

# FREEDOM

80P ANARCHIST NEWS AND VIEWS

www.freedompress.org.uk

25 JUNE 2005

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## GUERRILLA HIBERNATION

A series of communiqués from Subcomandante Marcos of The Zapatista Army of Liberation (EZLN) in Mexico have declared a general Red alert and ordered the recall of thousands of personnel.

Chiapas, where they operate and independently protect a number of autonomous zones, has been temporarily deserted while fighters take refuge in the region's mountains. Autonomous authority groups under the rebels' protection have also been relocated.

The EZLN, who took control of large areas of south-eastern Mexico from the government in 1994, have spent the last twelve years fighting to gain constitutional recognition of rights and culture for the country's indigenous population, and are run via a system of recallable councils.

Zones technically under the control of the army in fact are run largely autonomous of it, and have a strong emphasis on direct mass participation in decision making.

Marcos said: "The closure is being carried out of the Caracoles and the Good Government Offices which are located in the Zapatista communities of Oventik, La Realidad, Morelia and Roberto Barrios, as well as all the headquarters of the authorities of the different Rebel Zapatista Autonomous Municipalities."

The action has been described as a 'precautionary defensive measure',

taken while an internal consulta – amounting to a combined military general meeting and referendum – on the future of the movement is taken.

Marcos said: "Basic community health services will continue functioning in the different Caracoles. Civilians will be in charge of these services, and the [general command] of the EZLN is distancing them from any of our future actions, and we are demanding that they be treated as civilians and with respect for their life, liberty and goods by government forces."

The measures have been taken, according to the communiqués, in response to the Mexican government's actions in 1995, when, using a period of uncertainty caused by the last consulta, an attack was launched against the region.

A member of Chiapas Indymedia admitted that there had been little prior knowledge of the move, even in the independent press. He said: "Unfortunately we do not have more information other than what is in the website."\*

Offices across the state have been closed and non-aligned civilians warned to vacate the area or stay at their own risk. Minors are to be removed regardless.

Although there are rumours that the EZLN are expecting an attack from the Mexican government, or from paramilitary far-right forces, it is unknown whether this was a contributing factor to the alert as freedom goes to press.



A later communiqué, sent on 20th June from the Southeastern mountains where the rebels have retreated, suggests that a reorganisation of the EZLN's structure is also taking place. Marcos said: "since the middle of 2002, the EZLN has been engaged in a process of reorganising its political-military

structure. This internal reorganisation has now been completed. We have the necessary conditions in place to survive an attack or enemy action that would do away with our current leadership or which would attempt to annihilate us completely. The chains of command and the succession of responsibilities have

been clearly established, as well as those actions and measures to be taken in the event of being attacked by government forces and their paramilitaries."

\*Full translated transcripts of the various communiqués can be found at <http://chiapas.indymedia.org>

## DO AS I SAY

After recent repression in Uzbekistan and further revelations about ill treatment and homicide of prisoners taken illegally in Iraq and Afghanistan, the United States has re-stated its commitment to human rights, to 'supporting democracy' and to 'upholding the rule of law'.

But coming immediately after an Amnesty International report – dismissed as 'rather silly' by members of the government – which strongly criticised the US's own record on abuse and torture, findings by the World Policy Institute now show the US routinely sends military aid and arms to 'undemocratic' nations.

In 2003 more than half of the top 25 recipients of US arms were countries

defined by the State Department itself as undemocratic.

In Egypt, anti-government protesters were recently beaten during demonstrations calling for greater political reform. The State Department's latest human rights report says torture and abuse of detainees in Egypt is "common and persistent." In Saudi Arabia, there were arrests last month after petitions for political reform. Yet both these are states to which the US provides military aid, Egypt being the recipient of their second largest annual sum. Number one, is a state with weapons of mass destruction and a declared policy of apartheid against a displaced people – Israel.

Nor are these isolated cases: the South West Asian countries, Azerbaijan, Turkey and Georgia, received together \$4m in military aid from the United States in 2001. There has been a tenfold increase over recent years; next fiscal year (2006) they will receive \$42m collectively. Yet Georgia is actively involved in putting down secessionist movements while Turkey's human rights record is well known. The United States has troops in

Uzbekistan at the K2 base while the Uzbek military and police have murdered wounded civilians during one recent episode of violence. At the same time the United States has only recently begun to criticise the Karimov regime – and even then not because of its human rights record, but because Karimov cracked down on non-governmental organisations like the Open Society whose interests were contrary to those of the US.

The World Policy Institute draws attention to Nepal: the US gives a large amount of military aid to that country, whose ruling elite recently cut off the entire country from the rest of the world. The US ambassador there stayed. So did large amounts of military aid. Then one of the first things Condoleezza Rice did as Secretary of State was to certify Indonesia for IMET military training. Bush said at a press conference last month, "We're really pushing for normalisation of full military ties [with the Indonesian military]."

Louis Further

## LET'S GET PAROCHIAL

Haringey Solidarity Group and Hackney Independent hosted a Community Action Gathering on 18th July. With a strong focus on expanding their concept of community building as a means of weakening state control, talks included such topics as 'Our neighbourhoods – improving our streets'. Some suggestions included:

- Ask, don't tell. Talking regularly to neighbours builds up a picture of what they think is wrong with the local area, and it may be little things you can change easily. Telling them what they want is a sure-fire turnoff.
- Start small and build up gradually. You may not be able to stop a school closing (though you should try, obviously) but getting that flickering light which annoys everyone fixed is as much an improvement to people's lives as anything else. The bigger stuff will come as you get more people willing to trust you.
- Breaking people's perception that the land they live on is the council's, not theirs, is important – it is self-determination coming from a feeling of shared ownership.

• Social events on a very local scale help to break down boundaries and form community bonds, and can reintroduce you to your neighbourhood. You are also very unlikely to be shouted at for inviting someone to a party!

• Leave contentious issues until much later, when you have a presence and trust within the community and it is more likely to survive. It is far more productive to have a positive vision for the area and promote it.

Although in the main the meetings went very quickly, problems were brought up, such as the difficulties of bonding communities where strong cultural divides exist, and of securing any concrete gains in promoting revolutionary ideas by using these methods.

Due to a shortage of time, these weren't adequately addressed, but as was pointed out by one HI member in his summation, "This isn't the start, this is only the beginning" (sic – but we know what he meant).

A community action email list is being set up to allow the links forged at the gathering to remain, and full minutes will be available.

ISSN 0016-0504



Vol 66  
No 12

# Home and away

## FREEDOM

Volume 66 Number 12

### 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

The Alley has been cruelly hit this week by the departure of a major landmark used to direct people from all over the world to our dodgy-looking doors. The KFC sign which has, like a McDonald's in Red Square, loomed over the heads of anarchists for years now on their way to the Freedom bookshop, came crashing down last week. Sadly, this doesn't herald the demise of our corporate neighbour, but is part of a shiny new refurbishment plan and they'll be installing an even bigger and brighter sign shortly (in spite of our protests). Meanwhile, scaffolding has gone up around our other neighbour, completely obscuring the entrance – to the point where even we walk past it. But don't worry, we're all still here.

The paper, as always, is looking for volunteers, donations from our readers, and most importantly, people to spread the word. If we were to sell another 200-300 copies per issue we'd probably be breaking even, and it'd be grand if we could get the readership we deserve. So if you're a marketing genius who can raise our profile and sales figures, or just want to help distribute in your area, we'd love to hear from you.

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Freedom Press Distribution: distro@freedompress.org.uk

### Next issue

Contributions are wanted for future Freedoms. The next issue will be dated 9th July and the last day to get your copy to us will be Friday 1st July (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!

#### Prison service awards ceremony hit by protests

An annual Prison Service back-slapping event has been hit by protests. This year's event, held at a swanky country hotel on the edge of Leeds, featured a garden party for Prison Service flunkies, a lavish dinner, and awards presented by boss-screw Phil Wheatley. Screws attending the event were somewhat sour-faced to find the inside of the garden party's central marquee painted with anti-prison and anti-POA (Prison Officers Association) slogans, and even more sour-faced to have their dining experience disrupted by stink-bombs. Chaos was caused inside the hotel by activists who used a variety of tactics to prevent the event going smoothly.

#### Coca-Cola arrests in India

Five hundred people were arrested in Kerala, India, for trying to shut-down the Coca-Cola factory in Plachimada. This comes after the company was awarded a new short-term conditional license, following the plant being closed for a year due to public pressure. The Anti Coca-Cola Struggle Committee and the Plachimada Solidarity Committee are trying to stop the plant re-opening because it is causing severe water shortages to the surrounding areas. For info see www.IndiaResource.org/action/faxcoke.php

#### 'Miller' Tomenkho released

Aleksander 'Miller' Tomenkho, the Russian Anarchist locked-up charged with assaulting a fascist, has been found 'not guilty', and has now been released. Thanks to those who helped to support him while in prison.

#### British eco-activist locked up in Iceland

Paul Gill, a British protester against Iceland's ecologically devastating Karahnjukar dam project, has been arrested and locked up charged with allegedly causing £40,000 damage with yoghurt! This follows an action at an international aluminium industry

conference. Two Icelanders, who were arrested with Paul have been released, while he is being held at Reykjavik's Litla Hraun prison. More info from icelandsupport@trition.org.uk

#### Repression against Amsterdam squatters

Over the past few months there has been unprecedented repression against squatters in Amsterdam, with more than ten squats evicted by special squads of police. A number of people have been arrested and imprisoned, either captured during the street-fighting between police and squatters, because they resisted eviction from

inside the targeted squats, or simply because they are known to the cops as squatters. While many prisoners have been released, some are being held. Amsterdam squatters and the Anarchist Group Amsterdam are calling for international solidarity. More info from solidarity@squat.net

#### Money raised for Jeff Luers

Solidarity benefits organised by Brighton and Leeds ABC groups as part of the International Day of Action in support of imprisoned eco-activist Jeff 'Free' Luers raised \$480 for Jeff's legal fund. More at www.freefreedomnow.org

compiled by Mark Barnsley



## LISTINGS

Every Sunday the Kebele Kafe from 6.30pm, 14 Robertson Road, Easton, Bristol. For info call 0117 9399469.  
30th June Offline, the Urban 75 club night at Brixton's Dogstar Club, 389 Coldharbour Lane, 7pm to 2am, free, see www.urban75.org/info  
1st July Bongo Club at 37 Holyrood Road, Edinburgh (0131 557 2827), G8 benefit the 'Caber8', with Schnews, Rob Newman, The Clown Army, Trapeze and MC's Hustle and Pickle, and more, £5 on.  
2nd July Make Poverty History March in Edinburgh, with an anti-capitalist bloc, see www.makepovertyhistory.org  
4th July Big Blockade at Faslane nuclear submarine base, for info see 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 or call 01943 466405, with music from Chumbawumba  
6th July Opening day of the G8 Summit, a day of decentralised action in villages, towns and cities worldwide – what are you going to be doing? See www.agp.org or www.dissent.org.uk  
13th July Schnews at Ten (actions and protests since 1994 starring a cast of thousands, a million extras and a budget of zero) showing at the Electric Palace, High Street, Old Town, Hastings from 7.30pm, £3/£4. See www.schnews.org.uk  
15th to 17th July Guilfest, for info see 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

16th July RISE 2005, a free anti-racist music festival celebrating London's diversity, 12noon to 8.30pm, Burgess Park, London SE5, tel 020 7983 6554 or see www.risefestival.org  
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  
17th to 21st August Earth First! Summer Gathering in the Peak District, see 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  
2nd to 4th September Off The Tracks Festival, Castle Donnington, call 01332 384518 or see www.offthetracks.co.uk  
13th to 16th September Disarm DSEi arms fair at ExCeL Centre, London Docklands, contact 07817 652029, disarm@dsei.org or see www.dsei.org  
22nd October The 24th London Anarchist Bookfair moves to a bigger venue, where you can get the latest books, pamphlets, magazines, etc., plus meetings and discussions on all aspects of anarchist activity, which are open to all, as well as a professionally-run creche and hot food. The venue is the Resource Centre, 356 Holloway Road, London N7, from 10am to 6pm, see freespace.virgin.net/anarchist.bookfair/  
23rd October Freedom to Protest conference in central London from 11am to 5pm, for more info see www.freedomtoprotest.org.uk

#### International

Until August international radical-ecological protest camp at Otradny in Russia, against an aluminum waste

processing plant, organised by Rainbow Keepers, see www.duplo.narod.ru or www.otrada.narod.ru  
6th July Global day of action at the opening day of the G8 Summit. See www.agp.org or www.dissent.org.uk  
18th to 21st July Towards Carfree Cities conference in Budapest, Hungary, see www.worldcarfree.net/conference  
1st to 14th August Ekotopia alternative technologies festival in Moldova, more info at www.eyfa.org

#### Nationwide groups

**Anarchist Federation**  
Network of anarchist-communists  
Box 2, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX  
www.afed.org.uk  
**Antifa**  
Militant anti-fascist organisation  
Box 36, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX  
www.antifa.org.uk  
**Class War Federation**  
Class struggle anarchist group  
PO Box 467, London E8 3QX  
www.classwaruk.org  
**Dissent**  
A network of resistance against the G8  
www.dissent.org.uk  
**Earth First!**  
Ecological direct action network  
www.earthfirst.org.uk  
**Industrial Workers of the World**  
Revolutionary DIY union  
PO Box 74, Brighton, BN1 4ZQ  
www.iww.org.uk  
**Solidarity Federation**  
Anarcho-syndicalist organisation  
PO Box 469, Preston PR1 8FX  
www.solfed.org.uk

#### Social Centres

Autonomous Centre of Edinburgh

(ACE)  
17 West Montgomery Place, Edinburgh  
www.autonomous.org.uk  
**The Basement**  
24 Lever Street, Manchester (contact mustsocial@yahoo.co.uk or 0161 237 1832)  
**The Common Place**  
23 Wharf Street, Leeds LS2 7EQ  
www.thecommonplace.org.uk  
**The Cowley Club**  
12 London Road, Brighton BN1 4JA  
www.cowleyclub.org.uk  
**Freedom**  
84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX  
www.freedompress.org.uk  
**Institute for Autonomy**  
76-78 Gower Street, London WC1  
**Kebele**  
14 Robertson Road, Easton, Bristol BS5 6JY  
www.kebele.org  
**Lancaster Resource Centre (LaRC)**  
The Basement, 78a Penny Street, Lancaster  
www.eco-action.org/lancaster  
**London Action Resource Centre (LARC)**  
62 Fieldgate Street, London E1  
www.londonlarc.org  
**The RampART**  
15-17 Rampart Street, London E1 2LA  
www.rampart.co.uk  
**SUMAC Centre**  
245 Gladstone Street, Nottingham NG7 6HX  
www.veggies.org.uk/rainbow/  
**1in12 Club**  
21-23 Albion Street, Bradford, West Yorkshire, BD1 2LY  
www.1in12.com  
**56a Infoshop**  
56 Crampton Street, London SE17  
www.safetycat.org/56a

# News

## In brief

### Capitalist Economics

There are four traditional indicators of national economic stability in the UK: house prices, retail sales, industrial output, and employment. This month saw the following:

#### House prices fall

The Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors (RICS) gauge of house price changes fell to minus 49% in June, eight points worse than in May. Minus figures are indicative of a general lowering of prices.

The level of the fall is the worst in over a decade, and comes alongside similarly gloomy figures from Halifax and Nationwide. It is ten points worse than expected by analysts.

Since the beginning of 2004 the index has slipped from plus 40% to its current position.

The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister has confirmed that house inflation is also down this month to 6.9%, from 12.6% in March.

Speculation that the market is in for a 'hard landing' (i.e. a price crash) has increased on the back of the results.

#### Retail sales fall

A small recovery in retail sales from April levels has failed to reassure the UK markets, as it is still the worst year-on-year result since 1999.

Like-for-like sales fell by 2.4% compared with May last year, slowing the 4.7% decline seen in April (which was the worst performance in a decade).

Declines in house prices, along with a freeze on interest rates, have reigned in spending as people look to save money by avoiding luxury goods.

A particularly poor run by clothing manufacturers was blamed on the weather, as was a difficult gardening tool sales environment.

#### Industrial output fall

Industry is at its lowest point in eighteen months, despite the global boom in manufacturing.

Output dropped over two index points from 98.6 in April to 96.9 in May, the worst level in two years. The levels reflect a shrinking across the sector, again the worst in two years.

High fuel and resource prices, combined with a flat overseas market for products, have left UK manufacturing unable to export.

#### Employment levels fall

The number of people out of work has risen for the fourth time in as many months, as the number of people signing on leapt by 13,200 – the worst run in thirteen years.

Claimant unemployment, boosted by the closure of Rover, has now risen by 41,500 so far this year.

An increasing number of job losses has overtaken a much slowed rate of creation. Between February and April the increase in jobs was at its slowest for a year.

As these job losses were counted before the recent slowdown of retail, industrial and housing sectors (due to a lag for research to be carried out), the contemporary figures have been approximated to be much higher.

Heads of industry and government are united in saying the country isn't in, or heading for, a recession.

# Scab union

## The GMB are fighting for their livelihoods against a breakaway bosses union, reports Jack

Workers for general union GMB have been fighting attempts by officials linked to suspended union chief Kevin Curran to establish a bosses union at delivery company DHL. Union reps voted 70% in favour of remaining with GMB, with the remainder deciding to honour the majority vote.

GMB sections in the Automobile Association (AA) and DHL have been at the centre of a row between union officials led by Alistair McLean, ex-senior organiser for the Southern Region and Kevin Curran's 'book-keeper', and the GMB. McLean resigned in the Spring following accusations of vote rigging and money laundering. This was quickly followed by a national meeting of the AA section of the union, with reps paid in full to attend, addressed by McLean and with literature for his new union – the AA Democratic Union (AADU) – provided. 130 GMB reps voted unanimously to join the new union. McLean had been fostering corruption in the AA Staff Association for years according to one union rep, "the structure McLean had created within the AA for years was one of partnership, no ballots, no autonomy for Reps and very little accountability. Reps were given AA cars, bonus payments and no formal duties for the most part. On the promise from the AA of all this continuing the Reps supported McLean."

The AA subsequently de-recognised the GMB and consulted the AADU on a Patrol Performance Review, where 431 patrol officers were offered minimum redundancy packages, with



There are some wrecks the AA won't try to fix

the GMB claiming that the company deliberately targeted disabled staff for dismissal. In a press release, the AA claimed that "The review, carried out with full union consultation, has identified that whilst the majority of patrols meet or exceed the company's expectations, a minority fall short of achieving the required performance levels."

The AADU episode is rumoured to have been an elaborate plot between McLean and management originating back in November 2004. Since its take-over in July 2004 by venture capital firms CVC Partners and Premira, AA has been looking to cut staff numbers with 1,300 (10% of the workforce) redundancies announced almost immediately, with more sackings planned this year at their Cheadle and

Manchester call centres. With the AA adding 5.5m members under previous employers, patrol services are now stretched to the limit with some workers doing 90 hour weeks and working for 12 days straight.

The McLean campaign subsequently moved onto DHL last month, where union reps sympathetic to McLean negotiated a below inflation pay rise without the necessary consultation with workers, claiming to have been hamstrung by the undemocratic GMB, then resigning and forming the Union of Distribution Workers (UDW). McLean was then invited by management to address meetings of DHL workers across the country, again with well-produced literature at meetings organised by six GMB reps rumoured to have been paid £250,000 by DHL management.

Workers rejected the move to leave the GMB, largely out of concern regarding heavy management involvement in the campaign.

One union rep informed us, "we're fighting against the deep-seated corruption and sell out culture McLean himself created in these workplaces and the low expectations in the union and the potential of the workers own strength this has created is damaging the union's efforts. Overall I think its all part of rooting out several decades of corruption by the likes of McLean and those who protected him and the price members in any union pay for losing control of the democratic structures. But we have a leadership in GMB now who are prepared to clean out the old guard – even if this means taking short term losses such as this."

## Protests foiled by police

A meeting of the Justice and Interior ministers of the G8 in Sheffield from 15th to 18th June saw three days of protests outside the venue, but little disruption.

Beginning with a banner drop on 15th June, protesters leafleted across the city centre, and a 'protest for the right to protest' was held on Devonshire Green, after police barred a march through Sheffield's Winter Gardens.

Various well-known demonstration groups, including Samba group Rhythms of Resistance and the Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army (Circa) were present at the event.

The protests were supposed to be followed by a Critical Mass bike ride, but a large police presence kept many people from getting there.

In the resulting confusion, two people were arrested that evening, though seventy people did eventually make it to the ride. Later, a third was arrested for spitting.

The 16th June saw more demonstrations. The situation turned ugly in the evening, as large numbers of police

encircled protesters, using horses and snatching six people from the crowds.

By 10.45 in the evening over five hundred police had penned protesters in at Devonshire Green, patrolling with dogs, which had effectively ended the protest.

The last day of the meetings saw another banner drop, continuing meetings at the convergence space, which had been running with the help of Indymedia for three days, more clown antics and a party in the evening.

Police seemingly kept the entire situation well in hand throughout, boding poorly for the larger-scale G8 demonstrations due in July.

Meanwhile, the bike ride from Brighton to Edinburgh is continuing.

On 19th June, starting at the National Film Theatre under Waterloo Bridge, on the South Bank in London, the Bike ride to the G8 summit progressed to Westminster Bridge and Parliament Square. Then a noisy pit-stop at Downing Street was followed by a diversion around the 'Changing of the Guard' to Buck House.

## Stalker law used on protester

Today Brighton Magistrates remanded peace activist Paul Lesniowski for allegedly breaching the controversial injunction imposed by Brighton arms dealers EDO MBM. This is the first-time that a political activist has been remanded under Section 3 of the Protection from Harassment Act. The act, designed to stop stalkers, has in the past been used against Animal rights activists, but this is the first time it has been used against peaceful protesters.

Paul was arrested yesterday at 4.30pm, for filming the director of Guardian security (employed by EDO MBM) to enforce the injunction. The director, accompanied by his own cameraman had crossed the road to confront protesters. Both men refused to identify themselves when asked.

Despite hearing that Paul was of good character with no previous convictions the District Judge remanded him.

He is not named on the injunction, and at the regular demonstration on Wednesday when he was arrested he was not protesting, but acting as a legal

observer in a marked yellow jacket.

Despite the District judge declaring that she did have jurisdiction to deal with the alleged breach, Paul asked for his case to be heard in the Crown Court before a jury.

Andrew Beckett, press spokesman for the campaign said "It is disgusting that a committed peace activist finds himself in prison for an alleged minor breach of this draconian injunction. Sussex Police have taken it upon themselves to enforce an exclusion zone by whatever means necessary."

Initially EDO/MBM requested a large 'exclusion zone' to be placed around the whole of Home Farm Industrial Estate, where they operate. The company, along with Sussex police, also wanted to limit demonstrations to two and a half hours, with less than ten people who had to be silent.

The judge threw out the request. Paul is due to appear in court again on 23rd June. Paul is a 31 year old Brighton resident who works as a translator for a major paper company.

Adapted from [www.indymedia.org.uk](http://www.indymedia.org.uk)

# Tragedy in Korea

**Korean trade unionist Kim Tae Hwan was run over and killed by a scab lorry on 14th June, reports Jack Ray**

**K**orean trade unionist, Kim Tae-hwan was run over and killed by a scab lorry during a 14th June union rally in Chungju. Tae-Hwan was head of the regional chapter of the Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU) and was part of a picket trying to block the truck that was being driven by a blackleg hired by Sajo Remicon, a cement company. The workers began their protests in front of Chungju City Hall on the afternoon of 14th June and moved on to Sajo Remicon. They tried to prevent the trucks driven by replacement drivers from entering the company.

After the incident, onlookers reported that the ten policemen on the scene refrained from chasing the driver until threatened by other workers. The driver later fled the scene.

The lorry drivers, who were demanding the conclusion of a collective bargaining agreement and a raise in transportation costs, have been on strike for eight days and had asked for assistance from the KFTU. Concrete truck workers in Korea

are regarded as being self-employed and do not qualify for protection under the Labour Standards Act, they are calling for the government to recognise their status as workers.

The FKTU intervened as part of a general campaign for the rights of irregular workers, centred around the controversial Irregular-Worker Bills being proposed in the National Assembly this September. Unions say that the new bill fails to provide adequate protection for workers.

The FKTU has been joined by Korea's other large union federation the KCTU and around a hundred civic and labour organisations in calling for the resignation of the government over the killing, FKTU President Lee Yong Deuk saying, "The murder of Kim Tae-hwan sparked an intolerable level of anger among the workers. The FKTU declares a campaign to overthrow the Roh Moo-hyun administration." A joint demonstration has been planned for 24th June.



## Around the world

### Microsoft censors dissent

Software giant Microsoft has announced that it censors users of its MSN China service, banning words critical of the Chinese government, including 'democracy', 'freedom' and 'human rights'. Bloggers writing the forbidden words will be greeted with an error message saying 'prohibited language, please remove'. Other banned phrases include 'Taiwan Independence' and 'demonstration'.

In a press release, Microsoft explained the move saying "MSN abides by the laws, regulations and norms of each country in which it operates." However, other Chinese blog providers have stopped short of banning phrases, settling on

agreeing with users to police content that might get the company and writers into trouble. With some prominent Chinese bloggers claiming that Microsoft were enforcing a heavy line in order to flatter the government and win concessions in the race to open up the world's second largest internet market. The Chinese government has recently cracked down on internet dissent, vowing to close down un-registered China based websites, with 25% of websites failing to comply with the order.

Microsoft founder Bill Gates has in the past been an outspoken advocate of internet freedom, campaigning against aspects of the telecommunications-deregulation he said "The free exchange

of ideas on a global basis is something that is important ... Let's not undermine the world-wide trend toward free expression by setting a bad example when it comes to free speech on a computer network."

He also lauded the role of America in setting an example for freedom of speech worldwide, "We also have a national interest in freedom of expression. Throughout history, that freedom has been a hallmark of our nation which has benefited our society, and helped us set an example for the world."

### AR is 'number one threat'

The Bush administration this month identified what the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms (ATF) terms 'Violent animal rights extremists and eco-terrorists' as the number one threat to the United States. Of particular concern are the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF).

In a senate briefing in the middle of May John Lewis, the FBI's deputy assistant director for counterterrorism, said that animal and environmental activists had committed more than 1,200 criminal incidents since 1990: or just six a month in a nation of three hundred million, while ATF officials say they have opened 58 investigations in the past six years related to violence attributed to the ELF and ALF. This amounts to a deluge of under one a month.

Lewis admitted that not a single death could be pinned on any of these groups. Simultaneously, ultra-right wing groups

such as the Ku Klux Klan, along with anti-gay, anti-abortion and urban militias like those from which individuals acting in Oklahoma City in 1995 and at the Atlanta Olympics in 1996 are clearly highly active, but are excluded from the list.

The FBI also identified a British-based group, Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty, as a US terror threat. The group targets Britain's Huntingdon Life Sciences Laboratory, which has an American facility in East Millstone, New Jersey. Last year a federal grand jury indicted seven people identified as members of the group on charges they 'vandalised' company property and harassed lab employees and customers. Freedom will look in greater depth at their work and the issues raised by their imprisonment in an upcoming issue.

Louis Further

### Italian anarchists arrested

The Italian state has stepped up activity against anarchist groups with a wave of house raids and arrests. Police carried out two hundred raids in the last two weeks of May, arresting ten people and placing a further thirty under house arrest. The police claim to have carried out the operation in connection with the letter-bombing campaign against European Union figures in December 2003 and January 2004, claimed by the previously unknown Informal Anarchic Federation (FAInformal).

The arrests stem from government accusations that the Italian Anarchist Black Cross (ABC) circulated a communique

from the FAInformal regarding the bombings, the authorities have subsequently declared the Italian ABC's newsletter to be illegal, seizing their mailing list and computers.

These raids follow the arrest of seven Sardinian anarchists on 19th May, charged with 'subversive association' and a further five Lecce anarchists detained on 12th May after being accused of involvement with direct action against petrol stations and in support of an immigrants revolt at the Regina Pacis Immigration Centre. In Lecce, two of the arrested anarchists were released and placed under house arrest with a further three remaining in custody, with all the Sardinians being confined to their homes. The police operation on 12th May involved 150 police units carrying out twenty house searches of activists in nine provinces.

The connection between bona fide anarchist groups and the attacks carried out toward the beginning of last year have been viewed with suspicion by many anarchists, with the group being previously unknown to many activists and attacking obscure targets. The Italian state security services have in the past been accused of involvement in funding terrorists on both the Left and Right in a strategy of tension entitled Operation Gladio, operating throughout '70s and '80s.

Those interested in helping Italian anarchist prisoners can find a list of those imprisoned, along with contact details, on the Brighton ABC website at [www.brightonabc.org.uk/europe.htm](http://www.brightonabc.org.uk/europe.htm)



## Feature

# Designer war on terror

The ongoing war against terrorism has been an unwinnable one from the very beginning, says James Horrox

In order to understand fully the rationale behind this the war on terror, it is essential to appreciate the motivations driving Washington's neoconservative government. In addition to the political capital gained by the Bush administration following the 9/11 attacks, many of the individual architects of the war on terrorism are set to benefit financially from foreign policy decisions taken in the wake of the 9/11 attacks. Numerous key figures within the administration's foreign-policy apparatus are, according to one American journalist, "beholden to private economic interests that are profiting from US foreign and military policy and stand to make megabucks as the war against terrorism moves into full swing."

Many of these individuals are in one way or another connected with the Project for the New American Century (PNAC), a Washington-based think-tank founded in 1997 whose membership includes Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz, James Woolsey, Lewis Libby, Richard Perle and numerous other key figures now in the upper echelons of Bush's foreign policy apparatus.

Throughout the 1990s the PNAC founders had set out a very clear agenda which has clearly formed the backbone of Bush's post-9/11 foreign policy. Central to this aggressive, Neo-Reaganite ideology of unilateral action is the PNAC's constant emphasis on increased defence spending. The PNAC insisted that "to rebuild, transform, and man our military adequately for its many missions and responsibilities, defence spending will need to be increased by an additional \$70 to \$100 billion. This would bring defence expenditures to 3.8% - 4.0% of GDP in 2007."

The 9/11 attacks provided the "catastrophic and catalysing event - [a] new Pearl Harbour" which the PNAC had seen as necessary to push their agenda quickly to the forefront of policy-making. Many political writers, including among others William Rivers Pitt, George Soros, Peter Singer, Tom Barry and Jim Lobe have rightly highlighted the subsequent centrality of the PNAC to post-9/11 policy, although the public at large remains ignorant of PNAC and the impact its ideology has in shaping the world in which we now live.

The PNAC therefore warrants particularly close attention for two reasons: 1) The policy advice provided by this think tank has formed the basis of America's post 9/11 foreign policy and thus must be seen to occupy a central place in any discussion of the War on Terrorism and therefore the post-9/11 political climate; and, 2) The individuals involved in the think tank, the same individuals formulating foreign policy, are clearly 'interested parties'

The second institution equally worthy of attention is the Defence Policy Board, a semi-official advisory body containing several prominent PNAC members. According to one source, "of the thirty members of the board at least nine have ties to companies that have won more than \$76 billion in defence contracts in 2001 and 2002."

In keeping with the recommendations of PNAC proposals set out in documents such as *Rebuilding America's Defences (RAD)*, military action in Afghanistan and Iraq following 9/11 provided justification enough for the Defence Appropriations Conference to grant the Defence Department \$355.1 billion for the 2003 financial year - an increase of \$37.5 billion over 2002 levels. This figure specifically allocated \$7.4 billion for the development of the ballistic missile defence systems which had been central to the PNAC's agenda from the outset. It also included the single largest one-year increase in spending on intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance in over two decades.

The sustained high levels of defence spending recommended in documents like *RAD* is clearly of profound significance. The USA is the single largest arms manufacturer in the world, its government having long-standing contracts with major arms companies and defence contractors such as General Dynamics, Lockheed, McDonnell-Douglas and North American Rockwell. According to figures released in 1995 by the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the American weapons industry was at that time worth well in excess of \$278 billion per year (32% of the entire global arms trade).

However, in the case of the War on Terrorism it is necessary to examine more closely the *individuals* and corporations involved. In its May 2002 report the World Policy Institute drew attention to the fact that 32 former executives, consultants, or major shareholders of major defence contractors now occupy top policy-making positions in the White House and cabinet-level agencies, many of whom are prominent PNAC members. Seventeen of the defence-related appointees serving in the White House or key agencies in the Bush administration have clear links to major missile defence contractors. Moreover, at least six of the original signatories of the PNAC's statement of principles have similar such ties, including the think tank's most central, founding members.

Richard Perle, a prominent figure in the PNAC from its inception and, until February 2004 chairman of the Defence Policy Board, also sits on the boards of several defence contractors, advises investors on how to profit from US military conflicts, and heads his own venture-capital firm, *Trireme Partners*, which explores investments in defence



and homeland security. Moreover, Perle also reportedly had a hand in advising clients of Goldman Sachs on investment opportunities in post-war Iraq.

Fellow PNAC member R. James Woolsey is principle of a comparable venture-capital firm, *Paladin Capital Group*, soliciting investment for homeland security companies. In July 2002 Woolsey assumed the vice-presidency of *Global Strategic Security* consulting firm *Booz Allen Hamilton*, a company which at that time had military contracts worth more than \$680 million.

However, Perle, Woolsey and Quayle are by no means the only PNAC members to have such financial interests. In the course of this research it has become apparent that three major defence contractors, *Northrop Grumman*, *Lockheed Martin* and *Raytheon*, are particularly well represented in the ranks of both the PNAC and the Defence Policy Board. Connections to *Northrop Grumman* include, most significantly, Deputy Secretary of Defence *Paul Wolfowitz* (principal strategist of the 2003 invasion of Iraq and now head of the World Bank) and Vice Presidential Chief of Staff *I. Lewis Libby*, the chief authors of the PNAC's strategy, central to which, as I have stressed, is the demand for increased spending on arms.

Other administration officials with ties to missile defence contractors include Deputy Secretary of State *Richard Armitage*, a former member of *Raytheon's* board of directors, Vice President of Strategy and Planning *Bruce Jackson*, a PNAC director, who served as a Pentagon official for Ronald Reagan before leaving government service to take a leading position with the weapons manufacturer *Lockheed Martin*, and *John Bolton*, Undersecretary for Arms control.

That *Lockheed Martin*, *Boeing* and *Northrop Grumman* feature so heavily in many of the PNAC members' backgrounds is particularly interesting. Following the PNAC's rise to the forefront of policy-making in the aftermath of 9/11, these companies alone received more than \$42 billion in Pentagon contracts, *Lockheed Martin* being awarded \$17 billion, *Boeing* \$16.6 billion and *Northrop Grumman* \$8.7 billion. This represents an increase of around a third from Clinton's final year in office.

The second principal body responsible for orchestrating the war on terror is the Defence Policy Board, an advisory panel many of whose members (several of them also PNAC signatories) are set to benefit financially from US foreign and defence policy. In their special report for Public Integrity *André Verlöy* and *Daniel Politi* draw attention to the presence of numerous individuals on the board with clear financial interests in the military-industrial complex. Retired Admiral *David Jeremiah*, for example, a former vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is a director or advisor of at least five corporations that received more than \$10 billion in Pentagon contracts in 2002.

Similarly, Retired Air Force General *Ronald Fogleman*, in addition to his role in the DPB also sits on the board of directors of companies which received more than \$900 million in contracts in 2002. These companies, according to *Verlöy* and *Politi* include *Rolls-Royce North America*, *North American Airlines*, *AAR Corporation* and the *Mitre Corp.*

Retired General *Jack Sheehan* joined the engineering company *Bechtel* in 1998. *Bechtel*, one of the world's largest engineering-construction firms, is among the companies bidding for contracts to rebuild Iraq. In 2001 *Bechtel* had defence contracts worth \$650 million, a

figure which rose to more than \$1 billion in 2002.

Other members of the DPB with similar connections include, among others, *William Owens*, *Harold Brown*, *Chris Williams*, PNAC member *James Woolsey* and, of course, *Richard Perle*. All in all, the report concludes that nine members of the DPB have ties to companies that have benefited to the tune of more than \$76 billion in defence contracts in 2001 and 2002 alone, including *Boeing*, *TRW*, *Northrop Grumman* and *Lockheed Martin* in addition to those discussed above.

Numerous other sources, including reports by the *World Policy Institute* *Arms Trade Resource Centre*, indicate that the financial interests described above are in many ways the tip of the iceberg. It is well documented, for example, that *Kellogg, Brown and Root* (i.e., *Halliburton*) in which several PNAC members including *Dick Cheney* and *Donald Rumsfeld*, have significant financial interests, has profited enormously from military action in the wake of 9/11, earning itself contracts worth \$11,431,000,000 in the reconstruction of Iraq. Similarly, the Bush family's connections with the *Bin Laden* family and the *Carlyle* group have been highlighted by *Craig Unger* in his book *House of Bush, House of Saud* and *Michael Moore* in *Fahrenheit 9/11* but limitations of space preclude any real in-depth discussion of these complex issues here.

Suffice it to say, however, that those behind America's war on terrorism are in large part 'interested parties', leading to a situation wherein the potential for conflicts of interest is clearly enormous. Moreover, it is clear from analysis of such vested interests that certain companies and individuals influential in the policy-making process will emerge as the undisputed winners in the war on terrorism.



# REVIEW

## Nestor Makhno rides again, and T. Chanka finds a worthwhile introductory text in Skirda's history

**N**estor Makhno is probably the most frequently and unjustly maligned figure in anarchist history because he symbolises libertarian revolt in the Ukraine against both White and Red autocracy. This book is overdue: no biography of Makhno has appeared in English since Michael Malet's in 1982. Nestor Makhno: Anarchy's Cossack was first published in French that year, after eighteen years of research, and updated in 1999 and 2001. In 400+ pages Skirda covers a remarkable range of sources, from Makhnovist memoirs to very early and very late Soviet material.

Skirda is obviously sympathetic to Makhno, but everything is firmly grounded in the evidence of his research, and no myth about Makhno is left unexamined. As usual, Skirda's not afraid to share either his opinions or his dry humour. The result is a substantial and illuminating study of Makhno's life.

It also gives much new information on the Makhnovist movement – and its enemies. The chronological account is followed by several important analytical chapters. These cover Makhno's character, the relationship between Anarchism and the Makhnovschina, the allegations of 'banditry' and anti-Semitism against Makhno, sources, and the fate of Makhno's partner Galina Kuzmenko and their daughter Elena (Lucie).

Finally, thirty pages of documents from the Makhnovists are reprinted.

### Early life

Makhno came from a poor peasant family in the town of Gulyai-Polye, at the very bottom of the tsarist social pyramid. If that didn't incline him to revolt, in his memoirs (quoted on page 19) he repeats the advice given him by a workmate who'd violently interrupted some gentry beating another stable lad: "Little Nestor, if one of your masters should ever strike you, pick up the first pitchfork you lay hands on and let him have it..."

The revolution of 1905 politicised him, and by 1906, in his late teens, he was involved in the Gulyai-Polye anarchist group. After 1905 an epidemic of combat groups undermined tsarism. The Gulyai-Polye group was no exception: propaganda was combined with expropriations and gun battles with the police. Arrested in 1909 and tried in 1910, Makhno was first sentenced to death, then reprieved and given hard labour for life.

His time in prison was significant in several ways. He met Arshinov, the anarchist worker who was to become an almost lifelong comrade, and devoured the prisoners' collective library. Less good, though prophetic in a way, was meeting (in his own words) "intellectuals who seek from the socialist idea and from their militancy only the means of ensconcing themselves as masters and governors" (page 31).

### Revolution...

The February revolution of 1917 overthrew tsarism and unleashed the

creative energies of workers and peasants. It also freed Makhno from Moscow's Butyrki prison. He returned home to throw himself into social reconstruction alongside survivors of the Gulyai-Polye anarchist group, pushing for social revolution and expropriation of the landowners.

### ... and Civil War

Though the tsarist system had collapsed, there were plenty of Candidates itching to restore power and put the workers and peasants back in their place. Makhno and his comrades encouraged and initiated the resistance to their plans. The first Makhnovist insurgents harried the Austro-German occupation, and the old landowners who returned with it. At this early stage the Makhnovist way of dealing with prisoners was set, which was much more discriminating than other groups in the civil war: "The Varta members [Police] and members of the band of landowners were shot out of hand for, despite warnings, they had persisted in their repressive activities. As for the Austrian soldiers, they were fed then released on promising to fight no more against the revolutionary peasants; they were issued with provisions and a bottle of vodka but stripped of their kepis – this symbolic act indicated their 'demilitarisation'." (page 62).

After this, After this, the Makhnovist Revolutionary Insurgent Army fought the Whites who wanted to restore either tsarism complete or the Constituent Assembly.

The Bolsheviks were happy to see Makhno fight the Whites. But once the Makhnovists had broken Denikin's White forces at the battle of Peregonovka (September 1919) they were forced to defend themselves against the Bolsheviks, who could not tolerate anything outside the power of the party.

The Makhnovists had to be crushed as soon as possible: the libertarian idea threatened their hold on power, and their hold on their soldiers. A whole regiment came over to the Makhnovists, declaring: "During our two years' service with the Red Army, we reached the conclusion that the whole social regime of our lives relied wholly upon the rule of commissars and that in the last analysis it would lead us to slavery without precedent in history. Because they conduct an implacable fight against the wealthy and the lords; because they stand for free union and soviets among the workers and peasants, without the dictatorship of any party; because they fight so that the workshops, factories and land may pass into the hands of the workers and peasants; because the Makhnovists fight for all these goals, we also find ourselves at their side because of these very same aspirations, we, yesterday's Red soldiers and today's free revolutionaries" (page 183).<sup>1</sup>

The Makhnovists made a second alliance with the Bolsheviks to defeat the White General Wrangel (1920). The moment he had fled the Crimea, the Red Army were ordered to turn their machine guns on their recent allies. Many Makhnovists died fighting or were executed by the Cheka. Makhno



had to fight his way to exile in Rumania. With a handful of survivors, he crossed the border in August 1921.

### Makhno's significance

Makhno had the essentials of a partisan: caution to avoid defeats and bravery; cunning to make and take chances of victory. However, he couldn't have held out for so long against so many enemies without popular support.

This support was fundamentally political. The peasants and revolutionaries who joined and supported Makhno were not all anarchists, but they knew he was on their side. He was fighting for what they wanted: not rights on paper, but land and freedom. The Makhnovist movement embodied their slogan 'For the oppressed, against the oppressor, always!'

### Myths and Legends

Skirda reports some of the popular legends which attached themselves to Makhno. Most of these (entering the enemy's camp in disguise, the helpful stranger) are the sort that have been told about local heroes from Robin Hood to Pretty Boy Floyd. Other myths, however, were deliberately created to demonise him and the movement generally.

Bolshevik propaganda created a stereotyped ogre of Makhno. As could only be expected of someone capable of the 'sin' of opposing the Bolshevik Party, (Dzherzinsky, head of the Cheka, page 185) he must be a bloodthirsty bandit. Evidence was irrelevant "it was primarily a political argument, essential in order to dismiss one's adversary and

deny him right of reply" (page 337).

Equally the Bolshevik Party (when it suited their interests) portrayed Makhno as an anti-Semite for the same reason: "to cheaply dismiss the professed aims of the movement, only to acknowledge later on, once their defeat had been finalised – as indeed the Bolsheviks did – that such charges had had no substance to them" (page 341). Skirda provides ample quotations from the Bolsheviks themselves (as well as independent writers) to back this up.

Among some anarchists, the image persists that even if Makhno did fight for freedom, he was violent, uncivilised and generally bedevilled with 'personal failings'. The culmination of this is the idea that Makhno was busy drinking himself to death during his exile in Paris. Skirda questions this view, arguing that Voline (the ultimate source for many of these claims) is not the neutral or friendly witness some assume. While Makhno and Voline had worked together during the years of the Makhnovist revolt, they were hardly best mates. Their relationship worsened in exile, taking opposite sides in the debates about organisation of the 1920s. Thus Voline, while he did know Makhno, had fallen out with him. Much of Voline's testimony was also given when Makhno was dead and could not respond.

Some may accuse Skirda of trying to romanticise Makhno in challenging this view, but the evidence for it is weak or lacking, what good does it do maintain it? Skirda paints a different view of these years of exile where, despite poverty, tuberculosis and unhealed wounds,

Makhno wrote extensively, both on his experiences and about coming struggles. He notably warned the Spanish comrades that communists there "will follow in the footsteps of the Jesuit Lenin or even of Stalin, not hesitating to assert their monopoly over all the gains of the revolution" (page 282).<sup>2</sup>

### Lessons

This book restores a great deal of forgotten history, both in Makhno's life and in the Makhnovist struggle for the third revolution against 'socialist' absolutism. It's an excellent introduction to this piece of anarchist history, and the Russian Revolution in general. If the Russian experience bears out the anarchist contention that a revolution controlled by the party will only benefit the party, then the history of the Makhnovist movement refutes the Bolshevik idea that the masses cannot defend or direct themselves without the leadership of their vanguard. History will be better placed to judge the likes of Lenin and Trotsky thanks to this reminder of the revolutionary alternative to Bolshevism.

1. 'Appeal' by 522nd Red Regiment, published in Volna [Detroit], December 1921, no. 24, pages 15-16.

2. 'Letter to the Spanish Anarchists' published in ProbuZENIYE [Detroit] June-October 1932 (also reprinted in The Struggle Against the State and Other Essays).

