

NO CHARGES OVER G20 DEATH

Anger as yet another police officer escapes prosecution for killing a member of the public

The family of Ian Tomlinson, the man killed by police during the G20 protests in London on 1st April 2009, vowed to fight on after an emotional plea for justice following the devastating decision by the Director of Public Prosecutions, Keir Starmer, not to prosecute the officer responsible for Tomlinson's death.

Tomlinson, who was not part of the Bank of England demonstration against the G20 Summit last year, was struck violently twice by police as he made his way home through the City where he worked as a newspaper vendor. Moments after being attacked he was helped to his feet by demonstrators, but collapsed and died a short distance away.

The police officer who struck the fatal blows, Simon Harwood, will not face any criminal charges or disciplinary procedures, as according to Starmer "there is no realistic prospect of a conviction for any offence arising from the matter".

Harwood was part of the notorious Territorial Support Group (TSG) and was filmed in full riot gear lunging forward and **page 3** ▶▶

LENS CAP KILLING IN THE NAME OF...

LAY IT ON THICK

Now in new shades:

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WE DO WHO WE SAY ON THE TIN

Ian Tomlinson follows in a long line of people killed by the police. As yet no serving officer has ever been successfully charged with killing someone – never been convicted of murder or manslaughter for a death following police contact, in spite of there having been over 400 such deaths in the past ten years alone.

Photo: courtesy of Schnevs

CHILD DETENTION ENDS

The controversial children's wing of the detention centre at Yarl's Wood is set to close after fears of being prosecuted under the Human Rights Act. The government has pledged to end the policy of child detention for those going through the asylum process. And while anti-immigration groups welcome the move, they claim it doesn't go far enough.

Yarl's Wood is an immigration removal centre situated on the outskirts of London where failed asylum seekers are held in prison conditions before being deported. It is said to hold over a hundred children at any one time. It has also been the centre of large-scale protests against the inhumane treatment of those being detained there. Since it opened in 2001 by New Labour, there has been several major hunger strikes and riots, and

even a fire which destroyed a major part of the prison complex.

Medical Justice, a charity which offers advice to asylum seekers in detention, said in a statement: "We agree with Nick Clegg that detaining children at Yarl's Wood is a 'moral outrage'.

"So too is the continued indefinite and arbitrary detention of vulnerable women at Yarl's Wood, including torture survivors, pregnant women, victims of trafficking and women with serious medical conditions, some of whom are denied adequate medical care.

"We believe that the harm being caused by Yarl's Wood is so extensive that the only solution is to close it down.

"We therefore call on the government to close Yarl's Wood in its entirety today."

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NEWS

IN BRIEF

CHEAP CLOTHING: Campaign group Action Aid has been targeting Asda stores this week in an effort to highlight the Walmart-owned chain's appalling record of exploiting sweatshop labour in Asia.

There have been actions in major cities up and down the country. Campaigners have been putting secret messages into the pockets of Asda clothing describing the corporation's treatment of their garment workers, as well as collecting 2p from Asda shoppers as they enter the store. Asda would need to raise its price on a £4 T-shirt by just 2p to give their workers earn enough to feed, clothe and educate their families. The Walmart group makes £45 million profit each day.

Anyone finding a secret message can send it to Action Aid to claim prize. They will also be invited to send a letter to Asda bosses. See www.actionaid.org.uk for details.

GM: The number of scientific procedures involving genetically modified animals has overtaken those involving 'normal animals' for the first time.

A Home Office report has revealed that more than 3.6 million scientific procedures involving animals were carried out in the UK during 2009. Of these, just 48% involved genetically 'normal' animals.

HEALTH: The health inequality gap in Britain is greater than it was after the slump following the First World War and the Great Depression, a study suggests.

Despite the continued rise in life expectancy, it is well documented that the gap between richest and poorest has actually been widening in recent years.

Researchers looked at early death rates since 1921 and found that the current gap was greater than it was in the 1920s and 1930s, the *British Medical Journal* reports.

PLANNING: The Hazel Dormouse (featured on page 2 of our last issue) has failed to halt the planning application for a new 1,500-place prison at Runwell being heard by Chelmsford Borough Council on 20th July. Instead, the Ministry of Justice withdrew their plans when it became clear that the council would refuse the application as they preferred using the site to build houses on.

The Ministry plan to re-submit the plans if they can negotiate a compromise position with the council.

TOM HURNDALL: The International Solidarity Movement (ISM) condemns the early release from prison of the Israeli soldier who murdered photography student and ISM volunteer Tom Hurndall in Gaza in 2003.

Taysir Hayb shot Tom Hurndall in the forehead with a high velocity bullet using a rifle with a telescopic sight in Gaza in 2003. Tom was attempting to rescue children from Israeli gunfire. He spent nine months in a coma before dying from his injuries.

Taysir Hayb will be released three years early from an already short eight-year sentence.

LENS CAP GOODNIGHT SWEET PRINCE



For those northern working class lads who grew up in the 1980s, Alex Higgins was one of the few heroes of sport that we could truly call our own. Flawed, human and without pretension, he was snooker's legendary player. Alex Hurricane Higgins (18th March 1949 – 24th July 2010).

The EDL in Whitechapel

Reflections on the anti-EDL mobilisations

A controversial few weeks on the streets of Whitechapel culminated on Sunday 20th June with a complete no-show by the EDL (not surprising given that their 'leadership' had spent the previous week urging their members not to attend on Sunday after the cancellation of the UK-IC conference at the Troxy). However, there was a strong turnout from local people prepared to defend their community from an opportunistic attack by the EDL (English Defence League), whose central London movements had been monitored by WAG (Whitechapel Anarchist Group) spotters.

The presence, on the Tuesday before, of up to a dozen EDL members in Whitechapel had lent credence to the hysterical claims of the UAF that thousands of EDL supporters would run rampant through Whitechapel on the Sunday. Upon reflection WAG believes the UAF, who had spent the previous few weeks scaremongering, behaved irresponsibly in what turned out to be nothing more than a sensational recruitment drive.

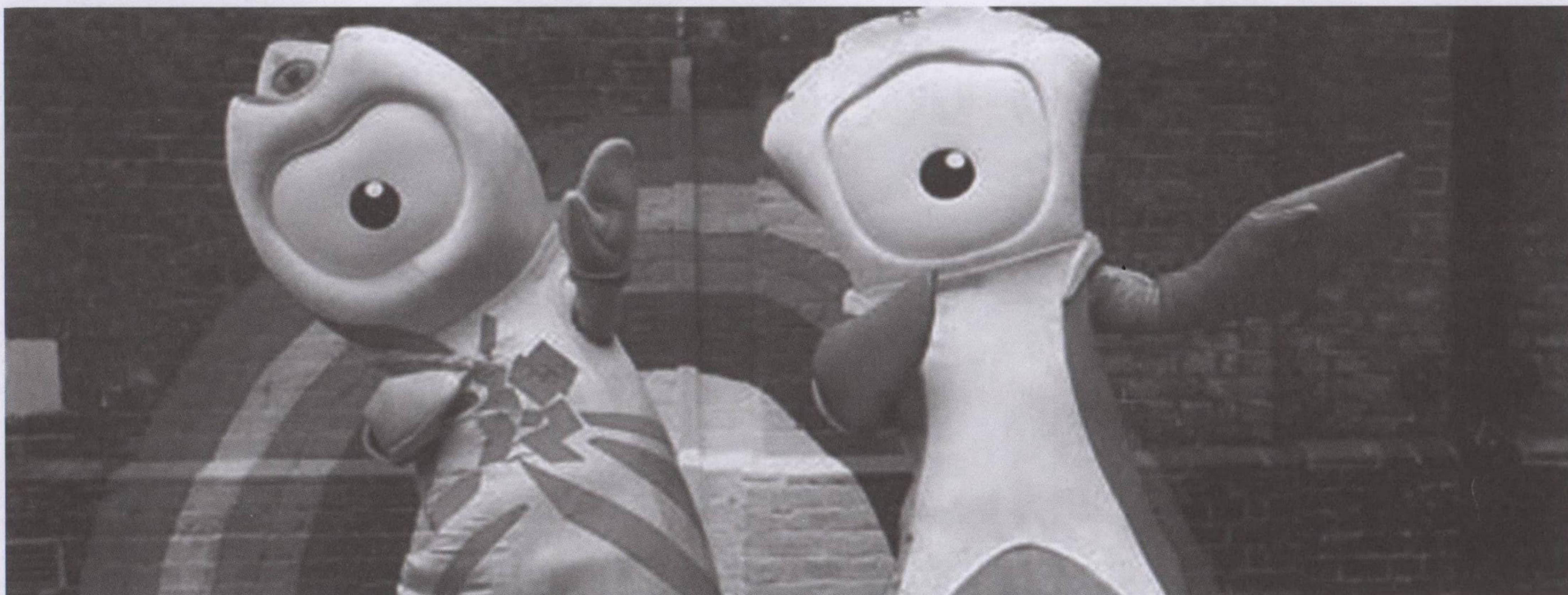
Despite organising a 5,000-strong march, they obviously felt no sense of responsibility towards local people once they had realised few were willing to be recruited – fleeing Whitechapel for the provinces after giving their speeches and selling their papers. A few hours after the march ended they were nowhere to be seen, leaving the police

and the locals in a tense stand-off.

WAG's position is not one of complacency with regards the EDL, but one of realism. The twenty-or-so EDL trailing from Edgware down to Whitehall, where they all got themselves nicked, represented little physical threat to the local community – who had assembled *en masse*. At this point WAG members were more concerned for the safety of those protestors left behind on the streets outside and around the Whitechapel Mosque. Thankfully, the initially heavy-handed and provocative policing gave way to a more hands-off approach as the police realised people were in no mood to be pushed around. There were, however, some arrests and reports of injuries sustained by youths from police truncheons.

With the coming of darkness most people began to head homewards, and we hope the nascent friendships formed on day will blossom into productive working relationships in future.

Tower Hamlets, as an economically deprived borough, will suffer more than most in the coming round of cuts promised by the coalition government of Eton-bred elitists. Intolerance and bigotry do not spring up out of nowhere and, in a harsh economic climate, we need to be on guard against fascism in whatever form it occurs. The wellspring of unity lies in the common ground that we share and the action we are prepared to take in the fight for a better future for all; regardless of ethnicity, gender, sexuality or religion. Solidarity is our weapon and our message is clear: CLASS WAR NOT RACE WAR!



The Olympics McVolunteers

The Olympics organising committee have announced their 32nd multi-million pound sponsorship deal – McDonalds is now tasked with recruiting and training 70,000 volunteer ‘Games Makers’ to work the 2012 Olympics. The scheme is divided into two categories:

Unskilled workers can apply as a ‘generalist’, who may be assigned to any task and can expect to work “at anti-social times”. This unpaid logistical workforce will be given jobs including stewarding, greeting, manning information points and checking tickets. The Olympics committee anticipates that many generalist volunteers will be working in customer services answering phone calls.

The ‘specialist’ class of Games Makers will first be pre-identified by various national sporting groups, recruiting volunteers with experience as doctors, journalists and anti-doping officials.

All volunteers will commit at least 13 days of unpaid labour, including three days of training, and are expected to provide for their own accommodation.

Like much unpaid internship labour that is now becoming normalised in the UK, the application process is difficult (it includes criminal and ‘security background’ checks) and also oversubscribed. The recession and recent cuts are expected to inflate the number of applicants to many times the 70,000 positions available.

The rhetoric justifying staging the Games on the backs of unpaid labour is just the same as Cameron’s Big Society scheme: “work with our partners [McDonalds] will create a new volunteering spirit, an improved volunteer network with more opportunities and better training for those who want to give their most important commodity – time”.

There is little promise of skills training for future job opportunities, instead volunteers will be instructed by a fast food corporation on how to give their time – without pay – more effectively. Some 70,000 people each working for 13 days adds up to 910,000 days of unpaid labour.

Volunteers will have little say over when and how they work, they will not be able to choose or exchange shifts, won’t be scheduled to work with friends or family and they will not receive tickets to any of the games. Neither can Games Makers change their shifts to attend games that they may have already purchased tickets for. Lord Coe is adamant that the volunteers should expect to be working long hours.

In exchange for this “hard work and time-consuming” endeavour that is “vital to the success of the Games”, the workers will be able to keep their McDonalds-branded uniforms as souvenirs and they will become part of a “family of volunteers after the Games who would like to stay in touch with friends made during the course of their volunteering”.

If this labour force is so essential to McDonalds and the Olympics, shouldn’t they receive more than a T-shirt and empty talk that socialisation is the new paycheck?

No charges over G20 death

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striking Tomlinson from behind on the leg, then shoulder-charging him to the ground while Tomlinson attempted to walk away with his hands in his pockets. Eyewitness reports say he hit the ground “with some considerable force”.

There were fundamental errors made in properly investigating Tomlinson’s death. Firstly the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) failed to initiate its investigation until seven days after the death, leading to the loss and suppression of crucial forensic evidence in the ‘golden hours’ following Mr Tomlinson’s death.

Secondly the initial post-mortem, concluded his death as “consistent with natural causes”, which differed sharply with

the following two independent post-mortems both citing internal bleeding caused by blunt force trauma as cause of death. The first post-mortem was conducted by discredited pathologist Dr Freddy Patel. As reported by *Freedom* at the time, Patel was suspended for professional misconduct over his capacity to work as a police pathologist. He is currently being investigated on four separate misconduct charges. According to Starmer this “sharp disagreement between the medical experts” meant exact cause of death could not be properly established, allowing the officer to escape charges.

To add insult to injury, the day the decision was made public was exactly five years since the police killed Jean Charles de

Menezes on a train at Stockwell tube station. No police officer was ever charged with his killing.

How Ian Tomlinson has been treated by the state, both in its brutality as a means of maintaining social order and its cover up as a means of providing justice, is indicative of the contempt state agencies have for ordinary people.

As Ian Tomlinson’s son Paul King said, “After 16 months of waiting, to hear nothing is being done is a complete joke. Today they gave us no hope. This experience has broken our family apart. The DPP has told us there was an unlawful act, yet no charges are to be brought. This is no justice – everyone has failed us.”

ANALYSIS

Compare and contrast

The helpful HMS Walney (pictured right) discovered and dealt with a unexploded bomb in the river Mersey in 2006, but is to be decommissioned this year. Meanwhile work continues on HMS Queen Elizabeth and HMS Prince of Wales. The obvious use for the new Aircraft Carriers is to bomb other countries, annoying the people thereof and greatly reducing Britain's international popularity.

Time for attack cuts

Anarchists are always being portrayed as a negative lot criticising politicians of all parties but never putting forward constructive proposals of their own – never more so than with the forthcoming 'cuts' needed to restore the finances of the nation and maintain banking stability. So, in the spirit of everyone pulling together to overcome the fact that the banking bail-out left the planet with exactly the same amount of factories, machines and skilled workers who could do something useful, here are some helpful hints for our leaders to save a few bob in the armed forces department.

So to the constructive section, as they say. Rather than *defence* cuts, what is needed are *attack* cuts! So we need to look at the savings that can be made by restricting the military to defending rather than attacking.

Attack does have the advantage of reducing forces' numbers by attrition, but it comes with the drawback of bereaved relatives and long term wounded who are not only in need of expensive medical treatment, pensions, etc., but are a general knock on the whole community by being more than somewhat miserable because they're suffering for no good reason.

One part of the forces that never gets involved in the violent side of things are, of



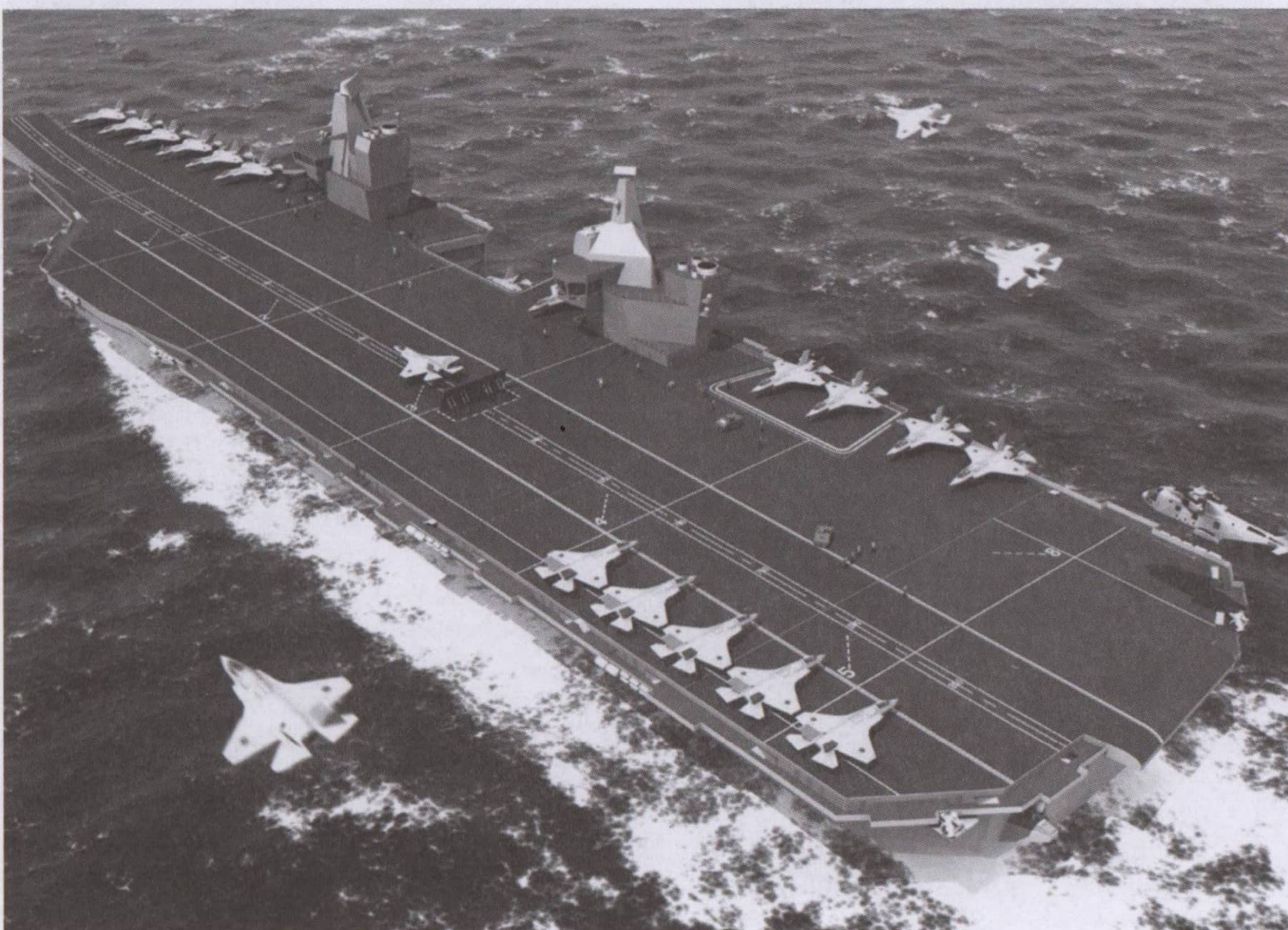
course, the Generals, Admirals and Air Marshals in charge. Thus you might think that increasing the number of these individuals at the expense of the Paras and Marines, who are always getting into scraps, might result in less losses. Sadly they are also expensive – the lowest 'star rank' of Brigadier costs (not earns, as that implies work) £90,000 a year and many feel we have too many already. Britain has 190 Brigadiers for example the United States 150.

Nuclear weapons, with the exception of the 'Class Bomb', are also not much good

for anything except murdering millions of people, which isn't very defence minded. However, again being positive, if they are needed we could follow the Israeli Government's plan (who do have a lot of enemies and not without some reason). So rather than a replacement version of Trident, some cheap cruise missiles will do and some free submarines given by Germany to make amends for the war. That's £20 billion back in the bank, simple. Except it was the banks who got us into it in the first place.

The Third Tranche (a posh word for batch, but needed when each one is £100 million a pop) of Eurofighters is another quick saving. Technically the Eurofighter is better suited to defence than attack, being designed in the Cold War to fight off swarms of Soviet planes, but it's being adapted to drop bombs on schools and wedding parties, etc., so it's on our chopping list. Britain planned to have 232 in total so the last 72 shouldn't be missed, especially as only 112 are scheduled for squadron service. The Government isn't completely daft and would like to do this, but our old pals at BAe have them tied in contractual knots making it prohibitively expensive to cancel the Eurofighter, the next useless plane the Joint Strike Fighter, the Astute attack submarine and the Daring destroyer. The solution? Close down BAe.

Our final bit deals with the little difficulty of the war in Afghanistan. In the context of another unwinnable war way back in 1944, Gerd von Rundstedt, reporting the collapse of his army group, was asked by Berlin what they should do. "Make peace you fools!" was the Field Marshall's reply, and that's still good advice all round.



Fundamentalism, feminism and anti-fascism

Some reflections on the EDL 'march' in Whitechapel

June saw the fascist and undeniably opportunistic English Defence League (EDL) announce plans to march through Whitechapel (on 20th June) in apparent protest at a planned United Kingdom – Islamic Conference (UK-IC) at the Troxy Centre, a conference which would see extreme Islamic fundamentalist speakers espousing their hate of Jews, women and homosexuals. Past years have witnessed the growth of Saudi-funded political Islam in Tower Hamlets, oppressing local Muslim communities and destroying Asian cultures, promoting repression of women, and beginning to dominate the local authority.

The rise in religious fundamentalism, whatever the religion may be, poses a serious and very real threat to women, who are seen as crucial in representing and transmitting the supposedly unchanging morals and traditions of the whole community. Women who fail to conform to so-called traditional family values are portrayed as placing the honour, well-being and future of the whole society or community at risk. The control of women's minds and bodies is, therefore, at the heart of fundamentalist agendas everywhere and is something that must be challenged.

In the run up to that Sunday in Whitechapel, women's bodies became a battleground on which both sides fought. "They [Muslims] want all women in burqhas" proclaimed the EDL and "we're not fascist, we've got a LGBT division, we just care about the wimmin". Anti-EDL groups and individuals also used women in their ideological battle; rumours were circulated that local Muslim women had been attacked and raped by the EDL, resulting in a large angry turn-out when the EDL youth division came for a 'quiet' drink in Whitechapel.

A group called Women Against Fascism in their call-out on Indymedia for the mobilisation against the EDL, recognised how women are used in this battle without challenging these pervasive paternalistic attitudes to women. "The women who are against fascism are the friends, girlfriends, wives, sisters, aunts, grandmothers and mothers of young men who feel that they are being provoked into violence by the EDL. Boys of school age feel that they have to defend their mothers and sisters, etc., from the EDL who want to demonstrate in Whitechapel." Their call-out made no mention of the UK-IC speakers.

Unite Against Fascism also concentrated solely on the EDL in their mobilisations against the far-right, ignoring the woman-hating, homophobic ideology of the right wing Islamists and calling all those who pointed out the bigotry of the UK-IC speakers, and the need to oppose both sides equally, including anarchists, as islamophobic and racist.

The UK-IC conference was thankfully cancelled and the EDL called off their planned demonstration in the area. The UAF still marched, unsurprisingly refusing to critique or even acknowledge the fundamentalism of the UK-IC or the right-wing islamist ideology of some of those who marched with them.

The EDL are a serious threat. Fascism must be challenged and stopped, but we cannot do this at the expense of challenging those with fundamentalist agendas. Fundamentalism and fascism both deserve our contempt, and this is the position that anarchists must take.

Class struggle, community cohesion and militant physical opposition are the only effective means to repel fascism and the conditions in which it flourishes and this may mean making political alliances with those who we consider to be religious moderates or even conservative secularists. But how do we as feminists/anarchists navigate the awkward space between our secular views and

those of even moderate religious persuasion? Paternalistic, misogynistic attitudes to women and homophobia are not just confined to realm of religious fundamentalism, it is unfortunately prevalent across all sections of society, including among those who consider themselves moderates, progressives or secular. Can we really, as anarchist women, work with and ally ourselves with those who have anti-woman, anti-queer attitudes, traditions and practices even if it is with the purpose of coming together as working class people to fight fascism?

Perhaps we need to use these times when we do connect with our neighbours over a common enemy despite religious, cultural or political differences, to raise our concerns about and contempt of misogyny, racism and homophobia, as well as pushing an anti-capitalist class-based critique of the state. In this battle against fascism, we must take care that we do not reinforce or accommodate patriarchal attitudes and so must confidently encourage dialogue that confronts and challenges the sometimes anti-women, anti-queer attitudes of even moderate people of faith and secularists.

Now is the time for discussion on fundamentalism and fascism and how we can organise and oppose both in an anti-sexist, inclusive way. Feminists must, while fighting all forms of religious fundamentalism, develop targeted feminist campaigns to take on the growth of political Islam and its misogyny, authoritarianism and distortion of the genuine variety of Muslim cultures. We must provide young people with alternatives – feminist, anarchist, secular and participatory – to the great big reactionary mosques and synagogues and churches. In our fight against fascism, we've got to be prepared to take on all forms of religious fundamentalism and manifestations of misogyny in everyday life.

London anarcho feminist kolektiv
lafk.wordpress.com



'EDL Go To Hell' banner drop in Whitechapel.

INTERNATIONAL

IN BRIEF

CHINA: Yet another strike has broken out at a south China factory supplying parts for Japan's Honda Motor Company, the latest in a string of stoppages by Chinese workers demanding a bigger piece of the country's economic wealth.

The strike, at Atsumitec Company in the city of Foshan, saw about 90 of the plant's 200 workers stopping work to demand a nearly 60% pay increase.

EUROPE: The EU has ditched regulations on the production of GM crops in the region and put the decision on whether to grow them or not back into the hands of national governments. Although states now have increased power to ban GM within their own territories, authorisation will be easier to achieve at EU level. This effectively opens up European agriculture to more GM crops.

GREECE: An investigative journalist has been shot dead in uncertain circumstances just days before he was due to publish a story on corruption. Police have blamed the Sect of Revolutionaries group after bullets were found to have been used in a previous incident they had claimed responsibility for.

INDIA: Production at Nokia's factory in Chennai has stopped after workers began a strike demanding higher pay this month.

The strike began after employees' talks with the management failed. The facility employs 8,000 people.

ITALY: Protesters over the failed rebuilding of the town of Aquila post-earthquake have voiced their anger after police sources accused them of rioting at a 7th July demonstration.

The demo saw controversy after video footage emerged showing infiltrators and heavy police violence being used to quell the crowd.

SPAIN: Protests are continuing against supermarket giant Mercadona in Valencia to denounce the consecutive dismissals of various CNT members and harassment that continues inside the store. Demonstrators have been subjected to harassment and surveillance by the company as a result.

UGANDA: Around 1,700 Rwandan asylum-seekers from two refugee settlements have been forced back to the country in military operations which saw shots fired in the air and refugees injured as they tried to escape. Up to 25 people are thought to have been subjected to severe beatings.

VENEZUELA: Following the murder of two Venezuelan trade unionists the National Union of Workers has demanded that state security forces carry out efficient investigations and adopt preventative measures to protect union leaders.

Alexis Díaz and Sensy Sanchez are both thought to have been the victims of targeted anti-union hit squads.

LENS CAP USA



Members of the RNC8 'prepare for court' in St Paul, Minnesota, USA. The eight are under threat of prison for their part in protests at the 2008 Republican National Convention. Police raided their homes before the protests and charged them with conspiracy to riot in the first ever use of the Patriot Act in the state.

US military eyes south Americas

US overflights are being reported on the Venezuelan border as fears over Washington's military intentions for south America deepen.

Juan Jose Mendoza of the National Assembly Defence Committee of Venezuela accused the US of carrying out "regular, provocative" patrols along the Colombia/Venezuela border and out at sea.

The patrols come as tensions between Bogota and Caracas rise with both governments taking advantage of the situation to distract from domestic worries, but also reflect wider concerns as a huge fleet moves into Costa Rica after a recent diplomatic deal.

The new base, along with the raising of the US Fourth Fleet, will give the US a military strike capability stretching across most of the continent.

While the Obama administration has said the move is part of the country's century-old war on drugs and intended as a backup to local governments' own efforts to eliminate the trafficking trade, few have been convinced.

Protests have broken out in Costa Rica itself, with protesters pointing out that none of the weaponry being brought in, including heavy cruisers and airstrike weaponry, would be of any use in combatting the secretive and decentralised drugs trade.

In the last four years the US has bolstered or introduced forces at three island bases, reactivated the Fourth Fleet for the first time since the 1950s, set up or expanded seven bases in Colombia, allegedly backed the 2009 coup in Honduras, and agreed the opening of two new bases in Panama.

Notes from the US

It's six months since the earthquake in Haiti. As might be expected, little of the billions of dollars of aid sent to the country after January has reached those who need it. The Interim Commission to Reconstruct Haiti (CIRH) is made up of foreign bankers and foreign governments, like the US, France and Canada. These countries were behind the coup d'état against Aristide in 2004. Now they control this commission along with 13 other members who are drawn from members of Haiti's élite anyway – people like Reginald Boulos of the principal bourgeois family which led

the coups in 1994, 1991 and 2004. Then the US, the banks, the IMF, World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank.

Kim Ives, a journalist with *Haiti Liberté*, explains the situation this way: "the wolves have been put in charge of the chicken coop. The bourgeoisie has been put in charge of resettling the squatters' camps, and they have the best land in suburban Port-au-Prince, the large tracts of land very suited to building... where people could have good houses. And there's dozens of proposals of how to build

Pressure rises on Zapatista zones

Mexican government steps up black ops and military strength

Reports from the autonomous Zapatista zone in Chiapas, Mexico are warning that the Mexican government is putting the squeeze on people in the rebellious southern region.

Journalists and locals have experienced an increase in army patrols and army overflights, and evictions of communities from lucrative beauty spots and water resources in the area such as Montes Azules and the Jatate River.

Black ops too appear to have increased, with paramilitary activity up, unofficial land grabs taking place and government attempts to 'divide and rule' by bribing communities and individuals with promises of land, building materials and cash.

The Zapatistas, which have through both military and recently economic campaigns maintained a high support base within the area, have reported that army patrols have now been brought into La Garrucha and accused the government of sponsoring paramilitary violence.

The Zapatista Good Government Junta (JBG) of La Garrucha noted: "There is constant conflict in the territory of the Caracol. The bad government seeks nothing other than to put an end to the construction of autonomy.

"It offers money to divide the communities, and above all gives money to people from the political parties and the paramilitary organisation Opddic to provoke the Zapatista supporters."

In a carrot-and-stick approach, the Mexican government is offering sheet roofing, cement



and wooden planks even as it protects paramilitaries who have been seizing collectively-owned grazing lands.

And in a direct attempt at bribery, it has increased its offers of financial assistance for leaving the affected areas – up to 200,000 pesos (£10,000) per family.

Under the guise of environmental protection, communities have also been forcibly evicted from jungle areas which have long been eyed up by big investors for its wealth of tourist-friendly beauty spots and patentable biological resources.

Resistance to such measures has left large numbers of locals jailed, numbers which are set to rise if plans to build a hydroelectric dam on the Jatate river – on the communal lands of Rómulo Calzada, go ahead.

Resistance is being organised primarily

through the local JBGs, which have been attempting to negotiate settlements with the national government but stress there will be resistance to any eviction attempts.

The direct action wing of the Zapatistas, the EZLN, explained: "For us the land belongs to those who work it, therefore we make clear that, as the EZLN, we will not allow one more eviction, we will not tolerate these actions, we will not allow them to happen; we will defend our land whatever happens, because for us the land is not for hire, not for rent, let alone an object for sale."

The main communities affected are Salvador Allende, Rancheria Corozal, San Gregorio, Nuevo Limar, Agua Dulce, Ojo de Agua La Pimienta and Nuevo Villaflores.

Jessica Davies
edited by Rob Ray

Notes from the US

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those houses. But the good land is not being given... It's the takeover of the government by the international banks and former colonial countries, which are interested in getting the contracts to rebuild Haiti."

Haitian human rights attorney Mario Joseph described "another coup d'état without an army... a group of foreigners put together with Haitians... They're here to make a reconstruction, they say, but without the Haitian people... and they don't have any accountability to anybody."

Conditions are still appalling. Tent cities have sprung up on almost every street in Port-au-Prince, and they're not just limited to the capital. In Ganthier, for example, a rural area of 72,000 people, there are tracts of state land used as commons for the past 80 years. But at least there's some resistance. The mayor, Ralph Lapointe, was jailed for siding with local people who burnt the bulldozer brought in by opportunists (using false paperwork) to deprive the locals of their land.

Following the herding of Haitians into camps, the rape of girls and women became common. But here too a citizens' committee has emerged to protect them using a system of whistles to summon assistance.

So the world's first black republic still shows it can resist. But against seemingly huge odds.

What goes around

Reports surfaced recently that grenades made in the United States and supplied to central America in the 1980s and '90s are now being used by Mexican drug gangs (there have been almost 75 grenade attacks in Mexico in the last year). The majority of these grenades have been traced back to El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, countries to which the US sent hundreds of thousands of hand grenades – between 1980 and 1993 Reagan and the first Bush sent well over a quarter of a million M67 grenades to El Salvador alone.

Louis Further

Basque anti-rail activists holed up

Activists taking direct action in Itsasondo in the Basque region of northern Spain are risking their lives in a long running battle against the construction of a High Speed Train route.

In July four people significantly raised the stakes in by locking themselves onto underground barrels to occupy abandoned mines beneath the route at Itsasondo. This is an attempt to prevent the daily explosions which have been used to blast a way through the environmentally sensitive area, as explosives could bring down the tunnels where the activists are holed up.

There has been substantial local support for the campaign against the HST with 15,000 people joining a recent demonstration in Hendaye. A communiqué from the protesters said: "Power is deaf to this massive opposition and the situation is worsening. Civil disobedience and direct action are the only way we can stop this disaster."

Further information: avatartherevolution.com/en/11

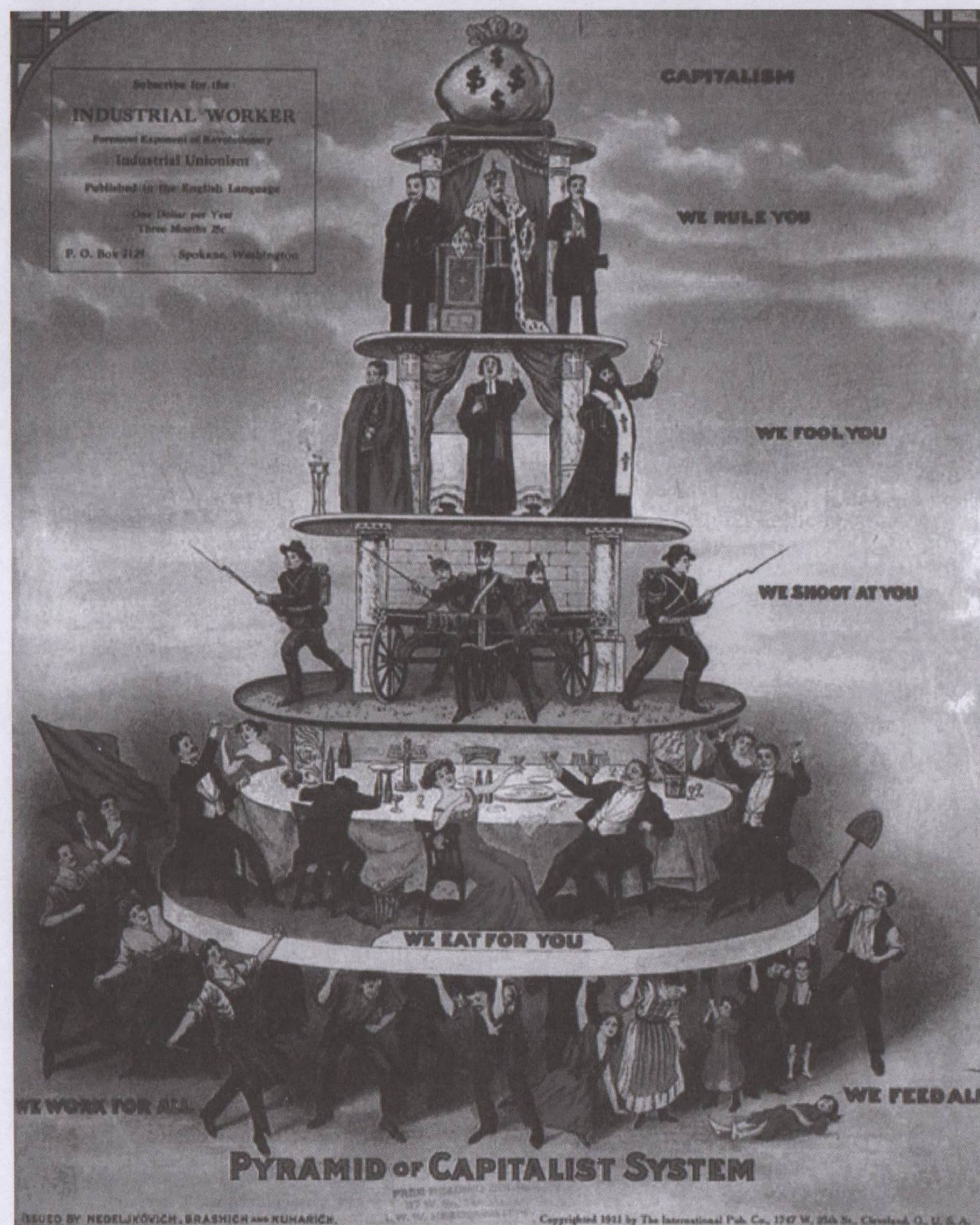
Is Marx's analysis of capitalism still valid today?

In Part Two Jonny Ball explores Marx's critique of political economy and how the capitalist system bears itself out in today's global crisis, taking in labour theory of value and class divisions and their relevance on our current situation

The theory of surplus value is central to a Marxist analysis of capitalism. This theory amounts to an explanation for the legal robbery of employees by their employers in capitalist society. Its basic premise is that in order to make a profit, the capitalist must pay the worker a sum lower than the amount the worker actually produces. The owners of the means of production, of Capital, will always try to keep costs, such as wages, to a minimum in order to extract the maximum amount of surplus value from their workforce, while those who do not own capital are obliged to sell their labour in order to live at a price that is determined not so much by the value they produce, but by the whims of an employer, who will receive the bulk of their workers' produce in the form of profit, "... the time spent maintaining the worker's labour power may be only four hours a day, his power to labour lasts eight. For the first four hours each day, therefore, his actual labour is producing the equivalent of what is paid to him in wages; for the remaining hours of his working day he is producing 'surplus value' which his employer appropriates."¹

Whilst this method of capitalist accumulation may have been far more noticeable and acute in nineteenth century England, with the extreme poverty well-documented by Friedrich Engels in his work, *The Conditions of the Working Class in England*, it still remains the basic source of wealth in today's capitalist economy, where the exploitative nature of the employer and employee relationship is cleverly concealed by the dominance of 'white-collar' industries, the financial and service sectors as opposed to manufacturing and a paternalistic welfare state that guarantees the freedom to consume.

However, despite our progression from industrial workhouse of the world into a modern service economy, capitalism has put the relaxed laws on 'flexible' work and weak employment legislation to good use on office floors with the new white-collar working class. The outward appearance of fairness and progress is only superficial. In April 2007, Tesco announced profits of £2.55 billion,² whilst many on their workforce work on



temporary contracts for minimum wage. Additionally, Tesco have a virtual monopoly on the supermarket industry, accounting for 31% of food sales,³ and can therefore dictate prices to their suppliers, often putting smaller companies out of business – this trend towards monopolisation was also documented extensively by Marx. The USSR and Eastern Bloc countries claimed to break free from this mode of capitalist appropriation whilst running their industries in an almost identical fashion, except in the Soviet Union we should replace the words employer or capitalist with state and bureaucrat. To proclaim the 'end of history' and the triumph of capitalism in response to the break-up of essentially state-capitalist economies is a fallacy. The two seemingly opposed modes of capitalist production actually complemented each other brilliantly, providing each with the image and excuse of an 'outer enemy' to rally their populations to submission in a constant state

of war, which spurred on both production and consumption. Whilst the material living and working conditions in developed nations have substantially improved since the days of Marx, the economic growth is still based around the exploitative extraction of surplus value from the working classes.

Throughout Marx's works and analysis of political economy lies the concept of class, the division of society into distinct groups, defined in their relationship to the means of production. For Marxists, society is split between the bourgeoisie and proletarians, the employers and the employees. Those who own and control the means of production, the bourgeoisie, pay those who have no other means of subsistence other than the sale of their labour, the proletariat, to work for them. Anthropologist David Graeber, compares this relationship between bourgeoisie and proletarian to the slavery of feudal times: "Instead of people selling or renting us out

we rent out ourselves. But it's basically the same sort of arrangement."⁴ Nonetheless, modern class divisions have become more blurred in recent years, and it would be simplistic to talk of two distinct camps which we can label 'bourgeois' and 'proletarian'. The management and 'middleman' sections of society have grown considerably and the transition from a majority blue collar manual labour workforce to predominantly white collar service sector employment has led many politicians to proclaim that, 'we're all middle class now.' Various thinkers and philosophers have attempted to explain this tendency and bring Marxist theories on class up to date with the modern consumer capitalism that is prevalent in the West.

In the 1960s the Situationists, who were profoundly influenced by Marx, expounded the idea that it is no longer a single identifiable ruling elite that holds power, but instead an all-encompassing spectacle, or, 'capital accumulated to the point that it becomes images.'⁵ The spectacle is the one-way barrage of information projected through mass communication that leaves no room for reply, it is, "the ruling order's non-stop discourse about itself, it's never-ending monologue of self-praise."⁶ In this respect, Marx's class analysis is still entirely relevant, but class relations have developed and become more difficult to comprehend. "The classes have changed. But the barriers between them are made of the same old clay: money, education, family and occupation (and lack of them)."⁷ For the Situationists, the domination of the spectacle has produced a society of willing slaves, or slaves who are unaware of their oppression, ruled and controlled by a vast army of specialists and experts working in the service of the spectacle. But the essential nature of capitalism has remained constant; there are those who own capital and those who don't, whether they all conform to the domination of the 'spectacle' is secondary, the 'spectacle' is merely used to enforce this economic relationship. As we have seen, the extraction of surplus value from the worker is not the exception but the rule of capitalist accumulation, and not everyone has the power or the means to employ others to work for them.

Admittedly, Marx predicted that with the laws of competition and the centralisation of capital would come the further 'immiseration' of the proletariat, leading to revolution, which has not been the case, since a wealth of consumer goods and welfare has now been made available to the modern working class. Many have sought to explain this development in international terms, linking the immiseration of the global south to increased living standards in the West. But this is a development that could not have been foreseen in the climate of capitalist mercantilism of Marx's day, the system has developed and worked out now forms of survival since then, it has had to

adapt through necessity because of crisis after crisis. "The system does not abolish the traditional forms of class struggle, but manages to contain it, using its immense technological resources to assimilate the most strategic sections of the working class."⁸

In conclusion, Marx's analysis of capitalism still provides an excellent indictment of our modern market economy; the exploitation of working people, class divisions, the inevitable crises of capitalism and the inevitable tendency toward monopolisation. Capitalism has progressed from mercantilism through liberalism, Keynesianism, neoliberalism and monetarism and has reformed itself to adapt to its own crises and internal antagonisms and contradictions. Although oppression may be more cleverly concealed and more subtle, it is still there, and it is still inherent in the way we organise society. The systems that reigned in Eastern Europe were little more than glorified versions of state capitalism painted red. They represented a changing of

the guard, not a revolution. But their distortions and shortcomings do not detract from Marx's poignant analysis of the workings of capital.

- 1 *Introduction to Marxism*, Emile Burns (Lawrence & Wishart Ltd) page 21.
- 2 Tesco announces £2.55 billion profit, *Channel 4 News*, channel4.com/news/articles/business_money/tesco+announces+255bn+profit/436547.
- 3 Tesco refutes monopoly charges, thisismoney.co.uk/investing-and-markets/article.html?in_article_id=419015&in_page_id=3
- 4 *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology*, David Graeber (Prickly Paradigm Press) page 71.
- 5 *The Society of the Spectacle*, Guy Debord (Rebel Press) page 17.
- 6 *The Society of the Spectacle*, Guy Debord (Rebel Press) page 13.
- 7 *A Class Act: The Myth of Britain's Classless Society*, Andrew Adonis and Stephen Pollard (Hamish Hamilton/The Penguin Group) page 9.
- 8 *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*, Murray Bookchin (Black Rose Books) page 207.



COMMENT

ABOUT FREEDOM

ANGEL ALLEY

This issue we've been busy stocktaking. We haven't done this since moving the shop downstairs in November 2008. Crucially this will give us figures on the sales of books we publish and inform future publishing decisions. When we moved downstairs much old stock had to be given away or recycled to make space, but we still had over 20,000 books, so if you need books for your group for a stall or event remember you can have Freedom Press books on sale-or-return at a 50% discount.

Meanwhile, following the wise example of Dave Morris, we've been engaged in local activity with local people. To wit we are now part of a community forum also featuring our friends and neighbours at Aldgate Press, Toynbee Hall and Whitechapel Art Gallery. Plans include putting a gate on the dead space behind the shop to prevent the build-up of rubbish, improving lighting in the alley and perhaps putting a roof over it to improve outdoor events.

Readers wishing to laugh or jeer at the performance of Workforce at Ascot on the 24th (see our last issue's 'tips' on page 2) can contact us in the usual way. We should have listened to the reader who highlighted the victory of Nationalist the week before at Sandown Park as undermining our theory of backing horses with proletarian names.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

This issue is vol 71 no 15, so if the number above your name on the address label is 7115 or less, then your subscription is now due for renewal. There's a renewal form on page 16 of this issue or you can now subscribe online at freedompress.org.uk/news/subscribe or, if you don't want to worry in the future about remembering to renew your subscription to *Freedom*, just ask us to send you a standing order form by emailing subs@freedompress.org.uk.

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NEXT ISSUE

The next issue will be dated 28th August 2010 and the last day to get copy to us for that issue will be Thursday 19th August. You can send your articles to us by email to copy@freedompress.org.uk or by post addressed to 'The Editors', Freedom, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

A sideways look

by SVARTFROSK

On 1st July, Raoul Moat was released from Durham prison having served a short sentence for assault. Shortly before his release he had learned that his girlfriend, Samantha Stobbart, had left him and was now living with someone else. A couple of days later, he went to her home, shot her and then shot and killed her new boyfriend, Chris Brown.

The following night he shot PC David Rathband in his patrol car and blinded him. Moat left a letter that made public his list of grievances against the police. The letter stated that he had called 999 and declared war on Northumbria Police before shooting an officer. He then went on the run to a more rural part of Northumbria, around Rothbury.

The police treated it as a major incident and Northumbria Police called in firearms officers from the Met and armoured cars from Northern Ireland. After several days of police tracking him he was cornered next to a river and shot himself after a long stand-off. Before he shot himself, police tasered him, allegedly to stop him killing himself.

In the days this story first broke, I could see that Raoul Moat would become a folk hero to some people, in the same way that other anti-establishment villains like Harry Roberts have. This is an interesting process in itself, and the group I was with when it came through that he was dead was split.

In British society, the popular myth is of the police as Dixon of Dock Green, friendly

and helpful. The reality is a long way from the truth, but that reality is something that is only experienced by certain groups in society. Lots of readers of this paper will have a nuanced argument as to why the police are unnecessary and enforce class rule and so on. But plenty will have a visceral hatred of the police – they have been battered or abused too many times to show much sympathy when the police are themselves on the receiving end.

Having publicly declared war on the local police, Moat was setting himself up as a folk hero to some. His requests for psychiatric help while in prison and his comments after leaving prison point to someone who knew he had issues but saw no hope. He was from a macho, violent culture and certainly played up to that. And, in an echo of what happens a lot in the US, he asked for help and didn't get it.

But the question of how people should think about him needs to be put in context – he also nearly killed his ex and did kill her new boyfriend. I know quite a few anarchists will have got a thrill out of his anti-police actions, but they need to ask themselves about what else he did. Why did he shoot his ex? Because she left him. If it was an honour killing committed by some feudal religious reactionary, we would call it for what it is – misogynist crap. But because he tried to kill a copper too, we can forget his Taliban-style sexual politics? I don't think so.



PC David Rathband was shot in the face by Raoul Moat.

Good sport

In response to Svartfrosk (17th July 2010), the “merits of 4-4-2” and “whether it has had its day” aren’t the only things people have no control over. The way their passions are treated by ‘revolutionaries’ are another.

However much people say that sport isn’t a distraction, that we can have more than one focus in our lives – national and local sport, social struggle and bringing up the next generation.

It’s not an essential truth that “sport is a weapon of mass distraction” unless we believe one of two things. Either, 1) people have such limited mental capacities that distraction is the result whenever non-political things are discussed. Or, 2) politics will always be so boring and passive that people will always prefer distraction from a television football match. There are those in the managerial wing of ‘the movement’ who accept point 1 or point 2, maybe even both!

Should maths olympiads or arts degrees also get labelled ‘distractions’? Bottom line: we’d rather hack off our limbs than simply ignore our sides, in the same way that we’d rather hack off our limbs than cross picket lines.

This brings us to ‘strikes’. Often strikes, including one-day general stoppages (as proposed by Bob Crow), are things which the public (even as participants) feel they have no control over.

Seeing as strikes are efforts in favour of economic democracy, how about we go and try to organise some system of local public or democratic endorsement of strike action.

Instead of waiting when the strike has started to have a public meeting in the evening (with no childcare provision) that no one attends, how about we go and make the case before.

Questionnaires, mock elections (ballot boxes with proposals from management and union on the front) to let us see how people are thinking and let them think about how their own issues might be similar.

Perhaps we don’t say which proposal is which and let the ideas (management versus union speak) speak for themselves on the side of ballot boxes. Clear explanations. This is what we’re planning (a rough plan, how it could end, etc.), this is why we’re planning it (our interests), this is why it will benefit you in the medium and long-term (more job positions for ordinary people, less money sloshing around for managers and their ‘job roles’), and this is how it will hurt you in the short-term. Make the case and people can be won onside – ignore people and they will ignore you. Also ask people when they last took part in a stoppage, whether they can or can’t do so again.

A single day of general strike action as proposed and intern, agency, zero-hours, part-time on few hours, freelance and self-employed opting out of strike action won’t necessarily mean we get what we need.

P.S. Why should anyone believe what Harold Wilson said about his election defeat? He knew there were other more

significant reasons as to why ‘Labour’ men and women did not turn out in 1970.

Tomato soup

Wondering about Wildcat

Well I wasn’t expecting you to print my email (3rd July 2010). If I thought it would be printed I may of spent more time writing something that actually made sense. Oh well, it gave my friends much joy that I write like a 10 year old.

Anyway you put about maybe printing other cartoons and I have sent some in before, but I’m a bit like the train who could.

Some are political some are just... well have a look and see what you think, at <http://www.bs16.com/drawlings.htm>

boyfromfishponds (Samuel)

Tuli Kufenberg

Born on 28th September 1923, Tuli Kupferberg was an anarchist humourist, best known as a brilliantly creative eccentric.

I first encountered his name in 1963, when he reproduced one of my *Peace News* cartoons in his little magazine *Yes!*

We corresponded for decades, and then I eventually had the delight of meeting him face-to-face in 1990, at a meeting of the London Anarchist Forum, when he was touring Europe with his rock group The Fugs. We were like long-separated, loving brothers.

In one of The Fugs numbers he took off his cloak to appear bollock-naked, which he said

amazed and startled continental audiences, while British audiences were not at all impressed.

Described in some places as a cartoonist, he could not draw and made no attempt to do so, but provided some scripts for Wildcat cartoons, two of which are reproduced in *Wildcat: Anarchists Against Bombs*.

Yes! was by no means the first of his little magazines. His earlier *Birth* (1958) published poems by ‘beat’ poets including Alan Ginsberg. His book *How to Avoid the Draft* is still quite famous.

He died in a Manhattan hospital on 12th July, having been seriously ill for almost a year, and the anarchist movement greatly misses him.

Donald Room

Glasgow radical

I’m trying to collect information about a Glasgow anarchist named Jimmy Joss.

All the information I have is that he had a daughter, lived in West Graham Street and then moved to the St Georges Cross area of the city. He was a self employed painter and decorator and had a small van which was frequently stopped and searched by the police. As far as I know he died in the late 1960s or early 1970s.

His name appears in minutes of several meetings of the 1920–40s era where he appears to have been very active.

If you know anything about Jimmy Joss, please get in touch with me at annarky@radicalglasgow.me.uk or you can write to me c/o Freedom Bookshop.

John Couzin.

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GETTING ACTIVE

PRISON NEWS

It's certainly been a busy couple of weeks in the Lib-Con coalition's 'Rehabilitation Revolution'. And the more the government reveals about their plans, the more it appears they have no idea what they are doing, let alone concrete plans.

So, at the beginning of July we witnessed an apparent Damascus conversion on Ken Clarke's part, from the default Tory and Labour faith position of 'Prison Works' to one ostensibly of 'Prison Doesn't Work' (see last column), backed up by 'evidence' of Canada's supposed ability to cut prison numbers whilst at the same time as managing to cut crime rates.

Far from a 're-think from first principles', his position now appears to be more like someone who is lost in the desert and wandering around in circles pursuing whatever mirage hoves into view.

Thus we now have him claiming that there is in fact no link between the rate that society imprisons people and crime: "There is and never has been, in my opinion, any direct correlation between spiralling growth in the prison population and a fall in crime." Earth-shattering stuff.

He also claimed that crime fell in the 1990s because of high rates of employment and economic growth. In other words, 'it's the economy stupid' and, as John Major's chancellor, he was the author of this drop in crime and not the obsessional behaviour of Michael Howard (then Home Secretary) and succeeding Labour governments in banging up ever increasing numbers of people.

Nice try, but way off the mark. As any self-respecting anarchist would tell him, it's not the economy, stupid, but society at large that is the origin of all this 'crime'. As someone so aptly put it, 'capital is theft'.

Obviously, Clarke's *de facto* position is 'Prison Works, but not as well as it should', but that hasn't stopped him from facing a backlash from the 'hang 'em, flog 'em' wing of his party, along with Howard himself, the Magistrates Association and various victims advocates. Riding to his rescue have been David Cameron, the usual suspects like Napo and the Howard League, and a whole raft of rather timely reports highly critical to the current prisons regime.

To head off the backlash, Clarke gave an interview to that bastion of intellectual discourse, *The Sun*, claiming that he was going to force prisoners to work and attend education classes or they would "face sanctions". In fact, exactly the same as currently happens, except he wants to pay the minimum wage, with half that money going to victim's support and the rest going to prisoners after their release.

Quite how he is going to find the space and money to build new workshops when every last broom cupboard has been converted into a cell and his budget is being cut by 25%, is anyone's guess.



The closure of Lewisham Bridge School was prevented by community action.

- Inspired by those involved in preventing the closure of Lewisham Bridge School back in 2009, **Community Action Lewisham** is a new group based in South London supporting and participating in local campaigns. Their aim is to encourage people and communities to take action themselves on issues that affect them. Current campaigns include fighting for decent housing for everyone and exposing what passes for democracy in Lewisham. They hold regular meetings the first Wednesday of every month and are open to everyone who support the needs of people, community and grassroots organisations against those of the council, government and corporations. Email communityactionlewisham@googlemail.com, or visit their blog at <http://communityactionlewisham.wordpress.com>. Their next meeting will be on Wednesday 4th August at 7.30pm, upstairs at the Amersham Arms, 388 New Cross Road, London SE14 6TY.

- Sunday 18th July saw the **Sparrows Nest** anarchist cultural centre in Nottingham open its doors for an exhibition on the Spanish Civil War and Revolution of the 1930s. Entitled 'Anarchism in Spain', it featured books, texts and images from the period exploring the role of the anarchists in the civil war and the social revolution, in particular the CNT-IWA anarcho-syndicalist union and the FAI (Iberian anarchist federation). This was followed by two talks by members of the Solidarity Federation (the IWA's British section) 'Spain, 1936-39' and 'The CNT today'.

A week later the Sparrows Nest hosted Ken Loach's epic film *Land and Freedom* at the Broadway cinema. These events were triggered by the re-dedication on 17th July of the

International Brigade's memorial at County Hall, after the council changed the information plaque to remove all mention of anti-fascism.

- **Climate Camp Cymru** has published the date this year's Camp in Wales. Taking place between 13th and 17th August, the organisers are promising a return to basics holding a 'lite' action-focused camp in South Wales – with its attention fixed firmly on coal. This will be linked to a sister-site /info-shop in Cardiff which will act as a point of contact before and during the camp.

Workshops will be mostly limited to action-based training and information although there will be space to hear from community campaigns and open discussion forums throughout the camp.

They are looking for people to get involved. A number of groups have been formed to organise various elements in the run-up and during the camp.

- **Site:** Getting hold of stuff, getting it to the camp, putting it up, keeping it there and taking it away again need lots of people! Contact: site@climatecampcymru.org.
- **Outreach:** Spreading the word about the camp far and wide, liaising with local communities and creating information to publicise the camp. Contact: outreach@climatecampcymru.org.
- **Action Support:** Providing support for those interested in / wishing to take direct action at the camp, organising workshops and information. To help out, contact: jules87@btinternet.com

See www.climatecampcymru.org or contact them directly by email at info@climatecampcymru.org, or phone 07040 909 147

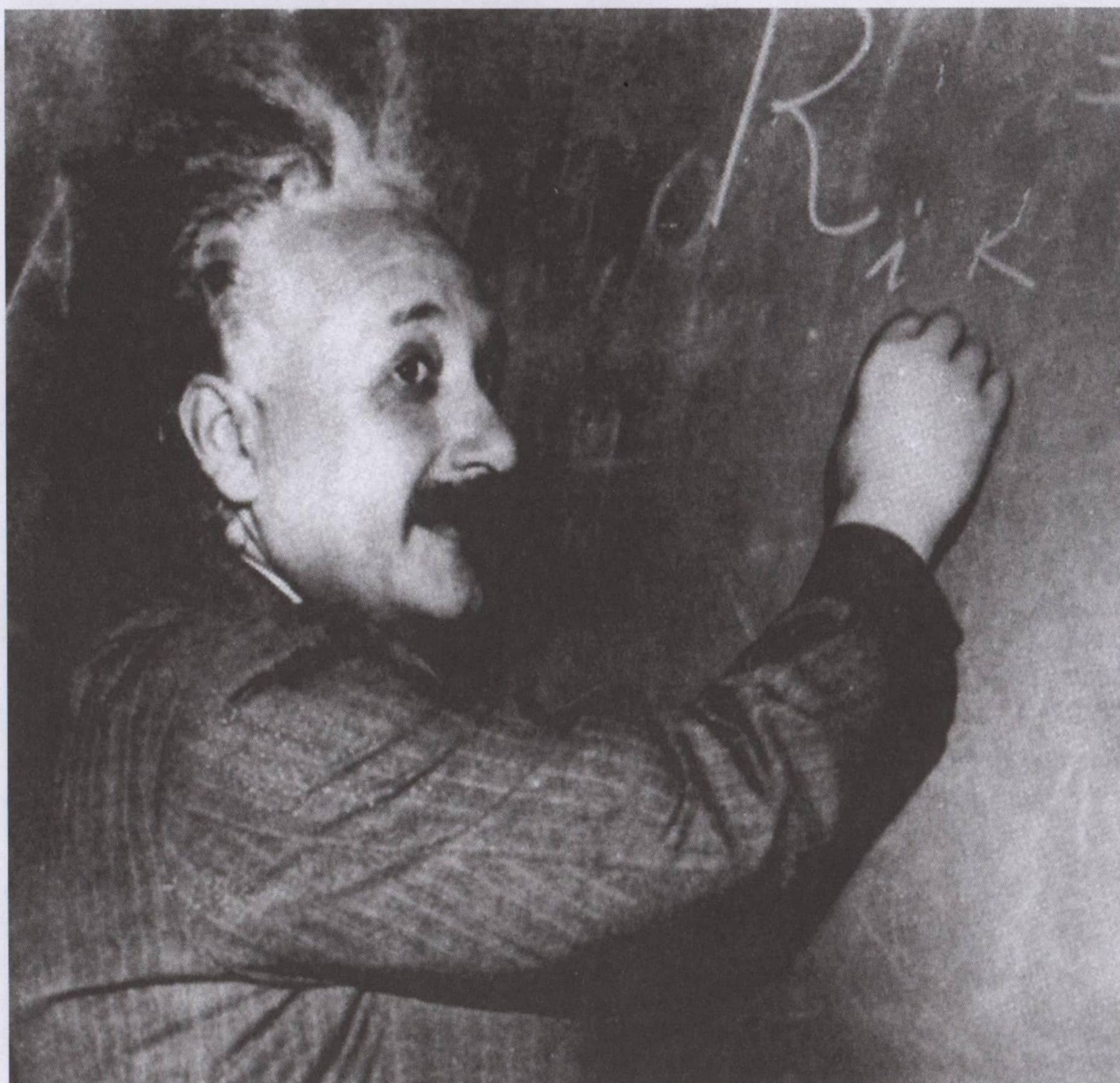
Wrestling with theory

As a student it has been my experience that those who study 'theory' have to straddle two worlds: one is that of action, the 'real' world, and the other is of thought, how we make sense of that 'real'. Not only do we feel conscious of this balancing act, but we (at least those of us who are serious about it) feel thrust with this responsibility of bridging the gap between action and thought. We have to constantly make sure that we keep our feet firmly on the ground, stay true to the 'real' world, and not let our feverish imagination sweep us into the airy world of abstractions. In short, we feel constantly reminded not to be tempted to crawl into the proverbial ivory tower.

Considering the extreme specialisation of both intellectual and physical labour, and the general disconnectedness of the academia from the active world outside it's understandable that theory has acquired such a reputation. Activists and informed people generally accuse theorists of not only being holier-than-thou but also of having little understanding of the 'real' world. The verbal obscurity of many modern theories has not helped very much to redeem theory in the minds of all those who feel dubious about its usefulness. Besides, it is true that systematic theory as taught and practiced in universities has become an elitist stronghold. Certain theoretical orientations like postmodernism, and especially postcolonialism, need a dictionary of neologisms to be even readable.

So, do we need these theories at all to help us comprehend our world? More pertinently, how can one convince those who are just starting out to do their own independent analysis of politics, economy, culture or whatever that theory does provide useful conceptual tools to carry out analysis? Perhaps I can illustrate. Realism is a political theory that seeks to explain the behaviour of states in a social Darwinist, power-mongering world. This theory sees the world as being under a constant threat of war, and the best way to avoid war is for individual states to acquire more and more arms and be more and more powerful. But of course, not all states can be equally powerful because they lack the size and the resources to be so. This will lead to a few states becoming superpowers and leading to the famous 'balance of power' in world politics. There will be a balance of power, say the realists, because the superpowers will act as counterweights against each other, and help avoid serious conflict. Weaker states need not be feared, but in order to enhance their own global status these states attach themselves to one or the other superpower. This achieves the total balance of power. What states strive for here is not peace but rather the postponement of war because human nature cannot be trusted to aspire to anything better.

Like any theory, Realism has a particular context. Perceptive readers can immediately



recall the Cold War because that is precisely the situation that this theory explains. Realism is a theory born after the Second World War, and very interestingly, its proponents were politicians, like Hans Morgenthau, and others actively engaged in state politics, such as E.H. Carr. Little surprise then that the theory is fixated with states and in the name of being 'realistic' completely ignores the ethical or moral angle. Realists' view of human nature, if you have noticed, is pessimistic and rigid, and they are obsessed with military power and state security. Politics is understood traditionally, as something to be left to the heads of states rather than as something generating spontaneously from people's activities.

Now, concepts such as balance of power are extremely sensible in interpreting foreign policy strategies and the ulterior motives of certain state moves such as the formation of Nato and the arms race. But where Realism falls through is it cannot explain international cooperation, not only between people but between states to achieve the said security. If confrontation is the only mood in the international arena then how does one explain the formation of organisations like the UNO which, no matter how toothless, are established with the intention of reining in predatory superpowers and promoting the exchange of productive capacities? Liberalism, to whose

failures Realism was a reaction, does explain institutional cooperation but in a rather naïve, optimistic way and completely ignores power politics because of which the original liberals were condemned as utopians.

Traditional theories also do not pay any attention to the masses themselves as an active force in the making and marring of socio-political structures. They also failed to make adequate connections between domestic politics and international politics, between politics, economy, culture etc. They also failed to address the ethical dimension in politics, which Marxism for once spoke for. Its dialectical materialism and base-superstructure concepts are useful, if sometimes rather simplistic, in analysing social change and social organisation. Then came critical theories like feminism to challenge the heavily male-centred approach of all the previous theories, trying to fill in the cracks.

So theories, despite being heavy and sometimes troublesome, are enormously helpful in providing a convenient framework in which to analyse and understand the world. Of course, every theory has its own outlook of the world, but the trick is to see through it. It is up to us not to be fanatic in our adherence to this theory or that. It is productive and fun when done with a spirit of self-consciousness and irony. Theories turn as the world turns.

REVIEWS

WHAT'S ON

AUGUST

4th to 9th Earth First! Summer Gathering, Derbyshire, a weekend of workshops around ecological direct action, skill sharing, networking, at a location to be announced, for details email summergathering@earthfirst.org.uk or see earthfirst.org.uk, entry £20 to £30 according to what you can afford.

13th to 17th Climate Camp Cymru/Wales, we're going back to basics with an action-based camp, targeting coal somewhere in south Wales, meet on the 13th in Cardiff and make our way from there to the site, call 07040 909147, email info@climatecampcymru.org or see climatecampcymru.org for details.

21st Working Class Bookfair at Museum Vaults, 33 Silksworth Row, Sunderland SR1 3QJ from 11am until 5pm with books, history, anarchism, environment, culture, railways, mining, social science, economics, trade unions, and much more, call 07931 301901 or see <http://workingclassbookfair.vpweb.com> for details

21st to 24th Camp for Climate Action, targeting the Royal Bank of Scotland's global headquarters in Edinburgh, see climatecamp.org.uk/actions/edinburgh-2010 for details.

27th to 30th Animal Rights Summer Gathering, a weekend of talks, discussions and workshops on a wide range of issues and activities related to animal rights campaigning, as well as a chance to relax and socialise with like-minded people, to be held somewhere near Northampton, email 2010@argathering.org.uk or see argathering.org.uk for more.

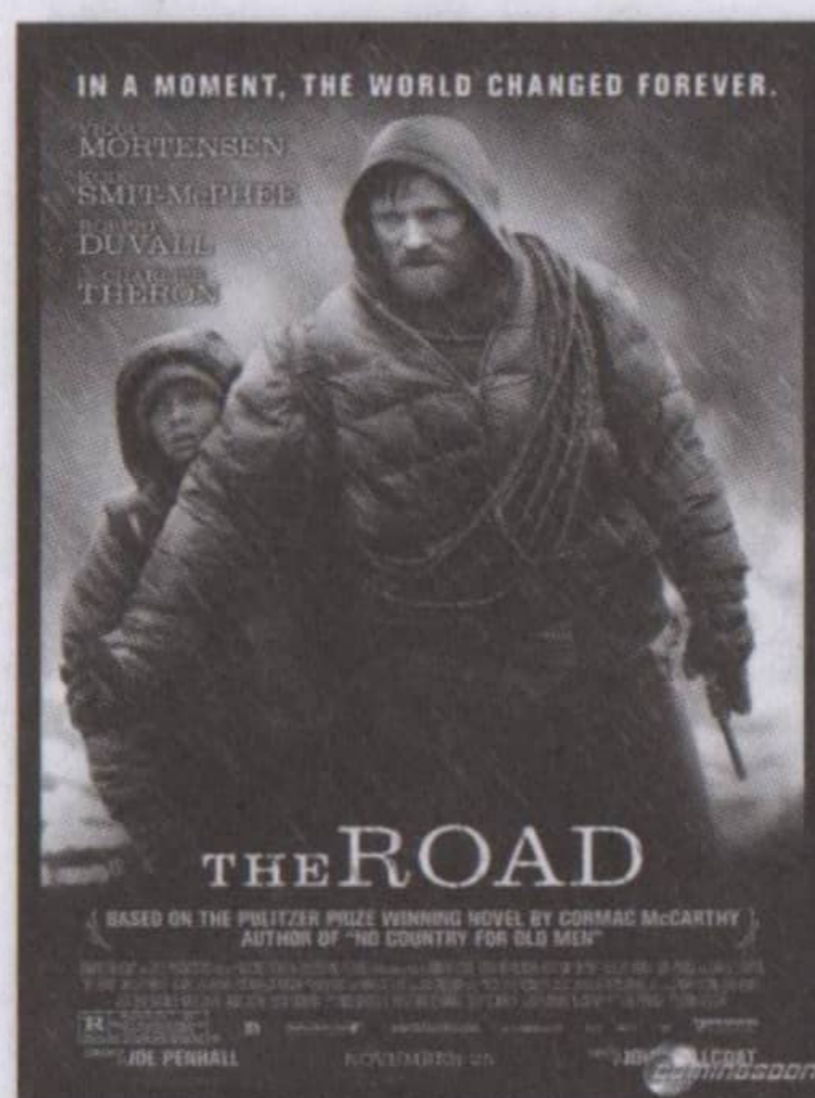
SEPTEMBER

4th End Domestic Flights Now, demos in London and Manchester to take the agenda forward on aviation and insist that at this time of climate emergency we can't afford high-emission forms of transport where viable alternatives exist, meet at 11am outside London City Airport (DLR Woolwich line) and at 4.30pm at Manchester City Airport (email info@stopmanchesterairport.org.uk) – or take the big red bus from the London City Airport demo to Euston station and join our special 'train-not-plane' carriage on the train to Manchester, email info@campaigncc.org or see www.campaigncc.org for details.

11th Bristol anarchist bookfair, with just about anything you could possibly want that's anarchist related: books, merchandise, films, meetings, workshops, vegan café, stalls, campaigns, networking, history, debate, ideas, theory and ways of putting it into practice for action, at Hamilton House, 80 Stokes Croft, Bristol BS1 3QY from 10.30am to 6pm, plus after-party evening, see bristolanarchistbookfair.org

27th until 3rd October No Border Camp in Brussels, a free space for sharing info, experience or expertise for actions aimed at smashing the borders that divide us all. There will be a big demonstration on Saturday **2nd October**, for more details email nobordercamp@vluchteling.be or see <http://nobordersbxl.noblogs.org>

FILM



The Road
directed by
John Hillcoat

The Road came out in British cinemas a few months ago and is now on DVD. Based on the novel penned by Cormac McCarthy (also the writer of *No Country For Old Men*), it has been directed into film by John Hillcoat (of *The Proposition*).

An unnamed cataclysm has destroyed all civilisation. The two main characters, a father and son (known only as 'Man' and 'Boy') are travelling southward along a deserted motorway, with the father assuming (for no given reason at all) that the climate is better on the other side of the country (he's going to be really disappointed with this assumption).

This film is tense; at any given time cannibals might jump out and eat everyone. And that's only one of the many problems they face on the long... very, very long road to a better life. The father is trying to instil in his son the new world's morality before consumption takes his lungs, but his son just won't learn. Despite cannibals lurking round every corner, the kid's determined to hang on to an irrelevant set of codes that in this Hobbesian world will get you killed.

There are uncomfortable scenes: when the father reassures his son that they are the good guys, for example, and an awkward

silence falls when the question of whether they would ever commit cannibalism arises. And the grey skies and vivid camera work depicting the wrecked cities do create a claustrophobic, bleak and daunting picture of the world, which at times is beautiful to watch.

This film's been given some great reviews; many talk about its dealing with the idea of morality existing in a post-apocalyptic world. Personally, I thought it was crap. It goes on far too long; the motivations of a lot of the characters are confused and make little sense. And why can't the characters have names? We get it: they represent the struggle of every man and boy in this world. Does this mean they can't have names! The kid, or Boy, is possibly the most annoying pre-teen to be seen in a Hollywood film since Darth Vader was revealed to be the whiny Anakin Skywalker in *Star Wars: Episode I: The Phantom Menace*. I'm sure I can't be the only viewer that wanted to unload Man's last bullet into the brat's head as he gleefully declared "It's bubbly" when supping upon a coca-cola.

It seems that civilisation has ended just so this father and son dynamic duo can have a long bonding session. No one seems to know why the world has ended, and the film's so-o-o boring that maybe the characters just do not care. People are far too willing to resort to cannibalism rather than co-operation; would a few people attempting to create wind farms to power lights and heating to grow food with really have been that impossible? Maybe the scientists and engineers were the first people to be eaten... A more realistic and far more entertaining film is the 1970 *No Blade of Grass* which, unlike this pile of wank, is brilliant.

Gawain Williams

The Road, directed by John Hillcoat, is released on DVD by Icon Home Entertainment, £19.99.

ABOUT ANARCHISM

Nicolas Walter with an introduction by Natasha Walter

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 translated into many languages, including French, Spanish, Japanese, Serbo-Croat, Chinese, Polish and Russian.

available at £4.20 (post free) from
Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

QUIZ ANSWERS

1. Participating in the ordination of women priests in the Catholic Church – instant excommunication. Ah, the joys of mixing moral and sacramental commandments.
2. The Iroquois National Lacrosse team were denied entry to the UK for the World Championships as they travel on Iroquois passports, not US or Canadian ones, which is not good enough apparently for the
- pettifogging bureaucrats at the UKBA.
3. According to the New Economics Foundation, Britain. Unfortunately, they mean chaos rather than anarchism, based on the vulnerability of its food supply.
4. Catering workers organising in the years before the First World War, and the formation of the French Cooks Syndicate.

Messy, short, and a tour de force

Despite its failings, writes Rob Ray, this book is astonishing

A number of themes dominate this new offering from ChristieBooks, *Pistoleros! 2: 1919*.

Firstly there are the first-hand tales of casual violence and murder throughout Barcelona in the 1910s, following on right up to the 1930s and beyond.

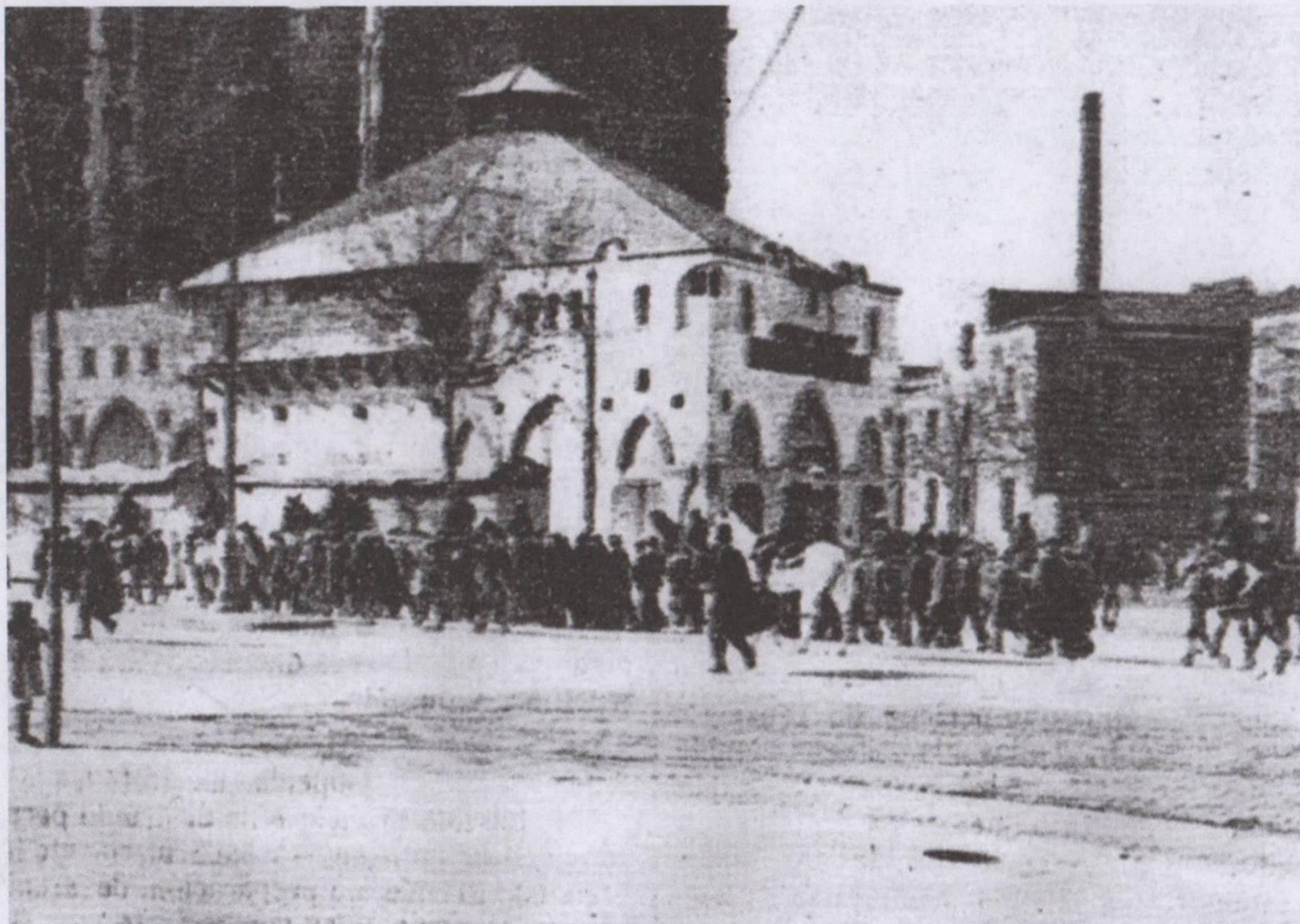
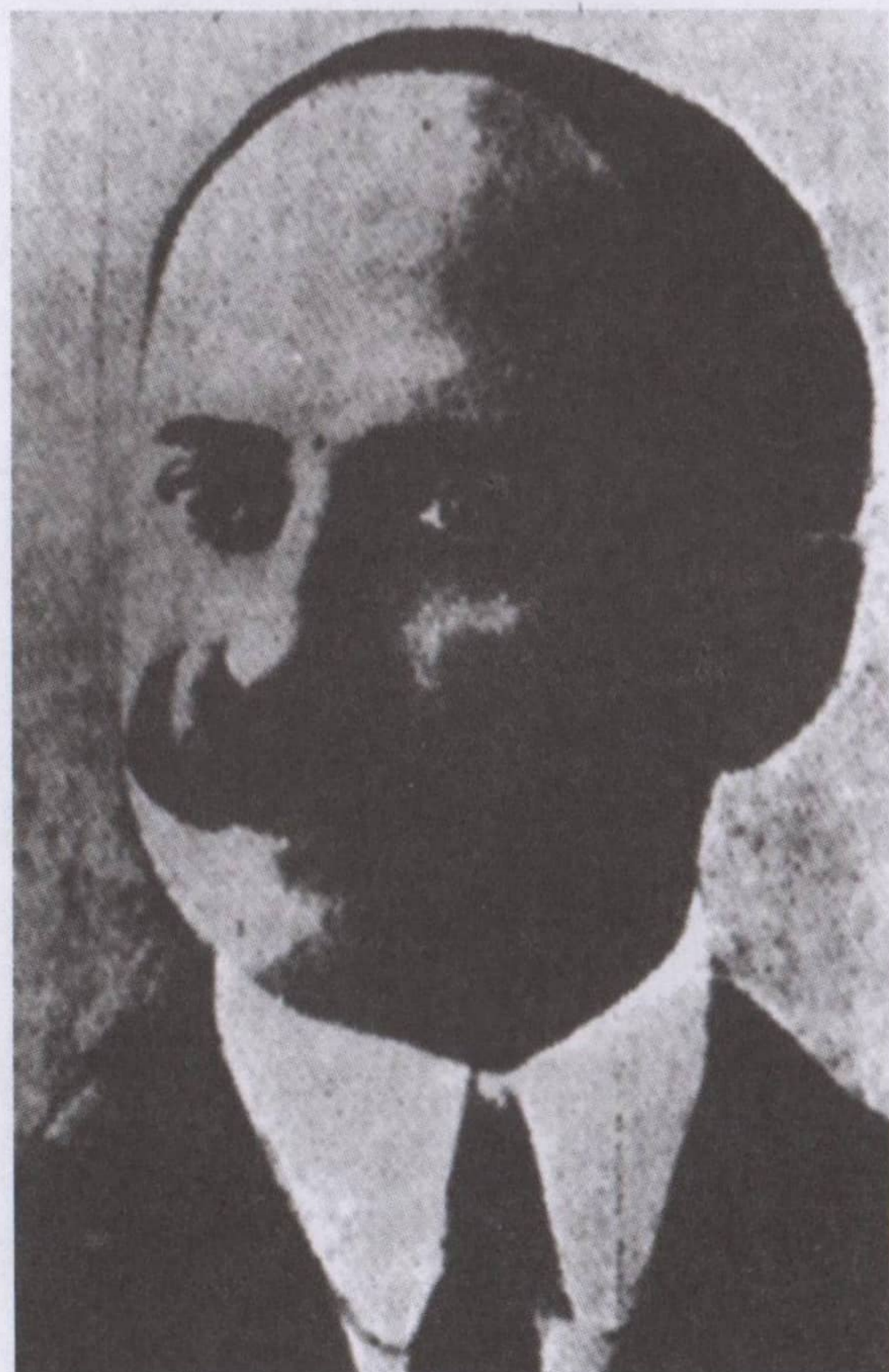
Then there are descriptions of the sheer tenacity and brilliance of the combatants from both sides and of a visceral desperation which infected every day, boiling over into the night where bosses' death squads stalked the streets.

But most of all there is a feeling pervading the book of frustration, of an old man who gave himself to a revolution which never happened and a resistance which tore itself apart.

Yet, for all that it is ultimately a tale of failure, this brief biography of a Glaswegian sailor whose furious love affair with anarchist Barcelona would dominate most of his life is an extraordinary and in places wonderfully uplifting piece.

As one of the young militants who helped drive the anarcho-syndicalist CNT union to prominence in the 1919 period, McHarg is perfectly placed to describe what went on in those times and provides a more ground floor view than the historical works of Jose Peirats or Abel Paz.

He begins this second chronicle with one of the CNT's formative victories, a general strike in the region, which brought Catalonia's elites to their knees, prompting violent retaliation.



Above, the hydroelectric plant in Barcelona known as 'La Canadiense' where, in February 1919, eight workers were laid off, sparking the CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo) to call for what became the most successful strike action in Spanish labour history, forcing the Spanish government to pass the eight-hour day law, the first government in the world to do so; below left, Bravo Portillo.

Describing the brutality of an elite class crazed with the fear of its workforce, McHarg dives into the underbelly of 1910s Spain, where *Pistoleros*, far right gangsters led by a succession of ruling class thugs, gather intelligence for their paymasters and gun down anarchist militants – who respond in kind.

It is an often barely credible read as he explains the devious role of regional military strongman Milans del Bosch, served by the cartoonish villain Bravo Portillo, whose comical bushy moustache and receding hair are so at odds with his fearsome reputation.

Portillo is explained as the mastermind behind dozens of killings, as the bastard who turned disillusioned or desperate trade unionists into traitors, as the keeper of death-lists and father figure to a collection of scum who turned the night into a time of terror.

The mercenary's presence alone helps to put into context the violence that CNT direct action cells visited in return, though these crews are shown to have held back out of respect for the will of the union as a whole.

The period is stark in its differences to today, in the casualness of killings up and down Barcelona's streets and the way in which they were accepted as part of the class war.

At the sharp end of struggle, and with its pretence of national unity laid bare as a lie, the elite became more and more willing to kill and intimidate, with its most powerful and reactionary sections desperate to provoke

conflict and use it as an excuse for savage repression.

Yet that brutality was to be the making of the early CNT, which was then the only game in town for organised labour. It drew a line in the sand so clear that it forced workers to make the choice so famously posed by Mexican revolutionary Emiliano Zapata: Die on your feet or live on your knees.

And they rose, in their tens of thousands. Despite the repression and murder thrown at them by the state, by the rich and their lackeys, the undertone of this story of struggle and loss is an inspiration, as it answers the question of how anarchists came to dominate the city in 1936, putting a new spin on the idea that the bourgeoisie will be the harbinger of its own destruction.

For a reader new to the subject, however, *Pistoleros! 2:1919's* reliance on prior knowledge about the period is a weakness – particularly when McHarg skims over the Spanish Civil War itself, barely touching the sides.

A lack of depth in this area and his sketchy contextualising of what was going on is potentially problematic in terms of helping people to understand the deeper meaning of the period and could make the book seem patchy to a casual reader.

It often jolts around the decades, bouncing from 1919 to the 1960s, back to 1919 and on to the '40s and '50s, presumably reflecting the chaotic life of its author.

There are three strands of the story which are clearest, focusing on revolutionary

We are sharing the burden fairly. Everybody, including ourselves, goes down one step.



Review

◀ page 15

Barcelona, the retreat into exile of the free CNT, and the internal troubles of the guerilla movement which it later formed.

All three are fascinating periods and his accounts are powerful, but as each and every one could make a book in itself, squeezing all three into less than 200 pages doesn't make for a conventional read.

The retreat and exile stages of McHarg's tale in particular explain just enough to leave you wanting more information, but never enough to really give a sense of what was going on within the CNT at the time, coming as well from an openly partisan background. Some of the tendencies and big names are gone over, but only snippets of the overall

story are glimpsed.

This is both the tragedy and the triumph of *Pistoleros! 2: 1919*. It's written in an accessible style but assumes too much background knowledge on the part of the reader. It would probably be sensible, if you're not up on it already, to read *Durruti: The People Armed* or a short history of the period before you start.

But if you're prepared with that background, this provides one of the most genuinely human views on revolutionary Spain and the CNT yet offered. It's laugh-out-loud funny, infuriating and deeply moving by turns, and it has moments of joy which will stay with you.

Pistoleros! 2:1919 - The Chronicles of Farquhar McHarg, published by ChristieBooks / Red 'n' Noir, £12.95.

THE QUIZ

1. What is apparently as bad as child abuse according to the Roman Catholic Church?
2. Who can't come to England to play a sport they invented?
3. Where is nine meals from anarchy?
4. What is the pamphlet *Dare to be a Daniel* by Wilf McCartney an account of?

Answers on page 14

The Anarchist Quiz Book compiled by Martin Howard with illustrations by Paul Petard, is available at £5 (post free) from Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX (cheque payable to Freedom Press) or from freedompress.org.uk.



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