

anarchist fortnightly

Freedom

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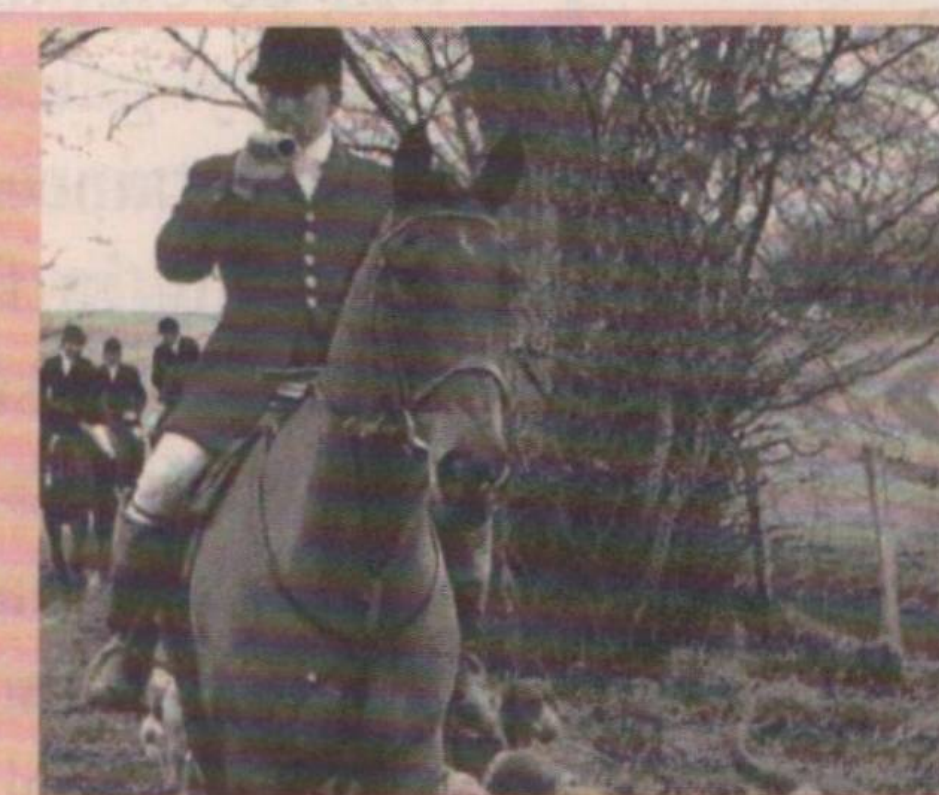
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Scarred for life

Anarchists have long held a deep-rooted sense of unease about schooling. We distrust the motives of the institutions that deliver it – churches in the past, the state now. But regardless of that unease, in the here-and-now our kids (or if we're young, ourselves) have to go to school. For the last ten years, both major political parties have set about making education into a factory. Universities were told to let in more students, but the funding was kept the same.

Some nurseries now market themselves as preparing their charges for their first Standard Attainment Tests (SATs). There's scarcely a month when children aren't preparing for more exams. The pressure is so great that many middle class parents now pay for extra tutoring, and some teachers have been caught fiddling the results. The obsession with league tables means that no risk is too high to stop 'your' school from being closed down.

Against this background New Labour's thinking, at least in local government, is driven by the needs of their natural constituency – the sections of the middle class who depend on the state for their income. These are the sort of people who move out of areas like London's Stoke Newington as soon as their eldest child reaches ten, usually for a home county which still has selection.

The need to address their concerns about sub-standard secondary education is critical to Labour's approach to education. Many of this newspaper's younger readers will only have experienced comprehensive schools, but selection persists in many parts of the country. In places like Kent, it's always been on the basis of the eleven plus and the subsequent ability to pass exams that it implies.

In areas where secondary education is supposedly comprehensive, ambitious parents rediscover that they're Roman Catholic or Church of England, and go through a pretence to get their kids into religious schools, which are perceived to be better. Labour have recognised this and they're desperate to keep more middle class parents in inner city areas.

They're engineering this in several ways. The crudest is to attack council housing. Most big inner city estates are being 'regenerated', which in English means lots of blocks getting knocked down and fewer private or expensive Housing Association homes being built in their place. This changes the social mix of the area.

More subtle is the reintroduction of selection. In Lewisham, south east London, a parents' action group won a seat on the council in a ward where the comprehensive
(continued on page 2)

The law's the danger



Hundreds of people could be locked up indefinitely without trial, under state moves announced at the end of June. Ministers claimed their Dangerous Severe Personality Disorder Bill would allow for compulsory treatment of 'psychopaths'. Anarchists said the proposals would remove the rights of the mentally ill, and expressed fears that the new measures could be used against people who aren't sick but who need to be removed for other reasons. Until the 1950s, unmarried mothers were sometimes detained in British mental hospitals. In the Soviet Union, it was common to keep political dissidents in similar institutions.

Class struggle in China

Thousands of workers in the southern Chinese province of Guangdong clashed repeatedly with bosses' thugs at the end of last month. The running battles at a textile factory in Shuikou lasted three days, in what was said by Chinese sources to be one of the worst cases of unrest since 1989. Over 63 people were injured.

It began on 24th June when goons beat up workers who resisted attempts to make them line up in the factory canteen. The Chinese official paper *People's Daily* reported that 800 of the plant's 15,000 workers went on strike in protest. The paper said that goons attacked strikers with steel pipes though representa-

tives of the owners, Nanxuan Wool, denied this. Then the strikers trashed the factory.

A local paper, the *Yangcheng Evening News*, said that local cops tried to interfere but the company's guards locked them out of the compound until paramilitary police arrived and forced an entrance. The plant remained closed until 27th June.

Nanxuan Wool is a subsidiary of Hong Kong textiles group, Nanxuan Industrial Co Ltd. The company's chief executive, Kayce Law, told reporters that workers involved in the unrest weren't his employees at all. They'd been sent by a competing outfit to cause trouble, he said.

Han Dongfang, a representative of Hong Kong rights group the China Labour Bulletin, told the BBC that violence in Chinese factories was common. He said that foreign-owned plants had the worst conditions as they employed young migrant workers who are often thousands of miles from home.

Workers at the Shuikou factory are forced to live in the compound and they aren't allowed to form a trade union. They work from twelve to fourteen hours a day, seven days a week. Intimidation and violence are said to be common. "If a company security guard is unhappy, he will stop someone and beat them", Han said.

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

I have to admit that my ideas about anarchism have changed greatly since I first came across *Freedom* back in 1978. At that time I was a youthful advocate of revolutionary and even violent change. Now after some years of activism, and much reading of other people's ideas, my own ideas have changed. I still consider myself an anarchist, but not an advocate of revolutionary change. Rather I believe change is only possible over a long period and after much educational work and much practical constructive work at a grassroots level. Neither do I any longer seek a particular version of anarchism as an outcome. Human society is very diverse and I see no reason why an anarchist society should not be equally diverse. No imposed solutions for me! No blanket disapproval of other versions of anarchism either. I personally advocate an evolutionary version of anarchism, as I wrote in an editorial for my magazine *Total Liberty*.

"I have long believed the most effective, open and ethical way to work for the establishment of an anarchist society is to support social movements achieving real grassroots change. Such things as worker co-operatives, housing co-operatives, self-employment, LETS schemes, alternative currencies, mutual banking, credit unions, tenants committees, food co-operatives, allotments, voluntary organisations, peaceful protest and non-violent direct action, and a host of similar activities, are the means by which people begin to 'behave differently', to go beyond anarchist theory and begin to build the elements of a new society. This is what I believe comprises the active element of an evolutionary anarchism. Not violence, not violent revolution, but positive constructive activity with the achievable aim of creating real and practical alternatives and the longer term purpose of creating a free society."

It was to further that aim that I started *Total Liberty*, which has continued to feature both theory and practice from a wide range of anarchist opinion including individualist anarchists, social anarchists, green anarchists, anarcho-syndicalists, anarcho-pacifists and other writers, including some from outside of the left-anarchist tradition.

Jonathan Simcock

Any readers who would like to see a copy of *Total Liberty* should contact Jonathan via Box EMAB, 88 Abbey Street, Derby, or email ain@ziplip.com (or from Freedom Press Bookshop, price £1).

Freedom Press

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A new and harsher regime

West London

Sprinklers are going to be installed at Harmondsworth detention centre over the summer, following the major fire at Yarl's Wood (*Freedom*, 23rd February). There'll also be substantial building work, meaning that for several months the centre will be emptied of half its inmates. Internal security gates are going to be installed, to stop detainees from wandering round and engaging in free association. This is one of the few pleasures they've still got.

Detainees will be held on designated wings and they'll have to be escorted to education, recreation and healthcare. It's been said that more staff will be employed to cope with this, and a tannoy system may be installed. But considering the current lack of staff, which results in very long waiting times for visitors, it's doubtful anything will improve. One visitor recently waited four hours.

The regime will change too, for the worse. At the moment, there are 'standard' and 'enhanced' regimes. The differences between these will be broadened, with the possibility of curtailed visiting hours for those on the 'standard' version. Demotion to 'standard' will be used as a punishment. Of the new wings being built, one will be for people with removal directions and one will be for 'long-termers'. So much for the government's assertion that people are only held pending removal.

The Home Office's Contract Monitor is the official in charge of overseeing the work of the private contractors who run the centre. He's planning a meeting with representatives of groups that visit Harmondsworth, in order to explain the changes and to ask for their opinions. But he has so far refused to say whether the changes have come about because of demands from the centre's insurers or even when the insurance is up for renewal.

What he has said is that, following the incident at Yarl's Wood, there's now a policy of separating large groups of people from the same place and groups that are considered 'disruptive'. He says that staff at the centre don't take decisions about who should be separated or moved, but that they make representations to him about who they want transferred. He then passes their views on to the Home Office.

(continued from page 1)

had been closed down. There are five other secondary schools in the north of the borough, of which one is an over-subscribed comprehensive, two are selective City Technology Colleges (effectively state-funded private schools) and two more are selective grant-maintained. The last two were recently ordered to stop illegally interviewing prospective students.

In Hackney, north London, there are plans for a new specialist school on the site of Hackney Downs, the school controversially closed a few years back. It's going to specialise in 'sports and technology', while another Hackney school will specialise in 'arts and media'. Put more bluntly, there'll be a black grammar school and a white one.

Former education secretary David Blunkett famously thought that there was a big difference between selection by aptitude and selection by ability. His successor, Estelle Morris, attacks comprehensive schools and offers 'specialist' or faith schools in their stead.

So at eleven years of age children will 'specialise'. What happens to those who don't fit in or, more likely, don't get in. What



The Contract Monitor has also commented on reports of people whose health might be affected by their continued detention – just about all of them, I'd have thought. He says healthcare staff are aware of their responsibility in this area, though this seems very much open to doubt. And as it's still not clear when a resident psychiatrist will be employed, who's going to make the necessary assessments?

He says people are welcome to get their own medicals done, but hasn't explained how this could happen. There are currently constant complaints about the lack of proper medical care.

He insists that women who are more than seven months pregnant won't be detained, on the basis that commercial airlines won't carry them so they can't be deported. But a pregnant woman with an eleven month old child has been held in the centre recently, according to reports.

It's also been reported that Immigration Service officials at Harmondsworth have been given the job of completing forms to obtain accommodation for people with imminent bail hearings. The Contract Monitor says staff are aware of their responsibility and have the forms in stock. But considering

their lack of sympathy with detainees, one wonders how diligent they'll be.

Work has started on a new centre adjacent to the existing one. The contract hasn't yet been awarded but it's going to be based on a prison design. It will hold about 400 people in galleried units. The intention is that the most 'disruptive' people in the detention system will be held there. It's going to be called IDC Longford.

Ray Barkley

Close Down Harmondsworth Campaign

For more information, visit the National Coalition of Anti-Deportation Campaigns at www.ncadc.org.uk

• NoBorders is an international organisation which campaigns for people to be allowed to migrate and settle where they will. They are organising an international action camp at Strasbourg from 19th to 28th July. "Liberty is a fundamental human right ... detention of asylum seekers is not acceptable" (quote from United Nations High Commission for Refugees).

Further info visit www.noborders.org/strasbourg or www.campfield.org.uk, or contact Hackney Refugee & Migrant Support Group, c/o Hackney Community Law Centre, 8 Lower Clapton Road, London E5

about those who have no faith? What if you don't like the speciality, but the school that offers it is the only one in your town? And why aren't bad grammar schools attacked?

This last question is particularly relevant in the light of a new study of grammar schools in Kent. Dr Stephen Ladyman, MP for South Thanet, commissioned a report from the University of York after the county council refused to conduct its own survey. The council didn't co-operate with the report and tried to rubbish it. But David Jesson, the report's author, said Kent was "locked in a Victorian education system" that was "failing children".

What people always fail to realise about selection is that kids understand it. They understand that if you're selecting, those who haven't passed have failed in some way. They know that their school is seen as rubbish and their expectations are lowered. The scars can linger for years. Yet all that is being measured is a small part of a child's potential. The middle classes go for it because they don't think their kids can fail. The rest of us are stuck with it, and with repairing the mess it causes.

Martin H.

Solidarity
no. 1, summer 2002
(free/donation)

This is the first issue of a quarterly free paper from the North & East London Solidarity Federation.

There's a leading article on the rise of fascism in Britain and France. "We need an anti-capitalist movement prepared to drive the fascists off the streets whilst attacking the capitalist system which spawns them", it concludes.

Other articles analyse the Palestinian *intifada* and report tenants' resistance to council house sell-offs, the Hackney library workers strike and more.

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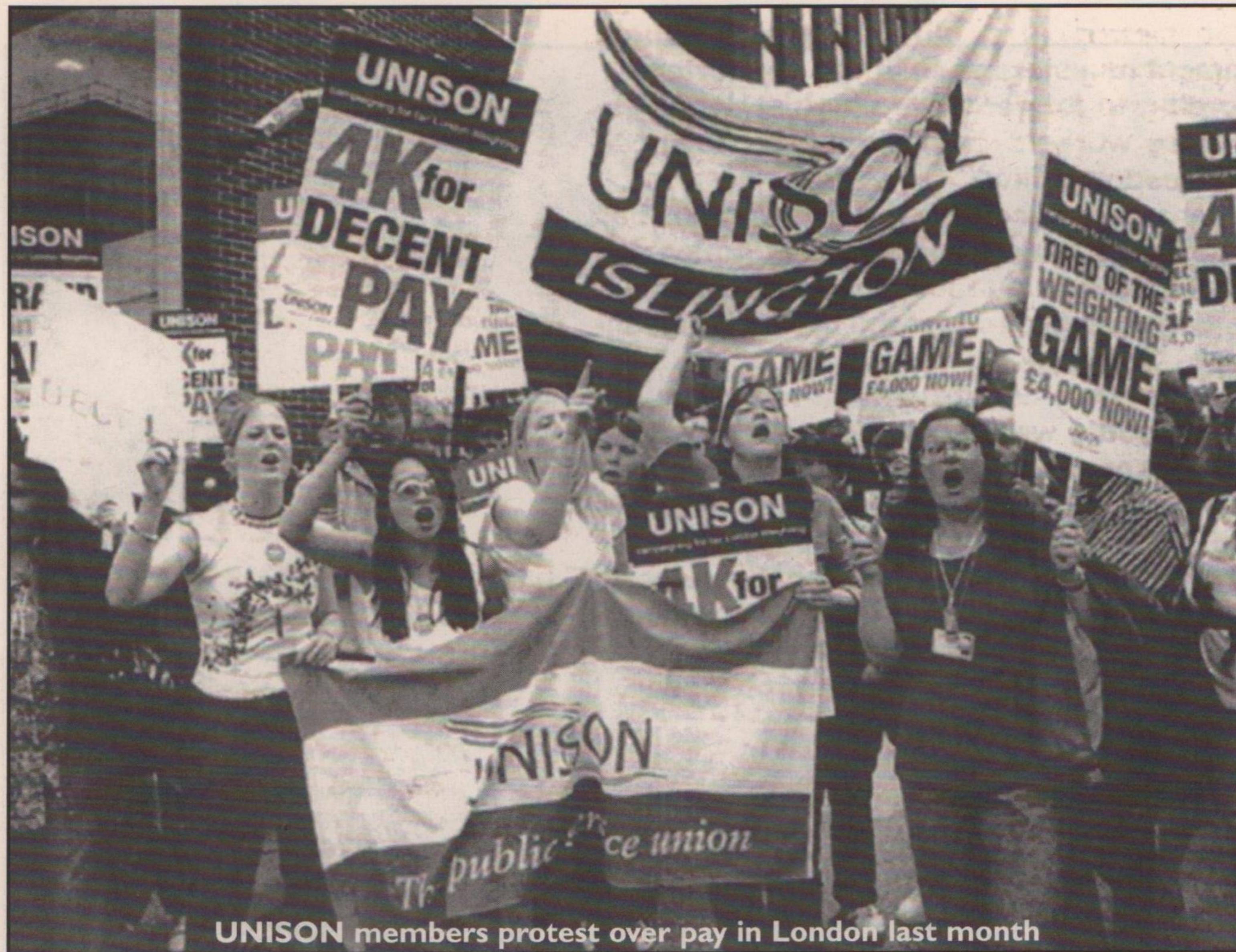
Rising anger adds heat to summer

Over a million local council workers are set to hold a national strike on 17th July, in the first national stoppage since the 'winter of discontent' which helped bring down the last Labour government in 1979. Local councils, many of them run by the Labour Party, responded by threatening to lay workers off if the strike went ahead.

On 5th July, officials of the GMB, T&G and UNISON called the strike after a massive vote for action by their members. T&G members voted 80% in favour. The move followed bosses' rejection of a joint claim for 6% or £1,750, whichever is greater. They offered 3% instead.

Two thirds of local government workers in Britain earn under £12,500. The average attendance allowance for the formally unpaid and part-time council leaders is £12,403. On the same day council workers voted to strike, the Tory boss of London's Havering Borough Council saw his allowance increase by 200%. Eric Munday will now take home £51,000 for a two or three day week.

Council chief executives, who can earn over £120,000, said they would have to lay off thousands of workers if the strike went



UNISON members protest over pay in London last month

ahead. They insisted that meeting the claim would mean large increases in council tax bills, and also that vulnerable people would suffer as housing, residential care, collection of refuse and other vital services would be hit.

Brian Baldwin, chief negotiator for the councils, said the strike would hit weaker members of society hardest. He added that it wouldn't be legitimate as only 40% of union members had voted in the strike ballot.

Activists in the three trade unions said this figure stood around 10% higher than the percentage of the electorate who voted in local council elections. They asked how it could be fair for bosses to resist a pay rise for workers while accepting Munday's rise without complaint. Roy Gomer, the T&G branch secretary in Havering, said "it would take our members up to five years, working flat out, to earn what the part-time council leader take home in a year".

The 'winter of discontent' was partly blamed for the 1979 defeat of Labour prime minister James Callaghan. Television images of uncollected bin bags piling up in the streets and reports of the dead being left unburied were exploited by Margaret Thatcher's Tories as they made their successful bid for power.

• Firefighters and emergency control staff last week threatened to go on strike if their demands for pay increases aren't met. Activists in the Fire Brigades Union (FBU) said they wanted a rise to £30,000 before November. At present firefighters are paid £21,500, with control staff on under £20,000. Rates are calculated according to the formula agreed after the 1977 strike.

Why architecture matters

At one level, it's hard to fault *Architecture Week (AW)* which took place at the end of June. There were lots of free events, ranging from lectures about designing new homes to tours of architectural practices and a late night opening at the Victoria & Albert museum, all celebrating architecture and design. But it was a bit like *Hardcore!*, the recent exhibition on concrete at the Royal Institute of British Architects (who also organised *AW*).

There was a great design, the idea was interesting, it was free so anyone could go along – but there was absolutely no engagement with social reality. 'Concrete – funky and sexy', yeah right. Tell that to people who are forced by poverty to live in gruesome tower blocks. They don't call that style of design 'brutalism' for nothing. And what about the environmental destruction caused by extracting the raw materials? There was nothing about that in *Hardcore!*

The same problem cropped up in *AW*. I went along to one of the open practices, a chance to look around and hear about the work of a design practice. I chose HOK, apparently one of the biggest practices in Britain and America, though that's not why I opted for them. I chose them because the building they're housed in, above Niketown at Oxford Circus, sounded interesting – and it was.

The practice is in what was once a 1920s department store tearoom. There's ultra modern design (hard straight lines, metal, white, light) sitting alongside art deco panes and ceiling murals which depict scenes from Italian opera. But as I walked around it became obvious that, though the event was portrayed as neutral, what we were seeing and hearing about was anything but.

HOK is a practice that designs PFI hospitals like London's Chelsea and Westminster. The design is great but unfortunately not all the doors are large enough for wheelchairs. And talking of wheelchairs, it was lucky that none of the thirty or so people being shown round had a disability. The HOK offices were definitely not accessible.

I didn't even bother to ask about staff trade

union membership. HOK is also the practice responsible for the rebuilding of the Cabinet Office in Whitehall, the building site of which was recently invaded by Greenpeace activists, who revealed that many of the materials being used came from unrenewable sources.

It would be easy to dismiss *AW* as little more than a publicity stunt for an overpriced and overpaid industry, slavishly following the latest fashion – modernism, postmodernism, lots of glass and make sure the steel girders show – or as a freebie for the capital's art trendsies.

There would be some truth in this. The late-night opening at the V&A had Brit artist Wayne Hemmingsway DJing in the museum's courtyard garden. The theme of this night was urban spaces. Anarchists working in their

communities in Glasgow, Bristol, London, Manchester and Newcastle know a bit about the reality of modern urban spaces, but for *AW* we had Wayne playing the Clash's *City of the Dead* in a mock Italian Renaissance courtyard to hundreds of middle class professionals (and me!). Nice as it was to hear the old Clash b-side again, this really had nothing whatsoever to do with real cities.

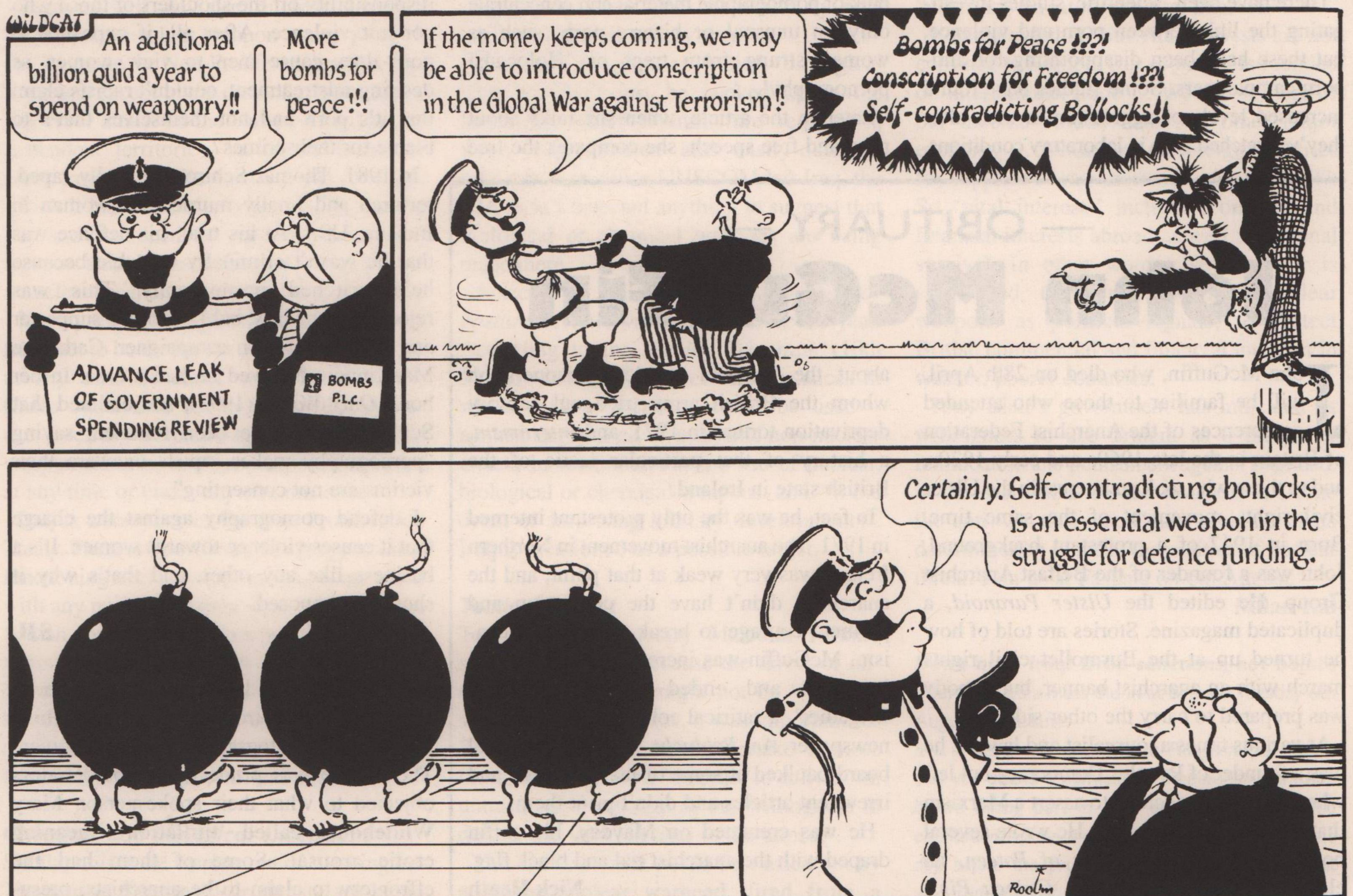
It's said that, to begin with, people shape buildings but that, once constructed, buildings shape people. Architecture matters. The built environment helps determine how we live and see the world. Modern architecture is a product of capitalism and authority. We need homes, but we have no say in how they're built. Planning regulations stifle innovation. We stare in wonder at corporate skyscrapers

but aren't allowed in. People have little control over the spaces they live in, particularly as corporations encroach more and more on public spaces. Community is privatised.

Colin Ward has talked about the need for communities to regain control of the space they live in. For me, *AW* plainly demonstrated how little we're in control. Architects, governments (national and local), construction firms, developers and corporations, but not communities determine the shape of the world we inhabit.

It couldn't be any different under capitalism. An anarchist future would free us of the dead weight of planning and allow design for living, not profit. Then perhaps HOK could design a hospital patients could actually use.

Richard Griffin



Orgasmal beacon? No thanks

In this newspaper last month, Joy Wood attacked pornography and the porn industry ('Pornography and DIY', 29th June). Not everyone is persuaded by her arguments.

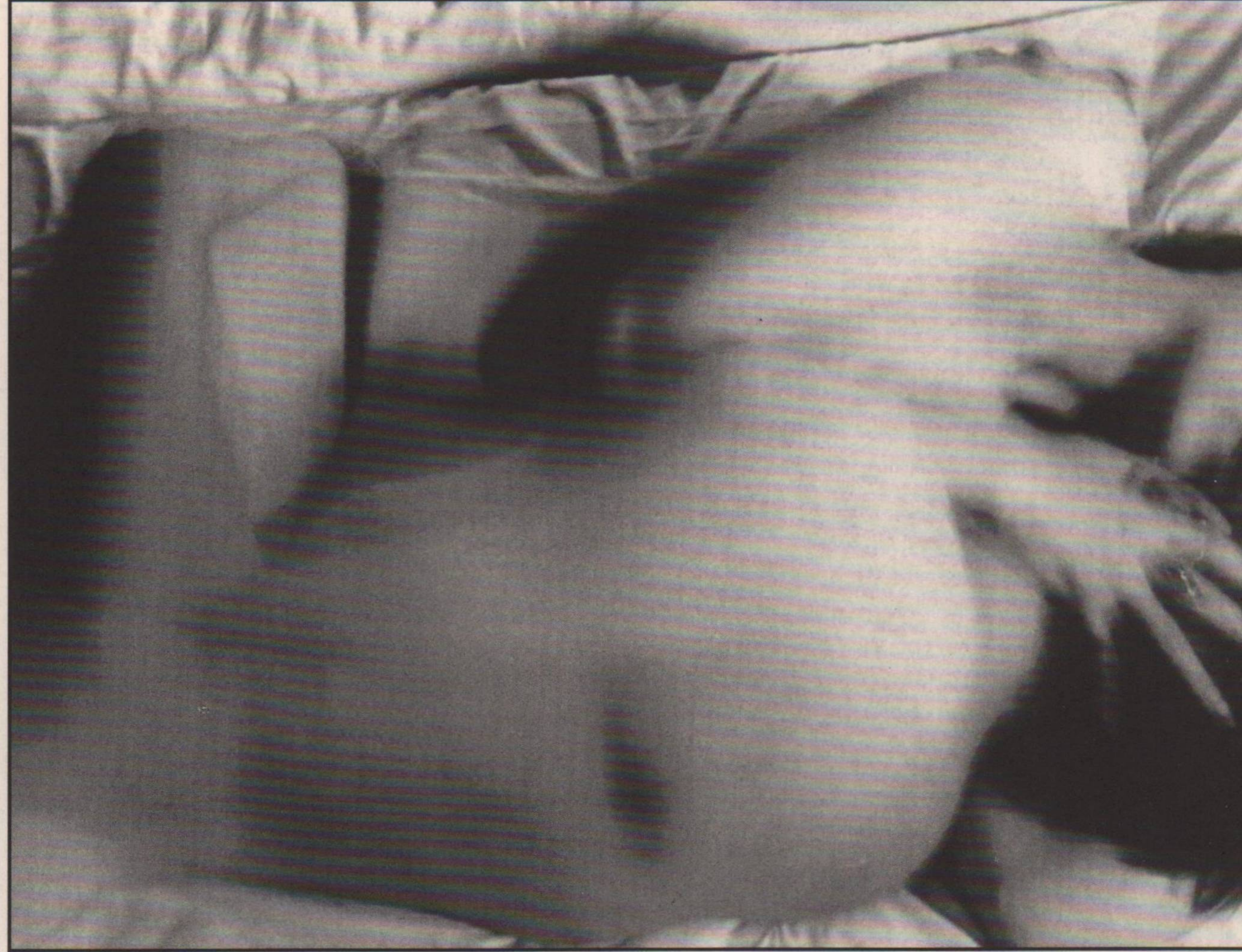
From reading Joy's article, I suspect her experience of porn has been limited to reading accounts of what pornography is like from people such as Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon. Both women have spent years trying to convince people that pornography leads to rape and violence against women. Joy seems to have accepted without question the idea that porn leads to violence. She makes constant reference to the 'fact' that porn is violence against women.

"Women are represented in pornography as enjoying, needing, asking for and submitting to mistreatment, including mutilation and even death", she says at one point. "A man can access pornography, see women more powerless than he is and take pleasure in it. He can experience a thrill of joy at the misfortunes of others", she adds at another. "Pornography isn't a part of sex, it's a part of violence", she says at a third.

Evidence to support claims like these is notoriously difficult to find. One problem is that most pornography is completely without violence. Yes there's S&M porn of course, and I'll come to that later. Some anti-porn campaigners have got round the problem by arguing that the violence doesn't appear in the pornography itself but in the minds of men using porn. This raises the obvious question of how they know what men think when they're looking at pornography.

Dworkin avoids the tricky problem of trying to read men's minds by saying that all heterosexual sex is violence and, since most porn depicts heterosexual sex, it too must be violence. Her basic argument is that society isn't only male dominated – it's deliberately structured in a way that oppresses women. Heterosexual sex, to Dworkin, is a violent act that physically reinforces the notion that men have dominance over them. Of course capitalist societies oppress women, but the claim that heterosexual sex does so is plainly ridiculous.

There have been 'scientific' studies investigating the link between porn and violence, but these have been disappointing for anti-porn campaigners. Some studies have found increased levels of aggression in men after they've watched porn in laboratory conditions.



But the same increase was found when they watched action movies.

Scientists have found it difficult to replicate their experiments with other groups of men. One team had to create their own film to get a result because they couldn't find any commercial porn that did it. Other studies outside laboratories have shown that, in countries where porn is unavailable, there are fewer reported sex crimes. This has been used to prove that if porn is taken away, there'll be less violence towards women. In reality, of course, it totally ignores the fact that in countries with very restrictive sex laws, fewer sex crimes are reported because the victims are treated very badly.

One of the problems with Joy's article is that she offers no evidence to support her claim that porn causes violence against women. She expects her readers simply to accept what Dworkin says. Joy does mention that Dworkin has her critics, but she fails to mention any serious criticisms.

One area of interest is about how Dworkin carries out her research and gathers her evidence. As Joy's article demonstrates, anti-porn campaigners like to exclude the main bulk of pornographic material and concentrate only on unusual or bizarre porn, such as women strung from trees or 'Holocaust pornography'.

Later in the article, when she talks about porn and free speech, she compares the free

speech of the porn producers with that of the 'gagged' models in this material. This is a reference to S&M, and not what is the norm in pornography. If we concentrate on this small sub-industry of bizarre porn, it becomes easier to argue that pornography is violence against women.

But there are still problems with claiming that S&M or fetish porn promotes violence. Most of these videos present the fetish scene as a highly ritualised, fantasy world. Everyone who watches this type of porn knows that any 'violence' is unreal and that nobody is being hurt or abused. Besides, in S&M the men are equally or perhaps more often depicted as being submissive to women.

There are some cases where real abuse does take place and people are hurt. But this is rare, and it isn't endorsed or condoned by the porn industry. Videotapes of this nasty kind are produced by amateurs and are examples of filmed or photographed physical abuse. When we talk about porn, we aren't talking about this but about the legitimate porn industry.

There's a danger that those who promote the idea of porn causing violence can lift the responsibility off the shoulders of those who commit violence. After all, if exposure to porn does cause men to view women as desiring mistreatment, couldn't rapists claim that it's porn and not themselves that's to blame for their crimes?

In 1981, Thomas Schiro repeatedly raped, tortured and finally murdered a woman in Indiana, USA. At his trial, his defence was that he wasn't criminally culpable because he'd watched pornography. This was rejected by the jury, but Dworkin's supporter and fellow anti-porn campaigner, Catherine MacKinnon, believed he had a case. In her book *Only Words* (1993), she claimed that Schiro should have been released, saying "pornography makes rapists unaware their victims are not consenting".

I defend pornography against the charge that it causes violence towards women. It's a business like any other, and that's why it should be opposed.

SJL

In the past, vandals have struck at newsagents by destroying magazines which featured photographs of naked women. The motive was prudery. The perpetrators objected to what their spokesperson Mary Whitehouse called 'titillation', meaning erotic arousal. Some of them had the effrontery to claim to be anarchists, presu-

mably on the grounds that they were taking part in illegal activity.

They shouldn't deceive themselves that they get any support from Joy's article. Joy quotes Gloria Steinem's distinction between erotica and pornography, that erotica is about sexuality while pornography is about power and sex-as-weapon. 'Girly magazines', though commonly known as porn, are by the Steinem reckoning not pornography at all, but erotica. Their main use is as an aid to DIY for men, much as romantic fiction is used as an aid to DIY by women.

Andrea Kinty

Joy makes some interesting points about how the sex industry contributes to the continuing exploitation of women. But some of her arguments are ill thought-out, to say the least. I particularly take issue with her point about pornography making sex salacious. I agree that porn has played a role in this, but it's a small role compared to the one played by morality. Church and state have been, to slightly misquote Blake, "binding with briars our joys and desires" for centuries now, defining the boundaries of our sexuality to produce sexually and emotionally stunted human beings.

As for Joy's point about pornography being irrelevant to an anarchist society, I don't think so. Sex is a form of human expression, a form of play. Images of people at play serve to excite and enhance eroticism. Stripped of the exploitation usually associated with such images, looking at them is a wholly natural and enjoyable activity. I hope it persists in an anarchist society. DIY is fine, but doing it with others who've learned "the mystery of sex without the sanction of state or church" is a whole lot better.

Hazel Little

While I have no problem with discussions about sex, I did wonder what Joy was going on about. She made some valid points, but do women really have to be victims all the time? Mistreatment is very much a part of some women's sexual repertoires, as it is some men's – it's just more acceptable in the latter. Any way, any serious point the article might have made was lost when I read about the orgasmal beacon ...

Carole Bell

— OBITUARY —

John McGuffin

John McGuffin, who died on 28th April, will be familiar to those who attended conferences of the Anarchist Federation of Britain in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and to those who took an interest in the Ulster civil rights movement of the same time. Born in 1942 of a protestant background, John was a founder of the Belfast Anarchist Group. He edited the *Ulster Paranoid*, a duplicated magazine. Stories are told of how he turned up at the Burntollet civil rights march with an anarchist banner, but nobody was prepared to carry the other side.

At various times a journalist and lawyer, he was a founder of Peoples Democracy but left when that group decided to assert a Marxism that John couldn't support. He wrote several books, including *In Praise of Poteen*, an elegy to the Irish firewater, *Guinea Pigs*,

about the fourteen political prisoners on whom the British army tried out sensory deprivation torture in 1971, and *Internment*, a history of that particular tactic of the British state in Ireland.

In fact, he was the only protestant interned in 1971. The anarchist movement in Northern Ireland was very weak at that point, and the anarchists didn't have the conviction and political courage to break with republicanism. McGuffin was increasingly drawn into its orbit and ended up writing 'The Brigadier', a satirical column for republican newspaper *An Poblacht*. But the editorial board balked at some of his 'tasteless' and irreverent articles and didn't print them.

He was cremated on Mayday, his coffin draped with the anarchist red and black flag.

Nick Heath

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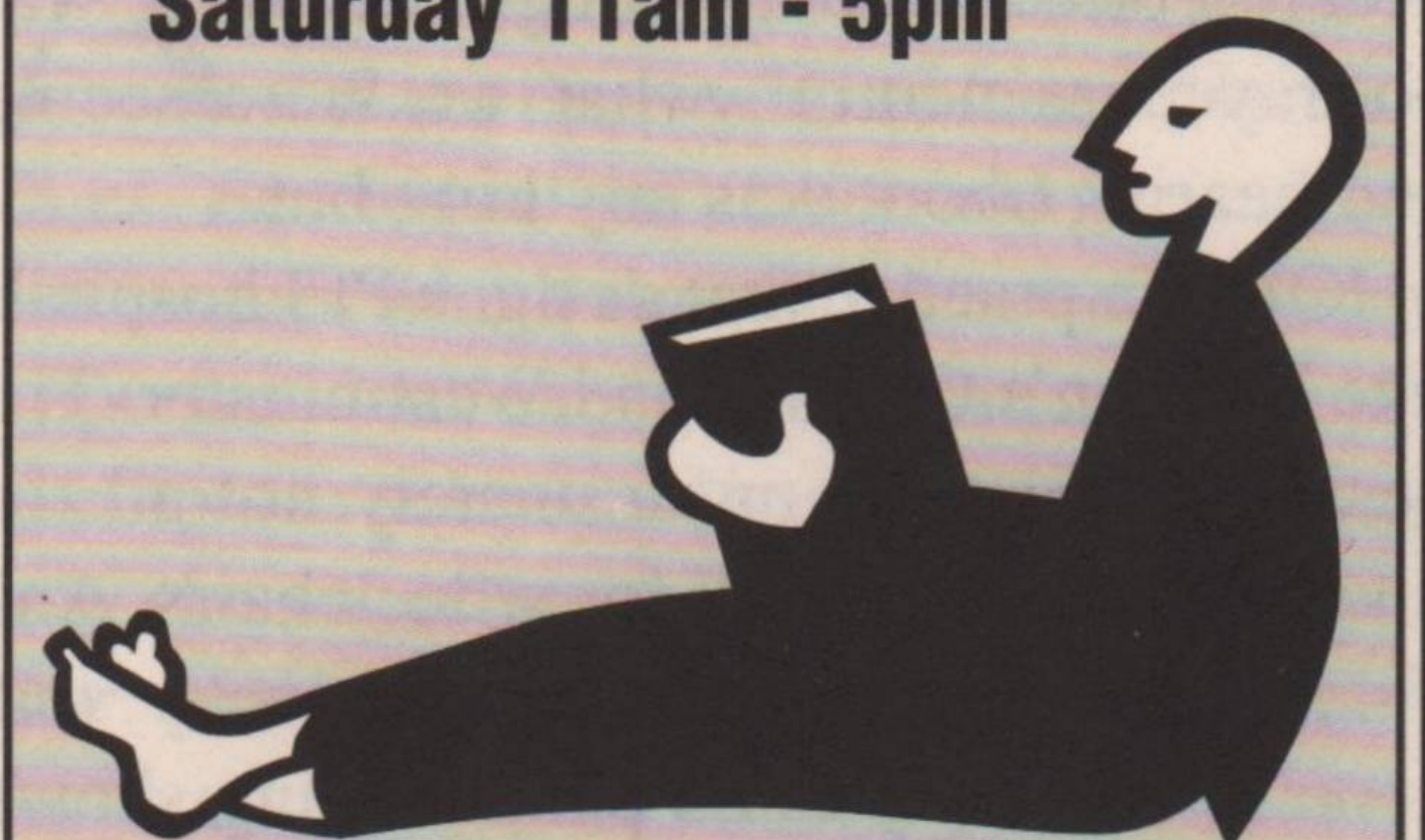
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Nuclear threat increases

Britain and the United States have signalled a new stage of the nuclear arms race. This means there are pressing challenges ahead for the anti-war and nuclear disarmament movements. Here in the UK, the latest revelation is that a new nuclear weapons production facility is to be built at Aldermaston (*Freedom*, 29th June). Informed comment suggests that this is to develop a low-yield nuclear weapon for use against 'terrorist groups' and 'rogue states'. This will complement the low-yield nuclear warhead that may already be deployed on missiles carried by Britain's Trident submarines – 'Tactical Trident', of which more below.

The facilities being proposed for Aldermaston lie in the future, and no doubt they'll be harried through the planning permission process by Aldermaston Women's Peace Camp. More immediately, the last few months have seen fresh nuclear threats being made against Iraq, of the kind delivered over a decade ago as the Gulf War approached. Now though, they have been delivered publicly by British defence secretary Geoff Hoon himself.

Voices in the Wilderness UK, the sanctions-breaking group, and Trident Ploughshares have responded to Hoon's nuclear sabre-rattling by calling a day of action at Faslane naval base. This is the Scottish dockyard where nuclear submarines are stationed. There will be a mass die-in on Tuesday 6th August, 57 years after Hiroshima and twelve years after economic sanctions were imposed on Iraq. It will take place during the annual Trident Ploughshares disarmament camp, the day after the group actually blockade the base.

Hoon's triple threat

Just before he left on a 'peace mission' to India and Pakistan last month, foreign secretary Jack Straw was asked on the Radio 4 *Today* programme why the two countries should pay any attention to a state which has never renounced the first use of nuclear weapons itself. Straw replied that everyone knew the prospect of Britain or the US using nuclear weapons was "so distant as not to be worth discussing".

Hugo Young, the *Guardian* columnist, said Straw's response was "about as misleading an answer as can be found in the entire record of Britain's conduct as a nuclear power". He referred to repeated nuclear threats made by defence secretary Hoon over the last few months.

On 20th March, Hoon told the House of Commons select committee on defence that states like Iraq could be "absolutely confident that in the right conditions we would be willing to use our nuclear weapons". Four days later, he told ITV's Jonathan Dimbleby that the government "reserved the right" to use nuclear weapons if Britain or British troops were "threatened by chemical or biological weapons".

On 29th April, he was asked about these threats in the House of Commons itself. "Ultimately and in conditions of extreme self-defence", he replied, "nuclear weapons would have to be used". When Labour MP Diane Abbott pressed the defence secretary for an explanation of what these "conditions of extreme self-defence" might be, Hoon refused to be specific.

He confined himself to saying it was "important to point out that the government have nuclear weapons available to them and that, in certain specified conditions to which I have referred, we would be prepared to use them".



57 years on, the danger remains – Hiroshima a month after the bomb was dropped on 6th August 1945

Non-proliferation promises

Members of parliament have expressed concern over whether Hoon's threats might be in contravention of international commitments given by the UK. In 1978 and again in 1995, the five declared nuclear powers promised they would avoid firing nuclear weapons at states that were not nuclear.

But the British promise – or Negative Security Assurance, as it was called – was full of exceptions and loopholes. "The United Kingdom will not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon states party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons except in the case of an invasion or any other attack on the United Kingdom, its dependent territories, its armed forces or other troops, its allies or on a state towards which it has a security commitment, carried out and sustained by such a non-nuclear weapon state in association or alliance with a nuclear-weapon state", the assurance said.

In contrast, China just said "China undertakes not to be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time or under any circumstances. China undertakes not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon states or nuclear-weapon-free zones at any time or under any circumstances".

Iraq is a member of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. There is no evidence that Iraq possesses functioning nuclear weapons. Iraq is not allied with any nuclear weapon state. So unless the British government claims that Iraqi military action against British and US troops in any coming war is 'in association' with China or Russia, the 1995 Negative Security Assurance ought to rule out the possibility that Iraq could be attacked by British nuclear missiles.

Chemical and biological exceptions

Similar noises are coming out of Washington. The reason these nuclear threats are being

made is the fear that Iraq may have successfully kept some chemical or biological weapons hidden from UN inspectors. These, so the rhetoric goes, could be used against western troops and possibly Israel.

Actually, says Scott Ritter, former weapons inspector for the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM), this isn't possible at all. Stocks of chemical and biological weapons "would no longer be viable", he says. "Weapons built before the Gulf War that slipped through the UNSCOM net would by now have passed their sell-by date".

Contrary to popular belief, biological weapons can't just be cooked up in the basement. Their manufacture requires a large, sophisticated and easily-detected infrastructure. Since UNSCOM left Iraq, the CIA hasn't detected anything to suggest that biological or chemical weapons are being made there.

A secret US policy document, the *Nuclear Posture Review*, was leaked earlier this year. According to the *Sunday Telegraph* (10th March), it identifies three circumstances in which nuclear weapons could be used – against targets able to withstand non-nuclear attack, in retaliation for the use of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, and "in the event of surprising military developments". Iraq is mentioned as a possible target.

Tactical Trident

Tory defence secretary Malcolm Rifkind said in 1993 that, because the threat of all-out nuclear assault might not be 'credible' against certain enemies, it was important for Britain to be able to "undertake a more limited nuclear strike" in order to deliver "an unmistakable message of our willingness to defend our vital interests to the utmost".

This limited strike would be carried out by a single nuclear warhead, fired from a

Trident submarine on a 'Tactical Trident' missile. This could carry a 5-20 kiloton nuclear warhead. Hiroshima was destroyed by a 15 kiloton bomb.

Vital interests

The policy of using nuclear weapons to defend 'vital interests' was confirmed by New Labour's 'Strategic Defence Review', which concluded in 1998 that Britain's nuclear arsenal should be the minimum needed to "deter any threat to our vital interests".

It explained that "our vital interests are not confined to Europe. Our economy is founded on international trade ... We invest more of our income abroad than any other major economy ... We depend on foreign countries for supplies of raw materials, above all oil". So 'vital interests' include economic and financial interests abroad as well as national survival. In other words, New Labour is committed to using low-yield nuclear weapons as political signals, to protect British commercial and financial interests in weaker, poorer countries.

Tony Blair's government has indicated its willingness to use Trident as a means of intimidation and punishment against Baghdad, in the event of a US-led invasion. It's time the anti-war movement gave a signal of its determination to resist the politics of nuclear threat. Join us at Faslane on 6th August.

Milan Rai

Don't nuke Iraq! Drop sanctions, not bombs

There will be a mass die-in at 8am on Tuesday 6th August at Faslane.

It is a requirement of Trident Ploughshares actions that you attend a nonviolence preparation workshop before taking part in a TP action. Workshops and orientation will be available at the Peace Camp the day before the protest. For more information, visit www.tridentploughshares.org

Struggle in the countryside



In our last issue we carried a review by Richard Alexander of the latest RPM book, *The Rich at Play*. Trevor Bark of RPM disagrees ever so slightly with Richard's opinion ...

Richard makes so many false assumptions, it makes me wonder whether he has any understanding of the issues, has read the book at all, or knows anything about the history of anarchism.

First he asks whether "the urban masses" are "really clamouring for land reform". Where he got this from the good lord only knows. Nowhere in the book do we take a small producer line of the Proudhon variety. But we think it's still important to promote the land question as a means of politicisation and political advance, as many anarchists,

communists, socialists and labour movement people have in the past.

Richard says that we "don't really capture the arrogance of the hunt," but in its history sections and modern day analysis the book is full of attacks on them for precisely that. We refer readers to good publications by the hunt saboteurs association, and one section is actually entitled 'Arrogance'.

Far from the book failing to make a "coherent argument out of all the strands" it is the reviewer who is confused. The book clearly describes the nature of the threat to the rulers at different periods in history, and simply never puts the silly argument that Richard tries to foist upon us, that poaching is a means of political advance today. There is no such analysis in the book. Poaching is covered because in the early nineteenth century, a time when vegetarianism was

unknown, people needed food to eat and took it against the wishes of the monarch and lords as part of a mass experience.

As for the anarchist view of all this, it's not neutral as Richard says. Anarchists have been consistently against fox hunting. The book shows that you can't separate hunting from land use, and anarchists are for the real equalisation of wealth and hence against hunting. There can be no nice and tidy position on 'hunting' as such, and Richard seems unaware that anti-hunting has been a long established feature of anarchist organisation. *Class War* in the 1980s was famously anti-hunting, and the short lived Anarchist Workers Group complained that anarchists spent their time hunt-sabbing rather than on picket lines.

The political allegiance in the book is "from a mainly Socialist perspective"

according to Richard, but he seems to be confused about the political inheritance of the anarchism that's of a 'socialist' tendency (in its organisational forms) all round the world. You can also gauge the book's broad political approach from the names and organisations mentioned, as well as from the bibliography. *Corporate Watch*, RPM itself, Chumbawamba, *Class War*, and the authors of *Albions' Fatal Tree* should be enough to prove that we take our ideas and action from the new social movements and the new left – a libertarian direct action that encourages class consciousness in struggle.

Trevor Bark

You can get copies of *The Rich at Play* from Revolutions Per Minute, BCM Box 3328, London WC1N 3XX, or from Freedom Press Bookshop, £4 (plus p&p 40p UK, elsewhere 80p).

Class, hierarchy and power

I found that Peter Neville's comments about some anarchists' "obsession with class" missed the point somewhat ('What anarchism means to me', 29th June). While Peter argues that being working class is an "accident of birth", he also says that some of us "choose to be aggressively part of it". Surely that's a contradiction? Isn't it the case that we don't 'choose' to be working class but that most of us have to sell our liberty on the labour market in order to survive? Of course individuals can rise above this fate and become capitalists (that is, they can afford to buy labour). But surely that option is precluded if you're an anarchist?

When Peter says "any refusal to work with other people for 'class' reasons is a misplaced tactic", I have to wonder what he means. Does he think anarchists should work with those who exploit and oppress other people? If so, what sort of 'movement' would such a perspective create? It would hardly be anarchist, as it would have to skirt around issues such as wage slavery and landlordism – as well as most forms of direct action (for example squatting and strikes).

This would be 'strategically counter-productive' and a total violation of anarchist ideas and ideals. We can only welcome into our ranks working class people and all who have honestly broken with their class background and become wage slaves (or unemployed).

The working class is "no more virtuous than the other classes", Peter says. I agree. But the fact that it has 'less power' is significant. This suggests that it isn't the ruling class, and so has an objective interest in ending class society. As I've said before, only those subject to hierarchy have a real interest in destroying it.

While the working class has less 'official power', it has immense 'unofficial power' simply by the fact of its position in society. Its members keep society going. Currently they do it to make a powerful minority wealthy, but by organising and using direct action they can bring class society to an end and create a society of free individuals co-operating as equals to meet their needs and desires. The task of anarchists is to help this process.

As history shows, all sections of the community have yet to work together to achieve an anarchist society. When faced with the possibility of anarchy, the capitalist class has turned to fascism to protect its power and profits. That, I suggest, shows why class is important.

Iain McKay

Anarchists should stop using the term 'working class' and let the Marxist-Leninists keep it for themselves. When Stalin was in power, 'support for the working class' was used to mean supporting a murderous dictatorship in which the penalty for inciting a strike in a vital industry was death. Now the term is typically used by people who hope some day to seize power like Lenin. Attempts to define 'working class' all seem unsatisfactory. 'People who have nothing to sell but their labour'? By that definition I was born into a working class family. But when I was 25 my father, still in the same job, paid the mortgage off and was working class no longer because he owned a house.

'People whose income is provided mostly by work they do for employers'? The remuneration of capitalist fat cats is mostly in the form of salaries and performance bonuses. 'People who have no education or training beyond compulsory schooling' (in sociologist Basil Bernstein's definition)? This excludes manual workers who train for their jobs. When Kropotkin incited the poor to revolution, he didn't say 'fight for your class'. He said 'act for yourselves'.

Donald Room

Anarchism opposes all hierarchies wherever they occur, and seeks to replace them with co-operative anarchies. Economic inequality and the cultural differences which occur under capitalism are important and can never be dismissed, but attempts to subsume diverse social structures into classes of any kind is utterly pointless. Our analysis as anarchists should always focus on power and hierarchy, together with the authoritarian psychologies which underpin them. Therein lies the core of our problem.

John Griffin

What we say ...

“Yes the stock market has fallen, but it's still massively up on where it was five years ago”, Tony Blair boasted on 19th June. Three weeks later, share prices plummeted to their lowest level since April 1997, just before Labour got into power. Around the world, shares have come close to freefall. From their peaks a couple of years back, prices have dropped by 35% on the London stock exchange and 22% on Wall Street.

Stock markets are capitalism at its most grasping and ruthless. They represent an iniquitous social system, red in tooth and claw. They're driven by greed and corruption, as scandals at Enron and Worldcom have shown. Profits are all that matter.

With lucrative accountancy deals resting on clearing the balance sheet and bosses' pay bonuses linked to the bottom line, is it any wonder that books are cooked by accountancy firms like Andersons? Or that Worldcom inflated their profit margins to boost their share prices?

Capitalism is a system based on greed. But it also depends on human stupidity. The people who piled money into shares during the dot.com boom believed they could go on making money for ever.

From the eighteenth century onwards, when the South Sea Bubble collapsed, there's been no excuse for thinking the logic of the market could be avoided. And if 1929 is a long way back, 1974 and 1987 easily lie within the memory of any middle aged person. The last great collapse was only fifteen years ago.

Now the bubble has well and truly burst, again. People who pride themselves on being savvy are abandoning the stock market and buying property. That's seen, bizarrely, as a safer bet. Both the Nationwide and the Halifax have predicted double figure returns on property this year. But it's just another bubble ready to burst. House prices, particularly in the south of England, are seriously overpriced.

The real victims, of course, aren't the bosses or the members of governments. The ruling class actually benefit from falling share prices, because that increases demand for government bonds. The real victims are the working class.

Falling share prices hit pensions, and a number of big name companies are closing their pension schemes down. Marks & Spencers are one recent example. At the same time, rising house prices mean a greater struggle to afford working class homes.

The impending economic downturn will see huge job losses. Some 15,000 jobs have already been lost in what's left of Britain's manufacturing industry according to the GMB trade union.

Chancellor Gordon Brown claimed in 1997 that there'd be “no return to boom and bust”. The bear market in shares and the coming crash in property prices show just how much he was wrong. Boom and bust, inequality, inefficiency and waste. These are the essence of capitalism and will remain so as long as capitalism lasts. You really can't buck the market.

But the working class won't sit passively back while the system ruins their lives. Strikes have already happened against companies that have tried to shut down their pension schemes.

Workers at Iceland are organising themselves for this purpose. They're each contributing £50 to take the supermarket chain to court, claiming that the closure of their pension scheme is a breach of contract.

An anarchist society – decentralised, democratic and accountable – will have no need for money markets. Anarchism means people no longer having to rely on the lottery that is capitalism or the brutal inefficiency of Stalinist central planning.

Until then, hold tight. The next few years are going to be a rough ride. And it's the working class that will suffer.

Readers' letters

Old hat

Dear *Freedom*,

I was surprised to find Malatesta's definition of the state sitting in place of the 'What we say' column last issue (29th June). Whatever the merits of Errico's argument, it was in completely the wrong place. Why was a piece originally published in 1891 (as you so helpfully told us) in the editorial column of a contemporary anarchist newspaper? Was your editorial writer taking an early break?

Jonas Proot

No, we thought it would be good if, just occasionally, we reminded readers of the wealth of thought and action that's gone before us and on which our ideas are based. The modern anarchist movement is the product of centuries of working class struggle, and activists like Malatesta remain valuable comrades in trying to build the free society. We were happy for him to speak for us on this occasion – Editors

Call to action

Dear *Freedom*,

I read your review of the Crass evening at the National Film Theatre with interest ('A compelling call to action', 29th June). It just goes to show that anarchy can happen and is happening now. The people who say it will never work are wrong.

Mike V.

Resolving conflict

Dear *Freedom*,

I was interested recently to read Nicolas Walter's *About Anarchism* [published by

Freedom Press, publishers of this paper]. I first read it over twenty years ago, and I've kept the impression I formed then, that it's a clear, well-written introduction to anarchism.

Reading the small part about the treatment of delinquency made me start to wonder again about how anarchists propose to deal with the problem of anti-social or delinquent actions. Rather than propose measures that could be taken in some post-revolutionary society, I think anarchists should be thinking in terms of ways of dealing with problems in today's society.

For example, could local groups in an area organise on a regular basis to discuss anti-social problems? If so, could they organise patrols to go round the area without creating a vigilante-type situation? Yet another question is how they'd deal with people suspected of anti-social acts without behaving in the same way as the state's penal system does. I'd be interested to hear other people's answers to these questions.

D. Dane

Dear *Freedom*,

I've recently started working as a volunteer mediator. The process involves 'go-between' activity, aimed at conflict resolution. At one level, this can mean dealing with neighbours' disputes, engaging the opposing parties, drawing them to a face-to-face meeting and enabling them to draw up an agreed restorative contract (which isn't legally binding). Other areas include restorative justice, where the mediation process brings together victim and perpetrator to agree a form of restitution.

Mediation isn't governed by statutory bodies and doesn't have profit margins to look to. The process is community-based and operates on a real human scale. That's unusual in this day and age. Is it potentially a way of engaging

in positive activity in an arena that's comfortable for anarchists to operate in? Any experience, views, criticism or comment on mediation from *Freedom* readers?

Richard Bendall

Going bananas?

Dear *Freedom*,

Britain isn't in danger of a 'banana republic' coup. The modern police state works differently. It obtains unchallengeable control of the country's money. Year on year more of it is allocated to the benefit of corporate greed. The resultant increase in public disapproval makes it necessary to exert ever heavier policing. This eventually leads seamlessly to police state control without the sudden jolt of a coup.

ACIN

Archive appeal

Dear *Freedom*,

I'm making a collection of ephemera from political protests since 1900. My aim is that, once started, the collection will be taken over, maintained and catalogued by some interested institution or group. It would then be an archive for use by anyone interested in the subject.

I'd be very grateful to readers who could supply me with copies or photocopies of leaflets or circulars advertising meetings, groups, campaigns and issues around a general libertarian theme. I'd appreciate as much additional information as possible, particularly where no date is given on the material itself.

Edmund McArthur

c/o Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

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23rd June to 7th July 2002

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund

Nottingham, MC, £2; Manchester, MV, £5; Eccles, MG, £2; Manchester, MV, £5.

Total to 7th July = £14.00
Total for 2002 = £403.00

FP Building and Overheads Fund

Presteigne, MH, £6; Leighton Buzzard, CW, £4; Swindon, CW, £4; Wolverhampton, JL, £2.

Total to 7th July = £16.00
Total for 2002 = £1,530.00

Raven Deficit Fund

Wolverhampton, JL, £2.

Total to 7th July = £2.00
Total for 2002 = £110.00

CLARIFICATIONS AND CORRECTIONS

In the last issue (29th June) we published an front-page article with the title 'New nuclear terror threat'. This was wrongly labelled as a report from Direct Action Against the War Now (DAAWN). In fact it hadn't been agreed by DAAWN and only represented the views of its author. We apologise to DAAWN and to the person who wrote it for our mistake. To get in touch with DAAWN, email direct_action_against_the_war_now@hotmail.com

In recent issues, we've sometimes given the wrong email address for West London Anarchists and Radicals (WAR). Their correct address is war1921war@yahoo.co.uk Drop them a line.

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ANTI-CASUALISATION FILM TOUR
Not This Time:
The story of the Simon Jones Memorial Campaign
 This film chronicles the death of Simon Jones on his first day as a casual worker, and the subsequent fight to force prosecution of those responsible for his death.

- **13th July:** Earth First! Summer Gathering in the west country (details see www.eco-action.org/gathering), film plus campaign speaker (organised by Earth First!)
- **16th July, 5pm:** Somerstown Coffee House, 60 Chalton Street, London (Mornington Crescent tube), film plus campaign speaker Steve Headley of RMT (organised by National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers)
- **17th July, 7pm:** The Red Deer, Titt Street, Sheffield, film plus campaign speaker (organised by No Sweat)
- **18th July, 7pm:** Union Tavern, Camberwell New Road, London SE15, film plus showing of 'Navigators' (a realist drama exploring effects of rail privatisation) with talk by Ken Loach about use of film to promote social change, followed by discussion and vegan buffet (organised by the Wombles)
- **19th July, 7pm:** Upstairs at Global café-bar, RISC, London Street, Reading, film plus campaign speaker followed by roots dub dance, £4 entrance (organised by Fisheye)
- **21st July, 7.30pm:** Sussex Arts Club, Ship Street, Brighton, film plus campaign speaker (organised by Schnews)
- **22nd July, 7pm:** Stokesley Community Centre, Station Road, Stokesley, N. Yorks, film plus campaign speaker (organised by Stokesley sixth form students)
- **23rd July, 7.45pm:** Upstairs at The Downview, Worthing (opposite West Worthing rail station), film plus campaign speaker (organised by Worthing eco-action)
- **24th July, 8.30pm:** Hard & Hounds, Shude Hill, Manchester, film plus campaign speaker (organised by Manchester Solidarity Federation)
- **25th July, 7pm:** Roger Stevens Lecture Theatre 15, Leeds University, film plus campaign speaker (organised by Leeds Globalise Resistance)
- **26th July, 7.30pm:** Kingston Social Club, Beverley Road, Hull, film plus campaign speaker (organised by New Cleveland Street families fighting fund)

see: www.simonjones.org.uk

VIVA! LONDON MARCH & RALLY
Saturday 13th July at noon, Kennington Park
 National march and rally against factory farming will be meeting in Kennington Park, London WC1
 see www.viva.org.uk or call 01273 777688

LARC JULY UPDATE
 Mondays @ 6.30pm: radical self-defence for women
 Tuesday 16th July @ 5.30pm: free yoga session
 Tuesday 13th August @ 7pm: Injustice, film showing & speaker
 The London Action Resource Centre, 62 Fieldgate Street, London E1 1ES (Whitechapel or Aldgate East tube)
 for more info tel 020 7377 9088 or email fieldgate@gn.apc.org
 see www.londonarc.org

MANCHESTER DISCUSSION GROUP
Tuesday 16th July at 8pm
 The Libertarian Socialist Discussion Group meets monthly at the Hare and Hounds, Shude Hill, near the Arndale Centre

FREE THE DETAINEES
London picket on Wednesday 17th July at 10am
 CACC-organised picket outside Field House, Brems Buildings, off Fetter Lane, London. If you intend to come please call CACC on 020 7586 5896 or 020 7250 1315 to confirm details
 see www.cacc.org.uk

LONDON ANARCHIST FORUM
 LAF meets on Fridays, 8pm at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London EC1 (nearest tube Holborn)
19th July: John Rety on 'The Lady and the Dog (after Chekov)'
 LAF, Box 4, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

WALTHAMSTOW BENEFIT GIG
Friday 19th July from 8pm
 Benefit gig for Walthamstow Anarchist Group at The Chestnut Tree, 757 Lea Bridge Road, London E17 (admission £3)
 info walthamstowanarchy.org.uk or 07810 288 889

RAMMED EARTH WORKSHOP
July 19th to 21st in Swansea
 Help build a shed using the traditional sustainable building technique of rammed earth at this free workshop in the garden of Swansea's Community Resource Centre, 217 High Street
 contact: ian@coexist.demon.co.uk or 01792 463947

ANTI-GM RALLY & FUN DAY
Saturday 20th July at Lymm in Cheshire
 Meet at Lymm Village Hall at 12.30pm, coaches leaving at 2pm for public rally and fun day at a farm scale trial of GM maize. Coaches travelling from Manchester to Lymm in the morning. email [gmfreecheshire@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:gmfreescheshire@yahoo.co.uk) or tel 07759 031 931

RESPECT FESTIVAL
Saturday 20th July from 12 noon to 8.30pm
 Respect anti-racist multicultural festival (free admission)
 Victoria Park, London E3 (Mile End tube)
 info: 020 7983 6554

ANTI-GM EVENT IN LONDON
Wednesday 24th July from 12 noon
 Bring banners, petitions, musical instruments, costumes, etc. and deliver your message to DEFRA – say no to GM crop commercialisation. Meet at Victoria Tower Gardens (next to the Houses of Parliament) at 12 noon, with a picnic, then at 2pm we'll go on to DEFRA, Smiths Square, Westminster
 contact: 020 7272 1586 or 01273 628441

SKATE ATTACK & CRITICAL MASS
in Manchester on Saturday July 27th from 1pm
 Skaters, cyclists or anyone with wheels without an engine is invited to take part in reclaiming space and celebration of cycling and skating. Meet: St Peters Square by Central Library.
 contact: 07763 740453

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

SOUTH PLACE ETHICAL SOCIETY
Lecture on Sunday 28th July at 11am
 'Madness from the Inside: the science and art of mental illness' by Dr Peter Chadwick, PhD, PhDC Psychol, Birkbeck College at Conway Hall Humanist Centre, 25 Red Lion Square, Holborn, London WC1R 4RL (Holborn tube)
 tel 020 7242 8037/4 email library@ethicalsoc.org.uk

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