

# FREEDOM

80P ANARCHIST NEWS AND VIEWS

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INSIDE ►►

Travellers' rites  
page 3

No WMD  
page 4

Report this!  
page 5

Mutualist review  
page 7

## I AIN'T MARCHING ANY MORE

These are the words of Staff Sergeant Camilo Mejia from Miami: "My feelings against the war dictated that I could no longer be a part of it. Acting upon my principles became incompatible with my role in the military and by putting my weapon down I chose to reassert myself as a human being."

Camilo Mejia is 28 and he's a conscientious objector. Like many of his generation, Mejia joined the US army in 1995 to help pay for college tuition and as a 'way forward' in a depressed economy.

Mejia also recounts how 'under-performing' recruits 'pass' training requirements despite being clearly unfit for military duty. Cannon fodder. His accounts are especially telling when bracketed with the many examples of the shabby treatment afforded US 'veterans' once they can no longer kill for God and country.

But that's another story. So is the news which began to circulate here at the beginning of the second week in January that Donald Rumsfeld and his cartel are so rattled by the strength of the freedom-fighters in Iraq that they may be planning to employ the 'Salvador option'; this would sanction an expansion into the area (including perhaps Syria) of US-trained and US-supported death squads along the lines of those which illegally terrorised populations in Central America in the 1980s under Reagan.

Mejia is not alone. The Pentagon has

recently admitted that over 5,500 soldiers have deserted since the illegal invasion and occupation of Iraq began in March 2003, or more than one person every three hours, nearly 4% of the total military presence. Although the maximum penalty for deserting in wartime is death, a sentence of five years or less is more common.

Brandon Hughey, who also joined the army in Texas as a way to try and finance further education, began his army 'career' – somewhat typically by believing in the need to 'protect America': "I felt it was necessary if they did have these weapons, and they could end up in our cities and threaten our safety. I was supportive. At first, I didn't think to question it."

Another refusenik, Jeremy Hinzman of Rapid City, joined the military in January 2001. He completed paperwork for conscientious objector status after deciding that killing was wrong: "I was walking to chow hall with my unit, and we were yelling, 'Train to kill, kill we will,' over and over again. I kind of snuck a peek around me and saw all my colleagues getting red in the face and hoarse yelling - and at that point a light went off in my head and I said, 'You know, I made the wrong career decision.'" After the army told him he didn't qualify as a conscientious objector, and he was ordered to fight in Iraq, Hinzman took his family to Canada, where he's been living off savings accumulated while he was in the military.



'Sod this for a game of soldiers, I'm off to play baseball'

We should not make the mistake of assuming that the increasing numbers of refusers and resisters hold predominantly radical views; undoubtedly most of the sentiment must be the result of low morale held by soldiers in Iraq and between tours of duty. Indeed, many of

them make a distinction between American aggression in Afghanistan, which they often represent as legitimate 'reprisal' for September 11, and that in Iraq. What's more, few Americans question the basic right of their country to intervene anywhere – for the 'right'

reasons. Yet it is encouraging that people are undermining – albeit in a piecemeal way – the ability of the army to act. Their actions should be an example to others.

Louis Further

See [www.enrager.net/newswire](http://www.enrager.net/newswire) for a longer version of this article

## STEALING YOUR LIFE

Unpaid overtime is providing UK bosses with an estimated £23bn in free revenue, according to figures released by the TUC. British workers are doing longer hours for less money than any of their European compatriots, leading to high levels of sickness and absenteeism.

The survey found that around five million workers worked beyond their hours without pay, doing around 7.3 hours a week each – nearly an entire day's work free of charge. On average, over the last year those of us doing unpaid overtime gave our boss the

equivalent of a £4,650 Christmas present. London workers were even more generous, contributing over £7,000 per overtime worker.

The TUC has decided to make 25th February 'Work your hours day' and is determined that "this is the one day in the year for your boss to appreciate your efforts, and for you to appreciate yourself!"

Union leaders have though been keen to stress that the other 364 days of the year are fair game; Brendan Barber, the TUC General Secretary stated that "we're not saying that we should turn into a nation of clock-watchers. Most people don't mind putting in some extra time when there's a crisis or an unexpected rush." The TUC's press release put the pressure on managers to do their part, "Bosses should take their staff out for a lunchtime or after-work meal, coffee or cocktail to say thank you!"

Many workers though, are less cheerful about their long hours; Kate, a media

worker, says that long hours are endemic in her workplace, "it's more insidious than being overtly forced to work overtime. It's simply that if you don't do the job until it's finished, you won't last long."

Whilst employers demand flexibility from workers, often reclaiming lost hours becomes impossible "If you're working or travelling during the weekend you're supposed to get the time in lieu as extra holiday but people are having problems with actually booking days off because my boss is making it hard to pin down when people can take time off."

Jack, a health service worker finds the same problem, "the public sector is no different. With all of the cutbacks and understaffing the nursing staff in my office know that if they take time off their workload will be piling up ready to greet them when they get back. If they worked their normal hours they'd drown in paperwork."

## CHARITY SCAM

A new Populous poll has shown that while 85% of the British public claim to have given money to the tsunami appeal, only around 12% actually have. Top managers (average earnings £92,000) gave an average of £38.59 to the appeal, compared to unskilled workers (average earnings £14,000) gave an average of £27.88. As Freedom goes to press, the total individual giving to the Tsunami appeal stands at £4 per person. Some statistics on charitable giving in Britain reveals the true picture of which sections of our society gives the most.

Some statistics on charity in Britain:

Date	Individual	Corporate
2003/4	£7.1bn	£800 million (10% = foundations)
2002	£7.1bn	£600 million
2001	£6.8bn	£300 million

NB: The marked increase in company giving co-responds directly to available tax breaks and the increase in National Lottery payouts.

Total Charity income for 2004 35% General public, 30% Government service contracts, 30% self-generated and 5% corporate. The UK gives on average 5% of its income in charity, though that percentage is much lower for the rich.



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# Home and away

## FREEDOM

Volume 66 Number 2

### Anarchism

Anarchists work towards a society of mutual aid and voluntary co-operation. We reject government, and all forms of exploitation and domination.

Freedom Press is an independent anarchist publisher, founded in 1886. Besides this newspaper, which comes out every two weeks, we produce books on all aspects of anarchist theory and practice – see our website for a full list.

In our building in East London we run Britain's biggest anarchist bookshop and host the Autonomy Club meeting room and the Freedom Hacklab open-access IT space.

Our aim is to explain anarchism more widely and to show that people can work together and use direct action to practically improve our lives and build a better world.

Freedom's editors wish to present a broad range of anarchist thought, and as such the views expressed in the paper are those of the individual contributors and not necessarily those of the editorial collective.

### Angel Alley

First of all we're extremely sorry for the last issue being so late, this was due to problems with the post over the holiday period, and our boiler has been broken since the start of the year making it unbearable to work in our office, but we've now got some temporary heaters and should be back on track for the rest of the year.

For those of you wishing to take out (or renew!) your subscriptions you can now do this online via our website.

Finally we're hoping to hold a stall and organise a group of paper sellers for the Saturday 19th March anti-war march in Central London, we could do with all the help we can get. If you can e-mail us at [copy@freedompress.org.uk](mailto:copy@freedompress.org.uk)

### Donations

One-off donations: NP, £5; RE, £10; MA, £10; JL, £6; MG, £3; GS, £30; MFG, £15; FNF, £20; RG, £28; TR, £5; RHB, £52; BL, £10; PG, £28; MB, £28; TO, £14; TS, £10; RM, £15; RJ, £5; DW, £5; NC, £5; DP, £5; JBR, £10; AG, £6.

Standing order donations: BP, £20; DH, £48; MB, £90.

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### Next issue

Contributions are wanted for future Freedoms. The next issue will be dated 5th February and the last day to get your copy to us will be Thursday 27th January (see contact details above for where to send your letters/articles). If you are interested in writing regularly for Freedom we want to hear from you!

# News from the inside

### Freedom for prisoners

As many of you may know, Freedom provides free subscriptions to anyone in prison. If you have friends or family in prison, or regularly write to a prisoner, if they are interested we will be happy to send them a free sample issue or sub. If you are a prisoner yourself we can provide subs to any of your fellow inmates if they wish. Please also feel free to write to us with any news about your imprisonment, developments in your case or anything else!

### Xose Tarrío dies

It is with great regret that we have to report the recent death of Spanish Anarchist prisoner Xose Tarrío in the hospital of Texeiro prison, A Coruna. Xose was imprisoned in 2003 after just five months of liberty following fifteen previous years of incarceration. His comrades issued the following statement: "Xose at last is free, there are no more prisons, more tortures, more humiliations ... What is left for us is his immensely human story, full of successes and mistakes, left for us is one person's dignity, a weather-beaten face of the fight for life in a prison hell ... The doctors say that Xose was ill, and we say that this society is ill. He did not die, he was murdered. Today it was him, tomorrow somebody else, and

it is like this every day. We can't do anything else for him but keep his ideas in our hearts and actions, elbow against elbow, fist against fist, until we demolish the prison walls. This will be our Homage." Rest in peace comrade, we will not forget.

### Matthew Lamont gets conviction overturned

American anti-fascist Matthew Lamont has had his conviction for planning to petrol bomb a Nazi 'Aryan Nation' celebration of Hitler's birthday overturned. It was ruled that the car Matthew was travelling in was subject to an 'illegal search'. While Matthew may now be free, after three years in jail, he's sure to need a little help getting back on his feet. One of the groups raising cash to send to him are the Hull branch of Anarchist Prisoners Support, who you can contact at [anarprisonersupp@hotmail.com](mailto:anarprisonersupp@hotmail.com)

### No charges to be brought against anti-prison activists in Dresden

Following the arrest of four comrades in Aachen (Germany) on 2nd June, anti-prison activists who attempted to offer support for them by applying to visit them in prison and finding them lawyers had their doors kicked in, and were arrested on 'suspicion of collusion

with an armed robbery'. The only evidence against them was their association with the Anarchist Black Cross and Rote Hilfe (Red Help), and this was clearly an attempt to intimidate potential supporters of the Aachen Four, and the German prisoner support movement in general. The 'investigation' has now floundered, and while no charges are being brought against the two activists they plan to take legal action of their own against the German police.

### Brian McCarvill moved

American eco-Anarchist prisoner Brian McCarvill has been moved. His new address is: Brian McCarvill, OSP, 2605 State St, Salem, OR 97310, USA.

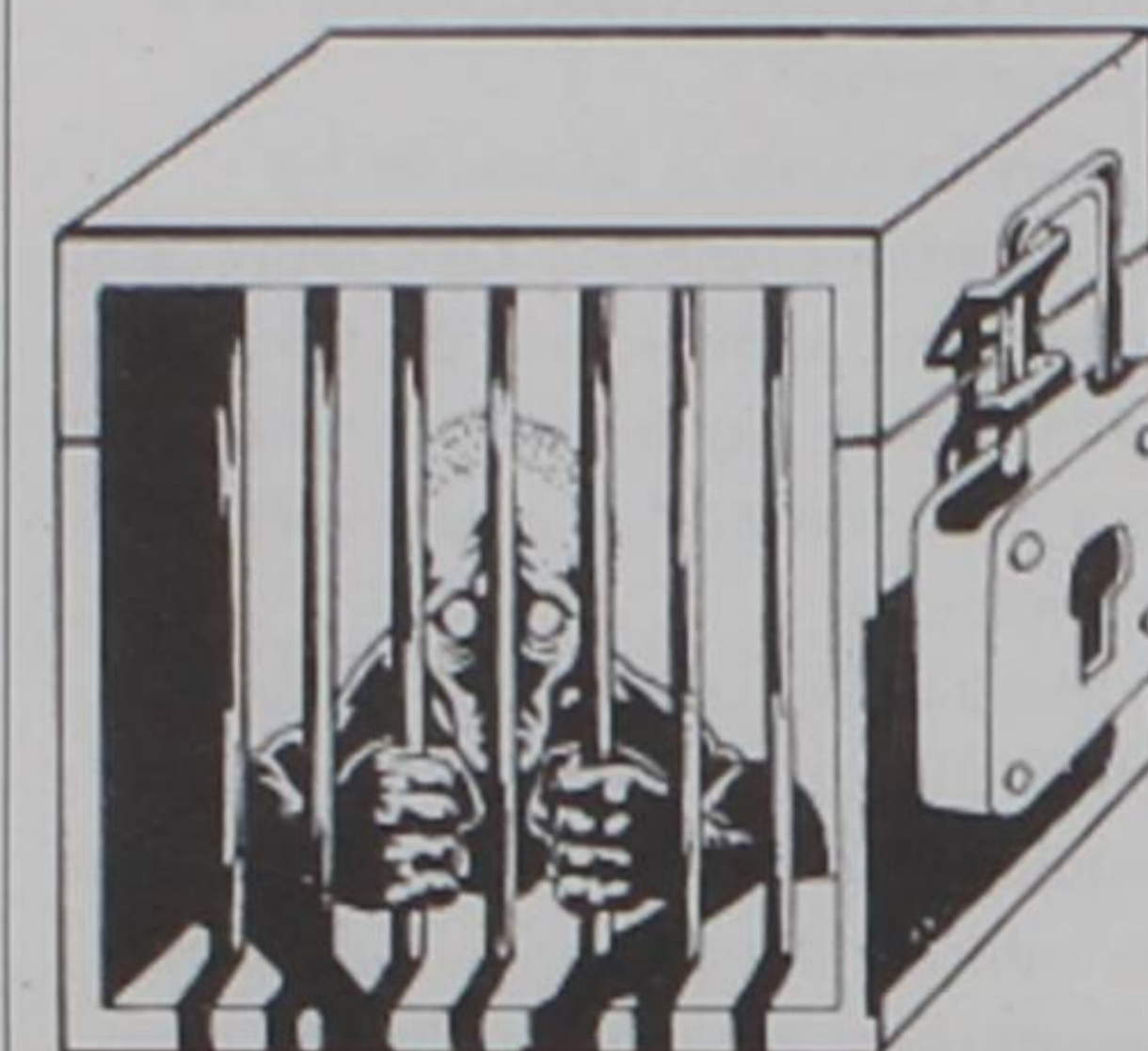
### Scottish opposition to prison privatisation

Villagers in West Lothian have vowed to launch a legal challenge after it was revealed that a new prison in the area is to be privately run. The prison, to be built near Addiewell, will hold 700 prisoners, and is expected to cost £65 Million. Crime certainly pays for some people.

Instant cultural nausea from Wandsworth Prison weekly news "Please use the logo wherever you can.

It is not just a change for its own sake. It is a visual demonstration of Wandsworth's new identity and new perspective: the Prison Service logo demonstrates that we are still part of the public service; the bold blue modern letters for Wandsworth Prison are set against a more tranquil blue to suggest calm, care, cleanliness and a sense of safety; the three bars on the right hand side are intended to suggest the secure custodial basis, both the physical in the navy blue bar and the dynamic in the extreme light blue; the third and inner bar is waved on one side with a parallel wave on the main block this is to reflect the need to work with others in partnership and the resettlement of prisoners, fitting in to services in the community."

Compiled by Mark Barnsley



## LISTINGS

### Bristol

Every Sunday the Kebele Kafe from 6.30pm, 14 Robertson Road, Easton. For info call 0117 9399469

### Gateshead

11th to 13th February Labour Spring Conference – inside the conference Neo-Labour tell us how caring they are while announcing proposals to crack down on dole scroungers and immigrants, the unions wring their hands and do fuck all. Outside the People of Gateshead get to have armed police and random stop and searches to make them feel safe.

### Gwent

27th January An entertainment evening organised by Gwent Anarchist Group with bands, films, bookstall, etc., from 7.30pm at Le Pub, Caxton Place, Newport. For more info or to check out the latest copy of Gagged contact [gwentanarchists@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:gwentanarchists@yahoo.co.uk)

### London

27th January Indymedia Cinema at the Other Cinema, 11 Rupert St, W1. Call 020 7734 1506 (nearest tube: Piccadilly Circus or Leicester Square).

28th January Critical Mass, meet up at 6pm on the South Bank, under Waterloo Bridge, to leave by 6:45pm. Make sure you bring some noise, light, life, leaflets and enthusiasm with you! (and a bicycle or something that rolls but doesn't use petrol)

29th January Black Flag meeting at Freedom, 84b Whitechapel High Street, E1, at 2pm (see also page 8)

5th February Peace News Party at The Ramparts from 4pm till midnight, with Penny Rimbaud (Crass), Leon

Rosselson, and much more. See

[www.peacenews.info/events/party.htm](http://www.peacenews.info/events/party.htm)  
8th February Tsunami benefit, with the Blockheads, comedians Mark Thomas and Rob Newman, circus acts, etc., at the Hackney Empire, £10. Tickets and details call 020 8985 2424  
12th February Kyoto Climate March, assemble 11.30am at Lincoln's Inn Fields, or for Bicycle Ride Protest meet 9am at the Thames Barrier (south side) to go via Greenwich (about 10am) and London Bridge (about 11am) to Lincoln's Inn Fields. For info call 020 8855 3327 or see [www.campaigncc.org](http://www.campaigncc.org)  
24th February London AF discussion evening, on political violence, from 7pm at Freedom, 84b Whitechapel High Street, E1

### Newcastle

11th to 13th February Projectile: an anarchist festival of film and ideas, exploring the past, present, and future of anarchism, and featuring rare and radical films, music, entertainment, talks and discussions. For more info see [www.projectile.org.uk](http://www.projectile.org.uk)

### Sheffield

21st to 23rd January G8: Direct Action Trainers' Workshops organised by Seeds for Change Collective. In the run up to the 2005 G8 Summit, a series of weekend workshops for activists who want to share their direct action skills. By the end of the workshops you'll be equipped to run direct action training sessions and helping other activists prepare for effective action. For more info call 0845 458 4776, email [DATW@seedsforchange.org.uk](mailto:DATW@seedsforchange.org.uk) or see <http://seedsforchange.org.uk/free/diary#oxlangla>

### International

27th February to 6th March Olive Cooperative tour of Palestine, looking at the environmental effects of the Occupation. See [www.olivecoop.com](http://www.olivecoop.com)  
26th March The Tenth Annual San Francisco Bay Area Bookfair, from 10am to 6pm at Golden Gate Park, Ninth Avenue and Lincoln Way  
6th July Global day of action at the opening day of the G8 Summit. See [www.agp.org](http://www.agp.org) or [www.dissent.org.uk](http://www.dissent.org.uk)  
18th to 20th March Zagreb Anarchist Bookfair. See [www.ask-zagreb.org](http://www.ask-zagreb.org)  
21st March Destroy the arms trade, international day of direct action. See [www.dsei.org](http://www.dsei.org)  
10th April Valencia Anarchist Bookfair. For info see [www.valencialibertaria.org](http://www.valencialibertaria.org)

### Nationwide groups

**Anarchist Federation**  
*Network of anarchist-communists*  
Box 2, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX  
[www.afed.org.uk](http://www.afed.org.uk)  
**Antifa**  
*Militant anti-fascist organisation*  
Box 36, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX  
[www.antifa.org.uk](http://www.antifa.org.uk)  
**Class War Federation**  
*Class struggle anarchist group*  
PO Box 467, London E8 3QX  
[www.classwaruk.org](http://www.classwaruk.org)  
**Dissent**  
*A network of resistance against the G8*  
[www.dissent.org.uk](http://www.dissent.org.uk)  
**Earth First!**  
*Ecological direct action network*  
[www.earthfirst.org.uk](http://www.earthfirst.org.uk)  
**Industrial Workers of the World**  
*Revolutionary DIY union*  
PO Box 74, Brighton, BN1 4ZQ

[www.iww.org.uk](http://www.iww.org.uk)  
**Solidarity Federation**  
*Anarcho-syndicalist organisation*  
PO Box 469, Preston PR1 8FX  
[www.solved.org.uk](http://www.solved.org.uk)  
See also [www.enrager.net/britain](http://www.enrager.net/britain)

### Social Centres

**Autonomous Centre of Edinburgh (ACE)**  
17 West Montgomery Place, Edinburgh  
[www.autonomous.org.uk](http://www.autonomous.org.uk)  
**The Cowley Club**  
12 London Road, Brighton BN1 4JA  
[www.cowleyclub.org.uk](http://www.cowleyclub.org.uk)  
**Freedom**  
84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX  
[www.freedompress.org.uk](http://www.freedompress.org.uk)  
**Kebele**  
14 Robertson Road, Easton, Bristol BS5 6JY  
[www.kebele.org](http://www.kebele.org)  
**Lancaster Resource Centre (LaRC)**  
The Basement, 78a Penny Street, Lancaster  
[www.eco-action.org/lancaster](http://www.eco-action.org/lancaster)  
**London Action Resource Centre (LARC)**  
62 Fieldgate Street, London E1  
[www.londonlarc.org](http://www.londonlarc.org)  
**The Rampart**  
7a Rampart Street, London E1  
**SUMAC Centre**  
245 Gladstone Street, Nottingham NG7 6HX  
[www.veggies.org.uk/rainbow/](http://www.veggies.org.uk/rainbow/)  
**1in12 Club**  
21-23 Albion Street, Bradford, West Yorkshire, BD1 2LY  
[www.1in12.com](http://www.1in12.com)  
**56a Infoshop**  
56 Crampton Street, London SE17  
[www.safetycat.org/56a](http://www.safetycat.org/56a)



# News

## IWA-AIT 2004 Congress report

The International Workers Association (IWA), one of the largest international anarchist trade union groups in the world, met in Granada last month.

UK group the Solidarity Federation (SolFed) were there representing Britain. Richard, International secretary for SolFed, was one of three members who attended. He said: "It was well organised and generally a good congress. Some quite important issues were faced. There was a real awareness of what the other sections were doing."

A junior member of the IWA, SolFed have nevertheless been picked as the hosts of the next IWA-AIT congress in 2006, and could be affected by a new resolution to help smaller groups. Richard explained: "It will be good for Britain to have the congress. All of us who went came away feeling it was a positive event. We haven't asked for any help yet, but the duty of the IWA is to support more clearly its smaller sections. In the Colombian IWA it has happened and the FAG (Czech) got some more support but the question is open as to whether we should ask for some."

The US contingent, WSA, were conspicuous in their absence. Internal divisions between the WSA and AIT Minnesota, along with accusations of favouritism from the IWA's secretariat, lead to their disassociation from the congress last year, though both groups sent greetings.

Questions have also been raised over the status of Germany's FAU, Richard said: "The FAU is perceived by some sections as proceeding through its own path and not in concert with the IWA, in particular for associating with CNT-Vignoles, who split with CNTE. This is only the perception of some sections though."

He remains optimistic about the progress that has been made however: "Despite the fact that the IWA doesn't have a US group any more, links have been expanding over the last decade, particularly with the acceptance of a new Serbian ASI group this year. Israel's ASI have also been accepted as friends. "In Latin America the IWA is being consolidated with existing sections and is going from strength to strength. It's a stronger position than it has been for many years."

IWA are having a co-ordinated series of actions against temp agencies and work casualisation from April 14 to May 1. It was also decided to make a magazine and supporting web-zine. The expansion of support from larger members such as CNTF (France), CNTE (Spain) and USI (Italy) was supported. Norway was re-elected as the secretariat until 2006.

### Congress snapshot

Present: SolFed, CNTF (France), AIT-Portugal, CNTE (Spain), NSF(Norway), FAU (Germany), Direct (Switzerland) USI (Italy), Priama Akcia (Slovakia), FAG (Czech Rep.), KRAS (Russia), FORA (Argentina), COB (Brazil) and Amigos de la AIT (Colombia).

Observers from Serbia, Greece, Croatia, Slovenia, and the Spanish CNT-AIT were also present.

Greetings also came from other groups in Germany, Holland, Pakistan and Chile.

# Travellers' rites

## Local councils will soon be given the power to destroy traveller sites in their areas

New guidelines will give local councils the power to raze to the ground homes built by travellers on land without prior planning permission.

Local authorities will have the power to order a 'notice of remedy' on the land itself, bypassing any right of appeal, if it considers that a site is causing 'significant harm' to the area around it. This is particularly powerful where ownership of the land is not clear, as they would require no burden of proof under such circumstances that actual damage was being done.

It is thought the new guidelines will come into force within a few weeks, in reaction to vocal complaints from some rural villagers about the presence of travellers near their houses.

The mandatory maintaining of travellers' sites meanwhile are to be reinstated across local authorities, at 'fair rents'. Land that travellers could potentially buy for development with council backing may also be identified under the new proposals. Disabled grants will now apply to travellers as well as static homes.

Gratton Puxon, ex-head of the Roma Federation, said: "It doesn't look like we are getting any helpful hard legislation, we are getting an advisory which won't help at the moment. We have always argued that if a site has to go it must be replaced, but it looks like up to 100 caravan parks are to be bulldozed by the time any designated land comes up under these measures. This is land which will have to be bought privately by the traveller community."

There are currently 324 caravan sites run by local authorities across England and Wales. According to a 2003 report on the need for new caravan sites, it is thought that up to 2,000 residential patches and 2,500 transit patches will be needed by the traveller community. Gratton said: "We think 30,000 people are facing ethnic cleansing. Although it is supposedly to bring green field land back to its natural beauty, in Meadowland in Chelmsford the council simply filled the area with pig slurry and built earth banks around the site. I'm not sure how that's supposed to be improving it."



In a policy document on travellers, the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) said: "The current network provides a valuable resource for Gypsies and Travellers, and we are committed in keeping these sites open and available for use. That is why the ODPM introduced the Gypsy Sites Refurbishment Grant in 2001, to

refurbish existing Gypsy/Traveller sites."

Last month the ODPM issued draft regulations suggesting councils should issue only alting notices to stop developments for up to a month while consideration was given to travellers building on their land, but this has been overruled by Tony Blair's office.

## Anti-fascist round-up

### Fascists in train accident

After a lot of confusion and last minute date changing, the National Front (NF) finally decided to have their march in Woolwich on Saturday 15th January. The march was held to stir up racial tensions following the horrible murder of white teenager Terry Gregory last year (they also held a march soon after Terry's death, this was the one year anniversary). However, Terry's family have repeatedly said they want nothing to do with the NF or their politics.

On the day, two NF supporters were spotted on their way to the march and were confronted by a group of anti-fascists on a train. One of the fascists cowered on the train, leaving his mate to feel the brunt of the anti-fascist attack. Racial solidarity indeed!

Thirty NF supporters marched through Woolwich, almost half of what they turned out last year, while Unite Against Fascism's picket had around a hundred. The police were also out in force, protecting the NF with around a hundred officers. No arrests were made.

### Griffins Might Fly

Jailbird and leader of the BNP, Nick Griffin, is set to contest a constituency in West Yorkshire. Griffin, who was arrested last year along with former leader John Tyndall following a BBC1 documentary, will be trying his luck in Keighley, an area noted for its racial tensions and where he made his infamous "Islam is a vicious, wicked faith" comment that led to his arrest.

We at Freedom wonder, if the BNP isn't a racist party, why is it then that

they never contest a seat in an area without racial tensions? Perhaps Hackney would be an interesting place for Griffin to go out canvassing...

### Polish Antifa trial continues

Despite an acquittal by the judge of all five defendants (known as the Antifa Five), the Nazi accusing them has filed an appeal, meaning there will be another trial. This farce has already been going on for three years and it has become clear that the prosecution is very determined to prove those charged as guilty.

Lapa, an anarchist from Bialystok, was sentenced to one year for GBH but was acquitted after three years of court hearings. This was a massive relief as Lapa was already on a suspended sentence for previous anti-fascist actions and was very close to getting a lot of jail time.

Soja, also an anarchist from Bialystok, has had his trial opened again for 'violently resisting arrest' and two counts of 'insulting a police officer'. The trial continues.

### RIP BNP

In a determined effort to disprove the age old adage that only the good die young, 58-year-old Chris Green, the BNP's Chief of Administration, has died. Green apparently had a heart attack in his Peterborough home and in doing so becoming the best kind of fascist ... a dead one.

For more information about fighting fascism, or if you want to get involved see [www.antifa.org.uk](http://www.antifa.org.uk) or get in touch with Antifa at [info@antifa.org.uk](mailto:info@antifa.org.uk)

## Industrial news

Anarchists have long pointed out that union affiliation to the Labour Party, which costs rank and file members millions of pounds a year, is a waste of money. This week sees more evidence of this. There is an election looming and guess what, Labour has written to union bosses asking them not to take any strike action. We are used to employers trying to stop workers going on strike. Only last week newspaper publishers Trinity Mirror Southern went to the high court to stop NUJ journalists on Enfield Advertiser striking against cuts. Undeterred union members on the paper are re-balloting and are determined to take action.

In the same week that Labour begged unions not to upset The Daily Mail, the government announced that NHS workers would have to work another five years before they can retire. The physical and mental stress associated with working in health care mean many workers like ambulance staff struggle to work to 60. In the future they will have to work to 65. The value of their pension is also likely to fall under the proposals. Other public sector areas including local government and the civil service are also facing cuts. The TUC's response to this attack on workers' rights has been to organise a 'campaigning day of activities' on 18th February. Trade union members have been asked, I kid you not, to organise local rallies and put pressure on their MPs. With the election looming unions have a real opportunity to force the government to rethink. Days of activities won't do. Workers' are angry. Coordinated strike action across the public sector is necessary but weak

kneed union bosses won't stand up to Labour. MPs by the way have recently voted to improve their pensions!

The failure of union leader's pussy-footing approach is also seen in the long-running pay dispute in the Department of Work and Pensions. Rumours are that PCS are about to recommend the pay deal with little or no concessions after a year in dispute. Rather than all out action PCS organised a couple of one day strikes. They were well supported by workers but not enough to cause management problems.

Mind you even when workers take all out action they cannot always trust union leaders not to sell them out. In Liverpool a hundred social workers walked out in August. They have been solid since then but their union has now sold them out. Workers are unhappy with the deal. Unison has negotiated but the union has withdrawn support from the strikers.

Workers are using the web to exchange news and views about work and moan about their bosses. Sites set up by and for workers of Morrisons and Ryanair have been flooded with complaints about working conditions, pay rates and management practices. One worker on the Morrisons' site complained about the uniform that staff have to wear. "It is all about power" he or she said, "It shows the customers who are the monkeys and who are the organ grinders." Spot on.

Under capitalism the struggle at work is about power. Unfortunately union bosses seem to be doing all they can to hold workers back from flexing their industrial action.



# News

## Again, it's official: no WMD in Iraq

US investigators have finally given up and gone home after admitting that there were no WMD, writes Iain McKay

The US investigators searching for Saddam Hussein's alleged weapons of mass destruction have given up and left Iraq. A final report will be submitted by the Iraq Survey Group and is expected to be almost identical to the interim assessment made last October. That assessment stated that Saddam had destroyed his last WMD more than 10 years ago. It even concluded that the Iraqi scientists who were thought to have worked on WMD programs and have been in US custody since the fall of Saddam have in fact not worked on any Iraq WMD programs since 1991. So Saddam had no WMD and no capability of making any either. Which is, never forget, what the Bush Junta was saying before 9/11.

This confirms what anarchists have been saying all along. We have been lied to on an unprecedented scale by our (un)elected governments to further the state and capitalist interests (US imperialism). The obvious question is why did they not plant some WMD? Perhaps because they knew that they would not be held accountable?

Unsurprisingly, the pro-war people are seeking to avert the possibility of admitting they were wrong, that the Bush Junta invaded Iraq for other (more obvious) reasons (like oil or geopolitical dominance of the Middle East). The first line of defence is that

'everyone' believed Saddam had WMD. As Bush himself put it, "I felt like we'd find weapons of mass destruction, or like many many here in the United States, many around the world, the United Nations, thought he had weapons of mass destruction."

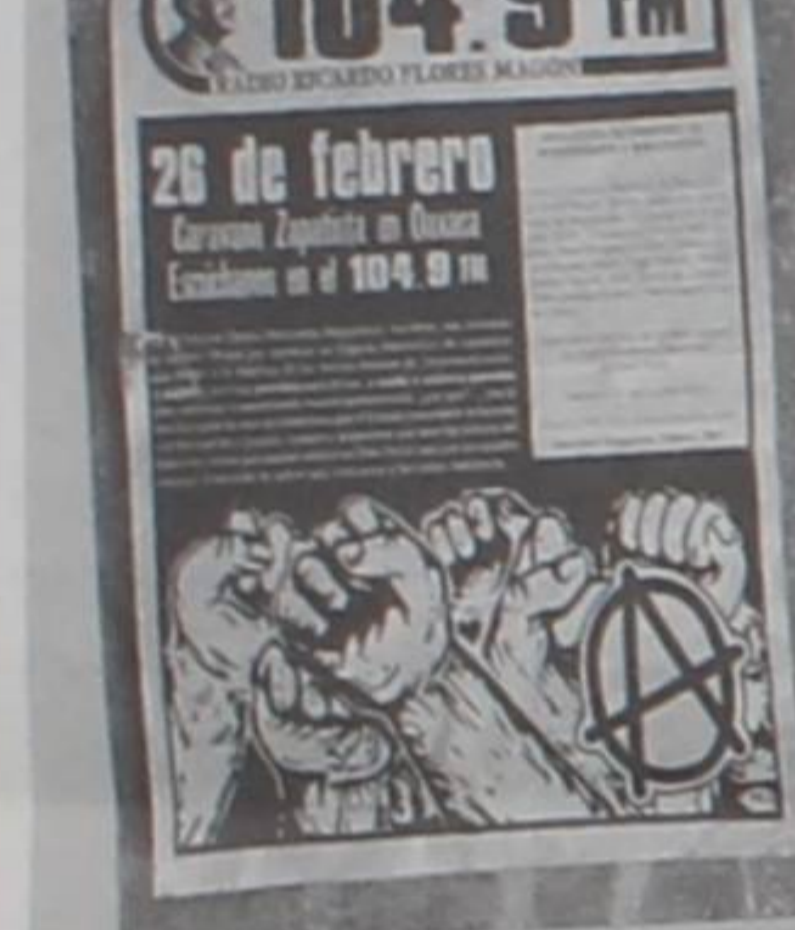
Except the people who did not (and took to the streets in their millions to protest against a blatantly imperialist war). Except such states as France and Germany who argued that the UN weapons inspectors be given more time to finish their job. Or the UN itself, of course, which steadfastly refused to rubberstamp Bush's warmongering (much to his annoyance at the time). And, of course, even if 'everyone' did think so, only the US and UK actually went to war over it and only they stood in front of the world presenting evidence that was about as accurate as randomly poking at a map of Iraq blindfolded and shouting WMD types out.

Moreover, the problem with the 'everyone believed it' line is that it was only Bush who started a war because he wanted to. And he had additional information from the UN and the IAEA which made it increasingly clear that Iraq was either significantly less armed, or unarmed with WMD, even as he was getting ready for war (which explains his rush). Yet it will be pointed out by the pro-war people that Saddam had WMD in the 1980s. So because of events 20 years ago (when Saddam

created and used WMD, with Western approval and support!), we should forgive Bush and Blair their 'mistakes'. Yet if anyone else justified their actions based on 20 year-old information, they would be treated like the idiot they surely are. Hardly an excuse.

And what of the Bush Junta? The White House press secretary, Scott McClellan, was asked numerous questions on the issue, questions of embarrassment, credibility and explanation. How did he answer? By avoiding answering most questions directly and mentioning September 11 nine times! He topped it all off with this: "The reality is that the United States of America was attacked on September 11, 2001, and some 3,000 innocent civilians lost their lives ... The reality is that Saddam Hussein's regime ... was a unique threat, and the President recognises that September 11th changed the equation for how we confront the threats that we face. And this President is committed to acting to make the world a better place, make the world a safer place, and make America more secure."

So because a group of terrorists with no links to Iraq killed 3,000 people, the US has the right to kill at least four times (more likely, over 30 times). So to make the world a safer place, you start a war. So to make the world a better place, you bomb the fuck out of a third-world country and occupy it. To



The Consejo Indígena Popular de Oaxaca 'Ricardo Flores Magón' (CIPO-RFM) is an indigenous organisation representing 24 communities, they are strongly influenced by Ricardo Flores Magón and call themselves 'Magonistas'. The photo above shows their permanent protest camp outside the governor's palace in Oaxaca in response to the murder of their colleagues by paramilitaries the seizure of their lands and unresolved aspects of the agricultural conflict.

Inset is an advert for the group's pirate radio station. We will have a bigger report about this group in our next issue, until then check out their website at [www.nodo50.org/cipo/](http://www.nodo50.org/cipo/)

make America more secure, you overstretch its armed forces and make it even more hated across the world. But don't worry, just use September 11th and the memories of those murdered innocent civilians to justify killing even more innocent civilians. Evil fuckers.

McClellan did let the cat out of the bag by saying (like Blair) that "based

on what we know today, the president would have taken the same action because this is about protecting the American people." So if we knew that Saddam had no WMD, they would have invaded anyway? That is nice to know. But that does explode the myth that Iraq was invaded because of the threat of its WMD.

## International news in brief

### Unionists sacked over Hacienda Luisita strike

The government of the Philippines has ordered the dismissal of 35 union officials for the Central Azucarera de Tarlac Labour Union (CATLU), recently involved in the bitter two month strike at the Hacienda Luisita Sugar Mill. The Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE) produced a 10-page resolution on Friday 14th January aimed at resolving the dispute in the wake of the 7th November massacre, where police and army units attacked and killed picketing workers. The document orders CATLU members to resume work within five days in exchange for a lump sum payment of £125 and a 16p daily wage hike, Hacienda Luisita Inc. (HLI) have been ordered to take back all but the union officials. HLI have welcomed the DOLE resolution and announced that it intended to normalise relations as soon as possible. By contrast, mill workers have reacted with hostility and are refusing to return to work without their union officials. Dole Secretary Patricia Santo Thomas, currently under investigation for her office's part in the November

massacre, has defended the decision, claiming that the union failed to observe the cooling off period ordered by the government. Ricardo Ramos, CATLU's president and one of the workers sacked by the labour office has predicted that the order will only fuel the fury on the picket lines and warned that further attempts by the government to disperse picket lines could result in another massacre.

### Imperialist all-nighter

As part of his coronation celebrations, Bush is telling the District of Columbia to fork out the \$11.9 million required for the security requirements. This is not that much less than the \$15 million which was Bush's entire original offer to help victims of a tsunami. This figure was suggested after it was known that tens of thousands of people had been killed. He later raised this amount to \$35 million, which was less than that \$40 million he plans to spend on the four-day extravaganza.

That \$40 million is funded by private donors, making the combined public and private cost of this shindig is over

\$51 million. This is a lot of money to celebrate the stealing of another election, but worth it. The rich will get richer while the poor will blame the 'liberal elite' for the fact their lives are getting worse due to the policies the Bush Junta imposes. So perhaps that \$50 million is value for money after all...

### Toledo regime wobbles after military rebellion

The neoliberal administration of Alejandro Toledo in Peru, already one of the most unpopular in Latin America with an approval rating of just 7%, faced a further wobble with a New Years Eve military insurrection. Major Antauro Humala, brother of Ollanta Humala who led a similar revolt which brought down Toledo's predecessor, took over Andahuyalas police station calling for the resignation of the president, the nationalisation industry and the legalisation of coca (targeted by Toledo as part of the US led "war on drugs"). Humala and his forces surrendered of their own volition on 4th January in a move echoing Hugo Chavez' abortive 1992 coup d'etat.

The rebels describe themselves as Ethno-Caceristas, named after General Andres Caceres leader of nineteenth century guerrilla insurgency against Chilean rule, and invoke an indigenous nationalism based upon the Inca empire. They call for a military regime to counter imperialism and neoliberalism. Traditionally, Peruvian campesinos have been involved in class-based activism rather than the kind of indigenous activism prevalent in Bolivia and Ecuador. Sympathy for military rebels, many of whom cut their teeth in the brutal counter-insurgency campaigns against the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) rebellion, may well be in short supply amongst many peasants.

But given Toledo's obvious unpopularity and generalised hostility toward his government and Americanophile neoliberalism in general, the rebellion in Andahuyalas brings further uncertainty to an already tottering regime.

### No me gusta!

The actors who record the dubbed Spanish version of The Simpsons for Mexican television have been on strike

since October in a bitter dispute with television bosses over the use of non-unionised labour to undermine their pay and conditions. The National Actors Association (NAA) has accused Grabaciones y Doblajes Internacionales (GDI), the company that produces the translated version of America's favourite family, of breaching a collective agreement by hiring non-union labour on lower wage rates.

Humberto Velez, who voices Homer Simpson, is concerned that the company intends to replace all the shows' actors, "The only thing we know how to do is act. But we will never let people that aren't interested in agreements take away our rights for their own benefit. How am I supposed to take care of my kids?"

GDI are complaining that union agreements are undermining the industry, and resulting in dubbing work going to Venezuela and Colombia, sparking worries amongst the 15,000 members of the NAA that this is the start of an attack on the whole sector. Actors on the show earn £28 per episode.



# Feature

# Report this!

Have you ever thought about writing an article for Freedom? Why not give it a try using this helpful guide by Rob Ray

**T**he first thing to remember about reporting for an anarchist newspaper or magazine is that it is *not* propaganda. Western consumers are far too media savvy to put up with preachy, badly written rhetoric. If you want to spread the word (hallelujah) then fine, go down the pub or knock on doors and ask people if they've heard the good news yet. Don't waste time writing it down and sending it to newspapers. The only thing between us and the mainstream media is that we are out to tell the truth, and they are out, via incompetence or corruption, to hide it. Don't waste that basic strength by muddying the waters with heavy bias.

With any publication though, a certain amount of bias is inevitable – that's why we wear our ideology on our sleeve. Media audiences all understand this, and if we wish to make an impact with what we write it must be able to stand up to the scrutiny of cynics and people looking to find fault. That means it must be fact, not comment. Have confidence enough to let people make their own conclusions. With this in mind, here are some basic tips for reporting.

## Questions

There are six questions every journalist should ask about every news story. Who, What, When, Where Why and How. The most important of these is Why, but find out the other stuff first, as it is the basis for all further questions.

Think about the angle you want to come at it from. Every story has one, usually several. For example, two million people are starving in the UK. Possible angles: a) UK government/society is letting down the elderly, b) it's a tragic but unavoidable loss, c) two million homes may be freed up for young families...

Any of these can be made into articles, but it is important to know where you

are coming from when you make up your list of questions.

Motive is vitally important when talking about any misdeeds, and given the subject matter, your subject's motives will almost invariably be money and power. Follow those and read other lefties who have written about it – there often are some – and it will give you an idea of what other questions to ask.

Always get paper, wherever you go. Contact numbers, official documents, stuff lying on the table where it shouldn't be, all of it. The more facts you have that have been written down, the better able you will be to justify the article you've written.

Record conversations, either in written form, or via a tape recorder. Preferably both. The UK has the toughest libel law in the world and if you are trying to get into print in any paper with a circulation in four figures this becomes an all-important factor. I'll be writing about the basics of the law in another feature, but remember the only sure-fire defence against libel is provable truth.

## Research

Above all don't fall into the trap of finding an easy answer which fits into your world view and then writing it up as unassailable fact. Dig, dig and dig some more. You aren't writing this for a wage and you don't have an editor forcing you to get as many stories done as possible. There is no excuse for laziness in your research (though equally, if you have a deadline for Christ's sake stick to it, there's nothing worse for an editor than slotting in an article to the paper and then being let down).

One of the famous phrases that hover around in even mainstream circles is 'If you're not pissing someone off, you aren't doing it properly'. The other phrase is 'a good journalist has a little literary ability, a plausible manner and rat-like cunning'. Both make a good point. Don't get put off by someone making an angry denial, that just means either you haven't got your facts straight (so here's their chance to correct you) or you're on to something. Equally don't go in with all guns blazing looking for a fight, people will always be more likely to talk to you if they think you're on their side.

## Pictures

If possible, always take or find a picture of the event you are reporting on. Pictures sell papers, and not just that, they give readers a much clearer view of what you are talking about. If possible, have a camera with you at all times, preferably digital (for easier storage, transfer and not insignificantly, so you don't have to get worrying photos developed).

## Court reporting

*Do not* report on court proceedings unless you have taken an NCTJ or media law course, or have learned the ropes thoroughly from someone extremely experienced. It can end up putting you, the paper publishing you and their distributors into bankruptcy. You can even end up in jail if you don't know what you're doing.

## Writing with structure

Once you have all the relevant information, the structure of the story is very important. Most professionals have a mental checklist.

First paragraph: a quick summation of the story, including the 'hook' (the most interesting part of the story, the gimmick that makes it newsworthy).

Second paragraph: explanation of basic facts.

Third paragraph: For preference, a quote from a source who is likely to know what they're talking about (this is to supplement the fact you are a journalist, not an expert in the issue you're reporting on).

Fourth paragraph: More information and introduction of the other side – there *always* is one.

Fifth paragraph: Quote from the other person.

Subsequent paragraphs can have more quotes or info depending on the story, but *always* order it in descending level of importance/interest. Editors cut from the bottom up, and people read from the top down.

Depending on the importance of the story it will warrant more or less attention. The current policy of Freedom is to give Features anything from 1,200-1,500 words, Headline articles 500-800, Page leads 400-600, other major articles between 300-450 and Nibs (news in brief) 50-150. However if and when the paper changes to become a tabloid format, these numbers are likely to drop.

Be concise. If a story can be adequately explained in fifty words, then do so. A good exercise is looking at news articles in the papers and working out how you could sum them up in ten words.

## Audience

Sad but true, most people rank their interest in the news as follows: 10,000 dead on another continent = 1,000 dead on the same continent = 100 dead in your country = 10 dead in your county = 1 celebrity eating grubs in a jungle.

We can probably disregard the last bit, as it's far better covered by the mainstream press but the rest is still, unfortunately, relevant. The more local it is, the more interested people will be. People in general expect a certain style of writing from newspapers. This doesn't mean writing in stereotypes and



clichés, it means not using long words when short ones will do (that's not a patronising attitude, it's just polite, I absolutely hate it when I have to translate from 'clever' to layman's terms – why say 'endeavour' when you can say 'try'?).

More specifically, your writing style and tone should be aimed squarely at the market you are trying to capture. Freedom currently aims at people used to reading lengthier, more informative pieces (your basic established anarcho-syndicalists), but is looking to shorten at least some of its articles to accommodate a wider audience. To get an idea of the audience you want to try for, read the mainstream press. They're arseholes, but they've been refining their techniques, with a great deal of thought, money and effort, for 150 years. The UK press know how to get a point across better than anyone else on the planet.

We are up against a massively well-oiled media machine, which cannot be dismissed. They have all the funds, all the manpower, the backing of every major business and every governmental source. Don't, whatever you do, dismiss them as a load of crap. That's underestimating them and you know what Sun Tzu said about knowing your enemy ... Well actually neither do I, but

I read in the papers he's a bloody wise man.

## Epilogue

This is all dependent on you personally having the confidence to research and write about subjects you are interested in. The Freedom collective is made up of only four or five regulars working every other Sunday, and we have full-time jobs. As has been sharply demonstrated by the crisis at Black Flag and the lack of interested faces at the Bookfair's editorial meeting last year, anarchism's alternative media is in desperate need of more help, or it simply will not survive. You are all intelligent human beings, with the ability to be not just observant of the world around you, but articulate enough to point it out to others.

To leave on an optimistic note, 1st January saw the Freedom of Information Act come into force. Until these rights start being eroded by bureaucrats finding new tricks to keep secrets, there is a potential bonanza of information out there for you to find on topics you know about. Don't hesitate to use these new powers to full advantage!

Rob Ray is a journalist working in regional media.



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# Editorial

**W**hile the people of the world are putting their hands in their pockets to help the survivors in Asia, another group of altruists are going unreported. These are the kind people on Wall Street.

In America, President Bush's political allies are raising millions of dollars for an election-style campaign to promote private Social Security accounts. These contributors include the financial services and securities industries. Apparently it could cost \$50 to \$100 million to convince the American people that privatising Social Security is a good idea and Wall Street will be helping out as best it can.

The truly moving thing about privatising Social Security is that Wall Street will not make any money off Social Security privatization. According to the research of the Wall Street trade group, the Security Industry Association, there is no money in it for Wall Street! And the SIA should know as it represents the common interests of nearly six hundred securities firms.

So in spite of privatisation not producing a windfall for Wall Street, the security firms who will not make any money from it are going to lobby for it anyway. It is truly heart warming, indeed tear provoking, when you think about it. These people, these kind-hearted, altruistic, good, unselfish people, will be spending millions of dollars for Social Security privatisation without thinking of reward. They are doing it purely for the benefit of others. As their own research proves, they have no financial reason to do so. It is just because the Wall Street elite cares so about the little people, an attitude it is well known for. After all, Wall Street always spends money on things that will not make it a profit. We are truly lucky to share this world with such people.

Some cynical people out there may question all this. They will argue that it is highly unlikely that Wall Street will be forking out such large amounts of cash simply because of the kindness in their hearts. Rather, it will be claimed, that they expect something in return. But this is just a crazy conspiracy theory. Sometimes these ignoramuses write whole books showing how out of touch there are with the kind altruists at the heads of our companies and corporations.

If you want to understand economics remember to avoid this whacked-out anarchist-sounding conspiracy nut. His name is Adam Smith and wrote this appeal to the crudest form of class war in a truly stupid book called *The Wealth of Nations*.

At least Smith has the excuse of being dead. But that will not stop some other whacked-out anarchist-types repeating his cynical, class warrior nonsense. Ignore these people from planet wacky. Ignore their claims that there is nothing wrong with Social Security and that Bush's reforms are designed to kill it. These are the same kind of people who questioned the President on the equally serious threat facing America from Saddam's WMD. And we all know who was right about that!

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# Commentary

## Class Warrior

Seeing as the miners strike article is on the final conclusion might this reader mention a few words about an old poaching acquaintance of mine? One Keith Frogson – readers of *The Independent* and *The Guardian* last August will no doubt have already learnt that he had been murdered.

Froggy was well known to people from the collective Left who were on picket lines or collecting money on London streets.

He was sacked from Annesley Colliery for taking the rap for an NUM member throwing a brick through a scabs window. He would never be reinstated. At his pit in 1984-85 all but 52 of the 800 men employed there abandoned the NUM to join the Union of Democratic Mineworkers. And was it not at this very same mine in 1926 that the Spencer Union was formed? This hole in the ground where I started out after leaving school in 1952 should have died in shame.

Some commentators would have it the Lord Spencer's Union gave birth at Blackwell just over the border in Derbyshire. But some of us would prefer to recall the memory of Percy Topliss alias 'The Monocled Mutineer' who used to work there much more to our liking than Lord Spencer.

To write that Froggy had a mission as Ian Herbert did in *The Independent* on the 7th of August 2004 is one way describe an obsession we reckon.

His short stocky figure and quick pace could be seen rattling the collection bucket at all the TUC events. He was a gregarious sort of company. In no way was he an anarchist, probably never heard of such a thing.

Twenty years after the strike he was still shouting 'scab bastard' to those that worked. In fact he would play the Strawbs union song at loud volume after a heavy nights drinking at the scabs pub *The Forest Tavern*. His neighbour, Robert Boyer has been charged with Froggy's murder probably using a cross bow found at the scene.

So 62 year Froggy and his sunny optimism have left us. A tragedy for him and his murderer. At his funeral attended by 2000 mourners (including an ill looking Scargill) the sound of 'I am a Union Man' played over the St Johns sound system and brought joy in the hearts of more than one mourner there.

Mick

## Econo-muppet

I read with interest the letter by James Dolan about the fate of many Marxists when they become middle aged and disillusioned revolutionaries (*Freedom* 11th December).

Unfortunately I don't think Anarchists can afford to be too smug about this. Many in their youth became Anarchists and later in life retreat into a form of conservatism. It is my belief that one big factor that causes people to drift away from anarchism is that they find it very difficult to sustain themselves in practical day to day activities. It seems that times and places where there were large Anarchist inspired movements such as Spain and Cuba in the early twentieth century, their anarchists did have many practical day to day activities. They were attempting to build alternatives in the here and now. In the twenty-first century I would say LETS schemes, worker co-ops, food growing on allotments, food co-ops and alternative

housing projects to name a few, are also building an alternative in the present society.

Another gaping hole in much of modern anarchism is economic theory. I know this is a taboo subject for some people with their fixation on libertarian communism, but I feel economic ideas must be considered, I consider a market to be a social activity in which goods and services are exchanged. If the economy involves measuring relative values of exchange, even if money is not involved, I consider a market to be in action. In a complex industrialised society some sort of market is needed to be able to allocate scarcer resources, I think that in a more libertarian society there would probably be a whole lot of different economic systems, even forms of communism (but that would be subsidised by other economic forms). I feel that issues like this have to be discussed/developed rather than assuming that one particular economic system is suitable for all. Perhaps if some of these issues were grappled with, anarchism might have wider credibility.

D. Dane

## Prison pay

All rumours of HMP Long Lartin's 'contracts' shop, allegedly run by Dextra, demanding a 25% increase in production by inmates, with no increase in wages, is just that, a rumour.

The company installed a labour saving wire-cutting device that is supposed to save labour time, and it is the company, not the employees that should benefit from such an investment, no? Even if it does save on wages for one or two people. And the light fixtures they make must be important to someone.

The company pays very generous wages of between 20 to 35 quid per week, and their status as a charitable organisation should stimulate prisoners to be less demanding as concerns wages, even if Eures did raise prices in the canteen 50-100% in April and May of 2004. That was only certain items, mostly Halal meats, and the previously cheap coffee.

Mark's work is much appreciated by inmates even though he gets no thanks and probably less information. Most companies have little time or thought for policies or politics and are too busy playing pool or dominoes or watching television in their very short out of cell time to consider any thought or action that may eventually better their situation; and they've learnt that any wave making action or noises usually only swamps their own boat.

James Peterson

## Quiz answers

1. Lord is derived from the Old English hlaford, meaning keeper of the bread. Lady comes from hlaefdigge – kneader of the dough.
2. The Indian Rebellion of 1857, known as the Mutiny by the British. It was coming anyway but rumours that the cartridges, which had to be bitten open, were greased with pork or beef fat, offended Muslims and Hindus respectively.
3. Potatoes, on common land. Whether the spuds or the commons got them riled is not known.
4. They preferred the taste of lemon, didn't like American sailors taking the piss calling them limeys and it proved less effective against scurvy.

## Review

page 7

foreign competition, even going so far as in the case of Indian textiles, to destroy an entire industry and impoverish this populous nation. Force was used wherever the European conqueror went. The method was always the same; convert free peasants into cheap labourers who were then usually worked to death. As for hunters and gatherers? Extermination. After you read this chapter, you come away thinking that these people had nothing on Hitler, Stalin or Pol Pot.

Capitalism was brought into existence by a land-owning aristocracy which transformed itself into a capitalist class when the old Medieval system broke up. From the centuries of looting and pillage by this class, came the investment capital of the Industrial Revolution. In the United States, long held up as a pillar of Free Enterprise, capitalist industrial development began as a result of mercantilism, slavery and the investments of landlords, who got their land from the government, who in turn stole it from the native people. As Carson says, "capitalism has never been established by a free market" and "free market capitalism is an oxymoron."

One major failing of Marxism, most especially vulgar Marxism, has been the failure to recognise the political causes of capitalism, and to reduce the social and the political to mere out-growths of economic forces. Marxism thus becomes an apologist for tyranny. "Parasitism was not necessary for progress." State socialists and capitalist apologists (such as most so-called free market libertarians) alike, "for nearly identical reasons" have a common interest in maintaining the myth of nineteenth century laissez faire.

The vast and cruel "subsidy of history" is what lay the groundwork for Monopoly Capitalism as it developed in the late nineteenth century. At this point Carson introduces Benjamin Tucker's analysis of monopoly. Patents, tariffs, the currency and banking monopolies all were forms of state-sponsored parasitism that gave rise to the giant corporations. Tucker's 'Four Monopolies' have to be coupled with land-grants, cheap loans and gifts, eminent domain (by which the state could steal your land for its corporate buddies) and a hundred and one other forms of subsidy and corporate welfare.

The problem for corporate monopoly capitalism is its fragility, its tendency to go into crisis. One root cause of crisis is the tendency to produce more than can be profitably sold. This is exacerbated by state subsidies which create a more capital-intensive form of economy than would exist in a genuine market. In order to maintain demand and profitability, the state steps in with even more subsidy and also the welfare state to keep underclass docile. There is "snowballing irrationality as the state's intervention further destabilises the system, requiring yet further state intervention." The snowballing eventually leads to the fiscal crisis of the state, which began in the 1960s.

The fiscal crisis of the state combined with the resulting social breakdown due to capitalist irrationality gave rise to the neo-liberal reaction. Over the last 25 years the state has worked to shift wealth from consumption to investment as a prop for the corporate system. This action brings with it a contradiction, as the system depends on mass consumption at a profitable level to deal with the problem of over-production.

The final chapter entitled 'Ends and Means' discusses Carson's alternative to capitalism. The capitalist system should be replaced with voluntary associations;

an economy of worker co-ops, mutualist associations, and syndicalist unions, based on the commons, free exchange and usufruct principles. The state abolished and replaced by a federation of communities.

Carson's revolution would be gradual and is marked by the development of a 'dual power situation'. This requires the building of an "alternative social infrastructure" giving rise of forms of "social-counter power" such as syndicalist unions, coops, tenant unions, mutualist societies, "cop watch" groups and libertarian municipalist movements. Such a development is a form of "pre-figurative politics", by which people try as much as possible by their actions to live the revolution now. The distinction between reform and revolution is thus "mainly one of emphasis". The groundwork for the 'final' revolution has to be laid beforehand and this is the task of the alternative social structure.

The modern or Corporate State, is vastly more intrusive than its nineteenth century version, and thus presents a problem for anarchists. Consider that in many countries 20% or more of the population depend upon the state for employment or survival.) Even Benjamin Tucker saw the need for a "staged abolition of the state" so not to give rise to a dangerous situation. Therefore, it is necessary to have a "strategic position" visa vis the state. "It is not enough to oppose any and all statism ... without any conception of how particular examples of statism fit into the overall system of power." As a result, the dismantling of the state must occur "in the right order" and to do so in the wrong way is to court disaster. The proper sequence would be to first eliminate all state measures which support and give rise to capitalist and bureaucratic power. With the exploitation of labour abolished, any social welfare still needed could be handled by mutual aid societies.

The Corporate State will fall. First, through its own internal contradictions and secondly from outside; "from a host of movements whose only common denominator is a dislike of the centralised state and corporate capitalism." Carson sees a need to build broad-based ad hoc coalitions, but his 'political strategy' is not electoral. (More like the movement which brought down East German Stalinism, perhaps.) Nor is dismantling the state the primary function of the revolutionary-evolutionary movement. The 'political' movement should exist only to get rid of those forces which stop us from pursuing our primary activity – building the new free society.

Carson is a mutualist and offers a mutualist alternative to capitalism. The other schools of anarchist thought shouldn't ignore his work because of this. In a voluntary society, people can live as they wish, providing they don't coerce or exploit others. Thus, in a mutualist economy anyone who wanted could live according to, say, the principles of libertarian communism. Carson's analysis can also be adapted to all forms of anarchism. The most important aspect of this book, the one that should overshadow other differences, is that the economic analysis of exploitation and capitalism has been placed on a solid anarchist basis. We need no longer play second fiddle to the Marxists.

Studies in Mutualist Political Economy is available for \$16.00 US. For UK orders, add \$5.95. Details from kevin\_carson@hotmail.com or Kevin Carson, PO Box 822, Fayetteville, AR 72702-0822, USA



# REVIEW

## Move over Karl, anarchism is back! suggests Larry Gambone after reading *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy*

**A**narchists tend to look embarrassed when the subject of economics comes up. Or we mumble something about Proudhon and then sheepishly borrow ideas from Karl Marx. It has always struck me as ironic that anarchism began largely as an economic theory, think only of Josiah Warren, Proudhon and Tucker, but then abandoned the field to the Marxists. A specifically anarchistic approach to economic analysis has lain dormant for the last 130 years. However, with the publication of Kevin A. Carson's *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy* this period of dormancy has finally come to an end.

Carson starts off by critiquing post-classical economists such as the Marginalists, Marxists, and Austrians. But his critique is not a simple dismissal of these views, but is dialectical in form. What stands up after analysis, no matter what the school of economics, is incorporated into his anarchist synthesis. Without too much exaggeration, Carson has produced our *Das Capital*.

He begins his analysis with an examination of Adam Smith and David Ricardo's Labour Theory of Value (hereafter LTV) and what was done to it by later economists. Early nineteenth century economics was based upon the LTV resulting in a "revolutionary assault on entrenched power". However, by mid-century the LTV was rejected by the new schools of Marginalist and Austrian economists. As a result economics degenerated into "an apology for ... the large corporations." The reason for this change of direction is fairly well known. The LTV shows that only labour can produce value, and thus exposes the capitalist and landlord as parasites. In order to intellectually defend the exploiting classes, the LTV had to be marginalised (sorry I couldn't resist).

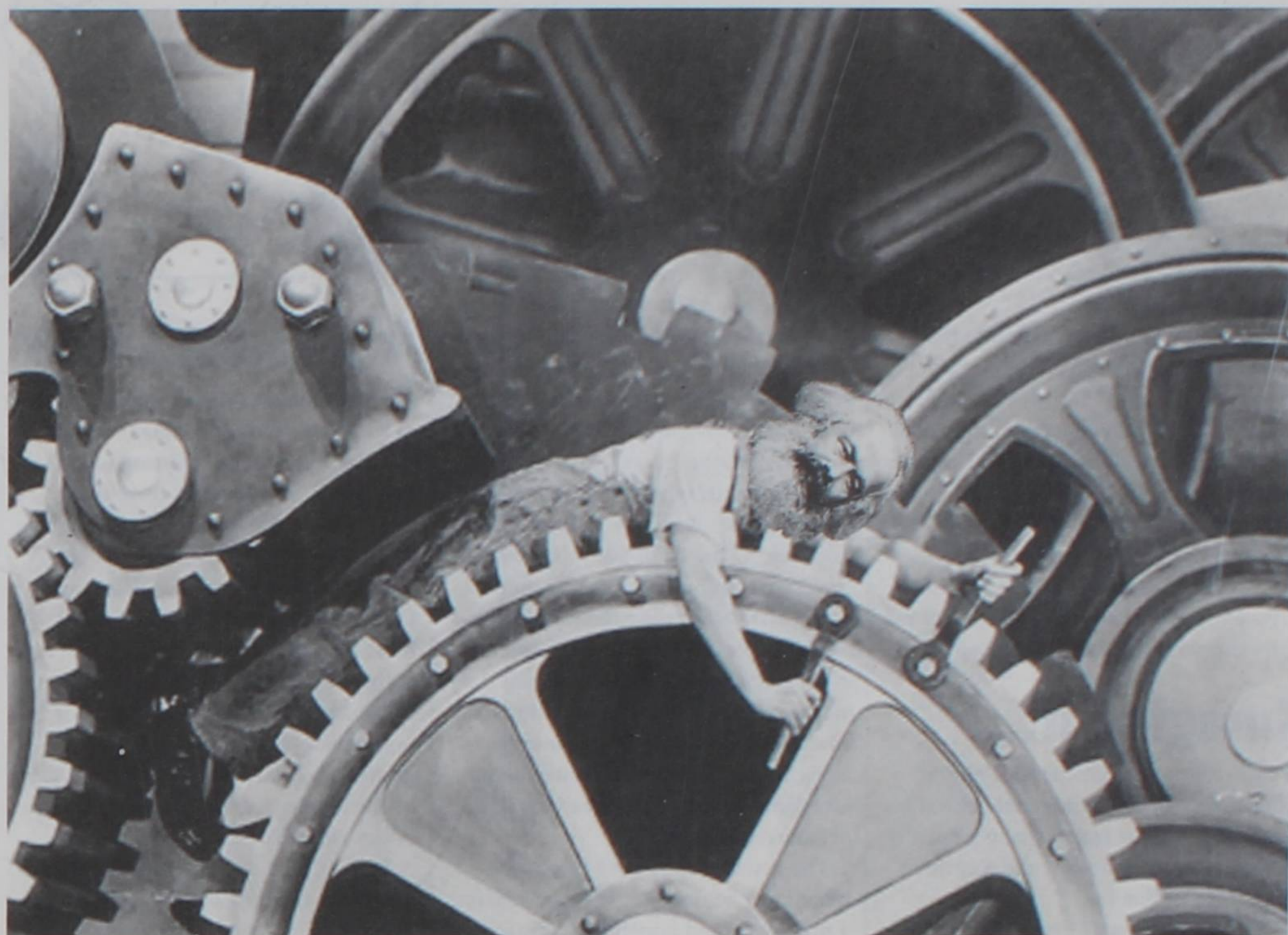
The chief critic of the LTV was the Austrian, Bohm-Bawerk, who built a straw man version of the theory to knock down. According to BB, the LTV didn't hold in many instances – such as the value of antiques or rare paintings, and never exactly in other situations. Furthermore, the capitalist too created value by investing the capital which had

accrued through his 'abstinence'. Landlords produced value through the use of their land. But Classical economists like Ricardo and Smith admitted the issue of scarcity of certain goods. The LTV only applied to items that could be freely reproduced. Due to the fluctuations in the supply and demand of these goods, there could never be an exact correlation between price and value. For Carson, the complaint about inexactitude "made as much sense as saying the law of gravity was invalidated ... by air resistance..."

Carson then re-establishes the LTV not only through its Smithian-Ricardian base but also, with the irony of the dialectic, by using certain Marginalist and Austrian concepts. For Smith, labour was a plainly a 'hardship'. As such, the LTV has a "subjective basis" rooted in "common sense" and "the same a priori understanding of human behaviour from which BB's disciple Von Mises derived his 'praxeology'." In essence, human beings maximise utility and minimise disutility. "The expenditure of labour is an absolute cost regardless of the quantity ... the opportunity cost of labour ... is non-labour." "It is the disutility of labour and the need to persuade the worker to bring his services to the production process, unique among all the 'factors of production', that creates value."

There is a major difference between the situation of the labourer and the landlord-capitalist. Labour requires a "positive expenditure of effort", 'abstinence' and rent have to do with setting charges for access to something. Labour is an absolute sacrifice, abstinence, is at best, a relative one. The worker must work, someone with capital has a choice whether to not work or to invest. "The 'value' created by capitalists and landlords is simply a monopoly price paid to their owners." Furthermore, the Marginalists and Austrian critics of the LTV treated property relations as given. How did that pool of investment capital really come about? How indeed, did the landlord get the land he rents? The lack of property and capital that forces the worker to sell himself to a capitalist is best explained not through economic theory, but through history.

The facts of history are clear, the peasants were dispossessed through



coercion and state intervention, transforming them into landless labourers and enforcing a situation of unequal exchange on the labour market. Carson goes into great detail about this process in the succeeding chapter, but first he turns his critical eye to the Marxist version of the development of capitalism. Marx was ambiguous on the role of coercion as a factor. Engels, on the other hand, was a market absolutist. Wage labour was "purely economic" and there was "no robbery or force or state involved" in the primitive accumulation of capital.

Marxist refusal to admit the statist origins of capitalism are political in origin. Engels was attempting to defeat Eugene Duhring's version of socialism. Earlier on, the project was to trash Proudhon and the Ricardian socialist Hodgskin. All three of these thinkers saw capitalism as rooted in, and perpetuated by, statism and violence. The one aspect the Marxist and non-Marxist socialists did agree on, is that

for capitalism to exist, workers must be separated from the means of production. Carson's recipe for a Free Market?

1. steal the producing classes land;
2. terrorise the former owners so they won't organise any opposition;
3. convince them this situation is a natural result of the Free Market.

Let's now look at those facts of history. Proudhon was right, 'property is theft'. The so-called right to peasant land was a feudal legal fiction established by the Norman conquest. However, the first real mass expropriation and eviction of peasants did not occur until the seizure of Church lands by Henry VIII. More than 10% of the peasantry were reduced to landless labourers by this action and were terrorised by the brutal Poor Laws enacted about the same time. Legal changes in the seventeenth century converted the limited feudal right into private property right and the remaining peasants became tenants pure and simple. These were then dispossessed over the next two centuries by a series

of Enclosure Acts.

The new-found capitalist landowners loved the Enclosure Acts, and not just for the property it gave them. The workers, lacking land, were no longer independent. Independence was a situation their masters considered "one of the greatest of evils." Peasant communal land ownership (the traditional form) was considered "a dangerous centre of indiscipline."

This evil system was imposed overseas and in this manner the so-called world market came about. Ireland was the dress rehearsal for the robbery, enslavement and genocidal murder of native people everywhere. The first slaves were the Celtic peoples, shipped out to die like flies in the cane fields of Barbados. Indeed, "America was built on slave labour." The world market was established by the European navies who protected the slavers, forced weaker countries to buy European goods and crushed any competition. State intervention shut out

➡ page 6, column 4

## ONLINE

The internet is a habitat where anarchism should thrive, but only if we as anarchists can harness it. Finding your way about the internet when looking for information on a certain subject isn't easy due to the amount of crap you run into. Here I try and pick out a few of good sites worth a visit.

### Wikipedia

<http://www.wikipedia.org>

Wikipedia is a godsend to anarchists everywhere. For a few years now it has been the number one online encyclopaedia. The unique thing about it is that it anyone can edit and add entries, which means its range and depth is breath-

taking. You can find a page on any idea, subject, song, thing or person. It succeeds where other open publishing projects like Indymedia fall down – it manages to contain quality information whilst fending off insane comments and stories thanks to a system of moderation and data restoration in case anyone tries to screw it up. At the same time as being internet genius it remains simple to understand and is very user friendly. Well worth a visit.

### APOC

<http://www.illegalvoices.org>

Anarchist People Of Color is, sadly, a group only active in the US, however

their recently updated website is interesting reading for people around the world. Although some sections are lacking in content, check out the 'Knowledge' section which has a number of texts on anti-authoritarian issues from a race-conscious perspective. Many you may have never come across before, while others are popular widely read texts such as Lorenzo Komboa Ervin's *Anarchism and the Black Revolution*. A site to draw inspiration from, if only we had something like it in the UK!

### Radical Reference

<http://radicalreference.info>

This is a new site set up in the US (what

a surprise) by "a collective of volunteer library workers who believe in social justice and equality." They are interested in providing professional research support to communities, progressive organisations, independent journalists, etc., on topics which it is hard to find information about. The project works in ten languages and anyone can submit and answer questions on the site via an online form. From a brief look at the front page, recently answered questions include subjects such as Emma Goldman references, free wireless networks in London, HIV/AIDS info-leaflets for prisoners and the destruction of olive tress in Palestine by the IDF.

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# The Top Ten



Our Top Ten London Riots:

1. The Peasants Revolt, 1381 Wat Tyler leads an army of labouring people to end feudalism and property ownership. London is occupied for two days, prisons thrown open, the Tower ransacked and Tyler killed by the Mayor.
2. The Battle of Cable Street, 1936 300,000 people repel fascists from largely Jewish areas of the East End and breaks the back of Moseley's blackshirts.
3. Clerkenwell reform riots, 1833 Police violently disperse protestors. Juries later acquit, on the grounds of self defence, those accused of killing and attempting to kill police.
4. Broadwater Farm riots, 1985 PC Blakelock is killed during rioting in response to the killing of local women by police.
5. Poll Tax riot, 1990 A classic.
6. Wapping, 1986-87 News International sacks most of its workforce leading to year-long picketing at the company's Wapping site and numerous clashes with scabs and the police.
7. Miners, 1985 A huge march of 80,000 striking miners and their supporters sees clashes with police at Whitehall.
8. J18, 1999 Heavy fighting, occupations and window breaking across the 'Square Mile'.
9. Brixton riots, 1981 Police driven out of the area.
10. Criminal Justice Bill, 1994 Hyde Park saw a massive riot when police tried to prevent partying after the demo.

## Imagine if...

Prince Harry straightened his mop of ginger hair in the mirror and rubbed his eyes blearily. His face, usually a healthy purple, was as yellow as the sceptre he was third in line for.

"What happened?" He wondered, not for the first time. He remembered dancing, and a lot of booze...

Ow! His brain hurt almost as much as it had when Sarah Forsyth had allegedly taken his exams. He rolled out of bed and clumped into the bathroom, where his brother was desperately trying to work out how to button his costume for tonight's party. Harry sighed.

"It's a loincloth Willie it doesn't have buttons."

William snarled at his younger brother and took the loincloth off his head.

"Oh yeah? Well at least I've got a costume Harry, unlike some other booze hounds I could mention."

William had a point though. Where could he get a costume? Suddenly he had a brainstorm.

"Willie I've got it!" His brother gave him a look of concern.

"Again? Which Soho tart was it this time?"

"Shut up and follow me." Harry raced his brother across to their grandparent's wing. "It's a colonials and natives party. Where else but grandpa's wardrobe could we find the clothes of that many imperial subjects?"

They arrived and immediately dived into Prince Philip's massive wardrobe. "Zulu, coolie, gimp..." Harry searched fruitlessly through the old bugger's outfits until in exasperation, he leant on a bust of Churchill.

A wall slid backwards. Behind it was a room with a bed, a chair, a fireplace and a big 3D map of Berlin. As Harry crept in, an elderly man with sunburn and no hair, wearing a desert trooper uniform on his skinny frame got up from the chair and saluted.

"Heil! Would you like to continue our contest herr... You aren't Philip!" The two stared at each other. Harry couldn't believe it. The man looked exactly the same size as him!

"Harry, we need to go it's getting late!" Came the whiny tones of his brother. Harry weighed things up, and picked up a nearby stick.

"Rommel, I need your clothes. I have a party to go to."

## Black Flag

In November last year I wrote an article about the anarchist media. I mentioned that the current issue of Black Flag (now available from Freedom Bookshop) could be the last and advertised a joint meeting of the Black Flag and Freedom editorial collectives at the Anarchist Bookfair.

I'm happy to report that the meeting was a success. While we did not really discuss how the British anarchist media could develop in the future, around a dozen people put their names down to help with Black Flag. If you are interested in getting involved with producing the magazine (and share its revolutionary anarchist politics!) then please come along to the next editorial meeting (at Freedom Bookshop on Saturday, 29th of January at 2pm).

The actual direction of Black Flag remains to be decided. We may remain a magazine (and hopefully increase the frequency of production back up to quarterly). We may become a spine-bound annual journal. Perhaps we can strengthen our links with Freedom and complement each other. Perhaps we can even start to rationalise the libertarian media to cut down in duplicate effort and save time and resources. We don't know what will happen, that's up to the meeting and those who want to get involved, but we do know that many people want Black Flag to continue.

## 1 million

The number of pounds that Vodafone announced it would be to the tsunami appeal.

## 1

The number of hours it will take the company to make substantially more than £1 million in profits. As well as being less than an hour's profit, £1 million is also less than they gave their new boss as his annual bonus.



## A sideways look

Most dictionaries define fundamentalist as someone who treats their scripture as literal truth, usually referring to US Protestants or Islam. As these texts have nuances that can be interpreted, this means that fundamentalists get attached to one particular definition. Oddly enough, the bits they take as most fundamental are the sort which define a woman's place as subordinate, call for homosexuals to be killed or non-believers to be converted or destroyed. If you wondered where some of the loopier bits of American foreign policy came from, look no further.

As I write, it appears that the threats by Hindu fundamentalists against the RampART arts and social centre in East London were just threats. The Centre, together with Indymedia Cinema, staged a Film Festival featuring documentaries from India on a range of topics, with money raised going to the Tsunami Appeal. Perhaps most controversial was *Gujarat, a Laboratory of Hindu Rashtra*, which documents how attacks on a train carrying Hindu pilgrims to Ayodhya in 2002 were used by the then-governing party the BJP as fuel for a massacre of Muslims. In what appears to be an orchestrated campaign by BJP-related email lists, plenty of abusive messages have been left both on RampART's website and telephone.

Some of the Hindu militants interviewed in the press drew inspiration from the ability of some Sikhs to stifle free expression in Birmingham last month. After violent clashes with the police, the play *Bezhti*, a story of rape and murder set in a Sikh temple, was cancelled by the theatre in the interests of public safety. Author Gurpreet Kaur Bhatti has gone into hiding after death threats. She hopes that it will be restaged and there are offers from other theatres keen to

stand up for freedom of expression.

Also inspired by the militant Sikhs were a cheerful bunch of Christian fundamentalists who tried to stop the BBC showing *Jerry Springer: The Opera*. Personally, I thought it was quite funny, though it could have done with a bit more swearing. I couldn't count five thousand expletives - but the fundamentalist Christians said it included the number of people singing the words multiplied by the number of times they were said. If this is Christian maths I can now understand the feeding of the five thousand. One spokeswoman on the radio said that they opposed the play not just because it was blasphemous, oh no, but also because it encouraged disrespect for authority. Apparently people don't respect a lot of things anymore, like the police, or maybe the Church. I can't think why? Must be all that trashy television, can't be anything to do with those institutions having their true cover stripped away... It seems that fringes of most religions are hell-bent on flaunting their bigotry and defiantly want the world to be a worse place. So, I'm sure that even now, Blair and Milburn are sitting down, working out how they can get more religious groups to run schools and social services.

So why is it only the Muslims who are demonised by the media in this country? Ah, yes, the Christians already have a lot of power, even if only barking fundamentalists try to get things banned. The Sikhs don't have a country to invade, let alone an oil-rich one. And Hindu nationalism as illustrated by the BJP opened up India to the most powerful fundamentalists around - those who believe in the holy scriptures of the IMF and World Bank. The prescriptions of structural adjustment, privatisation and free trade are followed, literally, despite all the evidence to the contrary.

Svartfrosk

## Blast from the Past

From Freedom of 2nd February 1952, on a trial of seventy-five anarchists in Spain and an outbreak of strikes:

"On December 14th, 1951, a military tribunal at Seville held in camera the trial of seventy-five members of the Syndicalist National Confederation of Labour (CNT).

The accused, who included six women, were charged with secret association and with giving aid to anti-Franco militants. They had organised in 1949-50 a secret escape route from Cadiz to Tangiers for opponents of the regime whose life and liberty was in danger.

Dionisio Ruda, accused of having been secretary of the regional Syndicalist organisation at Cazalla de la Sierra, and Antonio Nunez Perez, charged with being a guerrilla, were sentenced to death. Other sentences ranged from eight years for one of the women to thirty years.

Although the news has only now percolated through to the outside world, the original arrests were made in 1949. That alone should throw into stark relief the ruthlessness of the oppressing machine."

## The quiz

1. What connects lords, ladies and loaves?
2. Rumours about cartridge grease for a new rifle sparked what important historical event?
3. In 1840, the Russian government provoked riots by ordering peasants to grow what?
4. Why did British sailors object to the lemon juice ration being replaced by lime in the mid nineteenth century?

Answers on page 6

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