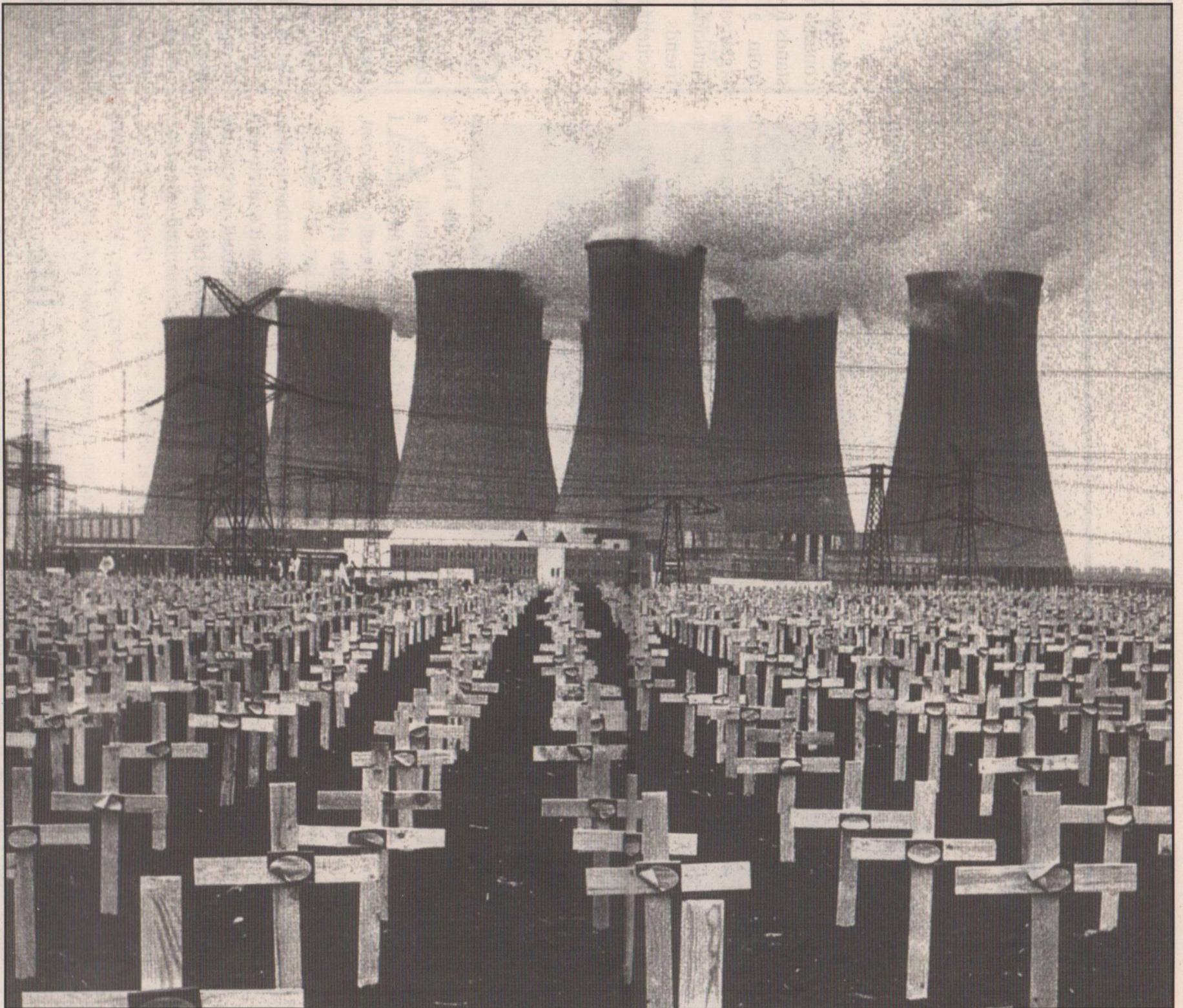


anarchist fortnightly Freedom

Vol. 62 No. 15

28th July 2001

50p



What future now?

When we were first told about global warming, it meant a Mediterranean climate for the UK and everybody growing grapes in their back garden. And any way, it was only something our grandchildren needed to worry about.

Now, a decade of inaction later, we know the truth. A recent UN report says that global warming has begun, and that

it's going to be a catastrophe unprecedented in human history. Millions of people will die. It's quite likely the human race itself will not survive. We will know one way or the other within our lifetime.

The question will increasingly be, why continue publishing, if all our aspirations for a free society are aimed at a future that will never exist?

Because, like everybody, we live a lot on hope. The majority of our fellow humans, who have the power to do something about the catastrophe, might still wake up to what's at stake.

And humanity in some form may yet survive. By doing our work now we are helping to shape any society that grows out of the mess we've made.

anarchist fortnightly

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**GENOA
COVERAGE**
pages 1 and 3



**BRITISH COPS
SHOOT TO KILL**
page 4

BOOK REVIEWS
summer reading
see page 5



Death in the afternoon

Hundreds of protesters at Italian embassies around the world this week marked the death of Carlo Giuliani with demonstrations and rallies.

The Italian activist was shot dead by police in his home city of Genoa on Friday 20th July, as he protested against the G8 summit being held in the Palazzo Ducale. Carlo was in a crowd of demonstrators running towards Piazza Alimonda on the Friday afternoon. Some of them were throwing stones at the police. When they ran into a street off the piazza, they blocked in a van containing three members of the paramilitary Carabinieri.

Carlo was one of six people who attacked the van, smashing the back window with a heavy fire extinguisher. When he approached the van for a second time, he was shot twice in the head. The van then drove over his body.

Despite Carlo's death, the police continued their tough handling of the anti-capitalist protests in the days after the killing. On Saturday, over 100,000 people held a march, many of them shouting out 'assassins' and 'murderers' at cops as they passed the spot where Carlo died. Teargas was used to drive back several thousand marchers from the front of the column, before paving stones and molotov cocktails were thrown.

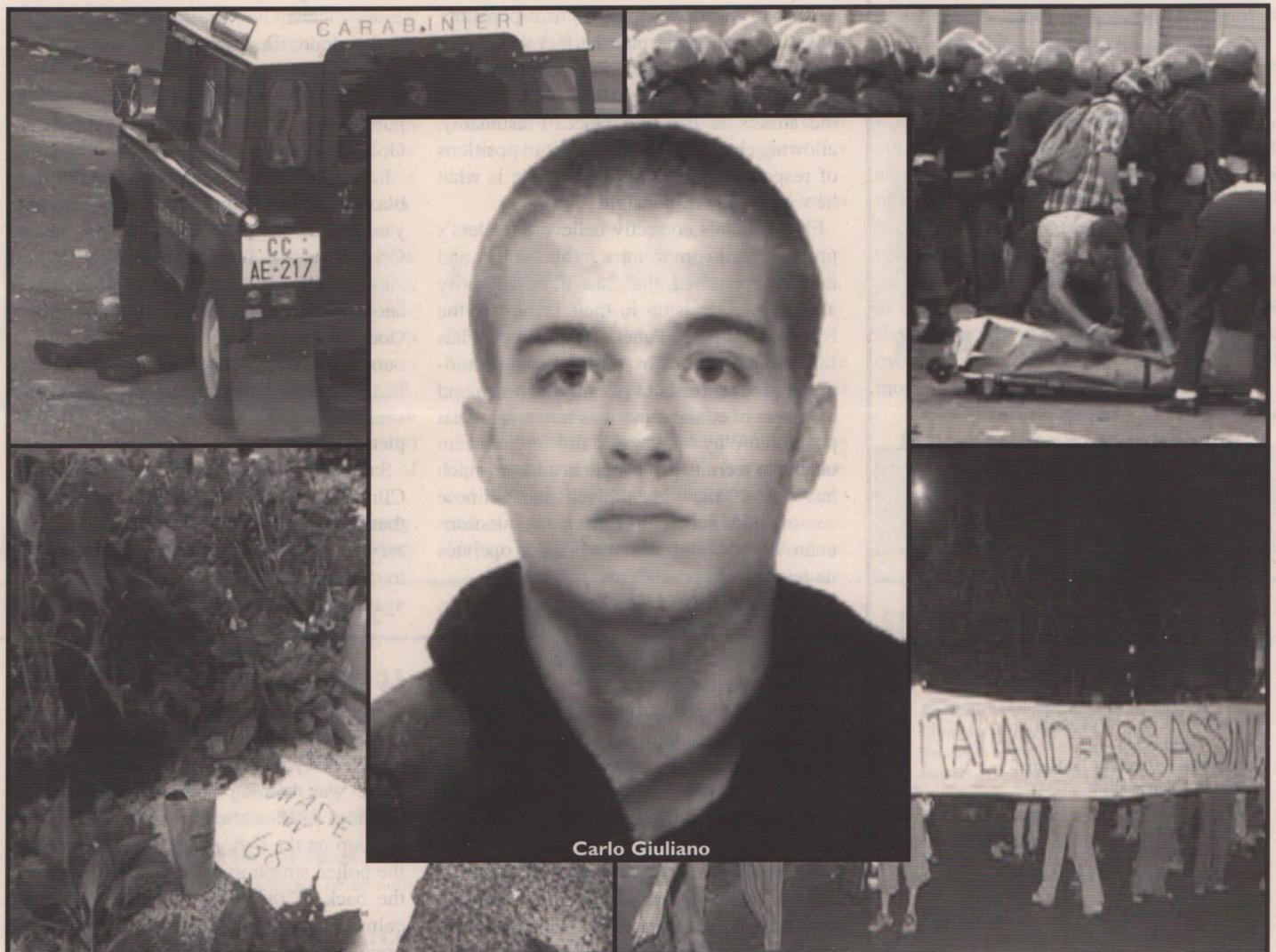
Early on Sunday morning, police stormed the building being used by the Independent Media Centre, legal support and medical groups. Many activists and independent journalists were reported to have been beaten up, and there were dozens of injuries.

A school building across the road, which was being used as sleeping accommodation by protesters, was also attacked. Activists who were staying there said they were lined up against the walls before being beaten.

"When police arrived, they grabbed the first people they could find outside and beat them heavily", said one witness. "Inside, the police just started smashing windows. One group managed to escape - they were lucky. The others were beaten everywhere, but from the long stream of stretchers that came out of the building, they were obviously trying to injure people as seriously as possible".

• The cop who shot Carlo Giuliani could be charged with manslaughter, it was announced this week. Genoa prosecutor Francesco Meloni said that the 20 year old conscript was under investigation. He was reported to have told investigators that he acted in self defence. "We were surrounded. We thought we would be overwhelmed. We were terrified and wanted only to escape", he said.

Editorial on page 7



Clockwise from top left: The police van reverses over the shot activist; the body is taken away; demonstrating anger at Carlo's death; and a makeshift shrine at the spot where Carlo died.

'Teargas is everywhere'

Eyewitness reports

Friday 20th July:

After a late night of rain and campsite floodings, people woke up early on the Friday. Generally, groups gathered in the east and headed west to try and break through the red zone, some going south and others going straight on or to the north.

The tutti bianchi marched from their far-off staging area straight down the main road towards Brignole station. One section of the black bloc left from our camp, perhaps 3,000 people. We marched east and met with the militant trade union COBAS and other anarcho-syndicalist groups. Downtown, bank windows began to get smashed ... It was not long before we could see teargas up

ahead, and other groups clashing with the police.

We headed down to the convergence point at the waterside. As we got there, police were starting to move in. The main entrances had been barricaded by COBAS and the

"The streets are filled with debris and fire. Roving bands of riot cops clash with thousands of activists back and forth all over the city. Tear gas is everywhere, over 100,000 people are taking to the streets all over the city. When one gathering of several thousand is scattered or one decides to leave, you can find 10,000 more just a few streets away. It's a war against the state, and its soldiers down here, the police ..."

black bloc to stop the police from invading, but we got by a side route. As we entered, the majority of demonstrators were leaving and heading along the water's edge. We stayed on to get some food, and were invaded by police again.

Riot cops began crossing the barricades, and the food workers were trying to set up defences against them around their restaurants. A police bulldozer came through and tore down the barricades, and police did some fancy manoeuvres before realising there weren't many folks there. So they took off again.

After an hour or so, we walked up through Piazza Rosetti, and north to see if we could find the tutti bianchi. It was a strange feeling.

(continued on page 2)

Freedom

anarchist fortnightly

"How do you get George W.

Bush's eyes to sparkle?

Just shine a torch in his ear!"

from the *Daily Mail*, 19th July 2001

Anarchists work towards a society of mutual aid and voluntary co-operation. We reject all government and economic repression.

Freedom Press is an independent anarchist publisher. Besides the fortnightly newspaper *Freedom*, we also produce *The Raven* quarterly journal and many books on all aspects of anarchism. We also run Britain's biggest anarchist bookshop.

Our aim is to explain anarchism more widely and to show that only in such a society can human freedom thrive.

The Raven

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Second fire strike called



A second strike by members of Merseyside's Fire Brigade Union (FBU) was due to start on Monday, two days after the first one had ended.

Chief Fire Officer Malcolm Saunders described the new action as 'irresponsible' days in advance, despite the fact that it was his wish to place staff with no experience of firefighting into management posts that started the strikes in the first place. Presumably, allowing enthusiastic amateurs into positions of responsibility within the brigade is what he would call 'responsible'.

FBU officials correctly believe Saunders's proposal will compromise public safety, and they've requested that the Fire Authority abides by a decision in their favour by the National Disputes Panel. The Authority has said the purpose of bypassing usual promotional procedures is to get more women and members of ethnic minorities into managerial positions. Why Merseyside fire service seem unable to recruit such people in an area which has one of the oldest black and Chinese communities in Britain leaves many questions unanswered about how the brigade operates its recruitment procedures.

In the first strike, which began on 13th July,

the armed forces were deployed at makeshift fire stations around the area, and a control centre was set up at the Altcar TA barracks. Fifty year old Green Goddess fire engines were brought out of mothballs to handle emergencies. Over the first weekend of the strike alone, these were called out over 400 times to deal with accidents and fires (whether this included the member of the public who was hit by a reversing Green Goddess is not known).

In one spectacular incident on 15th July, a blaze which broke out in a Southport scrapyard around 5.30pm was attended by the first Green Goddess forty minutes later. It took another hour to get any water pumping. In another embarrassment for Saunders, a Green Goddess broke down two days later right outside the West Derby Road fire station, and had to be towed away by an army breakdown vehicle in full view of FBU pickets (see picture above).

Saunders and his ally on the Fire Authority, Cllr. Peter Dowd, have expressed worries that the dispute could spread to all 58 fire services in Britain. But for all his affected tough stance, Saunders knows his back is against the wall. Support for the firefighters

from the Merseyside public remains undented, as evidenced by callers to local phone-ins. Countless dockyard and shipboard fires, which have been dealt with by the fire service over many years, have ensured that any attack on fire brigade staff will result in the public mobilising behind the strikers just as they did in 1977 and 1995.

By the end of last week, as the first strike drew to a close, cracks seemed to be appearing in the management's handling of the strike. On 20th July, Dowd released a statement which appeared to back the firefighters' demands. "We cannot make this any clearer", he said. "No non-uniformed officers will be appointed".

Some firefighters saw this as nothing more than a ploy, designed to avert the second strike. If the Authority does genuinely back the FBU demands, it would make Saunders's position untenable. He has already cost the Authority £70,000 in a failed injunction he took out against the union. Liverpool residents can expect the bill to land on their doormats some day soon.

Sam

Editorial on page 7

(continued from page 1)

People wandered around, some of them sitting in front of rows of riot cops. Other lounged on the grass. We headed through the district and past many police lines. The police tried to be intimidating – it seemed safest to walk in small groups.

Eventually, we ran into several thousand anarchists having a pitched street battle with the cops. We stayed a while. More dumpers on fire, the street filled with broken glass. During this battle, a police van went nuts and started charging in to break through the dumper barricades which had been set up. At first people ran, but then the van was surrounded and forced back by rocks and other projectiles being thrown.

As we left, police were pressing forwards in teams of about a hundred, and the last I saw was about 25 cops corner a protester and beat him up for five minutes. Then they dragged him away ...

Brian S.

Saturday 21st July:

The police have gone now, and I will try to explain what has happened. First the important news – the school opposite the independent media centre was raided by police, and most people inside were brutally beaten.

I was at the media centre to have a meeting with the pink bloc about holding some kind of demonstration for the prisoners and the man who died. It finished, and I just hung around chatting to people. During the night,

we heard shouting from outside, and ran into the building from the garden. We shut the doors and attempted to erect barricades.

Like everyone else, I was terrified. More noise was coming from outside, and we began to feel the sting of teargas. I was with a group on the bottom floor, when we heard the police smash their way in. We moved to the back of the room and tried to remain calm. Three police entered the room, in armour and wearing bandannas, but without gas masks. Silence. Then they asked if we



would like to go outside – we said no. They did not attack us, or even threaten us: I still do not know why they did not beat us.

Anyway, they left us alone to search the building. I stayed in the press room with about twenty others. We rang the tutti bianchi, and they rang the mainstream press. Soon there were lots of reporters around, but the shouting and screaming continued from outside. The teargas dissipated, and people began to shout 'assassini' and 'bastardi' at the row of riot cops outside. I ran to the fourth floor, and saw the ambulances picking people up from the school from there.

Eventually, the police left. Protesters, lawyers and reporters went into the school. Inside, there were pools of blood in many different places – on the ground, on the stairs and on the first floor.

On Saturday night, there were around five hundred people sleeping in the press centre as they felt safest there. Lots of people came from the Calini stadium, where the tutti bianchi were staying, as they believed they would be the police's next target. In the room where this report was typed, there were about a hundred people sleeping.

For me, there are many questions. Who gave the order for the attack on the school, and why? How come the mainstream media arrived so quickly? Did the police contact them, and if so why? Why attack a school opposite the independent media centre, when people there were best placed to make the brutality public?

Kieran O.

Business as usual for capitalism

After the talk of snipers in Oxford Street on Mayday this year and the shootings in Gothenburg, it was obvious that someone would be killed somewhere down the line.

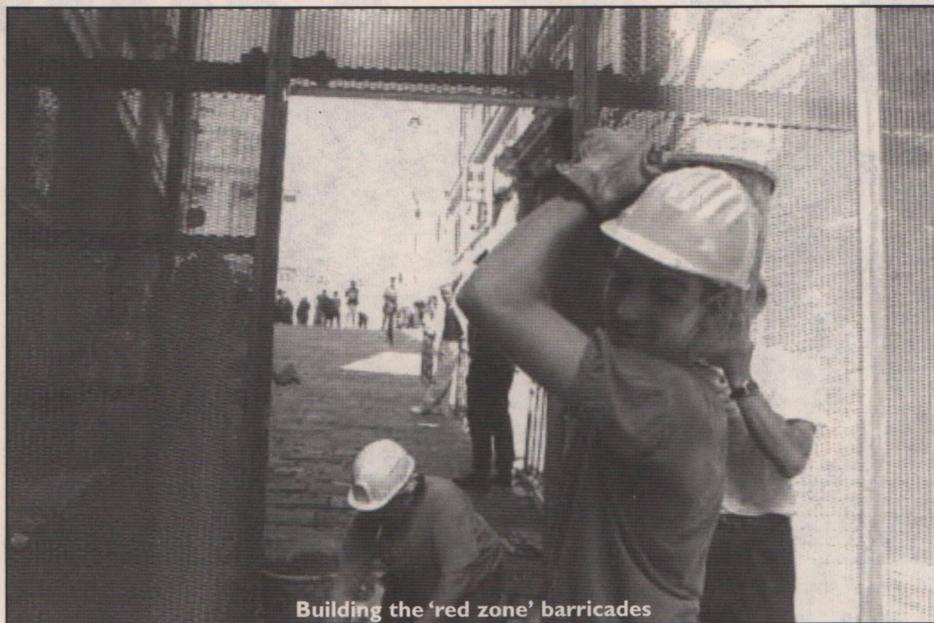
Any notion that it is possible to pressure international capital into policing itself, or to lobby it into treading lightly in the world it exploits, should have died on 20th July with the murder of Carlo Giuliani.

If you get in the way of profit, you die – it's as simple as that. It might be an uncomfortable lesson to learn for this generation of anti-capitalists, but for most of the poor and working class outside western Europe, it's a commonplace.

As an example: by mid-May this year, 44 Colombian trade unionists had been murdered (last year the total was 129). The US has funded the Colombian army by over \$1bn to date, money which is filtered into the arming of covert death squads used to silence dissent.

Putting bullets in protesters' heads is business as usual for capital. It's just that it's been a while since they felt the need to pull the trigger against demonstrators in western Europe.

There is, after all, a strategy at work here. Faced with the possibility that they might be



Building the 'red zone' barricades

forced to hold all their summits under siege, the likes of Blair, Bush and Italian prime minister Berlusconi have decided to up the ante. They've decided to intimidate the reformists who form the respectable face of the 'anti-globalisation' movement.

It's already worked. The Genoa Social Forum blamed anarchists in collusion with the state for the violence in Genoa. Last

Saturday, reform groups Drop the Debt and Oxfam withdrew from the protests because they feared association with violence.

Noreena Hertz, self-promoted as this year's anti-globalisation 'balls chick with a brain', used the pages of Sunday's *Observer* to bemoan the fact that "I came to chronicle non-violent protests but there were none". Hertz sums up all that's wrong with the

campaign against 'neo-liberalism'.

She's not opposed to capitalism – she'd simply like to see it regulated so that instead of the free market rampage of Thatcherism and the Third Way, we get a return to the old social democracy.

She says, "I am not willing to die for this cause", which neglects who fired first in Genoa and assumes therefore that (beyond refusing to demonstrate at all) there might be a question of choice.

Moreover, it indicates the truth of it – that Hertz's relation to capital is such that (as a well-paid academic) she can opt in or out of the movement. For the majority of us, capital is a social relationship that buries us in poverty so that the rich can live in luxury. It's not a question of choice or of having a cause.

After Genoa – after the murder of Carlo Giuliani – a few will hopefully abandon their illusions in the capacity of capital to police itself and their hopes that those who get fat off our despair could be peacefully persuaded to try another way. Those of us who expected the dogs to be let off their leashes at some point should expect more of the same. We need to look at more effective ways of hitting back than setpiece confrontations where we're always, literally, outgunned.

Nick S.

Mainstream views

"The fact that the Italian police resorted to firearms as soon as the first clashes occurred is a serious and inexcusable error which cannot fail to influence the further development of events. A death has tarnished the image of the G8, which was already extremely grey" – *Liberation*, France

"Genoa's demonstrators are going to underscore the need for reform and undoubtedly this will be done in the worst possible way" – *Le Figaro*, France

"The death of a young demonstrator yesterday in Genoa was, unfortunately, a foreseeable tragedy" – *La Vanguardia*, Spain

"A generation of genetically-modified young people, who have been misled by what their fathers in centre-left governments wickedly sought to teach them: that western democracy is ... the cause of all the world's suffering" – *Il Giornale*, Italy (owned by Italian PM Berlusconi)

"The G8 and those who oppose them have chosen a political and media strategy made up of spectacular events and Genoa provided a perfect stage for this" – *La Stampa*, Italy

"There is no shortage of things to discuss in these precarious times. But what do the world's rulers offer in their communiques? They pretend the world is still okay behind the barriers of Genoa" – *Frankfurter Rundschau*, Germany

"It's too early to speak of Russian anti-globalists as a phenomenon in their own right. We don't have a united and organised movement as in the west" – *Pravda*, Russia

"We should not be shy of global protest, even as we condemn the currency of violence which is one of its faces" – *The Observer*, UK

"Global capitalism is not perfect but, to paraphrase Winston Churchill, the

alternatives would be much worse" – *The Sunday Times*, UK

"As well as using a water cannon at riots or other public disturbances, police should be allowed to use a purple vegetable dye in the water. Most of these types of dyes take around three weeks to wear off, so it would give the police time to round up all those present and prosecute them accordingly" – Mrs J. Tyler of Lincoln

"It is important that the actual things we are trying to do here, the initiatives we are taking, should get as much publicity as what demonstrators are prepared to do in order to get TV pictures" – Mr T. Blair of Sedgefield

Against the G8

This is an edited version of a declaration that has been adopted by over thirty Italian anarchist groups

The state and global capital produce exploitation, poverty, a debased environment, oppression, war, jails and racism. The state and global capital cannot be reformed.

It is impossible to democratise national or transnational political and economic corporations that hold as a goal the intensification of exploitation, both of work and resources.

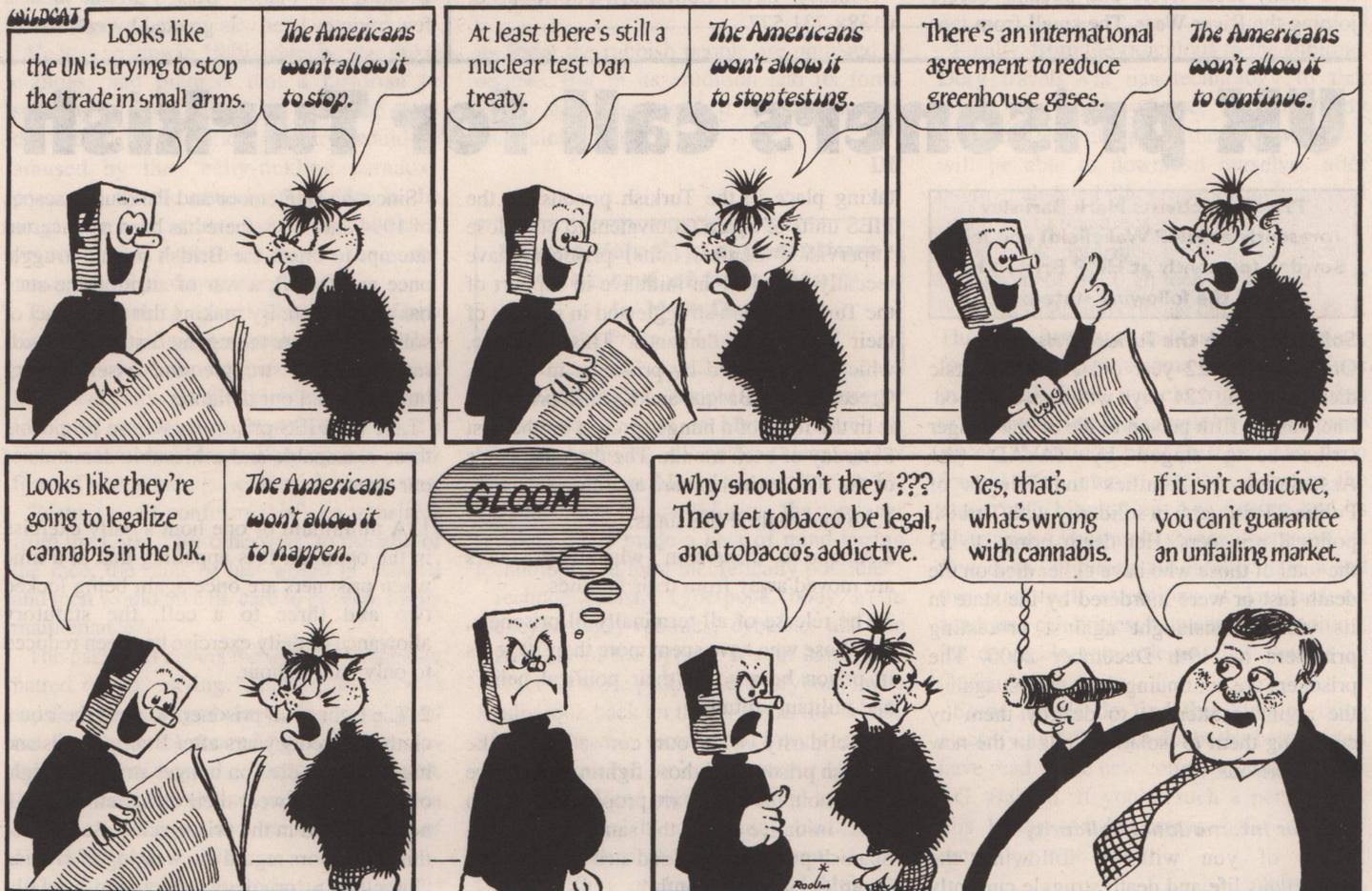
Consequently, we reject all efforts to split those who took to the streets during the G8 summit into good and bad, violent and peaceful. If a split exists, it lies between those

who pretend that capitalism can be made good and those (like ourselves) who think that the only way out lies in a society deeply different from the one afflicting us now.

Any violence is the violence of states, of national and transnational corporations, of capitalism oppressing and exploiting billions of human beings.

During the summit we were there to explain our opposition to the G8 and all it represents.

By joining in the demonstrations we tried to affirm once again the necessity for our struggles to be socially rooted, in defiance of the script written by those who would depict as criminals anyone who rejects the official line, that we should try to work alongside the institutions that oppress us.



Police shootings condemned

London and Liverpool

Cops in Brixton, south London, made 26 arrests last week, after the rioting which followed the death of a man at the hands of armed police.

Up to 100 people were thought to have been involved in the riot on Friday 20th July, which came four days after the shooting of Derek Bennett.

In an echo of another case a week before, in which a Liverpool man was shot dead while wielding a samurai sword, it soon became clear that Derek had been receiving treatment for mental health problems.

On 13th July, Liverpool man Andrew Kernan was shot twice in the chest in a Wavertree street, after he had ignored police requests to put down the ceremonial sword he was carrying. He was dressed in pyjamas at the time.

Andrew's family and other local people condemned the shooting. His mother, Marie Kernan, said, "you don't kill somebody with mental illness. What sort of society is that?"

Andrew suffered from schizophrenia for the last fifteen years, and had been a regular patient in a psychiatric unit.

Mrs Kernan, who had been her son's carer, said she had barricaded him in his bedroom when he became distressed, before calling



help to restrain him. She said she was then locked in a police car while Andrew was allowed to escape into the street. Four cops tried to restrain him with CS spray, before he was shot outside the Wellington pub.

When Derek Bennett was shot dead on a south London housing estate a week later, he was thought to be armed with a gun. This later proved to be a cigarette lighter.

He was shot six times by a police marksman after he had pointed the lighter at

the head of a passerby.

Derek, the father of four young children, had been referred for treatment in a psychiatric unit. One Brixton-based anarchist said, "it's the same story as before. A man with mental illness gets shot because he is sick. I don't suppose his being black helped either, but the big issue here is how society copes with the mentally ill".

Editorial on page 7

Mayday appeal

An appeal from the
Legal Defence & Monitoring Group

Solicitors representing John Lawrie, who is accused of affray on Mayday, have asked for witnesses to come forward. The police accuse him of throwing a bottle at their lines on the corner of Regent Street and Oxford Circus, outside the Nike building.

It is vitally important that we find independent witnesses who can support John's account of events between 4pm and 7pm. John was standing on the roof of a ladies' toilet by the entrance to the underground at Oxford Circus. He is 55 years old, 5ft 3ins to 5ft 4ins tall, and was wearing a light blue fleece over a black fleece, with grey lining around the neck, a black woolly hat, a t-shirt, black tracksuit bottoms and a pair of black boots. He also had a black plastic horn around twelve inches long, which he blew on a number of occasions.

Any independent witness testimony, photographs and videos of the area would be very helpful.

Contact Andrew Katzen at Moss & Co, 020-8986 8336 andrew@mosslaw.co.uk

'No burials here'

North East

People in Tow Law, County Durham, are fighting plans for a mass burial site near the village. The site is designed to hold the corpses of 300,000 animals, destroyed in the official efforts to rid the north east of foot and mouth disease. It is thought that around 36,000 have already been buried there.

One local activist, Emma, says, "rotting bodies produce hydrogen sulphide, a very deadly toxic gas. It has already been found in the local primary school, a hundred yards from the site. The site is built on 78 mine shafts, dating back to 1830. They are riddled with faults and are filled with water that runs into many local rivers and streams before joining the River Wear. The smell from tens

of thousands of festering corpses is at times unbearable. Children have fled into their homes vomiting more than once".

Protesters have blockaded lorries going on to the site, and locked themselves to the front gates to prevent more bodies from being brought in. There are daily pickets. Two court cases are currently waiting to go to trial – six women for staging a sit-down protest and one man for 'arresting' a lorry with handcuffs.

Last week, Emma told *Freedom* that the smell was getting worse. "It has become so unbearable my little boy couldn't play in the garden. It made me quite ill with a sore throat and breathlessness. This site is deadly, and guess what, the government don't care".

Contact: newlittlebighorn@aol.com or 01388-731 577

Demos greet Bush

London

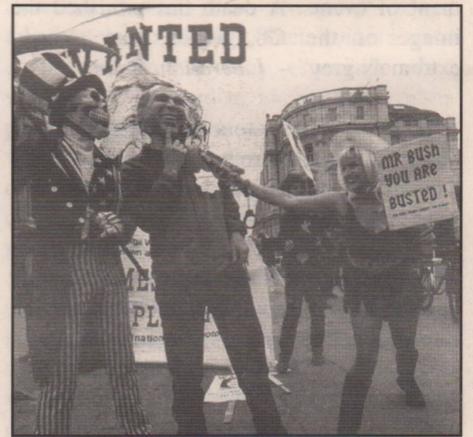
Anarchists and other activists confronted US president George W. Bush last week, as he toured London before having lunch with the queen.

A large crowd gathered in Trafalgar Square on Thursday 19th July, to protest against Bush's attitude to the environment and his determination to push through the Star Wars missile defence system.

Some people carried a giant globe, enclosed in a greenhouse. Others brought banners. Protesters appeared dressed up as Bush himself and as Uncle Sam (see picture right).

When the presidential limo had driven past, the protesters marched down the Mall to Buckingham Palace. Bush's arrival there a few minutes later was greeted by catcalls.

Dozens of protesters also gathered outside Chequers on Thursday evening, as Bush arrived for a meeting with Blair at the prime minister's Buckinghamshire retreat.



UK prisoners call for Turkish solidarity

Prisoner-activists Mark Barnsley (presently at HMP Wakefield) and John Bowden (presently at HMP Bristol) have issued the following statement

Solidarity with the Turkish Prisoners

On 30th June 22 year old Zehra Kulaksic died following 221 days without solid food. She was the fifth person to die on the hunger strike being staged by TAYAD (the Association of Families and Friends of Political Prisoners) in solidarity with Turkish political prisoners. Her death brings to 53 the total of those who have either died on the death fast or were murdered by the state in its vicious onslaught against protesting prisoners on 19th December 2000. The prisoners are continuing their protest against the regime's attempts to destroy them by confining them to isolation cells in the new F-type prisons.

Call for International Solidarity

Many of you will be following the courageous life and death struggle currently

taking place in the Turkish prisons. In the FIES units of Spain (equivalent to our Close Supervision Centres units) prisoners have recently launched an initiative in support of the Turkish prison struggle and in support of their own three demands. This initiative, which is supported by prisoners in France, Greece and by Basque and Kurdish prisoners, is in the form of a hunger protest on the first Saturday of each month. The three demands of the FIES prisoners are as follows:

1. An end to the FIES units.
2. An end to 'dispersion', whereby prisoners are moved away from their families.
3. The release of all terminally-ill prisoners, and those who have spent more than 20 years in prison because of their political beliefs and militant attitude.

In solidarity with our comrades in the Turkish prisons and those fighting for justice throughout the world, we propose the launch of an initiative along the same lines as the Spanish prisoners – a food strike on the first Saturday of every month.

Since the Whitemoor and Parkhurst escapes of 1994 and 1995, there has been a concerted attempt to crush the British prison struggle once and for all; a war of attrition the state has all but won. By making this simple act of solidarity we are taking the first step towards renewing the struggle and asserting our humanity and our defiance.

Like the FIES prisoners, we are proposing three reasonable and achievable demands of our own:

1. A minimum of one hour's daily exercise in the open air. It is appalling that at a time when prisoners are once again being locked two and three to a cell, the statutory allowance of daily exercise has been reduced to only half an hour.

2. The right of all prisoners to wear their own clothes. Twenty years after Bobby Sands and his comrades died on hunger strike, the right of prisoners to wear their own clothes is still not enshrined in the prison rules. Because of this, governors regard the wearing of civilian clothes as a 'privilege' which can be with-

drawn at any time. This is increasingly happening with prisoners placed on 'basic'.

3. The abolition of compulsory prison work. We are currently seeing the growing exploitation of prisoners' labour by private companies and by the state. If prisoners choose to work in return for remuneration, they should have that choice – but compulsory work is nothing less than slavery.

These are the three demands that we propose. We ask that all militant prisoners, all those who have not been crushed by state repression, all those not bought off by the arse-lickers charter of the Incentives and Earned Privileges Scheme, all those who have an instinct for solidarity and the courage to stand up against oppression, support this proposal. Our numbers may be few but they have the potential to grow. Spread the word. Support the protest. The fightback starts here.

Mark Barnsley and John Bowden

• For more information, contact Nick (Justice for Mark Barnsley Campaign) on 07944 522001.

Some food for thought from the Freedom Press Bookshop

Summer selection

Cuban Anarchism: the History of a Movement

by Frank Fernández

See Sharp Press, 154 pages, £8.50*

This book by Frank Fernández is a longer version of his *El Anarquismo en Cuba*, with an introduction by the translator, Chaz Bufe. This book should be in the library of every libertarian and anarchist and its lessons well learned (the intro alone would make a good pamphlet in itself, as a kind of beginners guide to anarchism). *Cuban Anarchism* traces the history of the movement from its inception to the period of post-Castro exile.

Anarchism came to Cuba very early (1850) and was rooted in Proudhon's thought, the first workers' mutualist association being formed in 1857. Mutualism was strongest among the tobacco workers. The first strike was held in 1865 and the same year that *La Aurora*, the first workers newspaper, was founded, also Proudhonist in orientation. The Ten Years War for Independence, 1868-78 put a stop to this progress. In the 1880s both ultra-moderate reformism and Bakuninist anarchism made their presence felt and Proudhonism no longer had the impact it once had.

In the late 1880s Roig San Martín and his paper *El Productor* became very influential. There were serious strikes and an anarchist-influenced labour movement grew. At the same time a movement for independence from Spain redeveloped among the Cuban middle classes. At first the anarchists refused to support the nationalists, but later the movement split over the issue. Once again, as in 1868, nationalism created havoc in the workers' movement. (Interestingly enough, though, José Martí was heavily influenced by anarchist thought.)

After independence, the anarchists continued to build the workers' movement and suffered repression. Anarchists were

jailed and killed, newspapers shut. Laws were enacted against anarcho-syndicalism in 1918. This period of repression was followed by a liberal government in 1920 and the movement began to flourish. In 1925 the syndicalist Confederación Nacional Obrera de Cuba was founded with 200,000 members. Peace did not last however, as the dictator Machado took over. The newly formed Communist Party helped him repress the anarchists. Many were jailed, tortured and murdered. But the movement survived, as it would the next dictator, Batista (who was also supported by the Communist Party).

In the late 1940s to the late 1950s anarchists were prominent in the labour movement and anarchism had a healthy influence generally (this was probably the only country in the world where this was the case at this time). When Batista seized power again in 1952, anarchists were important in the resistance and the subsequent Cuban Revolution. Castro and the Stalinists stole the Revolution from the anarchists and other non-communist revolutionaries. Anarchism, which had survived Machado and Batista did not survive Castro. The movement was driven into exile where it remains. A sad postscript. Having learned nothing from the Bolshevik Revolution, many European and American anarchists betrayed their Cuban comrades by sucking up to Castro.

Larry Gambone

The Catholic Church and the Sex Problem

by Joseph McCabe

See Sharp Press, 28 pages, £2.00*

Joseph McCabe probably knew more about the Roman Catholic church and its doctrines than any other atheist writer. He had been an erudite priest, a teacher of philosophy and church history in a Catholic seminary. As his source for this pamphlet, he writes, "I have before me a large Latin manual of moral theology from which I learned that dismal science sixty years ago, and I have looked over more recent manuals to make sure there has been no change".

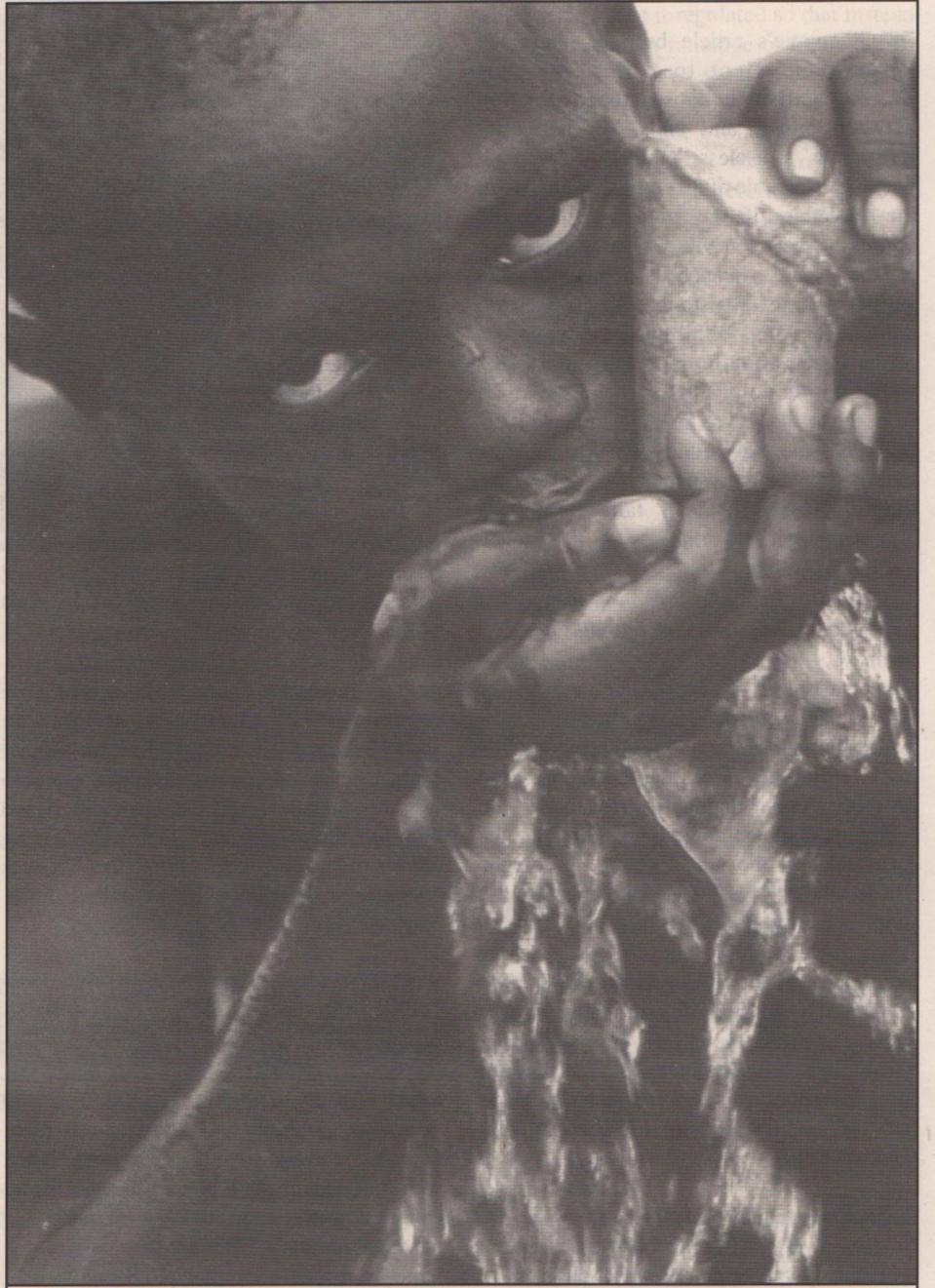
He was writing in 1949, when he was in his eighties, and predicts that a historian or sociologist looking back to that time from the end of the twentieth century would be amused by the "belly-tickling paradox" presented by the church: "Freedom is the slogan we have written largest on our skies, yet we profess a profound respect for ... the most pervasive of tyrannies".

The purpose of sexual pleasure, McCabe reads in his Latin textbook, is the multiplication of the population, so to ensure that it is used only for this purpose the church instituted monogamous marriage and fixed a canon of eternal damnation against every form of sexual indulgence outside matrimony.

"Nature itself confirms this", he translates from the Latin, "for otherwise, to the ruin of the race, the reins of lust would be relaxed and men would take no care to provide for its maintenance".

The pamphlet covers the origin of Christian hatred of sex, saying it lies in the Persian mystery idea that god created the world good but that the devil created bodies. It reviews the history of how the doctrine developed, with a chapter on sexual behaviour in Catholic countries and reinforcements of church attitudes in 1949.

This is a pessimistic work, in what it tells



Reflected in Water: a crisis of social responsibility by Colin Ward

Cassell, 147 pages, £3.99*

A short and simple account of the immense social issues raised locally and globally by our universal need for water, and of the various water crises now facing the world, Colin Ward's *Reflected in Water* ranges from water privatisation in Britain to dams, the role of women as water-carriers and political conflicts over water. "We are faced", he says, "not with a technical problem, but with a crisis of social responsibility".

us about the rubbish people are prepared to believe. But in its erudition and its forthrightly angry language, it is also a hugely entertaining one.

DR

Escape Velocity: cyberculture at the end of the century

by Mark Dery

Grove Press, 376 pages, £5.50*

In *Total Recall*, Arnold Schwarzenegger roamed the seas of Mars in search of virtual thrills, all without leaving his armchair. Now, as Mark Dery explains in his introduction to *Escape Velocity*, "the computer revolution has made a host of mind-jarring technologies at least theoretically possible".

Technopaganism, cyberpunk, body art in the cyber age, robotics, cybersex and the possibility of the cyborg, it's all here. And, just for all those people (i.e. everybody) who fondly look back on the 1970s as the decade of cool, I heartily recommend Dery's account of artist Mark Pauline's performance *Machine Sex* (1979). Dead pigeons dressed as Arabs, being shredded by a spinning blade, to a (very loud) musical accompaniment of The Cure's *Killing an Arab* ... cool? I think not.

Finally, from the ridiculous to the sublime, Dery travels via nanotechnology to that philosopher's hobby-horse, the mind/body problem. He anticipates the day when we will be able to download ourselves after having delegated all our mental and physical functions to machines.

The book describes itself as "an electrifying tour of the high-tech subcultures that both celebrate and critique our wired world". This is an important and fascinating subject, for sure, and there's some interesting things in the book. But is it as electrifying as it likes to pretend? Here's a sample of Dery's prose style: "Mondo's brief history has been fraught with internal tensions between the magazine's hippie/New Age lineage and its libertarian/cyberpunk stance; between its *Beavis and Butthead* anti-intellectualism and the starstruck attentions it lavishes on academic celebrities; between the swooning, fin de siècle romanticism that flowers in Queen Mab's prose ..."

Some people do find this kind of thing electrifying. "Without doubt the best guide I have read to the new computer culture" says J.G. Ballard. If you're such a person, buy this book, and be prepared for a mind-crunching experience.

Johnny M.

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More on anarchist violence ...

Ends and means

Kroppie's article brought home the real extent to which anarcho-pacifism collapses the distinction between means and ends, so that what remains is a useless 'ethical' sanctimony which is incapable of distinguishing between the violence of the oppressed and the oppressor, between violence as a means of resistance and violence as a means to the suppression of resistance. In its twisted political thinking, for instance, the 'violence' of the Israeli army in imposing Zionist rule would not be politically or morally distinct from the 'violence' of the Palestinians resisting such rule. Any ethics which is able to muddy the waters to such an extent is worse than useless. But let's take Kroppie's arguments point by point.

1. "Violence is authoritarian – the violent nature of protest drowns out all other ... means".

Where to start? My experience, and that of others, has been that the dominant mode of political organisation in this country over the last twenty years at least has been one based on protest rather than active resistance – on lobbying, demonstrating, demanding that the 'official labour movement' change its colours. Those who have advocated and practised a more confrontational politics, and hence a way out of the blind alley of 'protest' (for example militant anti-fascists) have been ostracised by the left and criminalised by the state. Far from them drowning out other activists, it is the criminalisation of anti-fascists, republicans and the rest which has been ignored by a passive (if not explicitly pacifist) left.

2. "Violence is dehumanising".

Says who? If you live a comfortable life, not touched by the oppressions of class, race, etc., then dirtying your hands (or watching others do so in your name) might be 'dehumanising', in that it might jeopardise your home comforts. But to suggest that, in "becoming as human as possible" we are somehow dehumanised if we use force to resist the force which oppresses us, is specious liberal bullshit. Which is more dehumanising – living in a society where the state can shoot dead unarmed protesters on Bloody Sunday, and doing nothing to resist it? Or seeing the state underpin ruling class privilege by force, and determining to meet like with like?

3. "Violence leads to vanguardism".

Surely that depends on the politics of those behind the actions? Most Trotskyist groups are 'violent' only in their rhetoric – they're still vanguardist. Kroppie seems unable to distinguish between an act and the politics that inspire it. No evidence is offered as to why violence might lead to vanguardism, any more than might pacifism, say, Taoism, or constant paper-selling. Kroppie seems to think any action which takes place without his direct consent is, somehow, vanguardist. This is democracy reduced to idiocy.

4. "Violence is addictive/violence is glamorous".

Engaging in active resistance to the state carries the risk

In our last issue (14th July), we published an article entitled 'Violence and me'. The writer, Kroppie, presented eight arguments why anarchists' use of violence is currently counter-productive (though he said it might one day be necessary). Here we print some responses to what Kroppie wrote.

of long prison terms and – just as likely – death. I don't believe anyone who (for instance) took part in armed resistance to the British state's rule in Ireland did so out of an addictive pathology or a desire for glamour. They did it because they thought that freedom in any meaningful sense could only be obtained through resistance, and in doing so they gave due consideration to the prospects of death and imprisonment and the risks to their families. The same goes for political prisoners in the United States, such as the Ohio Seven. These were people who engaged in attacks on the property of the US military-industrial complex, as a means of combating US covert operations in Nicaragua and El Salvador. According to Kroppie's logic, if we protest US involvement in Colombia we are 'humanising' ourselves; but if we blow up the offices of General Electric to thwart their role in supplying the US war machine, we are somehow complicit in the oppression we seek to oppose.

5. "Violence (for now is pointless) ... the violence that we use against them is being turned back on us".

It seems to me that the opposite is the case – the state itself is upping the ante. Both the saturation policing of Mayday in Britain, and the shootings in Gothenburg and Genoa were intended to set limits on the nature and extent of protest allowed. How we respond is a tactical question. Contrary to what Kroppie believes, most of the anti-capitalist movement is constituted by middle class pacifists, which is why the state has upped the stakes – to terrorise students into staying at home. For my part, I think Malcolm X put it best: "You'll get your freedom by letting your enemy know that you'll do anything to get your freedom; then you'll get it. It's the only way you'll get it". I guess Kroppie's talk about "participating in the game" is a sign that the 'movement' is responding as the state expects. I agree we need to spend more time in our workplaces and communities, but what's the point in making people "aware of their slave status" if we then oppose any active resistance our actions inspire? Capitalism won't cede its 'right' to exploit by virtue of our having the best argument. We don't have to revel in violence to recognise that pacifism might give us the moral high ground, but will not move us an inch closer to freedom. It might, on the other hand, move us many a yard towards an early grave". Nick S.

Anarchists feel violence to be abhorrent. The violence we find abhorrent is that which is, everyday, inflicted upon the oppressed, ourselves included.

We know the state exists solely to protect the interests of the ruling class – the bosses. Agencies of the state, such as police forces and standing armies, are there to ensure that capitalism, the exploitation and oppression of the working class, runs smoothly. People in Liverpool are seeing this at the moment as military green fire engines, escorted by the police, drive the streets.

Surely it's no coincidence that these institutions of the state are authoritarian, they mirror the violent nature of the state. Authoritarianism equals violence.

So how should the working class defend themselves against this constant violence? In a submissive way, allowing the violence to continue? As Inga saw in Gothenburg (eyewitness report, 30th June), "many kids were brutally beaten up, even people who lay down and said, 'I give up, don't hit me'."

To allow people to be intimidated, bullied, beaten and shot without recourse seems to me to be truly dehumanising. As Malatesta said, "the slave is always in a state of legitimate defence and consequently his violence against the boss, against the oppressor, is always morally justifiable".

As anarchists, we believe ourselves to be realists. The reality for people living in working class communities is the sound of the flying pigs in their helicopters, the CCTV fixed on vantage points, and most recently a vulnerable and distressed working class man, chased, surrounded and shot twice in the chest while screaming for his mum, before being left for dead in the street. But then, the state's violence is 'lawful' of course, as opposed to the gratuitous 'unlawful' actions of those protecting themselves.

A glance at our history shows that, from the peasant revolts of 1381 until right this moment, working class people have instinctively known that in order to resist the violence inflicted upon them, they must engage physically against their oppressors. As Inga said, "some of them started to throw rocks at the police too – people who looked quite ordinary, without black mask, throwing stones at the violent police force".

As the bosses continue to attack and subdue those inclinations, surely one of our tasks should be to help ensure that people see through the sham, and dare to openly show their inclinations.

I would argue that resistance doesn't alienate the working class, it is the violence and suppression inflicted by the bosses which alienates.

As we make sense of the shootings in Gothenburg, Papua New Guinea

and Genoa, and in Liverpool and Brixton, I feel it is wise to reflect on past comrades who studied the reality of state violence. Peter Kropotkin, writing in this newspaper in 1907, had this to say: "The ferocious prosecutions which were now started in all countries against the anarchists had necessarily the effect of thinning our ranks. Most of the middle class people who formerly sympathised with anarchism turned the cold shoulder to us now; the timid withdrew ... and while the middle class sympathisers, frightened by violence, left our ranks, much sympathy was won for our ideas amidst the working classes".

Paul

I was struck by the juxtaposition of Kroppie's concrete polemic against violence with Circolo Anarchico's vague defence of the Genoa protest as "a good beginning" in the same issue of *Freedom*.

Kroppie's compelling arguments can easily be extended to the protest movement more generally, which is (I think) deteriorating into a fundamentally anti-anarchist practice. Indeed, the debate over violence often obscures a lack of commitment to a central anarchist ideal: Kroppie's 'less glamorous' approach of working within our communities and workplaces to foster widespread public awareness of oppression and demands for liberty, really is the only way to bring about genuine and lasting social change.

Whatever their position on violence, our best anarchist thinkers have always advocated this 'bottom-up' strategy. Their voices should be heeded. Protest today, especially when violent, is vanguardist, as Kroppie rightly points out. We hear the echoes of this vanguardism in the naive insistence of some demonstrators that the inevitable media circus is valuable because at least it 'gets people talking'.

But this dialogue is disconnected from the daily experience of the masses, and does little to "build up, from the foundations, a new society day by day", as Circolo Anarchico would have it. Instead, protest increasingly promotes a climate of fear, ignorance and hostility that almost guarantees that an anarchist future will never be achieved".

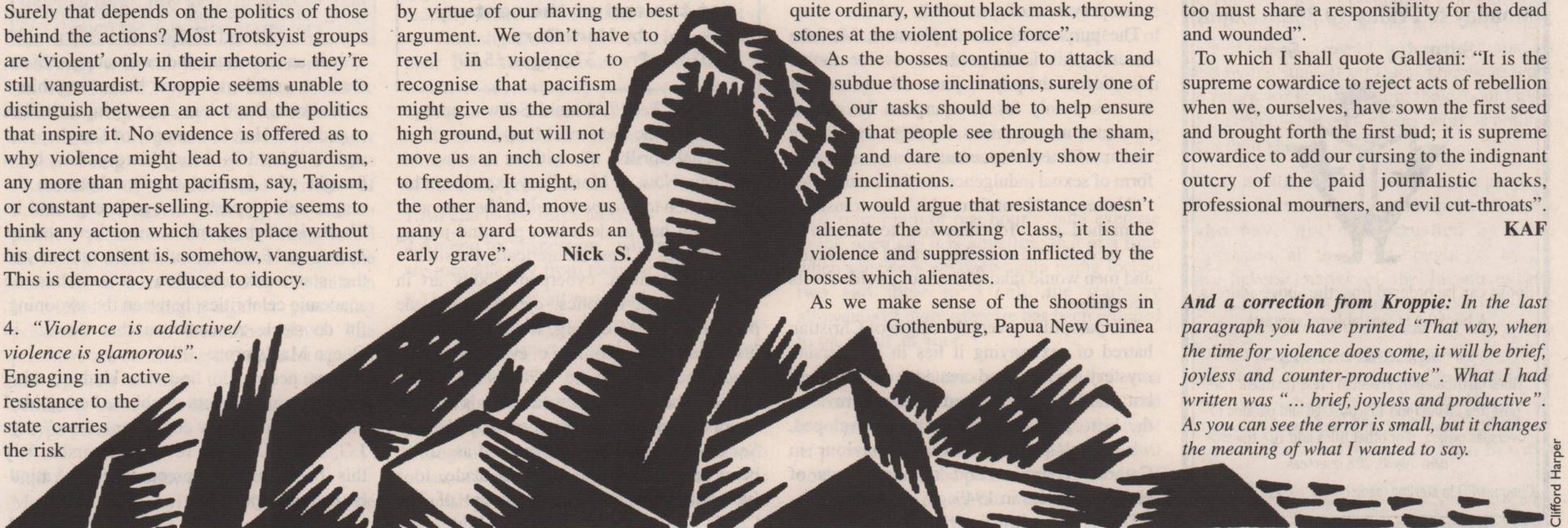
Edrie Sobstyl

Kroppie wrote, "... [if we] persist in defending, justifying or excusing the violence of our comrades, then we too must share a responsibility for the dead and wounded".

To which I shall quote Galleani: "It is the supreme cowardice to reject acts of rebellion when we, ourselves, have sown the first seed and brought forth the first bud; it is supreme cowardice to add our cursing to the indignant outcry of the paid journalistic hacks, professional mourners, and evil cut-throats".

KAF

And a correction from Kroppie: In the last paragraph you have printed "That way, when the time for violence does come, it will be brief, joyless and counter-productive". What I had written was "... brief, joyless and productive". As you can see the error is small, but it changes the meaning of what I wanted to say.



What we say ...

Two victims

This is a tale of two victims. Only one of them, so far, has a name: Carlo Giuliani. He probably wouldn't have called himself an anarchist – he probably, for that matter, wouldn't have laid claim to any political title at all. But whatever it was that brought him to the city centre on the day of his death, he declared his rejection of capitalism by that final, fatal act.

Carlo was 23 years old. The man who killed him was only 20. He was a poorly-trained conscript in the paramilitary Carabinieri. He was, by his own account (which we have no reason to disbelieve), terrified, maybe even in fear for his life. Yet now he might well face a hefty prison sentence for manslaughter.

In recent issues, *Freedom* has applauded those who stand up to oppression. And the front line in the daily oppression capitalism doles out is often provided by dupes (or conscripts) in uniform. It is therefore inevitable that our resistance will be often aimed at them.

That cannot be helped. But it must be a source of profound regret. Carlo, and the man who shot him, are both capitalism's victims. Both were failed by the bosses against whose rule Carlo was trying to protest. Two lives were wasted on Friday 20th July, not just one.

The heat is on

Merseyside Fire Brigade boss Malcolm Saunders wants to abolish the requirement that senior officers must be drawn from people with firefighting experience.

He says this will encourage more women and ethnic minority personnel, an admirable aim to be sure. But in that case, we would suggest (as the FBU does) that he needs to examine overall recruitment procedures.

We suggest his strategy has more to do with breaking the close links between employees and senior management, forged by bonds of shared experience and culture.

It is well-known that the British government sees the fire service as the last of the old-style, unionised industries. Could it be that Merseyside is a testbed for the government's approach to the unions in its second term?

In fact, we wouldn't be at all surprised – if the firefighters fail in their resistance to his plans – to find Mr Saunders celebrating a knighthood and remunerative career change. Such are the juicy rewards of power.

Sad reflection

Anarchists believe that the point of society is to widen the choices of individuals. This is the axiom upon which the anarchist case is founded.

The way we live now oppresses all of us; but none more than the mentally ill. Ignored, the butt of sick jokes, despised, feared, these are the people who should be able to call on society's support most of all.

So how was it that two men with histories of mental illness came to be shot dead by police within a week? Maybe it wasn't the fault of the individual cops (we weren't there, we don't know). But it was most certainly the fault of the the police force, an institution designed to coerce even in situations which called out for calm understanding.

It was most certainly the fault of Britain's creaking mental health provision, neglected in favour of sexier issues fancied by politicians.

The society around them didn't widen the choices for Andrew Kernan and Derek Bennett. Its indifference killed them. Their deaths are a sad reflection on us all.

Readers' letters

Effective action?

Dear *Freedom*,

Your editorial on the Bradford riots ('Fascism is not welcome here', 14th July) ends with the words, "The real answer is solidarity, not hate. But until that happens, we support those who stand up to the fascists". Above this you print a picture of devastation.

Aren't some ways of 'standing up' counter-productive? Will solidarity in Bradford now be more likely to happen, or less? Isn't the most effective action sometimes non-action? I'm not condemning, just asking.

Francis Ellingham

ANL in Bradford

Dear *Freedom*,

Your front page opinion piece in the last issue (14th July), which you called 'Fascism is not welcome here', was alright as far as it went. But it didn't go far enough. You said, "when the fascists began to chant racist abuse at a counter demonstration nearby, they got an instant response from members of the local community". That's true. But what was this 'counter demonstration' to the fascists' meeting in Bradford?

None other than a rally by the Anti-Nazi League, that well-known front organisation for the Socialist Workers' Party. And like every other front organisation the SWP has ever put together (Globalise Resistance is another one that springs to mind), the ANL exists for one purpose only – to hoodwink committed activists (this time anti-fascists) into throwing in their lot with this bunch of authoritarian bullies.

You also didn't have space, unfortunately, to analyse what the British National Party

and National Front are up to in the northern towns. They want to provoke a reaction, any reaction, because they know that any publicity is good publicity. Not only does the ANL help them realise their objective; worse still, they're doing the same thing themselves. They're using other people's struggle to get members for themselves. BNP, ANL, NF, SWP, they're all as cynical and as bad as each other.

Snowball

On Christianity

Dear *Freedom*,

No, I'm afraid I don't understand Simon O'Meara's position (letters, 14th July). It seems to me a basic contradiction to be a Christian and at the same time an anarchist. I thought Christians believed in an omnipotent, omniscient father figure – the ultimate prop, comforter and disciplinarian. It's hard to conceive of a more pervasive authority than god with a capital 'G', unless it's allah with a capital 'A'. I can just about accept the notion of an agnostic anarchist, but I'd far rather put my faith in a confirmed atheist any day.

Ewton

Fiesta for life

Dear *Freedom*,

Thanks for your interest in the "fiesta for life against death", intended to disarm the DSEI in September (report, 30th June).

DSEI, which stands for Defence and Systems Equipment International arms fair (pronounced 'Dicey', which should give *Schnews* no end of punning headlines), is being held on 11th to 14th September at the newly-built

Excel Centre in London Docklands.

We chose the fiesta to symbolise the celebration of our humanity and creativity in contrast to the blood-stained dealing DSEI stands for. This kind of action cannot spring from a top-down monolithic party or organisation. It needs diversity and active participation. So we want people to bring friends, costumes, music, puppets and excitement, or to plan their own actions. Let's make something beautiful happen.

Jo
Disarm DSEI

Congratulations

Dear *Freedom*,

Having been a semi-regular reader of your always thought-provoking journal for close on ten years now, I felt compelled to put pen to paper in order to share some thoughts which I hope may be helpful.

Whilst not always agreeing with the viewpoints expressed within – and besides, what self-respecting anarchist could blindly concur with the viewpoint of all other anarchists, no matter how valid – the quality of the contributions remains considered and highly committed without being unduly reactionary.

Lastly, but by no means least, I would like to express my heartfelt congratulations on the new improved layout of the paper. The overall clarity of the layout lifts it far beyond most other publications of a similar genre.

C. Parsons

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

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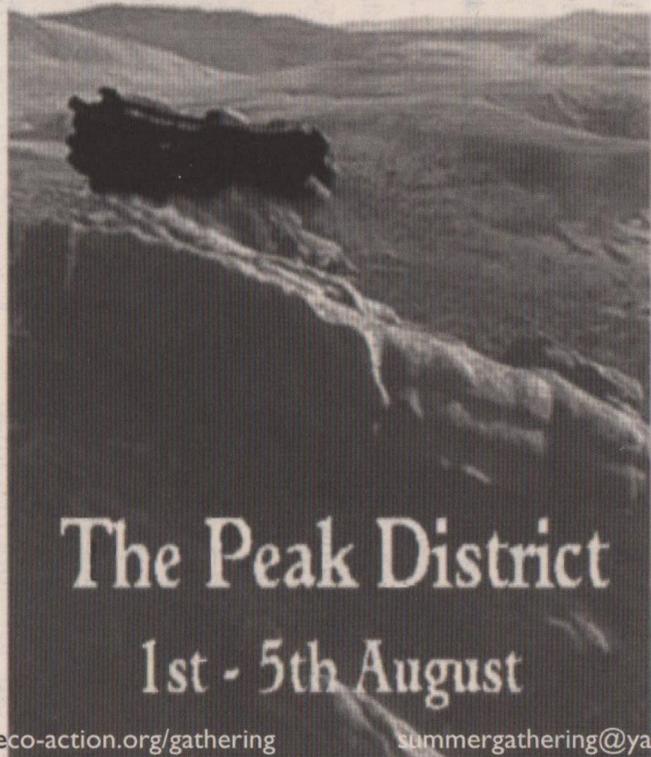
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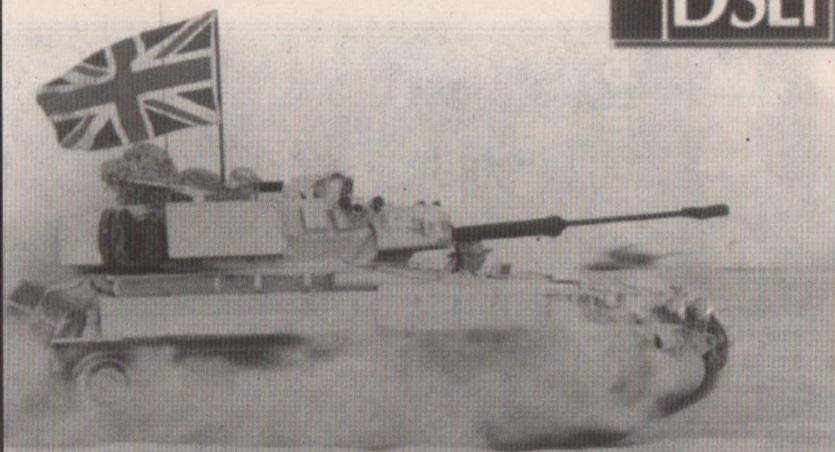
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ISSN 0016 0504

Published by Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

Printed in Great Britain by Aldgate Press, London E1 7RQ printed on recycled paper

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26th July Anarchism and Campaigning (speakers from various campaigns)

2nd August Genoa: one step forward or one step back? News from the 'frontline'

9th August Cultural Guerilla Strategy – for Revolution!!! (speaker Deadbeat Dad)

The weekly discussion forum of the London anarchist movement now in its eighteenth year is held on Thursdays from 8pm at the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn.

For more info see: www.trak.to/LAF or contact LAF@anarchic.co.uk

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Sunday 5th August

meet at 1pm, Temple Place, Embankment, London

for march in solidarity with the people of Iraq.

Info:Voices UK on 0845 458 2564

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organised by *Voices in the Wilderness UK*

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