

# FREEDOM

80P ANARCHIST NEWS AND VIEWS

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## BURNOUT IN THE UK

An unpopular long hours culture is leading to lost sleep, illness and diminished family life claims a new report. New research published by human resources consultants Hudson has indicated that as many as 52% of UK workers experience symptoms of 'burnout', with nearly half of workers convinced that the situation has deteriorated in the last five years.

The investigation revealed that 26% of workers had suffered from loss of sleep and illness, directly attributable to their work, 23% experienced irritation from family and friends at their excessive hours and 15% were taking their frustration out on customers and colleagues.

Employers were complacent about the problem, with just 35% prepared to admit the problem may exist in their workplace and 59% of employers having nothing in place to help suffering employees, only one in five claimed to be actively encouraging staff to cut back on hours. In construction, whilst virtually all employers believed they were taking action to prevent 'burnout', only four in ten workers thought this to be the case.

When employers were asked to suggest preventative measures, attempts to decrease workloads through further hiring and increased time off were the most unpopular options, with 'support networks', 'increased role clarity' and 'increasing efficiency skills' regarded as most effective.

EU plans to scrap the Working Time Directive opt-out, which enables employers to side-step the 48 hour week, have brought Britain's long hours culture into the spotlight. More than three and a half million workers work more than the EU maximum.

Sir Digby Jones, head of the CBI, has attacked moves to scrap the opt-out, "people need the opportunity to earn extra money if they want to. I want to hear from the trade unions who is going to compensate families for lost income." Over two million long hours workers receive no extra pay for their extra hours with a further million receiving overtime but still wishing to reduce their hours. Just one in nine long hours workers are happy working longer because of extra pay. Last year's survey by the Office of National Statistics found that 68% of long hours workers would be happy to be limited to the 48 hour week.

Long hours are linked to lower productivity with the UK having the sixth worst hourly productivity in the EU. Fatigue and inaccuracy make long hours cost-effective only when extracted for free and therefore reducing the cost per hour. According to a recent TUC poll, they also impede worker education, with 35% of full-time workers unable to take up a course because of their hours and workload.

Some union activists are worried that



EU legislation will not be enough to stem the tide of long hours, with 66% of long hours workers not even having signed the opt-out. Simon, an NUI organiser, said "I was never offered the

opt-out and colleagues are routinely asked to work through lunchbreaks and late into the evening to meet deadlines." For many, the long hours horse has already bolted, "without a union, we're pretty

powerless to enforce working hours. To be honest we'll have to fight long hours with or without the opt-out."

See also Editorial on page 6

## BAKU-CEYHAN PIPELINE

The controversial \$4 billion Baku-Ceyhan oil pipeline has been opened amid violent repression in Azerbaijan and continued condemnation from international bodies.

On Saturday 20th May anti-government demonstrations in Azerbaijan – the location for the pipeline's formal opening – were brutally attacked by police. 45 demonstrators were arrested and scores beaten, adding to thirty members of the opposition political party taken earlier that week.

The day before the pipeline had its red tape cut by US representative Condoleezza Rice, a consortium of groups including Friends of the Earth and Georgian and Ukrainian authorities published a report showing leaked docu-

ments detailing ongoing international clashes over the environmental and economic implications of Baku-Ceyhan.

Borjomi in Georgia, used to export water, accounting for up to 10% of total Georgian exports, according to the report. A worker from the region said: "BTC brought benefits for the government; but local people have nothing! We had such great water here and they brought all these tractors and destroyed it. They have not done anything for us."

The financial implications for Georgia have been harsh, according to the report, and environmental fears are high. The Borjomi region, which the pipe passes through, is highly ecologically sensitive, and the pipeline's protective coatings against the elements have come into question.

As the construction company has not adhered to national guidelines, the report has also alleged that the company no longer has an effective permit to work in the area.

The pipeline, which links Eastern European oilfields to Europe and is

capable of carrying a million barrels of oil a day, has been funded by a BP-led consortium, and is aimed at breaking Russian control over the fuel-rich region.

It is thought the financial benefits for Azerbaijan's government could reach levels of up to \$7 billion a year in revenue from the pipeline consortium's profits.

But it is suspected that this money will not trickle far into the nation's economy. According to Transparency International, Azerbaijan is one of the world's most corrupt countries.

On 2nd June ten thousand people demonstrated against that corruption, despite the repression of just two weeks previously. The opposition party, who organised the rally, have accused incumbent President Aliiev (son of the late president Heydar) of rigging the election.

This appears to have gone unnoticed by Western backers of the project. When the deal was originally signed in 1994 to build the pipeline – which will be fully operational in 2009, it was hailed as 'the deal of the century'.

## SLOWER THAN STEAM

Some train routes are now slower than they were in the nineteenth century according to new delay-busting timetables which often see trains waiting in stations after arriving early. Journeys between Portsmouth and Southampton are now 31% longer than in 1898, with trains on the busy Manchester to Liverpool line taking 47 minutes compared to just 40 in 1900.

Trains from the last three decades were commonly found to be faster than their modern, post-privatisation equivalents, with the Great Western Main Line taking twenty minutes longer than in 1980 and the London to Edinburgh journey ten minutes longer than just a decade ago. Routes were found to be faster even where trains employed the same stopping pattern and the same locomotives.

The problems are thought to stem in part from line closures and increased traffic, but also from new timetables designed to prevent fines for poor punctuality, with South West Trains (SWT) cutting late trains by 14% through extending journey times.

SWT defended their record, claiming that extra time was needed to allow for

new sliding doors, as well as extra carriages. They also stated that passengers were more interested in reliability than speed.

Express routes have been the worst hit. For example British Rail's Intercity 125, so called for its 125mph top speed, now trundles the London-Norwich at an average of just 61 miles per hour.

One regular commuter said, "I travel to London every other Sunday and the service is a joke – more replacement buses than trains. We used to mock BR for their problems but nowadays you end up expecting to wait in a station for twenty minutes, or grind to a halt somewhere outside it. Privatisation has been a nightmare, everything that could go wrong has done. But the companies still churn out profits for their shareholders."



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# Home and away

## FREEDOM

Volume 66 Number 11

### 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

We've had a nice, quiet couple of weeks at Freedom, and it's set to get even more so, as many of the shop's volunteers will be taking a suspiciously synchronised break around the beginning of July.

Colchester Anarchist Group too, have finally given way to the pressures of time and extortionate rail travel costs, and are bowing out of helping at the shop on Tuesdays – best wishes to them. But with all these people gone, we are of course left with a slight conundrum; who will look after the hallowed (and slightly grubby) business of flogging literature? If you've got a few days spare coming up and G8 doesn't appeal, we'd love to hear from you. Simply come into the bookshop, or email shop@freedompress.org.uk and we can take it from there.

On a paper-related note, we were late again last week, after that grovelling apology in issue 6609, so yet again sorry (and indeed sorry that you are reading this one late). We're finding it difficult to get all the editors together at once, but an editorial meeting is in the works.

More carry-on style escapades next issue.

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distrib@freedompress.org.uk

### Next issue

Contributions are wanted for future Freedoms. The next issue will be dated 25th June and the last day to get your copy to us will be Friday 17th June (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!

### Arrests in Italy

Recently there have been over a hundred raids against anarchists in Italy, resulting in ten people being remanded in custody, accused of involvement in a letter-bomb campaign. Some of those arrested are connected to the Italian ABC, which has been accused of circulating a press-release, from the underground group FAInformal, claiming responsibility for some of the attacks.

The newsletter of the Italian ABC has been declared illegal by the Italian State.

Please send urgent letters of support to: Danilo Cremonese, Valentina Speciale, Stefano del Moro, Marco Bisetti, Massimo Leopardi, Elsa Carroll, Claudia Cospito, and Mattia Bertoni (separately) at Casa Circondariale, via San Donato 2, 65129 Pescara, Italy. Tirteo Tavernese (Teo), Carcere di Palmi, Via Trodio 8, 89015 Palmi (RC), Italy.

### Il Silvestre

Also in Italy, Il Silvestre defendant Alessio Perondi has been released from prison under house arrest, but this is

unfortunately due to health reasons.

The trial against Il Silvestre is due to start later this year, on 5th December. While most of the eleven Il Silvestre defendants are now on bail, and Alessio is under house arrest, two comrades remain in prison.

- William Frediani, Casa di Reclusione, Via Maiano 10, 06049 Spoleto (PG), Italy.
- Francesco Gioia, Modulo VII, Ctra. Comarcal 611, km. 37 6, 28770 Soto del Real, Madrid, Spain.

### Amanda Cerezo Garcia

In Spain, Amanda Cerezo Garcia remains in prison charged with an arson attack on a road construction vehicle, and sending a letter-bomb to a neo-Nazi politician. Amanda Cerezo Garcia, CP Alicante II, Ctra. N-330, k. 66, 03400 - Villena, Spain.

### New campaign launched by deaths in custody families

A new campaign has been launched by the families of people who have been

killed while in custody. The West Midlands Families Support Group was launched at the end of May at an event in Birmingham hosted by Benjamin Zephaniah, and attended by the family of Mikey Powell (who died in the custody of Birmingham police) and the family of Michael Bailey (who recently died in Ryehill prison). Also present was Pauline Campbell (whose 18 year old daughter died in Styal prison) and Brenda Weinberg (whose brother, Brian Douglas, was killed by police in London).

Commenting on the new campaign, Tippa Naphtali, Chair of the Mikey Powell Campaign for Justice said "Only by joining forces in a collaborative and sustained manner can we weaken the systems that fosters and protects those that take our loved ones."

For more information call 07770 432 439 or 0774 008 3915.

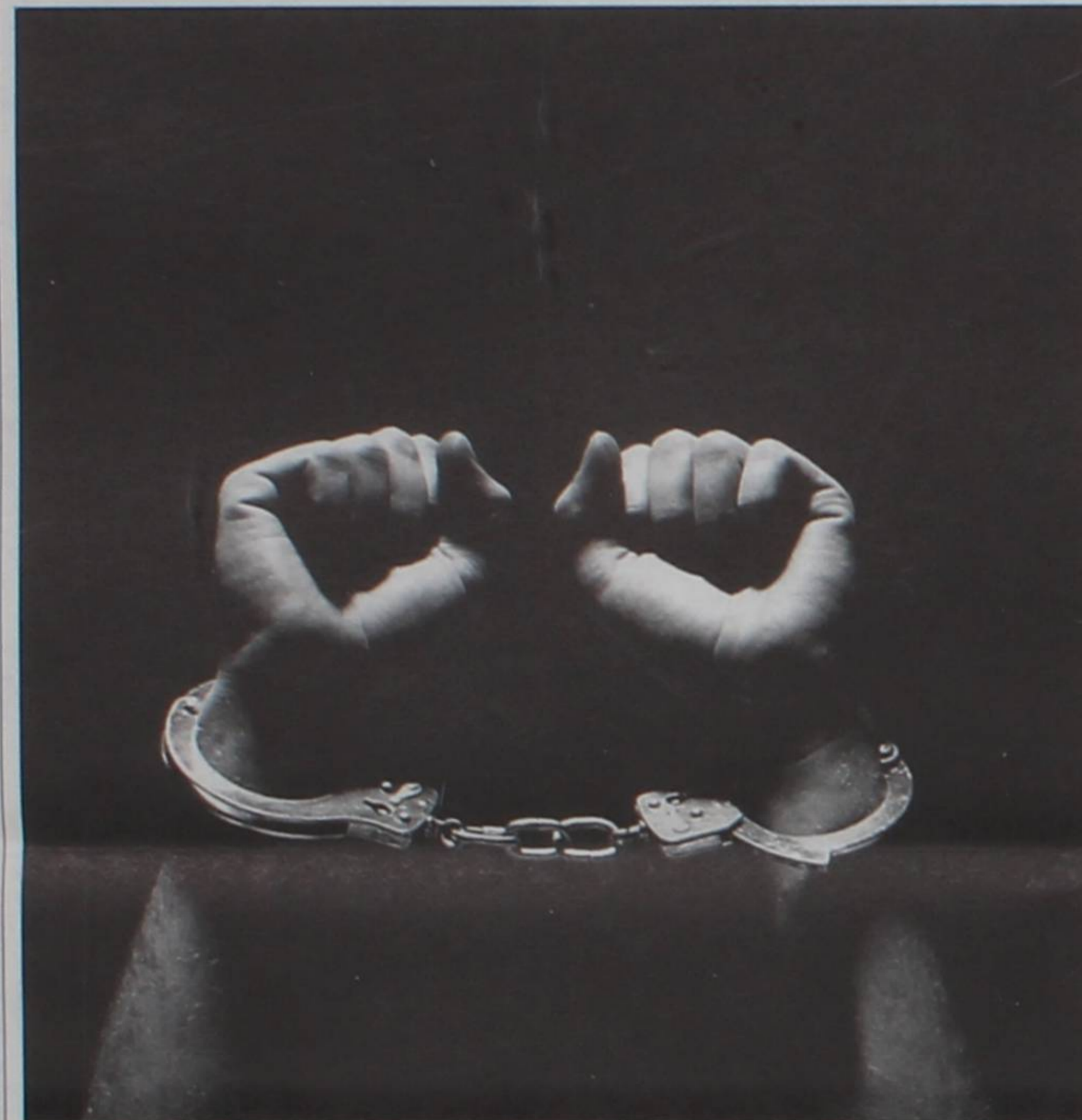
### Wilko's picket in Leeds

The Campaign Against Prison Slavery will be holding another picket of Wilkinson's Leeds (Headingley) store in protest at the company's continued exploitation of forced prison labour. The latest picket will be on Saturday 28th June, starting at noon.

### British prison population continues to rise

For the first time in history, the prison population of England and Wales has reached 76,000. So if 'Prison works' why have prison numbers risen by around 25,000 in the past ten years alone?

compiled by Mark Barnsley



## LISTINGS

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

until 18th June Art Not Oil exhibition at the Institute for Autonomy, 76-78 Gower Street, London W1. For more info see [www.artnotoil.org.uk](http://www.artnotoil.org.uk)

18th June Community Action Gathering, standing up for our communities and our interests: how best to organise and take action, at Oxford House, Bethnal Green Road, London E2 from 11.15am to 5.30pm, contact 0208 374 5027 or [info@hackneyindependent.org](mailto:info@hackneyindependent.org)

18th to 19th June Leamington Peace Festival, see [www.peacefestival.org.uk](http://www.peacefestival.org.uk)

4th July Big Blockade at Faslane nuclear submarine base, for info see [www.tridentploughshares.org](http://www.tridentploughshares.org)

4th July Independence from America Day at Menwith Hill, near Harrogate, North Yorkshire, 12 noon to 4pm, see [www.caab.org.uk](http://www.caab.org.uk) or call 01943 466405, with music from Chumbawumba

15th to 17th July Guilfest, for info see [www.guilfest.co.uk](http://www.guilfest.co.uk)

15th to 18th July International Animal Rights Gathering, four day event with workshops, speakers and training in all the skills you need to become an effective activist for the animals, info from AR2005, BM Box 2248, London WC1N 3XX, or see [www.ar2005.info](http://www.ar2005.info)

23rd July March and rally to oppose monkey vivisection laboratory, meet at

12 noon, Oxpens Park, Oxpens Road, Oxford, call 07906 497 317 or see [www.speakcampaigns.org.uk](http://www.speakcampaigns.org.uk)

17th to 21st August Earth First! Summer Gathering in the Peak District, see [www.earthfirstgathering.org.uk](http://www.earthfirstgathering.org.uk)

1st to 10th September Vegan and vegetarian dolphin camp in Wales (not a place where vegan dolphins stay, but a chance to see dolphins!) contact [cetaceadefenceuk@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:cetaceadefenceuk@yahoo.co.uk)

2nd to 4th September Off The Tracks Festival, Castle Donnington, call 01332 384518 or see [www.offthetracks.co.uk](http://www.offthetracks.co.uk)

13th to 16th September Disarm DSEi arms fair at ExCeL Centre, London Docklands, contact [disarm@dsei.org](mailto:disarm@dsei.org) or see [www.dsei.org](http://www.dsei.org)

### International

16th to 18th June European counter summit in Luxembourg, for info see [www.eurotop.lu](http://www.eurotop.lu) or <http://de.indymedia.org/2005/05/116724.shtml>

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)

1st to 14th August Ekotopia alternative technologies festival in Moldova, more info at [www.eyfa.org](http://www.eyfa.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

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.solfed.org.uk](http://www.solfed.org.uk)

Social Centres  
Autonomous Centre of Edinburgh (ACE)  
17 West Montgomery Place, Edinburgh  
[www.autonomous.org.uk](http://www.autonomous.org.uk)

The Basement  
24 Lever Street, Manchester (contact [mustsocial@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:mustsocial@yahoo.co.uk) or 0161 237 1832)

The Common Place  
23 Wharf Street, Leeds LS2 7EQ

[www.thecommonplace.org.uk](http://www.thecommonplace.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)  
Institute for Autonomy  
76-78 Gower Street, London WC1

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  
15-17 Rampart Street, London E1 2LA  
[www.rampart.co.nr](http://www.rampart.co.nr)

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

## In Brief

They like to talk

A new 'golden handcuffs' scheme has been announced for executives at BT, following widespread outsourcing policies over the past few years. Chief Executive Ben Verwaayen could earn up to £2.8m this year (or more than 2,000 times the base salary of an Indian call centre worker), up from a previous high of 1.74m in 2004.

BT said that "BT's present long-term incentive arrangements have not been acting as a sufficiently effective retention tool."

### Abuse soldier freed

A British soldier convicted for tying up an Iraqi prisoner and hanging him off a forklift truck will be freed after two months.

Mark Cooley, who drove the forklift in the infamous photographs, will be let out in July. The photographer, Gary Bartlam, will be out within a year. The decision was taken in a closed military meeting. Both are claiming they were scapegoats.

### I'll raise you

The proposed cost of the national ID card continues to climb, and has now reached £93 per person. Taking into account (current) projected tax costs of £5bn for implementation, they will now require an estimated input of £181 for every man, woman and child in the country to be economically viable.

### Jag justice?

Eight people have been charged with public order offences, after they installed solar paneling at John Prescott's home last month in protest at 'Two Jags' failure to personally observe governmental green policy.

### Extradition scandal

Ex-NatWest bankers accused of a \$7m theft from the company, which helped speed the collapse of Enron, are facing extradition to the US.

The three men will face just two years in prison if convicted, less than half the average sentence for conventional robbery. Thousands of people lost their jobs from the Enron scandal.

### Charges dropped

A trade unionist who placed his wreath on top of a BNP member's at a Holocaust remembrance ceremony has been freed after a £10,000 state case failed.

Martin Gleeson, from Manchester, saw the prosecution charge – for criminal damage to the £20 wreath – dropped, though the local CPS declined to say why.

### Manufacturing despair

The continued decline in UK manufacturing output saw its sharpest quarter fall since early 2003, on the back of gloomy economic forecasts and weak consumer spending.

In March, industry recorded its worst output performance in two decades. More than 5,500 jobs were lost in May, 700 of which were caused by the fallout from Rover's demise.

The Confederation of Business industries has predicted the toll for this year will reach 42,000 by the end of the month.

# Business as usual

## Injuries at work continue, but resistance has been puerile, reports Richard Griffin

British Sugar (BS) has been fined a six-figure sum for the second time this year, bestowing on them the dubious honour of being the first company in UK history to do so.

The company was fined £345,000 including costs at the end of last month for an incident which led to an electrician being seriously injured and blind in one eye. Edmund Osborne, from Lowestoft, was caught in an explosion in the company's Cantley plant in Norfolk.

In February British Sugar was fined £400,000 following the death of Lorraine Waspe – a dispatch worker at their Bury St Edmunds factory. The company admitted that it had failed to protect its workers. At the time the Health and Safety Executive said "the level of fine recognises the seriousness of the incident and the very tragic loss of life."

BS's parent company made an operating profit of £478 million in the year 2004.

Each year 230 people die at work in Britain. Add in those who die as a result of diseases contracted through their job and the figure leaps to 10,000. Over 28,000 suffer major injuries at work and over 126,000 injuries that require them to take three or more days off to recover. Across the world more

workers die at work (two million) than people die in wars.

While the government is promising to shortly draft a bill on corporate manslaughter unions hold out little hope that the number of workers killed and injured at work will fall or that bosses will be held accountable. British Sugars' fine was the second it has received in two years. Workers don't die because of tragic accidents. They die because bosses don't care about their safety. Again this is an inevitable consequence of capitalism.

When Naomi Klein published the anti-capitalist book *No Logo*, many on the left felt particularly after Seattle that a new global anti-capitalist movement was emerging that would challenge capitalism's increasing global reach. Ten years on and things look a little different. In their recently published book, *The Rebel Sell*, Joseph Health and Andrew Potter point out how successfully '90s counter culture has been absorbed by capitalism.

The Canadian alternative media outfit *Adbusters* a few years ago produced a pair of no logo trainers. More expensive than those made in Asian sweatshops and with the corporate logo replaced by a white dot. They sold well. People were willing to pay more for 'fair trade' pumps.



Even anarchism hasn't escaped. On shoes, t-shirts even swim wear – the symbols and style of anarchism have been appropriated by business. Anarchy sells. It is fashionable. There are plenty of people wandering around Britain with the circled A on their clothes who have no idea who Bakunin is.\*

What links all this is a fundamental truth. Capitalism cannot be reformed. Lifestyle politics like *Adbusters* and the rest of the '90s DIY counter culture while fine in themselves (if you can afford it) are a dead end.

At Seattle, Prague, Genoa and elsewhere anarchists have been criticised by many

on the left for the militant stance they took – physically confronting global capitalism and the forces of the state. Anarchists know though that bosses will continue to pay themselves huge salaries and rip their workers and customers off. Workers will continue to die at work.

Anarchists want to live in a world centred on co-operation and mutual aid not one based on death and exploitation. We don't need reform, we need revolution.

\* Bakunin was one of the leading anarchist theorists of the nineteenth century.

## Police arrests roundup

Six policemen have found themselves in trouble over the last month, after one was fired for his BNP connections, two were arrested for a wrongful shooting, a PC was let off for driving at 159 mph, another was recorded being racist to a Kurdish boy, and a senior policeman resigned over harassment allegations.

Andrew Matthews was suspended, detained, questioned and finally released on police bail, under suspicion of passing information to far-right group the British National Party. It is alleged that BNP activists requested that Matthews, who worked out of Morely police station in Leeds, use police sources to provide them with information.

Officers have been banned from membership of the BNP since January last year.

Chief Inspector Neil Sharman, 42, and PC Kevin Fagan, 38, were arrested on 2nd June for their involvement in the wrongful killing of Harry Stanley six years ago.

Sharman, who was promoted over the intervening years despite ongoing concerns over the case, and Fagan, who wasn't, have been implicated by new forensic evidence, which used computer modelling to show the firing angle differed from the officers' accounts.

Fellow marksmen have reacted by threatening an unofficial strike, which would leave the country with no armed police on the streets – a terrifying thought.

Harry Stanley was originally shot, according to Sharman and Fagan, on the grounds he was a terrorist with a shotgun and they believed he was about to open fire. The 'weapon' was later found to be a table leg.

Mark Milton, from Telford in Shropshire, was caught doing 159 mph on a motorway, but was acquitted by the judge who called him the 'creme de la creme' of police drivers.

The authority was blamed for not telling him when it was allowable to 'practice high-speed driving'.

PC David Yates, from London, saw his case against a Kurdish boy thrown out after a recording was played of him saying he would: "Smash your Arab face in." to the defendant. He has now been suspended.

And finally, Tom Lloyd, Cambridge's most senior policeman, resigned on 2nd June after allegedly disgracing his uniform by getting drunk and making disrespectful comments to female staff at the Association of Chief Police Officers Annual Conference in Birmingham last month.

He said in his official resignation statement: "However ill-founded or exaggerated the reporting, I recognise that I gave cause for concern to those present. The subsequent media attention has damaged my reputation, and I feel honour-bound to step down before endangering the reputation of the Constabulary."

Alas, too late.

## Mail and news just got pricier

Postcomm, the postal service regulator, has had to intervene to prevent a 60% price increase on top of Royal Mail's £537m annual profit for 2004. Post bosses justified the rise, from thirty pence to forty-eight on first class stamps, by claiming it needed the extra cash to fund a pension deficit and bring profits in line with other postal groups.

The Postcomm intervention was welcomed by consumers group Postwatch. The Royal Mail has spent the last two years consistently missing targets set by the regulator, failing to reach any in 2003 and falling short on a quarter of them in 2004. It was still able to present inflated profits and reward Chief Executive Adam Crozier with a financial package worth nearly £3m.

Under the new plans First-class stamps will be subject to a 13% rise from 30 to 34p by 2010. Annual profits forecasts have been reduced to £285m and the average of all prices is to be controlled by an "inflation-linked formula."

After failing to reach its targets for the past two years, the Royal Mail has been set new different targets with the original 16 merged into just 6, with 4 more targets on regarding delivery to the correct destinations. Postal price rises are a further blow to subscription-based newspapers and magazines such as *Freedom*.

It comes on top of news that the Office of Fair Trading are considering changing the distribution rules in

favour of domination by large supermarkets.

Currently, deals between publishers and distributors allows small publications to be sent to small newsagents all over the UK, to be sold at the same cost as is given to Supermarkets. New legislation the OFT are pursuing will end these deals in the name of fair competition.

But the likely outcome of the move will be to give supermarkets the ability to undercut some aspects of the network, and could drive up to 12,000 titles out of business.

The Association of Newspaper and Magazine Wholesalers, Newspaper Publisher's association and the Periodical Publishers association explained: "Ending the exclusive territories for magazine distribution, by allowing retailers to source magazines from suppliers outside their particular territories, would seriously undermine the economics of such wholesaler territories, for both magazine and newspaper distribution."

Previous analysis of the market undertaken by Professor Paul Dobson of Loughborough University has shown that ending the current economies of scale by stripping out magazines would increase the overall cost of supply.

Professor Dobson has said "People living in rural and socially deprived urban areas will be particularly hard hit when this results in the closure of their local shop."

# News

## Campus clashes

### Rob Ray reports on last month's violent showdown at Athens Polytechnic

An anarchist in Athens was shot through the leg after a Greek policeman fired on a group of people over a dozen times on a university campus.

A clash began after security vehicles were parked on campus premises at Athens Polytechnic, in violation of laws brought in to prevent a repeat of violent repression inflicted on the student populace of 1975. The military junta of the time sent tanks onto the grounds of the very same campus – this was the first time that gunshots had been heard on the campus since.

A group of thirty to fifty anarchists spotted the trucks on their way home from a demonstration earlier that day and attempted to drive them out of the area by throwing stones, before being fired upon. Riot police were quickly called, and were met by burning barricades and a hail of more stones.

Twenty minutes after the first clash, anarchists entered a hall where a book presentation was taking place and refused to let anyone leave until an assembly had decided on further action (this was

later reported as a hostage situation by CNN). They were allowed to leave once the clashes outside had died down.

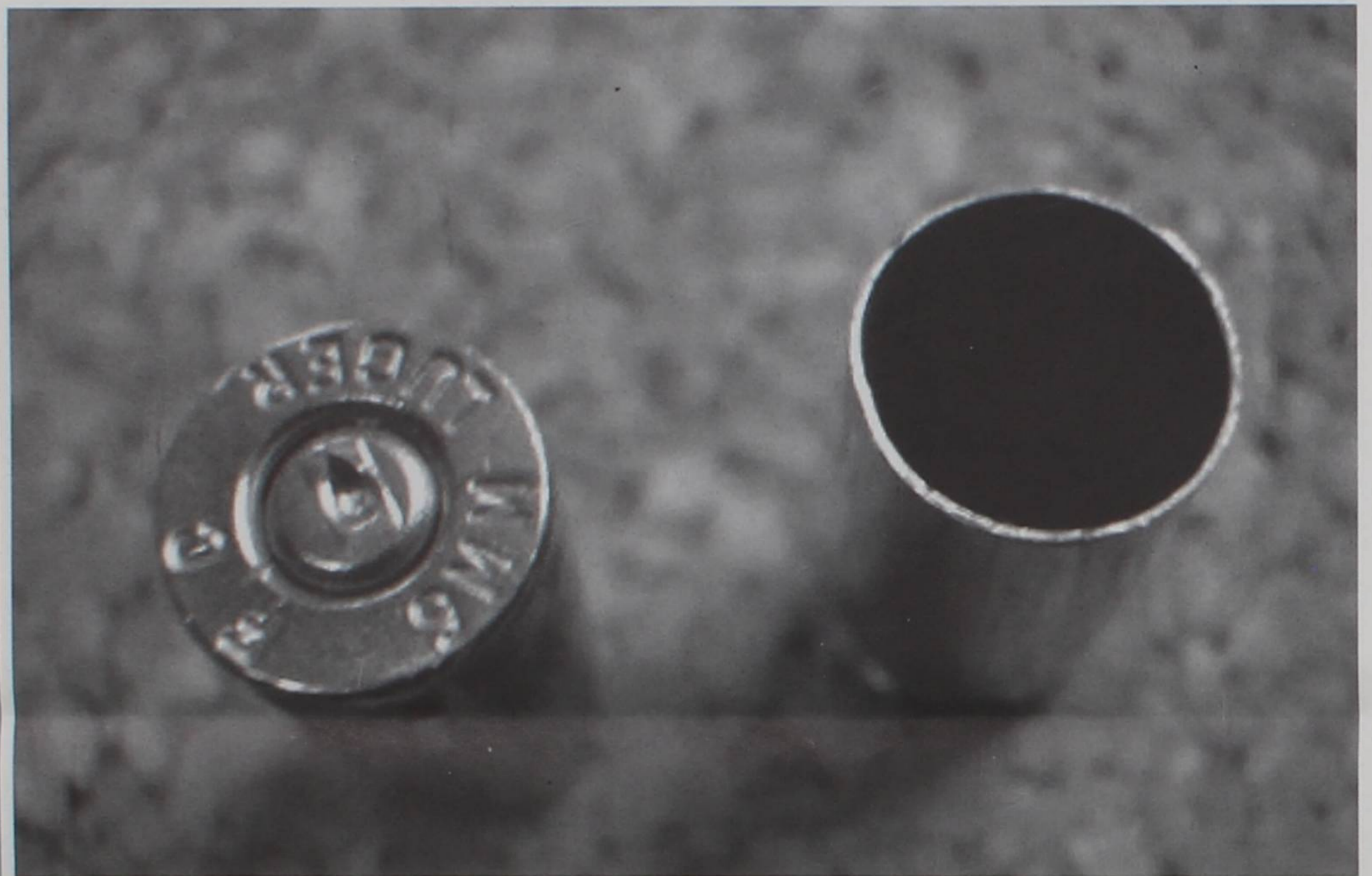
Online newswire Athens Indymedia said: "His comrades instantly occupied the campus, demanding the name of the policeman who shot, a condemnation of the shootings by the university's senate and an assurance that they could leave the campus safely. All three of their demands were met."

The university put out a press release the same night blaming the Greek police for the fighting. By the time it began to dissipate, the situation had drawn three hundred supporters.

An investigation has begun over the shooting, and a legal action has been launched against the officer concerned.

An antifascist demo also ended in violence last month, after the Greek riot police present were attacked by over a hundred people armed with Molotov cocktails.

Responding by sending tear gas into the crowd, police arrested over 120 people, with a hundred being subsequently prosecuted.



Bullets taken from the scene...

## Protests intensify in Bolivia

Nationwide blockades, strikes and demonstrations against the Bolivian Congress continued into a fourth week forcing the resignation of President Carlos Mesa, the abdication of the President of the Congress and the calling of new elections.

Protests started afresh on 16th May in response to vacillation over the new hydrocarbons bill. Mesa was reluctant to sign the bill into law because of fears that overseas investors would make Bolivia pay dearly for raising taxes. Demonstrations saw 100,000 people marching on the streets of the capital, La Paz. Mesa, subsequently refused to sign the new law, passing the responsibility on to Hormando Vaca Diez, President of the Bolivian Congress and Washington's favourite to succeed Mesa.

Protests continued to deepen and radicalise, with a civic strike and blockade declared on 23rd May in the heavily working class El Alto, home to the FEJUVE Neighbourhood Federation which has driven much of the protests. They were joined by striking public school teachers, high school students, miners and unemployed workers in establishing blockades on the main highway between El Alto and La Paz, the international airport, and in District 6 and 8 of the city.

The 24th May saw protests aimed at the Plaza Murillo, where the Government and Congress buildings are located. They were met by police with

low-calibre weapons and tear gas, who had erected metal barricades to keep marchers away from the seat of power. As protesters attempted to enter the Plaza, scuffles ensued and they were repelled with rubber bullets, snipers appearing in windows above the streets provoking the throwing of small quantities of dynamite at the windows. A sporadic siege of the Plaza Murillo ensued with President Mesa fleeing to the nominal Bolivian capital, Sucre.

The Bolivian Right centred on the wealthy city of Santa Cruz has threatened the Mesa administration still further with demands for regional autonomy for their small wealthy region, pledging to hold their own referendum on the matter if Congress doesn't allow them.

Elements in the army and police showed sympathy for the social movements, with two Lieutenant Colonels sacked from the Bolivian army for declaring for a Civic-Military Revolutionary government (their offer was overwhelmingly rejected by the protesters) and the 1st Police Regiment reprimanded for deciding by consensus not to repress the blockades and demonstrations.

The early part of the third week began with the largest single demonstration since October 2003 and the protests that led to a police massacre and resignation of 'Goni' Sanchez de Lozada. Protesters surrounded Plaza Murillo, holding a

mass public meeting. The government in turn denounced protesters as a minority led by radicals, and investigated the possibility of arresting protest leaders Jaime Solares (of the COB trade union federation) and Roberto de la Cruz (an Aymara city councillor in El Alto) for allegedly conspiring with the Lieutenant Colonel's supposed plot. By the 31st May a hundred thousand protesters had penned the government into the highly militarised area round the Plaza.

With Congress still unable to agree whether it was safe to meet, votes on the right's request for a referendum on Santa Cruz autonomy and the left's convoking a constituent assembly to establish more direct democratic apparatus, were indefinitely postponed. Evo Morales' Movement Toward Socialism party subsequently pulled out of Congressional horse trading vowing to bring its supporters on to the streets to reinforce the social movements.

Seemingly in desperation, on 2nd June Carlos Mesa called for both referendum and constituents assembly by special decree, enraging both sides of the political spectrum and leaving many protesters predicting an imminent civil war. Santa Cruz right-wingers immediately announced their intention to call a new referendum of their own to secure autonomy. Peasant farmers in the North of that region, who had suffered from paramilitary violence

➔ page 6, column 5

## Bangladesh disaster

Displaced workers and bereaved families have been left to starve following the collapse of a factory in Bangladesh, a disaster that killed at least 76 workers (a further 36 are still missing), injured 200 and put 6,000 employees out of work.

The nine story Spectrum Garments and Shariar Garments factory collapsed last month allegedly because of negligent construction, Shariar Hossain the owner and director Hasan Fakir have both been charged with GBH and Causing Death by Negligence. Both men have subsequently been released on bail and face a maximum penalty of just five years imprisonment.

The factory's closure has left six thousand people out of work, with employees still owed two months wages and three months worth of overtime allowances. Hundreds of textile workers demonstrated on the site of the collapsed building on 27th May calling for immediate payment of due wages, compensation for the families of the dead, missing and injured workers. A previous demonstration on 17th May ended with police blocking the workers from reaching the Labour Ministry to protest their grievances. Union organisers argue that workers are due compensation under the 1955 Serious Accident Act.

Kamrun Nahar, joint secretary of the National Garment Workers Federation (NGWF) said "Workers had

been warning management that something was wrong days before the collapse, when they felt the building trembling. Management assured them that nothing was wrong."

The 27th May demonstration saw speakers outline the perilous situations that many workers find themselves in. Many spoke of being evicted by landlords for being unable to pay their rent, an inability to afford food or medical care for those injured in the collapse. Some local traders and shop owners have also begun to call in debts and suspend vital credit to the workers. Neither the government nor any charity has as yet stepped in to assist.

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56@

## Feature

# No Olimpico!

## Gareth Gordon explains Barcelona's own pains hosting the Olympic behemoth

**R**ecent news that London's 2012 Olympic bid is eroding the lead of Paris, the favourite, will bring little cheer to those with an ounce of honest scepticism. With the decision of the International Olympic Committee due in early July, I decided to take a look at the experiences of another city that has long been a source of inspiration to anarchists, the Olympic city of 1992, Barcelona. Perhaps Barcelona would hold some lessons about the true nature of the Olympic spectacle.

To begin with, Barcelona in 1986 (the year it won the games selection) was a very different city. After the death of Franco, the transition to parliamentary democracy had brought a period of economic decline as Spain's industries were restructured. Four of every ten of Barcelona's inhabitants were unemployed and the Spanish government calculated that 25% of its national population was living in poverty. But by 1992 Madrid would be the European City of Culture, Seville would be holding the Expo, the whole country would be celebrating the 500th anniversary of the 'discovery' (read genocide) of Latin America by Columbus, and Barcelona would be hosting the Olympic Games. Post-Franco Spain had arrived!

### Five zeros on your house price

The current commercial image of the Olympic Games has been fundamentally shaped by Juan Antonio Samaranch, ex-minister of Franco's fascist regime and for many years head of the Olympic Committee. Thanks to him, the original Olympic spirit is dead and buried and the franchise rights to the funeral have been sold and sold again. In the Squatters Advice Centre, I met Oscar, who sees in Samaranch the personification of the new Olympic ideal. "This man declared on Franco's death that he would not return to live in a democratic Spain," he told me. "The Olympic Committee doesn't just prepare the games, it also imposes a fascist model on the host cities, in terms of security, of social cleansing, and of urban renewal where the profit goes to private companies."

Back in 1986 there were few people who suspected the impact that the games would have on Barcelona. One of those people was Iñaki García, a founder of the Virus publishing collective and nowadays active in the Zapatista Solidarity collective. "I don't think we realised quite how much this was going to transform the life of the city," he reflected, sitting upstairs in the El Lokal anarchist bookshop. "We knew the city needed regeneration, but 1992 turned Barcelona into a registered trademark."

From the mid-60s Samaranch had been involved with setting up a property

development company, Urprasa, that invested heavily in the southern edge of Barcelona. A rival cabal of politicians (grouped around the mayor that had proposed the Olympic bid, Narcís Serra) had bought up a different sector of real estate, the Ribera to the north. Both areas had seen bitter neighbourhood struggles to oppose redevelopment plans that the city hall eventually had to shelve in the '70s. Yet the Olympics became the excuse for the imposition of these old plans, and an internecine struggle arose between the two groups of politicians, in order to swing the siting of the Olympic installations in the area that they owned. Unusually, in this case, Samaranch and friends lost out, with the Olympic village built to the north. While the anarchist trade union the CNT denounced this in 1992 as 'influence trafficking', one thing is clear – the entire political class had its nose in the trough. As this jockeying for position was going on, between 1986 and 1991 house prices in Barcelona rose over 300%. By 1991, the reformist UGT union published a study showing that half of all Spanish families did not have sufficient means to buy themselves somewhere to live. From an industrial city, Barcelona became a tourist haven, with working-class neighbourhoods bulldozed in the centre to make way for five star hotels. "People need to ask themselves if a two week spectacle is worth it for the changes that come from above," says Iñaki, "which are not focussed on the community's needs, and which mark the life of the city for good." Activists recognise that the city needed investment, but as Oscar pointed out, "the question is why was the city in such bad shape? Why do you need the excuse of the Olympic Games? If the city has needs, they should be met. No excuses required."

### Five star repression

"I was working as a truck driver the day the decision to hold the '92 Olympics in Barcelona was announced," remembers Iñaki. "It was incredible, the traffic ground to a halt, everyone beeping their horns. People didn't know what the city was letting itself in for, it meant work at a time when there was no work." Undoubtedly the Olympics were popular, but the citizens of Barcelona were presented with a ready-made consensus. There had been no public debate about the model of city that was wanted by the inhabitants. Thus in the beginning, according to Charlie, one of the originators of the 'No 92' campaign, "there were just twenty or thirty of us trying to raise a dissident voice." Yet while there were legitimate questions to be asked of the Olympic project, in 1992 the Virus Collective complained of "the corporatist consensus, where everyone is good, and which makes it



believable that this is carried out in everyone's name, that everyone has the same to win or lose," a consensus which it rejected because of its "strong whiff of fascism." This fascism took its most concrete form with the creation of the volunteer corp, a 100,000 strong citizen army which undertook, unpaid, many of the ancillary tasks that contributed to the games' overall profitability.

But a response was articulated, and Charlie described to me how the campaign was directed against the profiteering that invariably surrounds the games. The 'imposed' consensus, though, was not amenable to challenges. As Iñaki points out, "the counterpart of this consensus was repression." This was seen most clearly in the peripheral neighbourhood of Besòs, an overpopulated working-class area, where it had taken the local government fifteen years to build the community their first school. As part of the city's renewal, plans had been drawn up to tarmac over the little open space the neighbourhood possessed, and build yet more blocks of flats. The local people waged a long campaign under the banner 'Flats no! Facilities yes!' but were completely ignored. Then one morning in 1989 residents awoke to find construction workers, flanked by lines of police, digging up their square. After a day of local people being abused by the police, the neighbourhood erupted in anger against the cops. Charlie used to live there, and was present with two colleagues, filming the events for a video, 'Kisses for Besòs', that they later released. The images are astounding, of an entire community under siege by the police for having had the temerity to expect to decide their own future. The

conflict was intense, with weeks of rioting where the police came under barrages of stones, gas cylinders, petrol bombs and even rifle fire at one point. They, in turn, exacted their own price, with dozens of arrests and beatings in the police stations; one pregnant woman miscarried; one person lost an eye to a rubber bullet and another lost a leg. Faced with having to keep hundreds of police on duty to repress Besòs, the city hall eventually backed down. For Charlie, "this was one of the few popular struggles that we won. It left a clear message that there was a struggle against property speculation."

Other forms of dissidence were harshly repressed closer to the time of the games. In 1991 the Catalan independence group, Terra Lliure, had negotiated an end to its armed struggle. Despite this, in 1992, Spanish judge Baltasar Garzón issued warrants for dozens of Catalan nationalists, resulting in 38 arrests by the Guardia Civil. Within days allegations of torture were being made against the police, and the Universidad Autònoma of Barcelona's website contains some 30 pages of testimony of the abuses suffered. Yet the Spanish home secretary responsible refused to have these accusations investigated, and two years later pinned medals on the chests of the Guardia Civil who had worked on the case. Later again, once the games began, "it was like an invasion," Iñaki told me. "We'd never seen anything like it, police on the street with bullet-proof vests and machine guns, helicopters overhead. The beggars who lived in the street were forced off it, the police cleared the prostitutes off the street, and afterwards we learned that they had even bought

them plane tickets to other cities for the duration of the games."

### Lessons for the future?

Writing recently in the Observer, Deyan Sudjic noted approvingly how the Tate Modern had "pushed up land values, helping to turn Southwark's run-down hinterland into a development hot spot, sprouting apartment towers, and new office blocks." It seems that until there is fat profit in it for the property speculators, community needs can be happily ignored by our class. For whatever city ends up hosting the 2012 Olympics, the lesson from Barcelona is clear. As Iñaki points out, once the games are announced opposing them is a lost cause. What is important is to focus on local struggles, to destroy the imposed consensus. But he insists on the need to maintain a critique of the whole spectacle as empty profiteering, to document the hidden interests of the politicians who blandly talk in front of the cameras of new investment and work – "work at what cost?" asks Charlie. Exposing the financial interests behind the games works to rob them of the legitimacy that they crave in order to secure acquiescence for the urban projects that are paid for with public money and which generate private profit. "The state got people to participate," Charlie observes, "in a country where there had historically been distrust of political power. It was unbelievable – the state achieved a revolution in the popular mindset."

And prepare for the deluge of tourists. "Perhaps the ones who fled the city to escape the games were the wise ones," ponders Iñaki, "...but there has to be resistance!"

# Editorial

Whatever the CBI and the government may say there is no reasonable argument for our long hours culture. The majority of us working over forty-eight hours aren't doing so for generous overtime, we're doing it because we're bullied by our employer or handed excessive workloads by companies too skinflint to hire properly. The result is that we're burning out, left mentally and physically scarred.

As our working lives begin to swamp the time we have to ourselves, we're told this is for our own good, to be a strong, competitive society. But we get nothing out of it, just ever more insecure and mundane McJobs, minimum wage and subject to instant dismissal. Of all the inadequacies of Capitalism this country seems to be Europe's pioneer in inventing yet more problems.

Yet those, like the large trade unions, who see European legislation as a route out of this destructive cycle are complacent and naïve. The root cause of our problems lies in the imbalance in our workplaces, not the deficiency of government intervention. Where bosses can rule by decree their demands will quickly become extortionate; that most of those working over the EU limit haven't signed the opt-out testifies that all the laws in the world can't help if we're disorganised and isolated, unable to ensure that employers don't take advantage of us. The campaign against the growth in our exploitation has to come from workers kicking back directly at management.

All of this is far easier said than done, good workplace organising doesn't happen overnight and solid gains in hours, wages and working conditions are even harder to achieve. The state of UK industrial relations is a wake-up call for those of us presuming that struggle will pick up again if things get bad enough, they already are bad for millions of workers. We all have to be workplace organisers, not for the sake of revolutionary politics but because we are presently being swamped by all-powerful employers increasing their demands simply because they can.

How we go about this enormous task is something that needs to be well thought through. In some workplaces there are strong unions that we can join and make our arguments within undertaking activity that can mobilise those around us and energise even lacklustre branches. Activity reminds people what a trade union is meant to be; the democratic expression of the desires of organised workers.

Unorganised workplaces offer a whole different set of problems, we can't retain the illusion that mainstream trade unions can ever be won over to functioning along the lines of direct democracy and decentralisation.

Our movement should have the perfect tools to begin a new process of grass roots organising, such as is becoming significant in Italy and Spain, imagine how much easier it would be to persuade your work colleagues to enjoy the benefits and protections of a union if it weren't hitched to high subs spent by massive undemocratic bureaucracies, in part on dubious political ends. Perhaps we can begin a new chapter in British trade unionism, the growth of the DIY syndicate spread by militants well-trained in labour legislation but without the added pressure of establishing 'revolutionary' organisations.

# Commentary

## Our way or no way

I very much enjoyed reading the article on religion in the 28th May issue of Freedom, as the paper arrived on the morning the government unveiled its incitement to religious hatred bill. This new legislation seems designed to appease various religious groups (especially to get back the lost Muslim votes) and could be used to imprison the BNP. If it is the case that the real purpose of this law is to lock up Nick Griffin and his mates, then the Labour Party elite are using their perverted logic in trying to fight fascism.

Instead of abandoning the rhetoric on asylum and immigration (which, as we have seen, results in the degrading treatment of vulnerable people, the imprisonment of children, and increased racially-motivated attacks) the government is to prosecute people who bad-mouth other people on the basis of religion. This won't prevent any bigoted or violent behaviour, nor will it protect any one religion: it will just criminalise the expression of belief.

The hostile climate provided by the tabloid press has undoubtedly led to increased racist violence – the hideous 'stamp the camp' headlines precipitated attacks on travellers, for example. And if the bill is passed into law, it will only allow the BNP portray themselves as (and maybe even to become) martyrs for the fascist right.

Perhaps I am taking this far too seriously: from hoodies to yobs to binge drinkers, the territory on which the government likes to be seen to be acting, they can only offer legislative 'solutions' to the problems they hype and so the new incitement bill is just another diversion, something to keep the media spotlight off Blair. Mystification is a well-worn tactic: an illegitimate organisation distracts attention away from itself so that it can operate unquestioned. But then, we know that and can say it – even if the 'mainstream' media doesn't know or won't say.

James

## Soap and sausages

Fascism thrives on patriarchy, authoritarianism, racism, imperialism, militarism, hierarchy, corruption, lack of democracy, paucity of argument, lack of mutuality and closure.

There is some fascism in all of us, and it repays critical examination.

Effective, historic, anti-fascism entails 'the winning over' of fascist sympathisers

with argument and example in situations of mutuality and consensuality, amongst peers.

The fascist poor need all the help they can get – economic, social, cultural and psychological.

D.K.

## The Bookfair that cops forgot

Who's afraid of the big bad anarchists? Not policemen apparently, as they stayed away in their droves from the grey weather at Waterloo Park in Norwich.

Despite cold, wind and a smattering of rain, dozens of book stalls from anarchist stalwarts such as Freedom Press, Notes from the Borderland and Radical Routes made it to the indoor event.

Vegan food was put on for all, at average prices and punk music, ska and various brands of hip hop were put on upstairs.

Good talks were put on by prison policy expert Mark Barnsley and Lucas, from investigative media group Corporate Watch.

Mark Barnsley, a long-time anarchist activist, was recently released from serving a ten year jail term, and gave an insider view of the prison service not often reported.

The casual way in which he spoke of warder brutalising of inmates, methods used to control the con population and of his own treatment as an anarchist troublemaker was chilling.

The way in which he, and often his fellow inmates, stood up to be counted – particularly in the early days of his sentence as inmates struggled against a new drugs policy which promoted rampant heroin use – was inspiring.

Lucas, who chaired a meeting over the state of privatisation in Iraq, spoke on the long term implications of it and the inability of the Iraqi government to reclaim resources once they've been sold.

The discussion centred on US plans to run down the current refinery system, and then replace it, to sidestep strong union activity. The oil unions have been autonomously rebuilding the system in response.

He went on to explain how western activists concerned about the situation could obstruct the privatisation process by interfering with interested parties' work in the UK, including consultancy firms working on the Iraqi sell-off and British-based security consultants (mercenary groups).

Prize for the weirdest individual browser went to a guy in shorts, who

insisted there is a Jewish conspiracy running the world, and that we're all being controlled by something in the water (probably fluoride).

There were no-shows from media group Schnevs, 'The most evil man in Britain' Ian Bone and Class War's Dave Douglass.

Despite those hiccups, the bookfair, which seemed to have grown from last year and had a huge variety of literature, CDs, T-Shirts, Badges and free advice on everything from working rights to women's health on offer, was thoroughly enjoyable.

Jack

## One in five (and once again)

I am just writing to clarify my comments 'once again' in my article entitled 'one in five' because in Freedom of 7th May on page 5, General Election article, Iain McKay (in line 16) states that "for the first time ever more people did not vote (39%) than voted for the government."

This statement is not completely accurate and if it was me I would be told I am being modernly presumptuous.

The 2005 general election was the first time since universal franchise has existed and not first time ever.

In the days when women were not allowed to vote, in the days where the under-30s were not allowed to vote, in the days when only propertied individuals were allowed to vote, the non-voting group frequently had bigger unrecorded percentages than those that voted for the government.

The non-voting group which Anarchists enthuse, have a history and tradition of being the largest single group in the nation!

C.A.

## Angel of death

In response to School shooter 'Angel of Death' a Nazi (page 8), in Freedom of 9th April 2005.

I was disappointed and angered by this piece in your usually-informative paper. Your writer, rather than doing any research, has refried the Fox News angle on this tragedy to produce a shockingly crass article.

Here are the facts. Jeff Weise was a 16-year-old kid: his father committed suicide several years ago and his mother is in a nursing home after being disabled in a car accident (see [www.startribune.com/stories/462/5308100.html](http://www.startribune.com/stories/462/5308100.html)). Jeff had been bullied at school and had made previous suicide attempts resulting in an antidepressant prescription (see [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jeff\\_weise](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jeff_weise)).

Teen suicide in the US is a major problem: all the more so for Native American kids growing up in communities blighted by centuries of colonial racism. One study found that one in five Indian girls and one in eight boys surveyed had attempted suicide (Suicide Attempts Among American Indian and Alaska Native Youth by Iris Wagman Borowsky, MD, PhD, et al in Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine. June 1999, pages 573-80 cited at [www.center4research.org/suicide.html](http://www.center4research.org/suicide.html)).

The handful of internet postings which supposedly made Jeff a nazi stopped eight months before this agonised, angry boy committed his crimes (see [www.crapshack.com/cached/weiseforum.htm](http://www.crapshack.com/cached/weiseforum.htm)). Judging by his actions, his motives were entirely personal, not political. Smearing his memory by calling him a nazi on the strength of some message-board posturing

makes as much sense as blaming Marilyn Manson for the Columbine massacre, and is unbelievably offensive.

Perhaps the most offensive sentence was the last: "He will not be missed." To understand why that's so wrong it's important to know that Indians tend to belong to large extended families. For many, family and community are extremely important in bad times, enabling Indians to limit the self-destructiveness caused by genocide and ongoing massive injustice. Many survivors are related to Weise as well as to his victims: in fact, he will be missed very much. Doreen Yellow Bird (Sahnish) wrote just five days after the shootings: "Some already have forgiven Weise. Others have expressed the wish that had they been more aware, perhaps they would have seen the signs or could have helped him ... Healing and peace will come again" ([www.grandforks.com/mld/grandforks/news/opinion/11234894.htm?template=contentModules/printstory.jsp](http://www.grandforks.com/mld/grandforks/news/opinion/11234894.htm?template=contentModules/printstory.jsp)).

As at most Indian reservations, life was hard for many at Red Lake before 21st March. It's a hundred times harder now but people are doing their best to rebuild their lives and their community.

Barnaby

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## Bolivia

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during a demonstration on 1st June, announced their intention to occupy the gas and oil wells in the region to defend them from the Santa Cruz oligarchs. District 8 of El Alto also announced its immediate intention to blockade the Senkata gasoline plant, with no gas permitted to leave until the nationalisation of the hydrocarbons.

A truce was called following the announcement of new elections, with protesters pledging to return to the streets if nationalisation and a constituents assembly weren't carried out.

## Quiz answers

1. Because cohabiting is illegal under an 1805 North Carolina law. It's been used 36 times since 1997 with at least seven convictions. Ah, the land of the free!
2. The German chemical company Degussa, who supplied Zyklon B to the gas chambers and won a contract to provide protective coating to the new Berlin Holocaust Memorial.
3. Speaking after an Australian was charged with smuggling drugs, he said, "You can't just ring up the President ... and say release this person."
4. At the International Anarchist Conference of 1881, just after the assassination of the Tsar and within memory of the suppression of the Commune.

## ZAPATA OF MEXICO

by PETER E. NEWELL

Zapata was the leading figure of the Mexican Revolution of 1910. He fought for the rights of local communities against greedy landlords, treacherous politicians and foreign-owned companies. Under the slogan 'Land and Liberty!' he became the purest embodiment of the Mexican Revolution. Zapata's memory, like his ghost, rides on in Mexico.

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# REVIEW

## Hans Weingartner's *The Edukators* has some interesting angles despite its sneering at childish idealism, finds Tom Jennings

**T**he *Edukators* surf the new wave of smart, sophisticated and popular German language cinema which – even better – tackles ticklishly controversial social and political subject matter.<sup>1</sup>

Here Jan (Daniel Brühl), Peter (Stipe Erceg) and Jule (Julia Jentsch) manifest their revolutionary zest in a postmodern pastiche of cod-situationism, terrorising the upper classes by rearranging their furniture to prefigure revolution turning the world upside down. The ethics of violence loom once their playful innocence turns sour in the crucible of realpolitik (symbolised by Burghart Klaussner's yuppie tycoon), and the spectres of Baader-Meinhoff and all the other spectacular disasters of modern 'propaganda by the deed' cloud the horizon. Tackling far too many complex levels at once, excessive ambition here inevitably trivialises and patronises much more than it edukates.

True, most cinematic treatments so far have conceived the Western urban guerilla purely in terms of personal conflicts and inadequacies fully determining political motivation, consciousness and action – with attention to character depth and ideology in the context of involvement in real struggle omitted in the unseemly haste to ram home the message that all resistance is futile.<sup>2</sup> This film sidesteps such conclusions, while flirting with them – for example the only genuine activism we see is an earnestly inoffensive anti-sweatshop high street demo mopped up by the riot squad. And, whereas many of the hundreds of thousands descending on meetings of the G8 and other organs of the New World Order have already moved robustly beyond the celebratory passivity of 'Feed the World' charity, concrete agendas resonating with the everyday concerns of ordinary folk have yet to crystallise. If you can stomach its contempt (and total ignorance of current radical politics), this is an enjoyable and entertaining contribution (of sorts) to such debate.

Co-writer (with Katharina Held) and director Hans Weingartner claimed to want to depict the quandary facing contemporary European youth in embracing revolutionary politics – given

the death of communism, decline of the Left and neoliberal triumphalism. He didn't specify exactly which youth he meant, and the social background and present position of his protagonists are somewhat lost in translation. Worse – and with a significance unnoticed by the critics – the film's title mutates from the evocatively ominous 'Die fetten Jahre sind vorbei' ('The fat years are over') to the vaguely uplifting progressivism of the English release. As one of the slogans graffitied on yacht club members' walls,<sup>3</sup> the original emphasis appears to identify the trio's targets, but actually refers to their political discourse itself – the edukators' relentlessly (and tiresomely) moralising judgmentalism representing conversations with the ruling classes rather than any autonomous sentiment of what might be done about them.

The only glimmer of strategic savvy is Jan and Peter's relish at newspaper coverage of their growing notoriety, anticipating a copycat epidemic of enforced feng shui infecting the private spaces of power.<sup>4</sup> This is an amusing (if unthreatening) fantasy of a 'revolutionary situation' – though which historical agents might foster the transition from home makeover to insurrection are similarly unclear. The plot enlightens us in this respect in the transition from student pranks to serious matters of life and death, where Jule's experiences as a downmarket femme fatale undermine the Boys Own adventure. Her humiliation by the boss and patrons of a posh restaurant compound her outrage at the 'injustice' she suffers, having been diverted from aspirations for a comfortably useful life as a teacher by her uninsured collision with Hardenberg's Beamer. The ensuing 'oppressiveness' of damages payments leads to her dead-end waitressing, and then further blunders – hitting his pad on a whim, the kidnapping, and subsequent shilly-shallying disarray.

### Moral politics at play school

Put bluntly, the 'fat years' are certainly not finished for the rich – and given their propensity for rapid-fire condemnatory statistics, the edukators would hardly be unaware of this. But the good times are precisely over for



the contemporary new middle classes facing the rapid proletarianising precariousness of their previous privileges.<sup>5</sup> Read through conventional Freudian spectacles, these late baby-boomers are rebelling against the world bequeathed to them by their parents. In routine middle class adolescent fashion, their moral disgust clothes itself in rhetoric of the global poor, but its emotional force derives more from self-pity and criteria of taste and lifestyle. These are values inculcated in them by, and showing their complicity with, consumer society – reproduced also in the camera's loving fascination with those sumptuous but emotionally frigid mansions. Meanwhile, the older generations grew up with utopian dreams of a better society, but went with the flow trying to get by – only to get slapped in the face by the infantile tantrums and high-minded self-indulgence of their kids.

Then, when the power relations are reversed, so too is the conventional 'Stockholm Syndrome'. Secluded with

fat cat hostage in the mountains, our heroes are seduced by his self-effacing fatherly realism and personal charm, forking out for provisions and disclosing that, back in the day, he too was a revolutionary hanging out with the Berlin class of '68 SDS leadership. The pace of *The Edukators* slows to a standstill as the utter bankruptcy of their oppositional project becomes clear – most fatally flawed from its dependence on the enemy to provide tactical momentum. At the end they waken from their hypnotic trance in thrall to bourgeois power, having learned that comradeship can transcend Oedipal complexes and the complexities of love. Again, their decision to break properly from their roots is precipitated by Hardenberg's entirely predictable betrayal, but the upbeat denouement shows the newly adult edukators outwitting the government. And who knows, if they get round to formulating worthwhile aims external to their insecure egos, they might yet proceed to genuinely

radical shenanigans.

[www.tomjennings.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk](http://www.tomjennings.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk)

### Notes

1. Including the good humour of *Goodbye Lenin* (dir. Wolfgang Becker; also starring Daniel Brühl), Michael Haneke's savage dissections of bourgeois mores, and Fatih Akin's subversive genius – all reaching beyond the various austere modernisms, elitist arrogances and existential angstiness of Herzog, Wenders, Fassbinder et al.
2. Recent examples being Marco Bellocchio's *Good Morning, Night* (Red Brigades) and Robert Stone's *Guerilla: The Taking of Patty Hearst* (Symbionese Liberation Army). Manuel Hueriga's forthcoming *Salvador* (yet again starring Brühl) may or may not buck the trend in portraying anarchist bank robber Salvador Puig Antich (the last Spaniard garrotted under Franco).
3. Along with strictures such as 'You have too much money' (duh!).
4. The results of which suggestively resemble so much contemporary installation art.
5. See contributions to *Mute*, issue 29, which usefully outline European 'precarity' theory and practice so far ([www.metamute.com](http://www.metamute.com)).

## BOOKS

### A Summer in the Park

by Tony Allen

Freedom Press, £8.50

"Tony was the recipient of a modest Arts Council grant to be an advocate heckler at Speakers' Corner ... What stuns is Tony's enthusiasm to pick himself and his art apart, to dwell (fully and healthily) on his many shortcomings and failures as a Hyde Park orator, and in so doing he throws up more insights into the performer's art than any other book I know ... I plead we get more summers" (Ken Campbell).

### Why Work? Arguments for the Leisure Society

Freedom Press, £5.95

Here the distinction is made between work and employment, between useful work and useless toil. This book includes contributions from Bertrand Russell, William Morris, Clifford Harper, Colin Ward and many others. "No working ideal for machine production can be based solely on the gospel of work ... we must examine in detail the processes that lead up to the final state of leisure, free activity, freedom" (Lewis Mumford).

### The State

by Harold Barclay

Freedom Press, £5.50

The state is neither an inevitable, nor natural, phenomenon, but the creation of despots. Its history is a history of power, wealth and tyranny. The immortality of the state is the greatest myth of our society. Harold Barclay explains how a powerful elite has seized complete power of society, through control of agriculture, warfare, trade, labour and other resources. Do we really need the state or should we organise society ourselves?

### About Anarchism

by Nicolas Walter

Freedom Press, £4.20

The case for anarchism as a pragmatic political philosophy is explained in this new edition of the classic work by Nicolas Walter, who was a writer, journalist and active protester against the power of the state. It has often been reprinted and been translated into many languages, including French, Spanish, Japanese, Serbo-Croat, Chinese, Polish and Russian. This edition includes a new introduction by Natasha Walter.

### George Orwell at Home and Among the Anarchists

Freedom Press, £8.50

Here for the first time is a full collection of the photographs by Vernon Richards showing George Orwell both at home and in some unexpectedly informal settings, which give an unusually intimate view of an extremely private man. These photographs are accompanied by a series of essays on George Orwell from the anarchist perspective, by Vernon Richards, Colin Ward and Nicolas Walter. All available post free from Freedom Press.

## Top five scabs

1. Declan Curry  
Strike-breaker in chief and the modern Nicholas Witchell, told our reporter he had been persuaded that cutting 40% of the BBC's journalists would improve the service. He also appears to have also responded to every email accusing him of a being scab, saying "I can hold my head up high"

2. Chris Moyles  
Internationally acknowledged fat bastard, who plays up his northern wurkin clarse roots, crossed informing pickets that he'd "be nice about them" on his show, only to later complain that his webcam wasn't working.

3. Terry Wogan  
Famed for his drunken disparagement of eurovisionists, Wogan informed pickets that he had to cross with the brilliant excuse that he "had a contract".

4. Oasis  
Self-professed working class heroes, stung that an engineers strike would interfere with their album-plugging live broadcast, pre-recorded material to go on in their place. Not even brave enough to cross a picket line.

5. Jo Whiley  
The affable but talentless Whiley showed her true colours as a heartless idiot with contempt for her fellow workers.

## Top five celebrity strikers

1. Chris Rogers  
Chris, Political Editor for BBC South West and long standing NUJ stalwart proudly manned the picket-line. He was then subjected to a barrage of abusive emails, when members of internet forum Urban75 formed a vigilante group and erroneously included his address on a list of celebrity scabs, an error later repeated in the Guardian. Sorry Chris!

2. Jeremy Paxman  
Announced long in advance that he had no intention of crossing a picket line. Was also rude to George Galloway!

3. Kevin Spacey and Harrison Ford  
Whilst the likes of Liz Hurley and Michael Jordan were busy crossing the Screen Actors Guild picket-line in 2000, Kevin and Harrison donated \$100,000 each to support the strikers.

4. Natasha Kaplinsky  
Daughter of a South African Communist, evidently standing up to oppressive government regimes came naturally.

5. The 1989 BBC News team  
Following Nicholas Witchell's legendary scabbing on the last BBC strike, presenting every single bulletin that day, the entire team refused to speak to the filthy scab eventually forcing him into the journalistic dead-end that is royal reporter.

## Imagine If...

Bob leaned heavily on his oars, wondering if the whole 'spirit of Dunkirk' thing had been worth it. He'd been rowing for what seemed like hours.

His shoulders burned, and his long greasy silver locks clung to his face in the chill winds of the channel. Why, oh why, had he, in a fit of bravado, leapt into a dinghy saying "Fuck it, I'll bring a Frenchman over myself!" for the camera crews?

He'd been doing so well too. People had really listened when he said "let's get a million people up to Edinburgh," even though he'd blatantly thought it up on the spur of the moment, and had no real plan for what to do with them all once they were up there.

They'd lapped it up when he'd spouted all that stuff about it being to change the world, and took him entirely seriously even when he'd begun talking about getting boats over to pick up Europeans who wanted to go.

They had even reported him when he took credit for a big debt write-off the other day without once cracking up. Yes, Bob reckoned he was the ultimate punk, and this was the best piss-take he'd ever done. Who else could have got away with such complete and utter bullshit? Who on earth, with the possible exception of fellow japester Bono, could have had millions of people reading this mad rubbish without once being asked "Is this a joke?"

That was one of the reasons he'd leapt in the boat. Surely the media would call him on his lunacy this time? But no, they continued to take him seriously.

Even now, a helicopter hovered overhead, checking to see if Saint Bob could indeed walk on water. Some of these idiots even thought he'd manage it! A write-off of debt for 41 countries! Had they no sense of perspective, history or even honest-to-goodness common sense?

He'd already tried the huge 'lets save the world' gig once, it hadn't even dented African debt. Yet here he was, doing the same thing all over again. Same tactics. Same limitations.

He couldn't believe it. C'est la vie.



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## A Sideways Look

For the second year running, the reactionary Catholic mayor of Warsaw is banning the gay and lesbian Equality Days parade. Mayor Lech Kaczynski calculates that banning something that would offend some Catholics (and all bigots, but I'm not conflating the two) will stand him in good stead for running for President.

Amnesty International condemned his actions last year as a human rights abuse. The organisers, a small foundation formed by lesbian and gay groups, said "The Equality Parade is supposed to be a symbol of fight against discrimination of all minorities, against homophobia, xenophobia and religious intolerance." Kaczynski retorted that "it's citizens, and not homosexuals, that can enjoy the freedom of assembly." He has scheduled the unveiling of a statue to a Resistance hero for the same day, but insists that he would "agree to the march neither on that day nor on any other." He is employing an array of legal tricks against the low-budget foundation to stop them winning in the courts.

The good news is that Polish lesbians, gays anarchists and other supporters will be out marching anyway. Last year, five hundred people still rallied, chanting 'homophobe' outside the Mayor's office. This year, they can expect more police than marchers, coupled with attempts by the reactionary League of Polish Families and assorted nazis to counter-demonstrate.

Now some people would see this as a deviation from some sort of pure class struggle. Of course, it's nothing of the sort. Fascists and reactionaries should be opposed wherever they organise - especially if it is to deny people their rights. But it's also about freedom - people having the freedom to express themselves how they want to, not how some ancient bigot in a fancy costume has decreed. And the class aspect is

there, too. For those with the money and power, equality is there, they don't even need to be discreet all the time. For those of us without, we can only create space to live our lives with the help of those around us.

Now what is so threatening about homosexuality? And why does it particularly seem to threaten patriarchal religions? The Spanish bishops advised Catholics to be 'conscientious objectors' if they were asked to officiate in civil gay marriages. I find it odd that something like gays marrying should get the Spanish Church into civil disobedience when they were actively collaborating with the Franco regime as it murdered hundreds of thousands. A little perspective is needed here, perhaps?

Of course, it's not just right wing populists in Catholic countries who don't think gay rights matter. Left wing populists who happen to be Mayor of large cosmopolitan cities can send similar messages. Now I don't think Ken Livingstone is actually a homophobe, but Dr Yusuf al-Qaradawi certainly is. Livingstone might embrace him as a moderate Islamic scholar, but his 'moderation' is such that he thinks Muslims should respect the law of the land. He thinks gays should be executed, but the state should do it rather than individual vigilantes. So that's alright then. None of these bigots should go unchallenged.

Svartfrosk

9

Pennies paid per hour to a 'Make Poverty History' wristband maker in the Fuzhou Xing Chun Trade Company's sweatshops.

100

Pennies paid per wristband to the 'Make Poverty History' campaign.

## Blast from the Past

Taken from Freedom of 15th June 1974:  
A 'do-gooder' friend of ours involved in the rehabilitation of prisoners by art passed on to us a memorandum proclaiming 'changes in prison rules'... The Home Office informs my friend that the powers of the prison governor to 'award' stoppage of earnings or forfeiture of remission for a disciplinary offence are increased from 14 to 28 days...

One effect of the stoppage of earnings as a punishment was to slow up the prisoners' work stint. No pay - no work. The ever-cunning Home Office proclaimed "that stoppages of earnings for a given period to be modified so that smaller deductions are made each day over a longer period."

"This means," says the Home Office, "that while he is serving the award (i.e. 'being punished') a prisoner will be able to retain an interest in the level of his earnings and have an inducement to work harder so as to increase the amount of money available to him."

The big stick and the sliced carrot!

## The quiz

- How could Sheriff Carson Smith of North Carolina threaten to sack one of his employees for living with her boyfriend?
- Who profited twice from the Holocaust?
- According to Australian Foreign Minister Alexander Downer, what's the downside to an 'independent judiciary'?
- When was the term 'propaganda by the deed' first coined? Ah the land of the free!

Answers on page 6

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