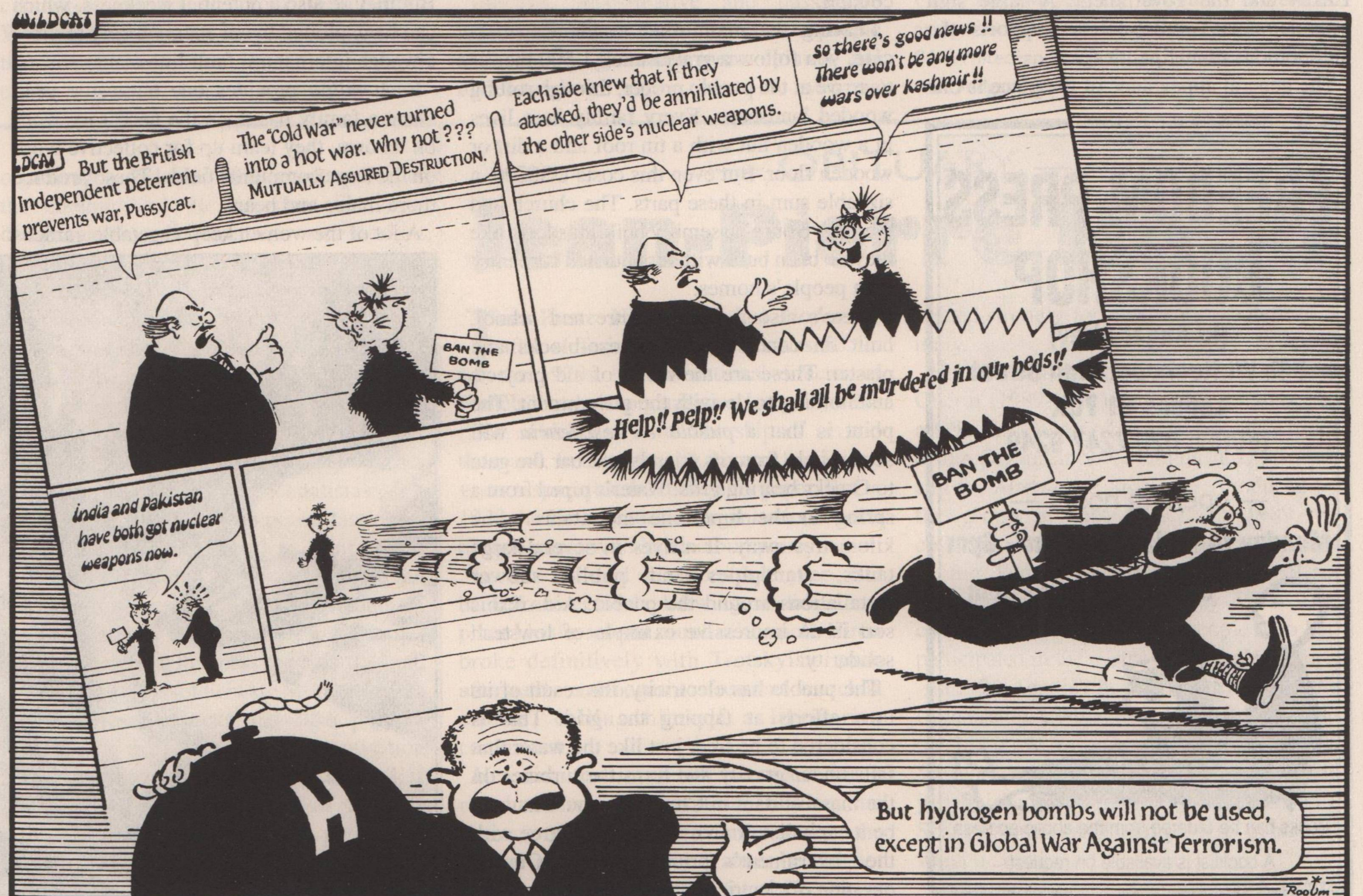
• **Stoke Newington** The Radical Dairy social centre is now in its sixth month of occupation. It still has no electricity, following a raid by riot police in April which activists say was a botched attempt to intimidate organisers of the Mayday Festival of Alternatives and to gather information on users of the building. They're now saving money to buy a generator.

The Dairy now has a small radical bookshop and a library, which contains an archive of records from a range of struggles. If you want to find out about forthcoming events, send a blank email to londonscenevents@lists.riseup.net

• **London** At Easter, activists from around Australia converged on the Woomera Detention Centre to protest against the Australian state's mandatory detention of refugees. A co-ordinated rebellion erupted inside the camp as well, and this led to a mass escape of around fifty people. Eleven have yet to be recaptured.

Chilout, the group that campaigns against the detention of refugee children, has organised the UK premiere of a film of the rebellion to coincide with Refugee Week (see above). The showing of *Woomera 2002* on Friday 21st June will be followed by a discussion on future actions. The film will be shown at 7pm in the Tower Room at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London (nearest tube: Holborn).

• **Glasgow** Anarchists have started holding monthly meetings at the John Maclean Centre at St Georges Cross. These will be held on the last Wednesday of every month. The first one, on the topic of 'anarchism and community struggle', is at 7.30pm on 26th June. This will be followed on 31st July by an eyewitness account of life in Chiapas, Mexico. The John Maclean Centre stocks *Freedom*, *Black Flag* and many other radical papers and books. Find it at 34 Clarendon Place, St Georges Cross, Glasgow G20.



Collectives in resistance

The first in a series of exclusive reports from Chiapas, home of the Zapatistas.

Moving around Los Altos, the highlands of Chiapas, the more independent tourist soon gets accustomed to Mexican army bases. The area's full of small Butlins-like barracks, heavy green vehicles on chipstone paths, trimmed and tamed vegetation and young, well-fed soldiers pottering around, brooms in their hands and M16s strapped to their backs. The helpful sign outside the camp proclaims 'Mexican Army: Social Deployment', and the troops wear yellow armbands to prove it.

Further down the road though, you come across hundreds of less manicured set-ups, Indian pueblos with signs declaring their allegiance to the EZLN Zapatista Army of National Liberation. These represent the immediate constituency of the EZLN, the best indication of its social base.

Moises Gandhi is just such a pueblo. This 'pueblo in rebellion', with its five hundred Indians (or a hundred families, as they say here), has been occupied since a land seizure in 1995. It had previously been four square kilometres of cattle grazing land, its ranch beef destined for burgers.

The inhabitants come from other pueblos in the surrounding municipalities of Altamirano and Ocozingo. These two towns were themselves briefly occupied by the EZLN in their original rising of 1994. They're mostly the land-hungry young who (because they're not firstborn) have no chance of inheriting the traditional *ejido* land.

In comparison to other pueblos I've visited, Moises Gandhi seems relatively stable. It's larger than many, with relatively good land. Socially it's cohesive, though some of its neighbours aren't friendly. There's no balaclavas, no sign of guerilla activity here. The occupants are peasant farmers. It lies on the main road from San Cristobal to Ocozingo.

There's a Zapatista café, a grocery store and a pharmacy, all in a building which the Mexican army abandoned last year as one of the conditions for a dialogue between the EZLN and the government. A large sign outside says "civil society supports the autonomous municipalities".

The general appearance of the place is one



of shabbiness, and the promise of dust or mud. There's always a picket of dishevelled *compañeros* on duty, to discourage attacks from a variety of enemies known collectively by the Zapatistas as 'Priistas'. These are people who support, or have been bought by, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). This is the party that holds municipal power in practically the whole state.

Since last November, they've been on a 24-hour watch. This picket duty rotates round neighbouring pueblos of the Autonomous Municipality Ernesto Che Guevara. The Zapatista store was attacked by two hundred Priistas last October, and reclaimed the next month by massed Zapatistas. Now its preservation constitutes a point of principle, and one more chore in a hard life.

The Zapatistas here are part of a minnow state within a big hungry one, intent on swallowing them up. It's a state consisting of around 32 municipalities (getting the right numbers here is difficult – this is the lowest given), and the municipality of Ernesto Che Guevara unites twenty pueblos in rebellion. Moises Gandhi is the seat of its municipal council.

Leaving the main road at the Zapatista café, you follow a gravel track 1,500 metres to arrive at the pueblo proper, through rolling wooded landscape. Every family here lives in a wooden hut with a tin roof and a dirt or wooden floor. But even this costs US\$200, a sizeable sum in these parts. The church and the 'Big House' assembly buildings look like they've been built with less hurried carpentry than people's homes.

There's also a health centre and school, built on concrete with breeze-blocks and plaster. These are the result of aid projects and nothing to do with the government. The point is that a *pueblo en resistencia* will accept help from its friends and bar the gate to Greeks bearing gifts. Water's piped from a spring in the limestone mountains some kilometres away. It arrives in several large tanks, standpipes and public shower installations around the pueblo. Aid of this sort is an impressive example of low-tech solidarity.

The pueblo has electricity, the result of its own efforts at tapping the grid. This is considered to be free, just like the water that falls under gravity and turns the turbines on the massive dam in Chiapas – you'd have to be a capitalist or an economist to agree with the government's pricing policy. (On the question of electricity the Zapatistas certainly

aren't isolated – there's an almost universal refusal to pay amongst Chiapas Indians).

What's striking about Moises Gandhi is the amount of flat farming land and relatively deep soil. This is arranged in large fields that look like they'd need a tractor to plough them. In many Indian pueblos, people work land so steep it can't be ploughed (and the soil's too thin for ploughing any way). Even here, although there's a tractor parked in the village it looks like it's beyond hope. Instead, teams of men can be seen working with hand tools.

Agriculture is the way of life. Each man, which means in effect each family, has his own *milpa* or plot. There he sows maize and beans for family consumption. Although the *milpa* is worked personally by its occupant, the conditions for holding it are derived from the community, and these in turn reflect the political and social participation of the family in the organisation and goals of the pueblo.

These conditions for holding land are the strength of a community in rebellion against a state that would deprive it of land rights. But they're also a potential weakness, which can be exploited by an enemy trying to drive a wedge into natural fault lines.

Each *milpa* provides one harvest a year. Once a family has done the necessary work on its own, they team up for collective work on the large communal fields. These produce more maize and beans.

A lot of the women keep vegetable gardens

outside their huts, and livestock such as chickens, turkeys, the odd bull, horses and pigs. I've heard of rabbits being raised in other communities, and I've also seen a fish farm. In addition to the staples, scattered around the territory are bananas, oranges and other fruits, sugar cane and coffee.

The pueblo is organised collectively around these products, destined mainly for market in order to raise vital money to buy rice (the other staple), medicines and materials. This means that, while a visitor can eat tolerably well in the pueblo for a couple of weeks, the diet of the Indian is predominantly rice, beans and tortillas of maize.

The collective Zapatista store aims to trade and buy in bulk. This allows it to provide goods more cheaply and to get a better price for its own products. It's also intended to trade with organisations in other areas – "other states and other countries", as the Zapatista manifesto ambitiously puts it.

Individual enterprise is evident in the sale of garden vegetables and honey, and in a few shops which sell soap, cooking oil, tomatoes, onions, sweets, pop and little else. These are imported from nearby Ocozingo. But there's very little money circulating in Moises Gandhi. Instead there's a system of mutual aid and of sharing machinery.

There's no such thing as unemployment here. Lights go on around 4.00am, when the women kindle fires for the tortillas (making tortillas can take them up to four hours a day). From 5.00am the radio sets blare as the men get up to eat. Often the whole family sets off for the *milpa*, though the youngest children go to the pueblo's primary school (the state secondary school in nearby Cuxulja isn't attended by Zapatista children).

There's plenty of work for all. The children occupy themselves with childcare, animal husbandry, hauling wood and water, and of course playing and having a good time (these often aren't separate from their economic tasks). Life is low-tech and labour-intensive. A *milpa* may take thirty days to clear in preparation for sowing. Water is often brought to it on its workers' backs.

The plots are run on a four-year rotation, so most of the land isn't sown. There's no use of insecticide, herbicide or artificial fertiliser (they're all too expensive), and harvests have low yields.

The people of Moises Gandhi are accused by their enemies of cutting wires to harass campesinos grazing cattle and logging, among other things. I saw no evidence of this, except in the local press and the printed

(continued on page 5)



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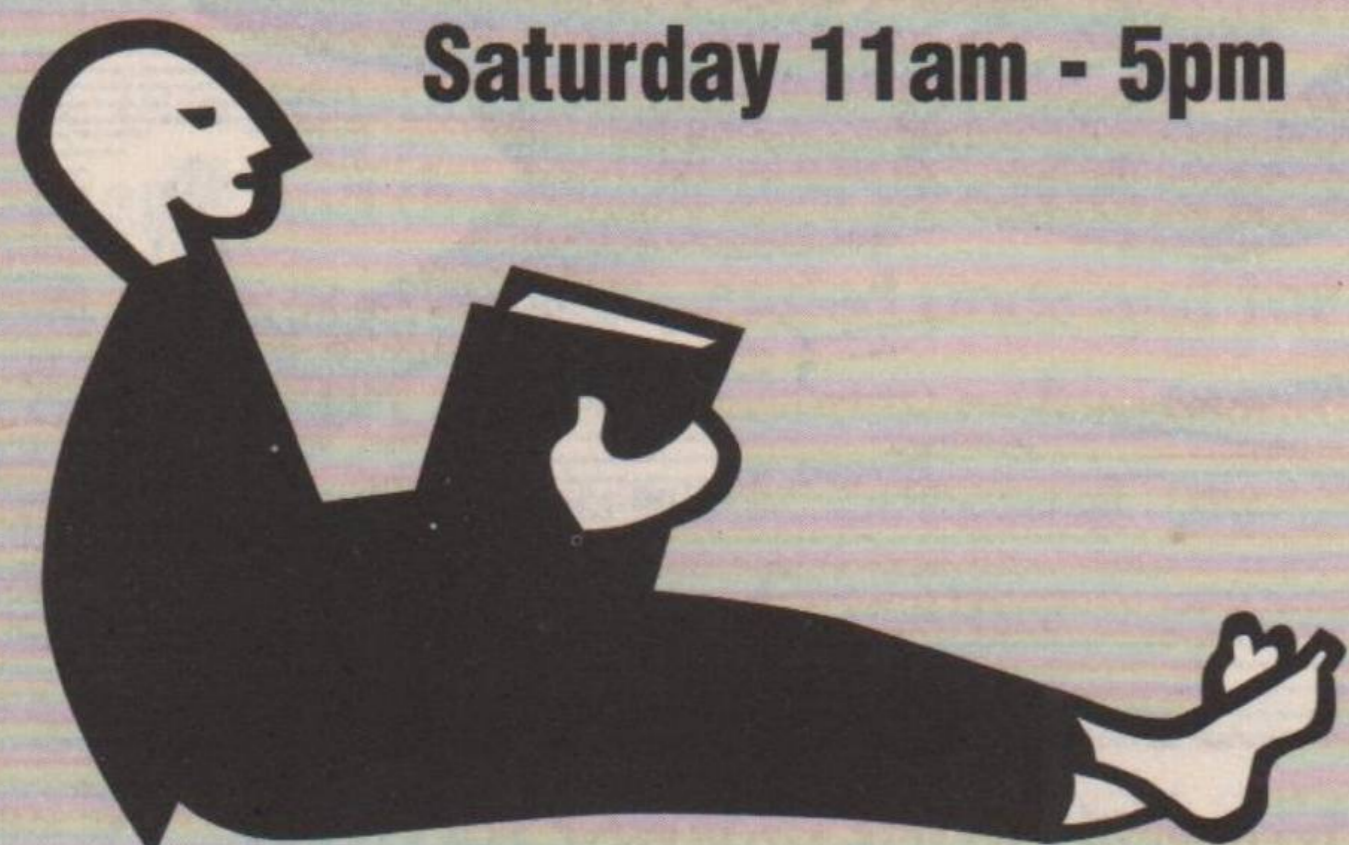
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Books can be ordered from the above address.

A booklist is available on request.

What's wrong with Freedom

In the next few issues, we're going to print a variety of reflections on *Freedom*. We hope that, by encouraging a discussion of what the paper is and should become, we can make it an even more useful resource for the anarchist movement as a whole.

Improving *Freedom*? Given the usual high level of criticism instead of constructive analysis in the paper, I'm loath to add to it. But here goes. I, and many other people of all ages and backgrounds active in the anarchist movement, find this newspaper to be dogmatic, insular, vanguardist and ultimately alienating. And we're on side.

I'm aware that people writing for *Freedom* aren't professional journalists and that good, mass communication based on hierarchical professionalism is what we want to avoid. But still, for a newspaper there's very little news to be found in it.

There's a lack of sharp, energetic analysis of What's Happening Now, domestically and internationally. Recycled critique and personal opinion dominate articles and features rather than a fresh, informative analysis. Readers are spoon-fed viewpoints rather than given facts and insights they can really sink their teeth into and which can catalyse individual theory and organic forming of opinion.

What's needed is investigative journalism, new slants, new perspectives, stories which genuinely cultivate a new understanding – not by convincing the reader of the value or veracity of anarchist politics and organisation through doctrine, but through shedding light on history and struggle as they're happening.

Information has always been ammunition for action and self-created theory. It's never neutral, but that's exactly the point – it's genuinely anarchist, in my opinion, to show rather than tell, to stimulate and inspire through arming the reader with as much information and insight and historical context as possible on struggle, capital, ecocide and eco-defence, and new topographies of class, in order to grow new libertarian thought organically.

As it is, *Freedom* reads like a boys-own, old-school establishment paper for a minority of feuding, entrenched 'I-have-the-one-true-faith' anarchists. It's like a tool for them to use in redrawing their sectarian lines of defence. What's being defended is dogma, tradition, and narrow critiques layered upon



The *Freedom* editorial group – who sez we're old school!

past critiques layered upon redefined critiques, all in a style of writing that's largely dogmatic and assumes a prior knowledge of anarchist theory and terminology.

Nobody I know has any desire to read *Freedom* – they've been utterly turned off by it from the word go. And as for drawing in new readers – unaligned, non-activist, non-'anarchist theoretician' – people with a healthy distrust of authority and anti-capitalist, anti-wage labour sentiments? Well, reading *Freedom* they'd get the feeling that anarchism is a very specific and rigid either-you-understand-it-properly-or-you-

don't-and-then-you-can't-be-an-anarchist type of position, rather than a constantly evolving, active approach to organising community and personal life.

We'll never grow as a movement if we just keep navel-gazing and raking over movement-based issues and actions. Recent comments on Mayday from *Freedom* contributors are just one example. This paper needs to change. It needs more news and less opinion.

Incisive, investigative and passionate information-filled writing empowers people and actually generates more opinion and understanding than a rant or even an

eloquent opinion piece ever will. More analysis, less critique, a communicated lust for life, a belief in the reader and a sense of humour – that's what it needs. Right now, it's lifeless.

Sabrina Nati

To continue the discussion, send an empty email to FreedomAnarchistFortnightly-subscribe@yahoo.com

Come and have your say: 'The Future of *Freedom*' at 3pm on Saturday 6th July at Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 (nearest tube Aldgate East)

(continued from page 4)

responses of the Zapatistas' Municipal Council. These are displayed on notice boards. "We don't permit the sacrifice of the natural environment", one response says. "It's part of our life and will be used by our children and their children too. If we knew of anyone logging, we'd tell them it was bad and that they should stop".

"We do not agree that our land should be filled with cows", says another. "But even so we're not guilty of something that we don't agree with and haven't done. The cutting of wires was an action of the very organisation that accuses us, so they can be compensated with more money and cows. They did it to make life impossible for those of us who are resisting inside the autonomous communities".

This rings true. The autonomous pueblo is vulnerable to sabotage. On my last night in one place, I watched thirty men march into the dark carrying water to put out a large blaze on the edge of their territory – allegedly the work of Priistas.

People in the autonomous pueblos abide by laws collectively reached by the Zapatista

organisation and the collective decisions of the communities. In a system like this, delegated or collective acts are thought through, and the reasons behind them are declared publicly. Delinquent individuals are dealt with consistently by the law, something that doesn't happen elsewhere in Chiapas.

In fact, the apparent delinquency of individuals and groups committing criminal acts against Zapatistas and their territory is an important tactic of the low intensity warfare intended to exhaust the Zapatistas. It's orchestrated by the various power factions.

The men lounging round in front of the Zapatista café might think they were on holiday if it weren't for the regiments of troops in trucks and humvee 'low profile' personnel carriers that pass them on the road to Ocozingo. The soldiers are heading for the jungle, where Zapatista and other pueblos are bracing themselves ready for eviction from the ecological reserve. This, after all, is an undeclared war. The forces of the state will use any tactic and any pretext to disorganise the people.

Jo L.

— OBITUARY —

Jean-Pierre Hirou

Jean-Pierre Hirou died last November after suffering a stroke. He was 53. In the 1970s, he was national director of French Trotskyist organisation Lutte Ouvrière (LO), which had a membership of several thousand. In this capacity, he was for several years responsible for its weekly paper. But in 1979, he broke with the organisation over a disagreement with its electoral policy.

In the national election that year, LO backed a vote for the leftwing candidate best placed in the second round of the poll. Hirou broke definitively with Trotskyism soon afterwards and began to frequent anarchist circles, calling himself a libertarian communist.

He was convinced of the need for a revolutionary organisation, but in the absence of any moves to unity among the several organisations in France, he did not feel the need to join any of them. He always

argued strongly for maximum revolutionary unity.

Hirou was a member of the Cercle Daniel Guérin (1989-1991) and wrote a number of articles for *Courant Alternatif* (monthly paper of the Organisation Communiste Libertaire) and for *Alternative Libertaire* (produced by the group of that name). In 1989, he collaborated with the Groupe Pierre Besnard in the Federation Anarchiste to collect testimonies for the book *May 1968*. This consisted of accounts from people who had participated in the events two decades before.

In 1995, Acratie (the publishing house of the Organisation Communiste Libertaire) brought out his book on revolutionary syndicalism, *Socialist Party or CGT (1905-1914)*. He had just finished a translation of this work into Spanish, and was looking for a publisher, when he died.

Nick Heath

Class struggle 'essential'

In our last issue, Tavis Reddick and Scott Wakeham discussed anarchism and class. Others beg to differ with their views.

Tavis Reddick accuses Nick S. of having a 'cultural' conception of class. We don't think that's right at all. The argument about the British National Party targeting football hooligans rather than anarchists applies as much to housewives and brickies. Nick's point, we think, was that what the liberal left see as a failure of the BNP – it organises the undesirable and excluded white working class – is really a measure of its success.

And whatever Scott Wakeham says, class isn't something we can 'discard' – it's rooted in issues of ownership of property. It's a relationship between those who own the means of production and those forced to labour for those who own them. You can't shed class identities without ending class society.

We agree with Nick S., Nick Heath and Brian Bamford. The anarchist movement, as it stands, is in worse shape for the job of ending class society than ever. It's not that we want to exclude middle class activists, it's just that we're sick of middle class anarchists pretending to speak in our name and setting up a cultural environment we can never feel part of. We think Debord has a lot to answer for – the hangover from Situationism is a belief in a politics of 'the event', which in practice reduces politics to a stunt.

There's no need to worry about constituency, coherence of argument or proof through practice, the idea seems to be. The 'event' is justification in and for itself. Meanwhile the rest of us are left to deal with the boring stuff that's the background noise of everyday life – housing, debt, street lighting, bailiffs, crime and the rest.

Linda and Paul Maguire

I was always under the impression that, as Scott Wakeham argues, "the class struggle should be a struggle against class itself". This was the underlying assumption of all the great anarchist thinkers on the subject, as well as of modern-day 'class struggle' anarchists. What the issue seems to boil down to is what this struggle against class actually means.

According to Scott, it's "not an internecine struggle between classes". He argues that "means are the ends" and that "internecine class war can only give rise to further class war in the future". I'm unsure what he means by this. Obviously class war now means further class war later on, but only in the sense that until the class war's won, it'll go on whether we want it to or not. In other words, class society produces class struggle, not vice versa.

'Class struggle' anarchists argue that only those subject to class oppression have a direct interest in ending it. By encouraging class struggle, by making its causes understood, we simply point to the only way classes can be abolished – by the direct action of those subject to class domination. For this reason, most anarchists stress class struggle and the need to fight it in such a way that class systems are ended once and for all.

But I don't think he means this truism. I think he means that, by pursuing the class struggle as the means of creating anarchism, we ensure that class war will always be with us. I wonder if he applies this logic equally to other struggles. Would he argue that internecine struggle between governors and governed in the present can only give rise to



further struggle between rulers and ruled in the future? I doubt it.

Scott says that "class is a red herring – a way of splitting us up that serves capitalism only too well in its attempts to divide and rule us". Which, I suppose, explains the recurring attempts by politicians to deny that we live in class society.

Does it mean that when Blair and Major declared Britain to be a classless society they were doing capitalism a disservice? Does it mean that when Mussolini and Thatcher said they'd ended class conflict, they were simply trying to undermine capitalism? Again, I doubt it. Capitalism is far better served by denying class and class struggle altogether.

Scott says that 'definitions' of class "currently present us all as innately and inevitably capitalistic animals". Given that any definition of (modern) class only makes sense within the capitalist system, obviously it'll present us as parts of that system.

The question, of course, is what part of this system has an interest in destroying it and which has an interest in maintaining it. Those subject to wage labour or those whom the labourers serve? The answer's obvious.

Scott talks about the middle class and the working class, yet doesn't mention the ruling class. Most 'middle class' people, as he acknowledges himself, are workers – wage slaves like the rest of the working class.

Nor do 'class struggle' anarchists reject the contribution of those who weren't, originally, working class. How could we? Bakunin, Kropotkin and Malatesta weren't working class, but they rejected their class backgrounds and participated as equals in the struggle of the oppressed against their oppressors.

Finally, Scott argues that we must "muster sufficient ingenuity to elaborate new systems of relations". Very true. Anarchists since Bakunin have argued that we need to form self-managed associations of producers in order to fight the class war and to create the facts of the new world within the current one.

The struggle against oppression must be the forum in which we apply our ideas. Only by applying them in our workplaces and communities, creating libertarian organisations which combat wage labour by self-management and statism by self-government, can an anarchist society become a possibility.

Simply put, rather than being a red herring, class struggle is an essential aspect of anarchist theory and practice. It's the means of creating a substantial and serious anarchist movement today – and an anarchist society tomorrow.

Iain McKay

Some people might think the debate about class is irrelevant to real day-to-day issues. But it's absolutely central to the whole idea of an anarchist or socialist revolution (which to me mean the same thing). Some comments, on both sides of the argument, have been born out of an understandable anger. Others have struggled to create some sense, based on a particular tendency within the anarchist movement. I understand the difficulty on all sides.

Reading through the statement of aims from the old *Solidarity*, a document entitled 'As we see it', we find the following varieties of usage – "the vast majority of people", "working people", "the working class", "the bulk of mankind", "the vast majority", "the people as a whole", "the masses" and "proletarian". The phrase "working class" appears most frequently, but the other terms are used interchangeably, depending on the context.

Personally I've no problem with using the term 'working class' to describe myself. My grandfather was a plasterer, whose bones fertilise a patch of the Santerre in northern France. My father was proud to be a 'journeyman painter and decorator'.

I'm presently a part-time museum clerk, but over the years I've been a bank clerk and a university student, and I had a career in the Post Office. I moved from clerking into middle management, until I couldn't stand it any longer and escaped into semi-retirement.

Some would want to slot me into the so-called middle class, but I've no doubt that at all times I've been absolutely dependent on my labour power to survive. Anything I've done has been, in good working class tradition, the best I could to ensure my own survival and that of my family in circumstances over which I had no control.

The experience of being working class is not romantic. You come up against obstacles that make you want something different and better. So you fight for it, using whatever talents and luck come your way. But usually all that does is get you into the so-called 'middle class'.

In fact, the only thing the 'middle class' is in the middle of is a gigantic delusion – they're really just working class with knobs on, sometimes a bit of extra dosh, a fat mortgage and a big dollop of anxiety about paying it.

The whole point about a socialist revolution is the idea of going beyond class, abolishing class and aspiring for something better, collectively. The problem is that we're searching for a collective term for what

exists only in some future, imagined moment of revolution.

Right now, there's most definitely a 'ruling class'. They know who they are, network avidly to fill each other's pockets and are the people 'we' are against.

But who exactly are 'we'? To quote 'As we see it', we're "fragmented, dispossessed of the means of communication ... at different levels of awareness and consciousness". That puts it very mildly indeed.

Those who are 'not-the-ruling-class' can't be summed up in some easy catchphrase. They're as diverse as a dispossessed Tibetan yak herder and a top grade computer wizard, as different as the child scrabbling on the rubbish tips of Brasilia is from a person employed to manage a call centre with a thousand employees.

Within this huge range there are some, like the last, who have a temporary power to hire and fire, and her mirror image – the full time trade union negotiator. Both operate within the institutional framework of capitalist society, but both are still at the bottom, mere tools of the ruling class despite their own self-image and behaviour.

The ruling class, meanwhile, with its controlling influence over education and the media, can call us what it likes, creating multiple identities for us to clutch at like straws. The ruling class absorbs into its own language any identity we invent for ourselves and makes it demonic, empties it of all meaning.

To be 'working class' once meant something about natural solidarity and the nobility of labour. Now it's to be part of our 'heritage', flat cap, cobbles and all.

Marx tried to use the term 'proletariat' to describe the multitudes of the powerless become strong through collectively recognising each other as comrades. Nice try, but who wants to be a prole? You can't invent an identity sat in the British Museum.

Only in the course of collective struggle will our real name emerge. It will come out of our need to talk to each other across barriers of language, culture and experience. It'll come out of our shared discourse of hope and despair, our attempts to create new networks of solidarity to replace those that have failed, our attempts to recognise each other as comrades.

There's no single life experience that can sum this up. We are many. By all means use the term 'working class' as a shorthand, but don't cling to it as if it were the end of our possibilities – it's only the beginning.

There's a lot that worries me about the new movement of resistance that's emerged in recent years. I wonder what it's all about. I have to struggle constantly against the instinct to contain it in some old, ideological frame-work. But, after my own experience over two decades in the 1960s and 1970s, I only fear that those waiting in the wings will fasten on its energy and draw the movement back from its creativity towards the same old, dead solutions.

Mixed up in it somewhere are all the values of internationalism, pluralism, creativity and solidarity that are the implicitly socialist responses reinvented anew, generation upon generation, by 'we'. This happens in our instinctive search for new "priorities, values and methods of organisation which challenge the established social order and established patterns of thought", to quote 'As we see it' – whoever 'we' now are, and however out of date the *Solidarity* manifesto seems, forty years on.

Martin Bashforth

What we say ...

We'll miss you, NHS

Last month, in the same week 150,000 low paid healthworkers (porters, care assistants, craft workers) got a paltry 3.6% pay rise, a new account of the NHS was published. In *The National Health Service, A Political History*, historian Charles Webster assesses the impact of the first five years of the Labour government. He concludes that New Labour are pushing privatisation even further than the Tories ever did.

More hospitals are being paid for under the Private Finance Initiative and dodgy public-private 'partnership' deals. At the start of May, it was announced that so-called 'failing hospitals' could be run by private sector managers. Then there's the creation of 'drop-in centres', some of which will be run by private health firm BUPA.

And there's more to come. On 22nd May, health secretary Alan Milburn announced (without any consultation) the creation of the first four 'Foundation Trusts'. These represent a new type of health care organisation, of which there are supposed to be sixty by 2006.

They're pretty mysterious things, but what's already known about them is worrying enough. Alison Pollock, a professor at the University of London, has warned that they'll create winners and losers, with the poor and elderly likely (in her words) to be 'sacrificed'.

Foundation Trusts are part of a return to the market in the NHS. After April's budget, Milburn published his five-year plan for healthcare. He wants to see patients treated as customers. Just like on the railways you're no longer a passenger, next time you visit a hospital you won't be a patient either.

Milburn wants to see money follow patients, so that hospitals or GP clinics which treat the largest number will get the most money. This, of course, is exactly what the Tories did, and what Labour was originally elected to reverse.

And on the surface, sure it makes sense. But if Milburn presses ahead with it, it'll actually be a disaster. Ill-health is linked to poverty. The richer you are, the healthier you are. People in working class areas will lose out, because they take longer to get better – which means less money for the places that treat them.

Despite the seductive logic of the market, getting healthcare isn't like buying bread from a supermarket. People don't want to shop around for the 'best' GP when they're ill. They just want to go to the nearest.

Of course there's problems with the National Health Service. One is the power of the medical profession. While porters and cleaners struggle by on some of the lowest wages in the country, doctors earn five figure salaries in the NHS and top them up in the private sector too.

For things like straightforward day surgery, the waiting list can be a year long. Going private reduces that to something like two weeks, even though it'll probably be the same surgeon who does it. The government has done nothing to address these problems. Market policies will only make them worse.

Nurses are working harder than ever. Their pay increases have been pathetic. People are quitting the job in their droves. And what are the three big health unions – the Royal College of Nursing, Amicus and Unison – doing about it? Not a lot is the answer.

Their officials even sit on the government taskforces which are partly responsible for the policies in the first place. The trade unions, as so often, are actually part of the problem. New Labour are changing the NHS in ways the Tories only dreamt of. When sober academics like Charles Webster warn that privatisation is running out of control, it's certainly time to worry.

Readers' letters

Mayday, again

Dear *Freedom*,

We're glad there's been some debate about the relevance and intent of this year's Mayday events in London ('A clown responds to criticism', 18th May). We think the organisers, who seem to measure political success in sensationalised column inches, would have to admit it was a failure even on their own terms.

One problem we've got with them is that they believe an argument for autonomous action justifies any and every political activity. It's each to his or her own, so to speak, regardless of whether it aids or holds back other political developments.

So it is that what we think necessary – the recreation of traditions of militant solidarity within working class communities – is hindered. We contend that this happens by the extent to which the Mayday mob (who're held to be 'representative' of anarchist politics) argue by their actions that such long term work is unnecessary, and by the fact that their actions discredit any serious notion of anarchist practice.

Fact: the BNP now have three councillors, and are seen as a credible opposition within some white working class communities, whereas most working class people we know think the Mayday mob are a bunch of middle class wankers.

One reason the BNP are taken seriously is because they make a serious effort to identify what the concerns of their constituents are and then offer solutions to them (not solutions we think in any way supportable, of course). The Mayday organisers seem to think such 'consultation' would interfere with the pursuit of 'carnival'.

The Couatts argument almost proves the point.

If ever a bank could be said to have played no part in the spread of working class debt, it's Couatts. They might be the bank of choice for mummies and daddies of the Mayday organisers, but the chance of any ordinary family getting an account there is zero. But picketing loan sharks and a county court that's repossession-happy, or long-term work targeting bailiffs – that wouldn't be glamorous enough, would it?

Linda and Paul Maguire

Dear *Freedom*,

What is it with so many of your contributors? "Since when did anarchism have anything to do with radical yoga" asks Nick Heath ('No more clowns', 1st June). Maybe not a lot, but Nick's chosen to pick on just one of the innumerable events in London's Festival of Alternatives. Others were more explicitly 'political'. Can't we stop all the criticism and congratulate the organisers for their hard work?

Charmaine P.

Easily led

Dear *Freedom*,

Callum Berlin points out how easily anarchist publications can be led into publishing arguments for supporting one state being attacked by another (letters, 4th May). The attacks of the Israelis against the Palestinians are certainly horrible crimes against humanity. But it doesn't follow that anarchists should support the Palestinian efforts to protect or build their own state.

A Palestinian state has all the features of any other state, essentially one class exploiting another. When the front page of *Freedom* recommends that we "make our own solidarity

with the *intifada* clear ... and declare our solidarity with the Palestinian struggle" (20th April), one can begin to wonder if its editors have forgotten that it's not the purpose of anarchism to get bogged down in supporting one state against another. However tragic the suffering of people in the state being attacked, Callum's right. That is not anarchism.

Lynn O.

Symbolic silence

Dear *Freedom*,

I'm informing you of a planned symbolic opposition to the murderous and imperialistic wars in the world (Afghanistan, Chechnya, Palestine and the others). This will take place in the form of a worldwide silence strike. I ask that you all stay silent for the duration of July and/or September. Write down the names of the few individuals (five maybe?) that you must talk to (if you have health problems, don't forget your doctor), and communicate with others without the use of sound.

The Vow of Silence for Peace is a non-religious, but not anti-religious, vow. It's also a non-violent act that doesn't stop one from fighting back. What better way can there be to bring the movement together? For more information and to help spreading the word, write to me.

VolodyA! V Mozhenkov

06429-046 DB, FCI Elkton, PO Box 10,
Lisbon, OH 44432-0010, USA

Readers are asked to keep their letters short. Letters may have to be cut for reasons of space.

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27th May to 9th June 2002

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MG, Eccles, £11; JL, Wolverhampton, £2; MV, Manchester, £5; CC, London SE11, £6.

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Total for 2002 = £379.00

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JL, Wolverhampton, £2.

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Total for 2002 = £108.00

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will be dated 29th June,
and the last day for copy

intended for this issue will

be Thursday 20th June.

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

NEW WEBSITES

The Kate Sharpley Library has a new homepage. Extra bulletins have been added, and there's a small but growing collection of online documents. It also contains details of all KSL publications. "We already have plans to extend the website", they say, "with more online documents, reviews of our publications, biographical information on some of our authors – so we welcome ideas or feedback".

The Kate Sharpley Library is dedicated to recording and revealing the true history of anarchism. Visit www.katesharpleylibrary.org/index.html

Meanwhile *Total Liberty* ('a journal of evolutionary anarchism') also has a new site. You can visit it at http://mysite.freereserve.com/total_liberty/.

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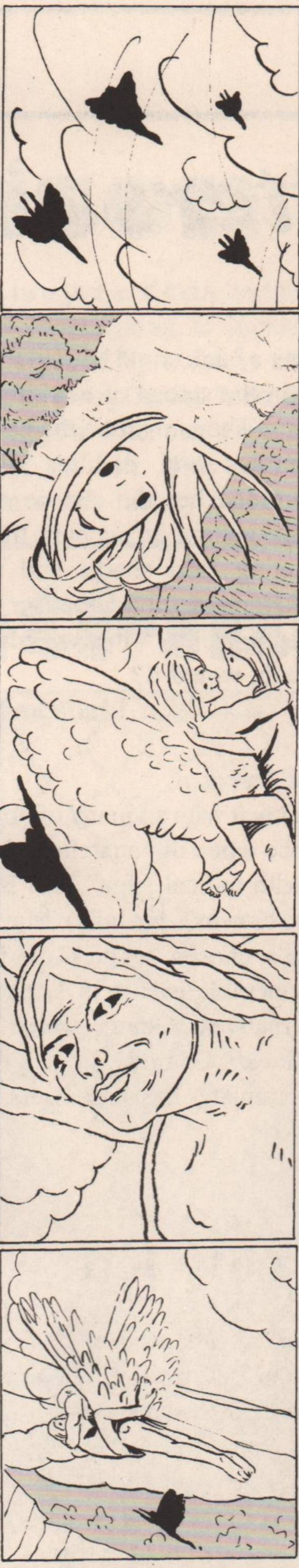
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LOVE & HONOR N°12 BY MARGARET



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PARTY ON THE MOOR
 Saturday 15th June
 Party organised by CND to be held at Fylingdales
 info: 020 7700 2393

PALESTINE DEMO: MANCHESTER
 Saturday 15th June
 Assemble at 10.30am in Whitworth Park, Wilmslow Road
 info: 07760 224 580 / CND 0161 273 8283

CLOSE DOWN HARMONDSWORTH
 Saturday 15th June • 12 noon to 2.00pm
 Protest at Harmondsworth Detention Centre, Colnbrook Bypass
 (A4 north of Heathrow) as part of the Refugee Week of Action.
 contact: info@defend-asylum.org or 07941 566183
 closedownharmondsworth@hotmail.com or 07960 309457

LEAMINGTON PEACE FESTIVAL
 Saturday and Sunday 15th and 16th June
 Free entry for music and dance, wandering performers, art and
 workshop tents, as well as over 100 stalls.
 Anyone wishing to run workshops or give a short talk contact
 workshops@peacefestival.org.uk or tel 07946 401178.
 For more info contact 01926 885435 or
 see www.peacefestival.org.uk

TYNESIDE RADICAL FILM FESTIVAL
 film showing as part of Refugee Week
 Monday 17th June at 5.30pm and 8pm
 Underground Orchestra
 (Heddy Honigman, 108 minutes, 1999)
 Behind the amazing tunes of musicians from all over the world
 who busk on the Paris Metro are stories of the oppression and
 torture that drove them to flee their home countries.
 The Side Cinema, Dean Street, Newcastle Upon Tyne
 contact radical.filmfest@tesco.net or Paul on 0191 2724635

THE RADICAL DAIRY
 Part of a London-wide network of social centres.
 Upcoming events include, yoga, veggie/vegan café nights, etc.
 on Tuesday 18th June at 7.30pm:
 London Social Centres Network (SCN) general meeting
 The Radical Dairy, 47 Kynaston Road, London N16
 contact: theradicaldairy@hotmail.com or 020 7249 6996

LIBERTARIAN SOCIALIST DISCUSSION GROUP
 Tuesday 18th June at 8.00pm
 The Libertarian Socialist Discussion Group meets monthly
 (every third Tuesday) at the Hare and Hounds, Shude Hill,
 Manchester (near the Arndale Centre)

PICKET THE DAILY MAIL
 Tuesday 18th June at 6.00pm
 No borders, no racism – bring banners, flag, drums and whistles
 to Derry Street, London W8 (nearest tube Kensington)
 contact: war1921war@yahoo.co.uk
 see www.noborder.org

ANTI-JUBILEE ARRESTS
 Meeting on Wednesday 19th June at 7pm
 On 4th June about 40 people were arrested after a small MA'M
 demo. This meeting (only open to people who were arrested) at
 LARC will be attended by a solicitor and followed by discussion.
 LARC, 62 Fieldgate Street, London E1

TRADE JUSTICE MOVEMENT
 Wednesday 19th June from 1.30pm
 Join thousands of campaigners for the biggest even mass lobby
 of Parliament. At 3.30pm there will be a huge Mexican wave of
 noise as 'Speak out for Trade Justice' is shouted along the
 length of a giant gathering of people stretching past the House
 of Commons and along the banks of the River Thames.
 see http://www.tradejusticemovement.org.uk

REFUGEE WEEK OF ACTION
 Saturday 22nd June from midday
 national demonstration against attacks on asylum seekers,
 assemble at Malet Street, London W1, for march to Waterloo
 detention centre. Also during the week there will be local
 actions, street parties, socials, rallies, workshops, picnics, etc.
 see www.defend-asylum.org / www.barbedwirebritain.org.uk
 www.ncrm.org.uk / www.ncadc.org.uk

RALLY AGAINST ANIMAL EXPERIMENTATION
 Saturday 22nd June from 1.30pm
 At Porton Down near Salisbury, Wiltshire. Meet at 1.30pm in the
 Maltings behind the library for march around the city, demo and
 vigil outside the main gate of Porton labs.
 contact: 01980 629692

CAMDEN GREEN FAIR 2002
 Sunday 23rd June from 12 noon to 6.00pm
 The Camden Green Fair will be held at St James Gardens,
 London NW1
 to book a stall contact: John Jopling on 020 7722 3710

RADICAL SOUTHWARK
 Meet at Sunday 23rd June at 56a Infoshop
 for 'Elephant People', a radical circular walk around the area.
 56a Infoshop, 56 Crampton Street, London SE17

ANARCHISTS IN GLASGOW
 Wednesday 26th June at 7.30pm
 Meeting on 'Anarchism and community struggle' at
 John Maclean Centre, 34 Clarendon Place, St Georges Cross,
 Glasgow G20.

LONDON ANARCHIST FORUM
 LAF meets on Fridays, 8pm at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square,
 London EC1 (nearest tube Holborn)
 28th June: Bring a Book evening – bring something that
 has influenced you and share it
 LAF, Box 4, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

THE FUTURE OF FREEDOM
 Saturday 6th July at 3pm
 Come and give us your views at
 Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1

NOUGHT FOR CONDUCT FILM CLUB
 Thursday 11th July at 7.30pm
 Matewan
 Organised by the Anarchist Federation (London)
 Marchmont Community Centre, Marchmont Street, London
 WC1 (Russell Square tube)
 AF, Box 2, 84b Whitechapel Street, London E1 7QX

NAN CONFERENCE
 Saturday 27th July
 For more details of the Northern Anarchist Network Conference
 contact Martin on 0161 707 9652

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