

FREEDOM

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WE'VE HAD ENOUGH!

Fanning the flames of rage in the capital

London has seen a weekend and more of rioting in several different boroughs across the capital with extensive property damage, mass looting and sustained attacks against the police by thousands of mainly young people. We have not witnessed such intense scenes of social unrest on such a scale for more than 25 years.

The catalyst was a demonstration on Saturday 4th August in Tottenham, North London, to demand justice for local man Mark Duggan who was shot and killed by armed police in suspicious circumstances two days earlier. As the peaceful crowd of no more than 100 people, made up of largely of friends, family and supporters, gathered at the police station to speak to the senior officer and demand answers, a 16 year girl was pushed to the ground and hit with batons and shields by police. The crowd responded by setting alight two police cars and attacking the police with missiles. A full scale riot then erupted along the main high street with buildings set on fire, vehicles torched and retail shops looted along with running battles and further violent confrontations with police. Hundreds came out onto

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LENS CAP WHOSE STREETS?



"So many able writers have shown that the unjust institutions which work so much misery and suffering to the masses have their root in governments, and owe their whole existence to the power derived from government, we cannot help but believe that were every law, every title deed, every court, and every police officer or soldier abolished tomorrow with one sweep, we would be better off than now." – Lucy Parsons

FRACKING 'ELL

Protesters climbed the exterior of Blackpool tower and hung two massive 500ft banners declaring 'Fracking is coming to the UK – we can stop it! 'to highlight the problems of a dangerous new mining process that is being tested on UK soil. The climbers are part of a group who have just launched a direct action anti-fracking campaign committed to stopping the process. Fracking is associated with poisoned water supplies, earthquakes, leaking gas and even radioactive contamination, along with irreversible environmental destruction.

Hydraulic Fracturing (or 'fracking') is a method used to free otherwise inaccessible gas trapped in rock. Wells are drilled and fluid consisting of millions of gallons of water, sand and a toxic cocktail of patented chemicals is injected into the rock under high

pressure to crack it. Some of these chemicals are known carcinogens. This fluid also leaches radioactive elements and toxic chemicals like arsenic out of the rocks making eventual disposal of the fluid a major problem.

Blackpool is set to be the site of the first fracking test well in the UK. Cuadrilla Resources, a shale gas exploration company, have been forced to temporarily suspend their exploratory test site at Preese Hall test well following the outcry by local residents over two earthquakes in the vicinity caused by the fracking, but have in the meantime drilled another well and are presently moving their drilling rig to a third site in the area.

For more information and to details of how to get involved check out the website at <http://www.frack-off.org/>

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NEWS

NEWS IN BRIEF

FOOTBALL: Once again football is finding its political heart with premier league team coming out in support for local sacked workers. In the opening game of the season against Birmingham city, Derby County players wore shirts emblazoned with the slogan 'Save Our Rail Industry – Derby United' in solidarity with the workers at Bombardier, the rail manufacturers, who are cutting 1,400 jobs from its Derby factory and the government gave a £1.4bn contract to build rolling stock for the new Thameslink to German company Siemens.

There was also a protest inside the ground as workers and their families paraded around the pitch with banners and placards to a standing ovation from the terraces. Derby went on to beat Birmingham 2-1.

FOOTBALL (2): The government has been ordered to make public documents that reveal the discussions the then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had about the 1989 Hillsborough stadium disaster, where 96 Liverpool fans were killed and for which the police were later found responsible.

The Information Commissioner has now ruled that releasing the files would be in the public interest.

The BBC made a freedom of information request more than two years ago concerning the documents and their content of meetings between Thatcher and her government ministers on the days immediately following the disaster where it is believed that she applied pressure to ensure the police should not be blamed for their role in causing the deaths of the Liverpool fans.

PRISONER SUPPORT: UK antifascist prisoner Sean Cregan has been moved from Wormwood Scrubs to Coldingley prison.

Coldingley is one of numerous British jails where, contrary to Home Office propaganda, prisoners are still having to 'slop out'.

Sean's new address is: Sean Cregan, A5769CE, HMP Coldingley, Shaftesbury Road, Bisley, Surrey, GU24 9EX.

For more information on Sean and the other UK antifascist prisoners, and about what you can do to help, see the Leeds ABC website at www.leedsabc.org.

PRISONER SUPPORT (2): Antifascist prisoner Phil De Souza has been transferred. His new address is as follows: Phil De Souza, A5766CE, HMP Elmley, Eastchurch, Sheerness, Kent, ME12 4AY.

Also Austen Jackson and Thomas Blak have just been sentenced to 15 months and 18 months respectively for the same anti-fascist action at Welling last year in confronting neo-nazis on a train station on the way to a Blood & Honour gig in Welling, South London. They can be also written to.

- Thomas Blak A5728CE

- Austen Jackson A5729CE

Both are currently at HMP Wormwood Scrubs, PO Box 757, Du Cane Road, London W12 0AE.

LENS CAP COLOMBIAN COFFEE



While some locals were rioting and looting the shopping centre at one end of Haringey, at the other end they were celebrating the council's rejection over the controversial 'redevelopment' of the famous inner market. Ward's Corner was saved after a lengthy campaign of community resistance involving Haringey Solidarity Group (HSG) to prevent its gentrification and keep the traditional Latin American character of the area. Interview with campaigners in our next issue.

Deaths at detention centres

There have been three deaths at UK's immigration detention centres in the past month, two in three days, highlighting a serious breakdown of duty of care by security staff, and the mental health impact on immigration detention. A man being held at the Campsfield immigration removal centre near Oxford, believed to be John Yohona from Moldova, who was about to be deported, killed himself, according to fellow inmates, on Tuesday morning 2nd August, at the privately run detention centre. He was said to be agitated and anxious after being intimidated by staff on his imminent removal. Campsfield is a profit making facility run by American GEO Group where detainees are held behind a twenty-foot high razor-wire topped fence, monitored throughout by surveillance cameras, and friends and relatives wishing to visit are searched before passing through five separate remote-controlled doors.

Previously on 2nd July Muhammad Shuket was reported dead in Colnbrook detention centre, situated near Heathrow Airport, and another detainee, believed to be a Mr. Dalrypic, died on Sunday morning, 31st July, also at Colnbrook. The Home Office initially claimed he died of 'natural causes' but fellow detainees told campaigners he committed suicide after becoming "very distressed."

Inmates at Campsfield, which holds 200 asylum seekers and political refugees escaping persecution, have staged a number of protests in the past over conditions at the centre and the policy of indefinite detention and forced returns. Last year there was a mass hunger

strike by over half the detainees in protest at their treatment and the forced deportation of asylum seekers. In 2005 Kurdish teenager, Ramazan Kumluca, killed himself after spending more than four months in Campsfield.

A spokesperson for the Close Campsfield campaign said: "We hope it will make the government think about entirely scrapping their brutal and inhuman practice of detaining immigrants."

UK detention centres are big business now earning private companies millions in security and detention. The industry is expanding in capacity with the opening of converted prison Morton Hall earlier in the summer, and on 30th July activists from Croydon, Brighton, London and elsewhere gathered in Hayward Heath, Sussex, to protest against the opening of a new detention centre for migrants in nearby Pease Pottage. The detention centre (euphemistically known as 'pre-departure accommodation') will focus on detaining families prior to being forcibly removed. G4S will run the centre even though they are currently under investigation for the corporate manslaughter of Jimmy Mubenga.

The campaign group Medical Justice said the deaths had heightened concern about the poor healthcare on offer to those being kept in UK detention centres. "Medical Justice has documented the disturbingly inadequate healthcare provision that often vulnerable immigration detainees are subjected to in Colnbrook and other immigration removal centres."



Shop an anarchist

Police want you know what the anarchists are up to

The Metropolitan Police have released an injunction to other police forces in the UK, together with businesses and other organisations, encouraging members of the public to ‘contact your local police force’ and report on local anarchists. Predictably, anarchists nation-wide are angry at this advice which we believe to be a step towards criminalising our beliefs.

All of life is political and the State dominates daily life by its permeation of society. Reducing participants in society to spectators is the State’s greatest strength and this has been displayed well in the assault on ideas.

What of the contributions of anarchists to society? Modern ideas of freedom and emancipation stem from the Enlightenment era of which anarchists were active participants in. The ideas of Rousseau and William Godwin are linked through their view of the centrality of freedom. From there the original workers’ movement began through the work of socialists

and anarchists in the International Workingmen’s Association. It is with thanks to the arguments of anarchists like Mikhail Bakunin and Pierre Proudhon that institutions of the eight-hour day, or the right to take industrial action, are in place. Many anarchists championed the fight against Fascism in the twentieth century and many paid for this with their lives.

In Spain, Errico Malatesta died in order to keep fascism at bay whilst the ideas of Rudolf Rocker and Emma Goldman inspired thousands. The work of these anti-fascists was in homage to anarchists, such as Nestor Makhno, who fought with the USSR to defeat authoritarianism.

The sexual revolution of the 1960s and the explosion of desire were led by anarchists across the Western world; such desires have been embodied by later generations with the creation of punk rock, the institution of squatting and the support of co-operative organisations. Today anarchists have led the assault against capitalism globalism through the popular protests against the World Bank, World Trade Organisation and International Monetary Fund as well as generating exciting

ideas in feminist and ecological theory.

When anarchists have worked alone they have often achieved the goals in whole. The Zapatista movement has created their own free spaces where the dreams of anarchists are lived, and fought for, on a daily basis. When anarchists have worked in co-operation with other groups there has been compromise and measured successes.

The Metropolitan Police are correct. Anarchism is ‘a political philosophy which considers the state undesirable, unnecessary, and harmful, and instead promotes a stateless society, or anarchy.’ Anarchism has also formed the basis of many great ideas and movements of today. It stands against oppression and authority in all forms.

Black Kat

We at Freedom Press can safely say that there have been several known anarchists congregating around the premises in recent weeks, acting suspiciously by discussing anarchist ideas and politics and occasionally buying anarchist literature containing information intended to be useful to anarchists.

We’ve had enough!

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the streets in an explosion of rage that had been building up through years of police harassment and dire economic circumstances. Throughout most of the night flames flickered against the impoverished skyline as sirens echoed sporadically along the damaged streets above the constant whir of helicopter blades hovering overhead. This was the spark that ignited a weekend of disturbances that were to spread like wildfire throughout London’s socially deprived neighbourhoods.

The following night there were riots in other parts of London, clashes with police and continued looting. Enfield, Islington, Walthamstow and Brixton in South London.

On Monday saw Hackney, Lewisham and Peckham consumed with riots. Again it was largely youths whose anger had yet to dissipate, in contact with each other through social media, who saw opportunity amongst the burning shells and shattered safety glass of the capital’s high streets.

But the fundamentals are not lost on any of us. When you take away more of our basic needs, offer us nothing but penalties we can never pay off, when you threaten us with greater poverty and punish us if we resist, when you bully us into believing we are not worth the profit we make on your behalf something has to give. In the gloom of a poor north London suburb, something

eventually gave. And with it an outpouring of anger, discontent, bitterness and rage. We know these are acts of desperation as much as they are acts of defiance. Destructive urges, we as anarchists have learnt to expect and demand but never quite fulfil. Politics isn’t an agenda written to suit the ideology of the dispossessed. People live their lives and struggle with the consequences, where the future is simply borrowed from us and never returned.

Tottenham ignited to the sound of alienation made concrete – a sound we will be coming more and more familiar with over the coming months. The sound of austerity being smashed apart.

ANALYSIS

Reflecting on June 30th strike

An anarchist teacher's perspective

Before the strike

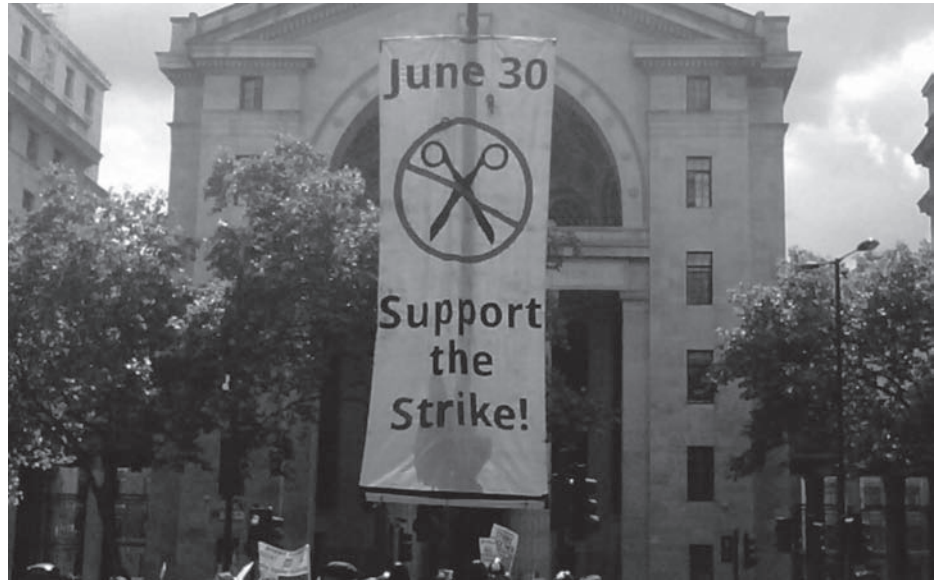
There was much discussion amongst staff about the issues of pensions and what is happening to education in general. People began to think outside their own immediate situation and were more aware of how government policies are affecting their lives. There was debate about the whole idea of going on strike with people expressing a desire to 'do something'. The act of going on strike made people feel that at long last there were able to express their anger at what is happening.

The problem of divisions between different unions was made apparent. Many people wanted to support the strike but could not because 'their union had not called them out'. The principal reinforced these divisions by sending out a strongly worded letter about people being in 'breach of contract' if they went on strike, especially if they were not in a union that was striking. There was much discussion of the issues we all have in common with support staff, who are in Unison and therefore were not officially on strike.

The strike provided the opportunity to discuss general educational issues with students and of furthering links between staff and students. There was much sympathy for the strikes.

In general, the strike provided the opportunity to discuss politics at work. The strike also provided the anarchist movement with the opportunity of developing its role as a source of solidarity as well as a sound analysis of the situation. The anarchist role was to stress the background to the attack on pensions (banking crisis and bail-out, ideological attack, etc.) as well as arguing for the unity all education workers, including the 'users' of education, in a common campaign.

The Solidarity Federation produced useful leaflets that other anarchists could use. The focus was on unity of all staff, students and parents. In addition, the leaflet raised general issues affecting education such as EMA, rather than focusing solely on pensions. My comrades in the Anarchist Federation leafleted outside my college and I helped leaflet outside another comrade's college.



The Day of the Strike

The strike was almost 100% supported by union members. Very few students came in. However, other staff crossed the picket line, despite many expressing sympathy. The college was described as a 'ghost town' on that day. Many people went on the demonstration who wouldn't normally go. There is more interaction between NUT members on a borough-wide level.

What to do now

My role as an anarchist in my college is to make sure that the momentum to build a movement of resistance is kept up. There are a number of things to be done.

Regular meetings that involve as many people as possible; joint meetings of teaching staff *and* support staff should become the norm. Support staff may be on strike in the autumn; we need to develop solidarity between all staff and get student support. People need to rely less on union reps and borough officials. At the moment, people still seem to look to them for 'leadership' rather than taking control themselves. The whole idea of the union 'calling out its members' as if we are obedient sheep needs to be transformed into a situation in which workers on the ground are making these decisions for themselves. Education workers need to be more pro-active in gaining support within the community. The movement needs to be generalised.

Role of the anarchist movement

Though there are some anarchists in the workplaces themselves, most anarchists are supporting the struggle from 'outside'. However, the key point we need to be making is we are not 'outside' but people who are very much affected by these issues and therefore the struggle of the public sector workers is everyone's fight. The unions are highly unlikely to build a genuine mass movement against the cuts. They have their

own narrow interests and in the long run their leaderships will sabotage any struggle. Anarchists have a clear role to play both within and outside of unions to help build a strong, effective movement of resistance. We need to start doing this now.

Conclusion

There are so many things anarchists can be doing.

1. We need to embed ourselves where possible in workplace organisation working along the guidelines suggested above.
2. We need to work against the cuts in the neighbourhoods and boroughs, where possible within existing anti-cuts groups. Too often, these groups are extremely small or behave in a tokenistic way. Anarchists should, where possible, attempt to open these groups up and to move them beyond narrow groupings of union militants to groups encompassing pensioners, students (whether in school, FE colleges or universities) tenants groups and others in the neighbourhoods. They need to be enlarged and to take part in actions that lead to small local victories, for example forcing the local council to retreat on the closure of a library, youth centre or community centre.

A lot of this work could be seen as boring in comparison to the 'spectacular' actions of, say, 26th March. But it needs to be done and anarchists have to seriously involve themselves in every day work in the workplace and neighbourhood. In some areas this is taking place already, but much more needs to be done.

3. Some very good anarchist propaganda has been produced and distributed on a fairly large scale in the recent few months. However this needs to be intensified in the coming period, in order to counter the extensive lies and misinformation coming from the mainstream media, lies and misinformation intended to divide and demoralise the working class.

Anarchist Federation teacher

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP

Freedom loses over £10,000 a year, so here are a few suggestions for things you can do to help *Freedom* paper survive the current economic recession.

- If you are a subscriber then get your friends and family members to take out a subscription. Or you might consider upgrading your subscription to our 'supporter' rate as a donation.
- If you are involved in a group take out a group subscription (see page 16 of the paper for prices) or get members of your group to subscribe. *Freedom* is attempting to be a more 'movement' orientated paper so we are including more articles on what the anarchist movement, and anarchist groups are up to. It is an excellent propaganda vehicle.
- Make a donation. We are considering putting a regular *Freedom* fighting fund section in the paper to credit those people who have donated money to the survival of the paper (and which some of our older readers may remember). Any financial contribution will be welcomed – you can also email subs@freedompress.org.uk for details on making online donations.
- Help sell the paper. We offer a 50% discount deal on people who take bundles to sell, which means you can make some money on every paper you sell.
- Promote the paper. We have lots of flyers at the shop that we can send to anyone who would like to give them out at demonstrations or at political or social events. Or you can simply let people know about the paper, through word of mouth, social media, etc. And you can also be a friend of *Freedom* on Facebook.
- Become a writer for the paper. We are always looking for new people who would like to write for the paper and we are very open about the nature of the content (as long as it is politically relevant) and we're happy to include issues that our readers may find informative or interesting. We want *Freedom* to become *your* anarchist movement paper.

Changing times

There are important changes to Freedom coming up

This is an important message to all our readers about the future of *Freedom* newspaper – there is going to be a major revamp of the paper. As of October, *Freedom* will be going monthly, that is changing to twelve issues per year. This was discussed and agreed at a Freedom Press Collective meeting after a committee was set up to take a long hard look at the paper's finances, which are in a critical but not yet terminal condition.

Despite an increase in subscriptions and sales, the paper continues to lose money. The paper actually loses £10,000 a year on the production and postage costs. We also offer *Freedom* to prisoners free of charge.

Previously the paper survived on being subsidised through bookshop revenue or donations from comrades and sympathetic individuals. Due to the current economic climate this is no longer feasible and as such we had to reassess how to continue producing the paper without making Freedom Press bankrupt.

We have therefore decided to reduce costs by producing a monthly issue of the paper, while increasing revenue by more frequent paper sales, expanding the distribution network, creating a donation fund, and an energetic campaign to increase the rate of subscriptions.

The change to monthly will be, potentially, a temporary measure just to see us through this lean economic period. But it is a wake-up call for *Freedom* newspaper, and will involve a concerted effort over the next twelve months to increase subscriptions, circulation and sales. We are hoping everyone connected to the paper will play their part in achieving these goals.

Unfortunately the price will be increasing to £2, but we will be increasing the size to 24 pages (which will include four full colour pages) which will give us the opportunity to expand the scope of the paper to cover different areas. We are considering a sports page, a dedicated arts page plus a permanent contacts page for anarchist organisations, social centres and radical groups.

As ever we are always looking for people to contribute to the content of the paper – in fact your contributions will be essential to the success on the new look monthly issue. The copy date for the first monthly issue will be mid September for an October publication (see page 10 for details).

If anyone has any concerns, issues, problems or proposals for contributions, please don't hesitate to get in touch.

Freedom newspaper holds a unique position within the anarchist movement and, with a little energy, effort and commitment, we shall continue to do so.

Dean
editor



INTERNATIONAL

NEWS IN BRIEF

CHILE: The student protests continue to intensify with massive riot in Santiago on 4th August during a banned student march.

Riot police battled high school and university students in the streets of Chile's capital, firing water cannons and tear gas and using officers on horseback to break up burning barricades at a dozen points around the city and paralysing traffic. Police detained 552 people.

The students are demanding major changes to Chile's underfunded and unequal public education system.

EGYPT: Military forces forcibly cleared Tahrir Square on 1st August, just before Ramadan, ending the camp sit-in ongoing since 8th July. Dozens of protesters were arrested.

Activists published a statement condemning the use of force against the peaceful camp. The statement said protesters decided to suspend demonstrations during Ramadan, but after the attack they called upon all Egyptians to take to streets to demand an end to the use of excessive force against protesters, adding that Egypt did not end an era of tyranny to start an era of violence and insults.

NIGERIA: Shell has finally admitted responsibility for the massive pollution oil spills that have destroyed once thriving habitat and self-sustaining communities of Ogoniland.

Experts say the two spills Shell admitted liability for in court were as big as the 1989 Exxon Valdez spill off the coast of Alaska, but with much more devastating impact of the 69,000 people who rely on the area for their fresh water and food.

PALESTINE: The Palestinian national side played their hearts out in the second leg of their 2014 World Cup qualifier against Thailand to gain a respectable 2-2 draw.

It's only the second home World Cup qualifier ever for Palestine, which became an official member of FIFA in 1998 and three years ago built a stadium just a few yards away from the wall separating the West Bank from East Jerusalem.

Despite being knocked out, they do have the dubious honour of being the only one FIFA's 208 members that is not a UN recognised state.

SPAIN: The popular indignados movement, as previously covered in *Freedom*, attempted to re-occupy Puerta del Sol square in the centre of Madrid against the government's increasing refusal to address the country's current economic crisis and worsening unemployment situation. But unlike the square occupation earlier in the summer that saw thousands come together, the attempted demonstration on 5th August was met with violence and at least 20 people were injured when riot police charged demonstrators who had gathered outside the interior ministry.

LENS CAP PANIC ROOM



Dark times lie ahead for all of us as investors lose confidence in the American economy after the world's most powerful country officially defaulted on its debts. Investors pulling out their money from America will increase the likelihood of a global double-dip recession, begging the question of the role of capitalism yet again.

State hacking

Hacking into the computer systems of government agencies and institutions seems to be an exercise in objective defiance by a newly politicised generation of computer literate youngsters. Both Anonymous and Lulzsec internet hacking teams have made the news in recent weeks with their audacious cyber attacks on sensitive government computer systems. And whatever people may think of their technique they motives remain sincere if a little egotistical. When nation states and governments use the same methodology it takes on a whole new political motive.

McAlree one of the leading the internet security providers specialising in computer protection software have just discovered the largest series of cyber attacks in its history. It announced that 72 organisations had their networks intruded upon by a single, unnamed 'state actor' over the past five years. The

organisations include UN, as well as the governments of the US, Taiwan, India, South Korea, Vietnam and Canada.

McAfee's vice-president stated "This is the biggest transfer of wealth in terms of intellectual property in history. The scale at which this is occurring is really, really frightening," but he has refused to say which 'state actor' was responsible for the hacking, neither does he explain why it took so long to recognise the attacks had taken place. It was only after they began checking data obtained during a 2009 investigation into security breaches at defence companies did they discovered the range and seriousness of the operation.

All the signs indicate the attacks may have originated from China. What is clear is the sophistication with which the state can monitor, steal and collect information without anybody's knowledge.

Notes from the US

In the midst of the 'opening up' of Murdoch's media and propaganda empire, at least some of his outlets stayed true to type.

Just as the front page of *The Sun* screamed, 'Al Qaeda's Massacre – Norway's 9/11', Murdoch's *Wall Street Journal* at first blamed 'jihadists' and reported that, "Norway is targeted for being true to Western norms." Similarly, on the *Washington Post* website, Jennifer Rubin actually wrote, "This is a sobering reminder for those who think it's too expensive to wage a war against jihadists."

A somewhat unusual example of racism happened towards the end of June. US

authorities refused to allow a Mexican aeroplane to fly over US airspace. A dangerous criminal on board? A known terrorist? No, the prominent Mexican sociologist, Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar, on her way to Italy, where she was scheduled to speak. Amazingly, the plane had already taken off when the pilot was notified he could not cross into US airspace. Obviously Gutiérrez Aguilar could do a great deal of harm to Americans from 30,000 with the views she holds – and was not to be tolerated. In 1992 she was arrested, tortured and imprisoned in Bolivia, together with elected vice president, Álvaro García.

Israel's social protests

What began as a spontaneous tent city protest, mimicking the Tahrir square and Spain's 15M indignados, has developed into one of Israel's biggest anti-government protests in recent times and a universal call for greater social change. In less than a month from when activists occupied Rothschild Boulevard in Tel Aviv and turned it into a camp in protest at rent increases and the country's deepening housing crisis a mass movement as emerged with tent cities springing up throughout the country demanding 'social justice' from a unpopular government

Thousands upon thousands of angry Israelis took to the streets in a co-ordinated day of action and although the main focus was on housing – Tel Aviv rents are estimated to take up at least half of people's income – there was also anger about the government's handling of the economy and disintegrating welfare state.

Despite the relative peaceful nature of the protests, officials were quick to blame radicals and anarchists for their role in the protests, perhaps fearing a more revolutionary tone to the growing unrest.

Minister of Diplomacy and Diaspora Affairs, Yuli Edelstein, took a swipe at the anarchists involved declaring: "These are despicable people who have no connection to reality or to the demands being heard. This is a group that leeches on to the real demonstrators," adding "We need to separate them from the rest of the protesters."

In Jaffa, dozens of Arab and Jewish protesters rallied against the government carrying signs in Hebrew and Arabic reading 'Arabs and Jews want affordable housing', and 'Jaffa doesn't want bids for the rich only'.

From a start of a dozen tents in centre Tel Aviv to the 2,000-tent camp there and many



other local ones throughout the country, and from a few hesitant direct actions to a huge 200,000-march.

In the big Tel Aviv demonstration, part of the local anarchists – including the anarchists against the wall – marched as a block with flags, placards and chants. According to an veteran Israeli anarchist Ilan Shalif: "We marched from the Rothschild Boulevard where the already 2,000 tent campers dwell now on the way to the Museum square – which was too small to include all of us. Most participants were chanting all the one hour march. Some speeches were carried at the square. When the tent dwellers and others who live in that direction walked

back following the demonstration, hundreds of protesters blocked the intersection of Kaplan and Ibn Gvirol streets – a major junction in central Tel Aviv. People used various materials available to barricade. They chanted among others: 'Revolution! Revolution! Revolution' and 'Non-violence! Non-violence!'.

"Police started to confront the road-blockers – detained many and arrested some of them. About 200 detained during the confrontations. More than 40 were arrested. Most of them were released during the night on signed bail. Few activists of the anarchists against the wall were among the arrestees."

Notes from the US

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The charges were later dropped.

Plenty of money, as always, for war, though. An as yet unreleased military investigation showed in July that the US taxpayer continues to fund the Taliban in Afghanistan. A US\$2.6 (£1.6) billion contract for transportation implicates eight prime contractors in Afghanistan in criminal enterprises or support for 'the enemy'. And it happens 'by accident' too. A new study currently being prepared by Congress shows how the US has wasted some US\$34 (£20.7) billion on private sector service contracts in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Over 200,000 contractors have been on the US payroll at times in Iraq and Afghanistan – more than the number of US fighting forces

Prison

By early August more than 400 prisoners in California had been on hunger strike for over

five weeks. They're protesting cruel and unusual conditions. The physical condition of dozens of inmates has reportedly deteriorated... some have lost between 20 and 25 pounds. The prisoners are demanding several changes in the prison system to bring them into line with what's standard in other areas of the country. These include an end to group punishment, denial of food as a punishment, and an end to long-term solitary confinement.

Environment

Freedom has reported before on mountain-top removal, the destructive strip mining technique particularly as carried out by Massey Energy. Now, a new report in the peer-reviewed *Journal of Community Health* shows that among the 1.2 million people in or close to areas where it's practised in central

Appalachia, 60,000 cases of cancer are directly linked to it. So it's usually people second to profit and dogma. For example the scientist who exposed the threats of climate change to the polar bear, Charles Monnett, a wildlife biologist who oversaw much of the scientific work for the government agency which has been examining drilling in the Arctic and managed about US\$50 (£31) million in research projects, has been suspended. While the oil firms continue to wield massive influence, Monnett's own work put under official investigation for possible scientific misconduct.

Louis Further

- Journal of Community Health <http://www.springer.com/public+health/journal/10900>
- The Pew Research Center: <http://people-press.org/>

FEATURE

ANARCHISM IN THE

Comrades from the far east on the burgeoning anarchist scene there

Much is made of the historical connections between anarchism and the Philippines. Not least from the formidable work of Benedict Anderson and his book *Under Three Flags*, which documents the relationship between anarchism and anti-colonialism filtered through the life and works of Jose Rizal, one of the leading figures in the Filipino independence struggle in what Anderson describes as “that dense intertwining of anarchist internationalism and radical anti-colonialism”.

The political novelist José Rizal, who was executed in 1896 by the Spanish authorities in the Philippines at the age of 35. Along with his contemporary, the pioneering folklorist, labour activist and writer Isabelo de los Reyes were a major influence on anarchist ideas being brought to the islands.

De los Reyes was imprisoned in Manila after the violent uprisings of 1896 and later deported to Spain where he was incarcerated, together with Catalan anarchists, in the infamous Montjuic Castle prison in Barcelona. It was there de los Reyes met and befriended the anarchist Ramon Sempau. On his return to Manila in 1901, now under US occupation, he brought with him books by Proudhon, Marx, Kropotkin and Malatesta. Shortly after, he organised print workers and successfully held strikes, imbuing them with anarcho-syndicalist ideas that led to the creation of the Union Obrera Democrática (UOD) in 1902. It was the first modern trade union federation in the country and its founding congress adopted the principles of two books, *Life and Works of Karl Marx* and *Among Farmers* by Errico Malatesta, as the political foundation of the movement. At its peak in 1903 the organisation counted with 150 affiliated unions, with around 150,000 members in eight provinces of Luzon. After the UOD staged a massive demonstration, the civil governor put them under police surveillance, branding them as “radicals, subversives and anarchists”.

Since the publication of *Under Three Flags* in 2005 the Philippines has seen an upsurge in anarchist activities. There are groups such as the As A Whole collective, anarchists and artists who run an infoshop in Davao City, Mindanao, and activities involve holding rallies against corporate exploitation and were part of a successful activist campaign that resulted in a complete ban of aerial pesticide spraying on banana plantations. The group also established a space called Saydee's Kitchen, from which they are offering free meals twice a week, feeding up to 100 youth and elderly.

But the latest anarchist project is Mindsetbreaker Press and Distribution, an underground anarchist publishing and distribution entity based in the Philippines and are looking for support and solidarity in their endeavours.

Project description

Mindsetbreaker Press operationally started in early 2010 as an individual project that focuses mainly on translating anarchist literature (English text) into local languages that will be more applicable and relevant to the rather complex scenario of political, social and economic currents of the Philippines. As time goes on, the press eventually grew in number after establishing personal collaboration with some friends involved in the anarchist social network and activism. The press is now run by four people specifically working on publishing and distribution campaign besides other existing projects being carried out by members.

Current members of the project were involved in different projects before and presently, individually and collectively. Some run social centre or infoshops, make zine and alternative publications, organising issue-base radical events and shows, protest and demonstrations, leafletting for campaigns, opening free shop and free food on the streets, forums, networking and hosting informational sites, working with communities (farmers, fisher folks and indigenous people) fight capitalist and state development intrusion (Mining, Freeport, Agribusiness, etc.). These actions had been carried out independent from state intervention, businesses, mainstream media, NGO's and religious institutions.

Taking a glimpse

Since the country was colonised by western interests; for example 300 years of Spanish occupation, Japan invasion for a while and later American influence, arguably, it might be simple enough to understand as to why the archipelago had ultimately endure such complication that result indifferences of perspectives, priorities and interests among its own population. Moreover, it is a very poor country chained in debt; persuaded within the mockery of mere survival. The poverty rate, famine and corruption are visibly high. Likewise, conservatism and religious influence (i.e. Catholicism) is not so new. So everyday repression by the state (Armed Forces of the Philippines and Philippine National Police) is rampant, targeting petty crimes, outcasts and insurgents in the guise of covering terrorism images on the media or straightforwardly branding innocent people to be involved in an armed-party guerrilla groups (Maoist-left) to justify legal murder. In general, some may have seen it as an unprecedented effect

of economic constraints and being pushed around everyday that making further injustice and abuse unbearable.

Aims and goals

The aim of the project is to provide radical ideas on the streets and universities, particularly counter-informational and alternative awareness that we feel rich in diversity and open for arguments/discourse whilst giving coherence to the practical situation of the locality and time. This comes in paper form through republishing the works of various radical authors we choose to and later hand it out to people in massive amount. Furthermore, the main important goal of the project besides re-publishing the works of various authors; is to support local anarchist writers (individual and collective) who are struggling to circulate their works to different sectors in society; (i.e. students, farmers, indigenous people, fisher folks, vendors, workers (employed or unemployed), squatters, women and men, gays, lesbian, youth, etc.); not limited only to subculture and scenes. Other than that, we pick up few titles written by local comrades we knew and one local writer is currently involved on the project. We hope to establish venues and deepen our understanding about anarchist ideas; hopes, dreams and its practicality not remote only to several people, individual and groups but different sectors of society currently struggling everyday living. This includes us, ourselves not above anyone else.

Few of the local titles cover history and politics about the Philippines base on contemporary anarchist perspectives.

By distributing large amount of anarchist literature on the streets and universities on a regular basis is seen a first in the history of the Philippines since obtaining money for



E PHILIPPINES



printing is sometimes difficult.

Anti-authoritarian ideas never reach many people of different sectors who are working hard everyday. Basic needs like food on the table are often of the utmost concern for everyone. The present economy will never be useful only usher death and destruction. Every valuable resource that provides life is plundered; monopolised by capital through trade agreements.

We'll let the Mindsetbreaker Press comrades tell you themselves of their current activities.

Current activities

After republishing the English version of *What is Anarchist Communism*, our plan is to circulate the paper to several universities throughout Manila. These are four different universities such as Polytechnic University of the Philippines (PUP), University of the Philippines (UP) and other progressive schools like Ateneo de Manila and Technological University of the Philippines (TUP). PUP and UP are quiet better known for many years as to having authoritarian leftist concentration; organising to manufacture students into blind submission and authoritarian ideology (Marxist and Maoist). This is always dangerous and absurd aiming to overthrow the existing state to grab power in the guise of proletarian management, sovereignty and nationalism to rule people.

"The National Democratic Front (NDF) became the most influential bloc within the Philippine left during the Marcos years. It was directly influenced by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), reinforced by its growing armed group (The New People's Army) that was able to form battalions in many strategic regions in Luzon, Visayas

and Mindanao. The radicalism displayed by the organisations initiated by the CPP attracted many sectors, primarily the youth" (*Gasera Journal*).

We tend to hand out 1,000 copies of published material each university in the hope for students to self-organise themselves and take action against all forms of authority; most especially freshman youth and secondary years were authoritarian left organisers masked in disguised in order to capture their mind. We also hear that there are some organisers enrolled there not by studying but organising students into such ideological lines.

In addition, we'd begun translating the Alexander Berkman into Tagalog. This is the usual language in the archipelago where many people could able to understand or speak. The tagalog version of Berkman are intended for people who are not comfortable with English most especially large sectors of society mostly the poor and marginalised class.

Next, besides re-publishing foreign literature, we are very motivated to produce our own local materials and support local writers' base on personal consent before carrying out their works under our project, as an underground anarchist publishing and distribution entity. There are seven titles finally approved after meeting with people and local writers we knew, one is actually now a member of the project and is a regular voluntary writer.

The few titles being approved includes *Gasera Journal* (collection of local anarchist writings about history and politics in the Philippines), *Indokumentado #1* (autonomous ideas, experiences, activism and movement in the archipelago) *Anarki: Akin ang buhay ko, Sosyal si Simo at si Sima* (anarcho-syndicalist perspective), *Archipelagic Confederation*, Alternative political structure beyond representation and state politics, *Punkista* zine (punk subculture and political) and *Mindsetbreaker* zine (documentation of different social and ecological struggles, campaigns and actions in the Philippines). Other than that, we will do info tour in different schools along with the titles we carry as the main topic aim to open up discussions and discourses.

As a publishing and distribution entity, we mobilise and publicise literature through organising forums and discourses about every topic we carry like history, politics, and anarchism etc. initially aimed at schools. Creating awareness events and literature tables.

We want the project to become long term as possible that will be more specific on publishing and distribution campaign. There is other related stuff we want to work on besides publishing the entire Berkman book like doing info tour in different universities along with the literature we carry as main

topic to discuss about, most especially local writings; essays and articles. Besides, we want to encourage local writers to keep doing what they are doing, even most people sometimes entrapped with the bitterness of time available due to economic conditions.

As an underground press, we are here to openly reach different people and stand our ground not only limited to subculture and scenes. And ultimately become a worthwhile initiative to keep projects running and contribute services to other people, so they can start one; themselves. This might reflect not only limited to ideas but action and building solidarity.

We believe that every issue that affect our lives are interconnected; be it social or ecological catastrophes we have seen today, small scale or large, society or individual. It does not come from us but manifests through domineering hierarchical structures and centralised order; maintained by the state and religion, morality; the spectre of capitalism aimed towards greed and profit and was organised founded and carried out from the ashes of ruthless terror and bloodshed many centuries had passed by that we blindly inherited today .

We believe no borders and wilfully continue fighting against it until its destruction alongside with sexism, homophobia, racism and other forms of oppression that was created and needs to be challenged. This might come outside our inner conventional wants and desires that we are dealing with everyday to cope up with our ability to interact within society or the question on how we are brought to; by combating such convention inside ourselves.

Mindsetbreaker Press and Distribution, contact mindsetbreakerpress@riseup.net or 157 Ilaya E. Mendoza St. Buting Pasig City, Philippines 1600

For more information on Saydee's Kitchen initiative see <http://saydeeskitchen.webs.com/>



COMMENT

ABOUT FREEDOM

ANGEL ALLEY

This episode of Angel Alley features the theft of the Freedom laptop and a not-so-dramatic not-quite break-in at the shop. Whoever swiped our four year old computer now has access to great collection of old *Freedom* articles and an in depth knowledge of which days in the shop have better sales. However we doubt that the laptop is worth the price of a junkie's next fix so bad luck to whoever nicked it. Even weirder was whoever prised open a window last week, knocked over two sets of shelves and rifled through various groups post. We're not sure exactly what's was nicked but if you've been expecting something at Freedom that hasn't turned up, let us know.

As usual we had our Freedom Collective meeting on the first Monday of the month and finalised the plans for turning the paper monthly. Sadly we've had to drop the idea of a meeting at the Bookfair to discuss future developments as everyone will be far too busy with other projects on the day, not to mention running the stall. So if you want to have a chat about the future of the paper then come and see us early on the 22th October before it gets too busy.

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This issue is vol 72 no 16, so if the number above your name on the address label is 7216 or less, then your subscription is now due for renewal. You'll find a renewal form on page 16 of this issue or you can subscribe online at freedompress.org.uk/news/subscribe or, if you're passing by, you can drop off your sub payment at our shop in Angel Alley, off Whitechapel High Street. If you don't want to worry about forgetting to renew your subscription to *Freedom*, ask us to send you a standing order form by emailing subs@freedompress.org.uk or you can write to us at 'Subscriptions', Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

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NEXT ISSUE

The next issue will be dated October 2011 and the last day to get copy to us for that issue will be Thursday 15th September.

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 22nd July this year, a right wing extremist, Anders Behring Breivik, murdered 77 people in Norway, most of them teenagers. He sought to justify this slaughter on the grounds that the victims were "cultural Marxists" who had sold out Norway to the modern equivalent of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, "Eurabia". Shortly before the terrorist attacks, he issued a 1,500-page document, *2083: A European Declaration of Independence* mainly consisting of cut and pastes from blogs and online documents, which he thought showed his "reasoning". Among others, it includes quotes from Gandhi, Orwell, Jeremy Clarkson, Melanie Phillips, the Unabomber and several anti-Islamic bloggers.

Breivik's hatred for Islam is not one that is objecting to its treatment of women however. He also wanted a "return to patriarchy" (has it ever gone?) to save "Europe's Christian heritage". He wanted Muslims to voluntarily leave Europe and, if they didn't, suggested they be killed. Does that sound at all familiar?

He referred approvingly to the English Defence League, though the EDL's leader, Stephen Yaxley-Lennon, also known as Tommy Robinson, has claimed he had no links to them. Breivik certainly had a lot of EDL Facebook friends, and there were EDL members who recalled meeting him on demos, though such comments were taken down.

Anyone who thinks that shooting teenagers dead is a good way of dealing with politics needs dealing with. Harshly.

So what was Tommy Robinson's response to being linked in this way? Naturally enough he condemned the actions and quoted from Breivik's manifesto where he had condemned the EDL for having non-white members and "believing in democracy".

Speaking to the *New York Times*, he said the attack was predictable. He went on "We don't want English lads blowing themselves

up on our soil, but that will happen if they don't give us a platform." Am I alone in detecting a threat there? If British politicians don't repress Muslims more (yes, more) some of Tommy's mates will have no choice but to shoot the youth wing of the Labour Party or blow up their local town hall. Why no one ever calls him out on the threats is beyond a joke – Paxman, for one, is atrocious at interviewing anyone working class who isn't intimidated by his bluster. Robinson is a Luton Town football hooligan, he will have faced far more threatening situations than a man sneering down his nose at him.

Now, if democracy means 'rule by the will of the majority' I can see a slight problem. What happens when people don't agree with the majority? It's a legitimate question, even if it's for views that we disagree with.

Throughout history the minority have had to take the lead in making changes – for the rights of women, gays, blacks, workers and more. All reforms were opposed at one point by conservative forces. If we accept that it is okay to go against the democratic will (and I doubt anyone here does), then the only question is what to do and how far to go.

For us as anarchists, we seek methods that empower workers and those in struggle. The far right in this country, whether fascist, racist or religious in inspiration, are happy to kill and maim. Islamist terror is well-publicised. And we all know about the nail-bomber, David Copeland, another ex-BNP man. Less well-known are Lancashire BNP council candidate Robert Cottage, jailed in 1997 for the biggest domestic haul of explosives ever found; Neil Lewington, jailed indefinitely in 2009 for planning a bombing campaign against Asian families. According to Tommy Robinson, the only way to stop people like Cottage or Lewington is to meet all their demands. That's not democracy, it's bullying and Tommy and his mates need to be told where to go.



The covered corpses of some of the victims shot by Norwegian right wing extremist Anders Behring Breivik on Utøya Island.

A Wapping goodbye

Why you should not read *The Sun* – a comment on the article ‘A Wapping goodbye’, *Freedom* 7214, 16th July).

All of Murdoch’s papers are scabby rags. There was a bitter year-long dispute over these titles, to read them is an insult to the pickets (including many anarchists). And every time I see someone reading *The Sun*, I think ‘dickhead’. It should also be pointed out that without the liberal press this scandal would have remained behind closed doors

Sparrow

Social centre help

Kebele infoshop has been distributing radical literature and music for over 10 years. It aims to contribute to the dissemination and discussion of radical history, ideas and movements for revolutionary change.

We hope that the infoshop has contributed over the years to many people’s choices to work for freedom and autonomy and to fight for a better world. The infoshop also supports the running of Kebele anarchist social centre, with regular donations made each month. As is often the case with volunteer-run autonomous projects, we are struggling to juggle commitments and need more members to share the work of this self managed collective. From running stalls at events to producing publicity and from organising stock to tidying up our bookshelves, there’s something for everyone and varying levels of commitment.

If you share the aims stated above and feel you could contribute some time, ideas and energy to help out, please get in touch and get involved. Kebele is based in Easton, Bristol, and since 1995 has provided space for the development of radical ideas and activities, community campaigns, and international solidarity.

kebeleinfoshop@riseup.net

DIY Radio – Feck yea

Raise a glass, celebrate the fourth birthday of Dissident Island, the radical online radio show bang up to date with all the activist news, reports about actions and happenings that are relevant to anti-authoritarian people and groups.

It’s been a busy four years for the Dissidents, with nearly 87 episodes under their belts – and a whole host of benefit parties and gigs, DIY skillshares and bookfairs, live riot radio and travels to distant lands, the Dissidents are always on the move. One of the latest projects is Catalyst Radio, which brings together a bunch of political radio collectives in the UK, co-ordinating a 24-hour streaming radical political internet radio station and UK-wide network.

Did you know that if you tried listening to Dissident Island’s entire show archive, back to back, you’d be awake and listening to over a week’s worth of political musings, recipes, prisoner support information, discussions, panels, riots, direct action reports, DIY guides, original/exclusively produced music and other bangin’ tunes, banter, technical fuck-ups, live DJ and acoustic music sets and more? Pretty awesome.

So here’s to four years radical radio – and we hope to hear another four... and more!

<http://www.dissidentisland.org/>

The Millbank protests interview

This might be a bit of an extreme reaction, but can I ask what the hell a hardcore SWP Trot like Bergfeld is doing in the pages of an anarchist paper? (‘Millbank, protests, occupations, solidarity, strikes’, *Freedom* 7213, 2nd July.) Even if he is talking as a spokesperson for one of their many front groups, his views are certainly not libertarian by any stretch of the imagination.

It might seem overly sectarian to get worked up over this, but in the time I knew Mark, I saw him and his party comrades systematically take over, dominate and drain all energy and resources from every form of political debate, activism and action going. I can’t stand the thought that that could even begin to happen to this paper. If you’d heard the things he had to say about anarchism and some of our comrades, you’d know this is not a person people within ‘the movement’ would want to support. Besides, if I wanted to hear a set of standardised, sloganeering, self-promoting entirely un-critical SWP stock answers, then I’d read the *Socialist Worker*.

TS

[via the website]

Reply: I appreciate your doubts and I know others in the so-called movement here have them too.

Mark Bergfeld was interviewed only to the extent that he is an active member of the Education Activist Network, which was one of the groups that played a key role in organising students last year. His or his group’s affiliation with any political party was not relevant to the extent that his personal political beliefs did not hinder the mobilisation of students.

I, as an anarchist, worked with him and others from EAN last year and did not encounter any perceptible hostility towards anarchists. In fact, a few other anarchist/libertarian students too were involved with Mark and the EAN.

I, as the interviewer, with the austerity in mind, decided to submit the interview because the current political situation is too drastic and urgent for people to be bickering over notional differences, and to the extent that people of different Left political beliefs *can* work together, *should* work together, simply because we don’t have a choice, and believe that our anarchist publications – especially *Freedom* – are in a position to reflect that need for unity.

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GETTING ACTIVE

PRISON NEWS

As the last issue went to press, the exact status of the California prisons hunger strike was somewhat confused, with the Pelican Bay hunger strikers apparently having accepted a set of proposals from the Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR) but with prisoners in at least three other prisons still maintaining their protest. Now it is clear that whilst the concessions gained from CDCR were less than earth-shattering, they were taken by the prisoners as a sign of good faith on behalf of CDCR, but with the proviso that the authorities must come back with substantive changes based on the prisoners' five core demands. Therefore, the concessions have merely bought CDCR a temporary respite; a grace period of two to three weeks and the prisoners *will* resume refusing food if CDCR do not come up with 'the goods'. According to one of the prisoners, "It's very important that our supporters know where we stand, and that CDCR knows that we're not going to go for any B.S. We remain as serious about our stand now as we were at the start, and meant what we said re indefinite hunger strike peaceful protest until our demands are met."

One key major effect of the protests has been to further increase the profile of the burgeoning campaign to end the use of prolonged solitary confinement in US prisons. The majority of this occurs in state super-maxes (25,000 prisoners) but it is estimated that up to 1000,000 US prisoners across all types of jails are currently being held in some form of long-term solitary confinement, from local jails all the way up to Pelican Bay-style SHUs. And it is not just the actual practice of isolating the prisoner that amounts to 'cruel and inhumane treatment' amounting to torture, it is practices such as the routine use of brutal 'cell extractions' of uncooperative inmates or 'potty watch', where any prisoner deemed to have swallowed contraband is restrained for three days – placed in diapers and unable to move their arms (which are often placed in plastic pipes), they are forced to stand or be strapped down until their bowel movements reveal the thing they've swallowed. Like 'cell extractions', this is also routinely used as an unofficial punishment for prisoner infractions.

An even more dramatic example of potential changes in the operation of a prison system forced on authorities by the actions of prisoners, though in this case it is merely a collateral effect, are the potential reforms announced by the first incumbent of Venezuela's newly created post of Minister of Correctional Services, Iris Varela, following the El Rodeo II siege. She plans the conditional release of 20,000 prisoners, whom she rhetorically labels 'victims of the bureaucratic system'. "For me, the achievement will not be to open prisons, but to close them." Can't see her lasting long in her job.



Dale Farm fight back

Welcome to Dale Farm, half legal, half illegal (though you'd never know from the Council rants). Their neighbours are few, but rich. Dale Farm has maybe 1,000 residents. At the end of August, Basildon Council's 28-day eviction notice to the traveller families at on the site runs out, so the residents, and supporters, are getting organised to resist. Defences, and Camp Constant, are already under construction, with regular workdays Thursdays and Saturdays. The more help there is, the more chance of holding off the bailiffs. (That's the Bedford-based racist Constant & Co.)

The camp will open on August 27th just before the 'Get out' notice runs out. There are phone trees to join, info lists to sign up to, but most of all – be there. A solid presence of supporters is needed for when the bailiffs arrive. It's about 40 minutes from London Liverpool Station by train.

As the Government predicts 40,000 will be made homeless by its housing policies, and moves towards criminalising squatting, it's also trying to finish off the last remains of the nomadic lifestyle in the UK. Here Tory-controlled Basildon council is leading the way, committing a third of its annual budget to the eviction (presumably cutting even more local services) and grabbing handouts from central government to the tune of £13 million.

This is a fight for all of us.

On 27th August residents of Dale Farm have invited supporters down for a long weekend



Dale Farm residents protest and prepare for eviction; above right, an eviction notice attached to a resident's door.

of skill sharing and celebration. There is still workshop space available, and they are looking for anything from Civil Disobedience training, to Traveller history. If you have skills you'd like to contribute, or would like to suggest someone who can put on a workshop, please email savedalefarm@gmail.com with the details. The weekend activities will include:

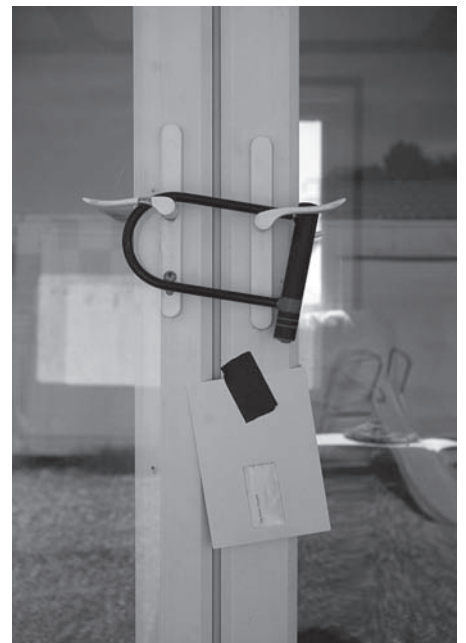
- Training for legal observers and human rights monitors.
- Practical eviction resistance workshops.
- Opening party on Saturday night.
- Traveller history and celebration.

Sleeping space is available in caravans and residents' homes or you can bring a tent, and you are welcome to sleep over on Friday 26th August.

The eviction could go ahead right after midnight on 31st August, so many people will be staying at Dale Farm until the attempted eviction and others are encourage everyone to spend some nights at Dale Farm. Here are some practical things you can do:

- You can sign up to spend nights at Camp Constant.
- You can sign up to Dale Farm email bulletins.
- You can also invite your friends to the facebook group for pledging to spend a night at Dale Farm.
- There are activity days every Saturday, everyone is welcome.

Check out <http://dalefarm.wordpress.com/> for more information. The address is Dale Farm, Oak Lane, Crays Hill, Billericay, Essex CM11 2YJ



Hacking, phone taps and the anarchists

'A Company of Bastards' and the Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act

Recent comment on the ethics of phone hacking and the media reminded me of our practices in the 1970s, during the time of the alternative press and counter-cultural journalism in the North of England; not to mention what we got up to in the name of our academic interests.

We didn't actually go in for phone hacking as such, but we did tape-record telephone conversations of various parties without their knowledge. Usually we did it with people that we did not like, such as slippery union bosses like Arnold Belfield (a Rochdale Magistrate and Secretary of the National Union of Textile & Allied Workers) or Albert Hilton (President of the Rochdale Branch of the National Union of Textile & Allied Workers) or as the publication *Rochdale Alternative Paper* did when it recorded the boss of the Weavers & Winders Union, others did it on the odd local employer or manager. We did this at the time mainly for practical reasons because, when it suited these people, they tended to have memory lapses and that could be troublesome for trade union activists on the shop-floor. In the early 1970s, Albert Hilton, then President of Rochdale National Union of Textile & Allied Workers, had to have his memory jogged by the production of a tape recording to prove that he had had a telephone conversation with me some weeks before the committee meeting at which he and the Secretary were trying to expel me from the union. He then made himself look guilty by responding thus: "Anyone can fake a tape recording!"

We didn't only limit these activities to tape recordings of telephone conversations either, sometimes we would engineer a tape recorder into a briefcase and take it to a meeting with the bosses or union officials to make covert recordings of the proceedings. These recordings would sometimes provide us with an *aide-memoire* so that we could fill in reports or to produce articles. But mostly they would be produced to undermine our enemies among the bosses and union leaders in the 1970s and beyond. A bloke called Brendan – close to the anarchist movement – was a bobby-dazzler at making these secret recordings and even Derek Pattison, who is now on the editorial panel of *Northern Voices* and is a life-long anarcho-syndicalist, in the 1980s got another anarchist called Ian Smith to ring up one of his ex-employers pretending to be a boss asking for a reference and expecting him to give a bad one so that he could later discredit that boss. Some of the material thus obtained may have been used



for articles in *Freedom*, the anarchist weekly, when in the 1970s it was edited by Peter Turner, also a member of UCATT and Secretary of Hammersmith TUC.

Yet, this kind of surreptitiously acquired material had other uses besides wrong-footing dodgy employers and union bosses, it could be used for academic research. My own dissertation for my BA was based on one such confrontation between myself and a union official, Arnold Belfield, then, in the 1970s, Secretary of the National Union of Allied Workers: the thesis was entitled 'Members and Officials: Some Aspects of a Trade Union Dispute' and was based on a recording taken with Mr Belfield's knowledge on the premises of the union. One Friday evening I just turned up at the office before it closed and slapped the tape-recorder down on his desk and started to interrogate him; there was a bit of an altercation of course, a bit of pushing and shoving, and then he rang for one of his union cronies for support. When that didn't work and I still refused to leave, Arnold Belfield, who was also a Magistrate in Rochdale, called in the police, and then when I still refused to leave until I got a proper answer to my questions from Arnold, the copper, with the help of Arnold, began to try to carry me out: it was all there on tape the shouting, the cries of "get his other leg" and from the police officer: "I'm sick of this, I'm finishing work at 6pm, and I don't want to be messing about with you!"

I suppose... the anarchists at the time in the 1960s and 70s would have argued that it

was in the public interest to acquire this kind of information through tricks and wire taps. We would have said these methods were justified given what we were trying to find out and, in the case of the anarchists, dealing with employers and bosses, that it was our way of getting the edge of the employers and the union bosses. But whatever the ethics of doing this kind of thing, these past practices, both by academics and anarchists, have probably now all been made illegal under the Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act (RIPA 2000) in the year 2000.

But RIPA 2000 did let employers and councils do some authoritarian things, such as at Bury Council where, in 2006, they secretly filmed a team of their own binmen employees doing their work, and later tried to use the film footage to prove that three had been taking bribes off some shopkeepers. All of these binmen ended up getting a significant sum in an out-of-court settlement and payment which was later commented on in the *Mail on Sunday* and the *Bury Times*. This kind of thing reminds one of the old East Germany under the Stasi or secret police. The signs are that the RIPA 2000 didn't really stop the abuses as it set out to do; I don't know if the academics or anarchists have now been intimidated by the RIPA 2000.

Brian Bamford

Courtesy of *Northern Voices*, a bi-annual regional journal published by the Northern Anarchist Network, see <http://northernvoicesmag.blogspot.com/>

REVIEWS

WHAT'S ON

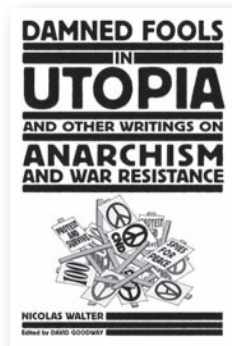
AUGUST

- **12th to 14th** North London Punx Picnic, for details see www.facebook.com/home?#!/event.php?eid=202343609800335
 - 12th at Mannions, 158 Broad Lane, Tottenham N15 4PW with Neck, Left For Dead, Trauma Unit, 3 Stone Monkey.
 - 13th at The Victoria, 451 Queensbridge Road, E8 3AS with Bus Station Loonies, Intensive Care, The Lagan and others.
 - 13th picnic in London Fields, Hackney, from 2pm until 7pm with The Pukes.
 - 14th at Mannions, 158 Broad Lane, Tottenham N15 4PW with Flowers of Flesh and Blood, Noise Complaint, SAS/Voice of Reason, Blatoidea. These events are benefits -- and there is also a benefit CD for JJ and the anti-fascist prisoners available at www.powcd.org
- **20th** Little London Fields free green festival from 12 noon until 9pm at London Fields, Hackney E8 3RH, for further details see www.littlelondonfields.co.uk.
- **21st** London Vegan Festival, with many stallholders, nutrition information and an array of interesting talks and workshops, Kensington Town Hall, London, W8 7NX from 11am until 8pm, adm £2, email robandal55@googlemail.com or see www.vegancampaigns.org.uk/festival for more info.
- **26th** The Outdoor Skillshare 2011, join us in beautiful rural South Lanarkshire for a weekend of skillsharing and workshops about outdoor life and resistance techniques – learn new skills, meet new people and share your experiences with others at Talamh Housing Cooperative in South Lanarkshire, Scotland, for details email outdoorskillshare@riseup.net or see [http://outdoorskillshare.noflag.org.uk/Solidarity with Dale Farm](http://outdoorskillshare.noflag.org.uk/Solidarity%20with%20Dale%20Farm): At the same time as the Outdoor Skillshare takes place, Camp Constant will be holding a skillshare at Dale Farm, in solidarity with the families facing eviction (see also page 12). These two skillshares, although at the same time, are supporting each other so if you can't come to one, please come to the other! <http://dalefarm.wordpress.com/>

SEPTEMBER

- **13th** Disarm DSEi Day of Action, the world's largest arms fair, taking place at the ExCeL exhibition centre in London's Docklands from 13th to 16th, exists so that arms buyers and sellers can come together, network and make deals, see www.dsei.org for details of action.
- **21st** Reclaim The Fields in solidarity with the people of Rosia Montana, a village in the Apuseni Mountains in Romania, under threat of being destroyed by a gold mining project in the name of profit, for details email camp2011@reclaimthefields.org or see www.reclaimthefields.org.

BOOK



Damned Fools in Utopia and Other Writings on Anarchism and War Resistance
by Nicolas Walter,
edited by David Goodway,
PM Press, £16.99

David Goodway here presents his second selection of Nicolas Walter's writings. This book concentrates on his anti-militarist activities, his writing about other libertarian writers and also has a brief selection of his writing on religion, and especially on its connection with anarchism.

The volume has an overlap with his previous selection *The Anarchist Past and Other Essays* (published by Five Leaves in 2007) in that both contain an introductory essay by David Goodway (with slight changes) and a autobiographical essay by Nicolas Walter himself. David Goodway explains why, despite Nicolas Walter's long association with Freedom Press, they felt unable to actually publish any selection of writings. By the way the PM Press title cheekily uses an extract of a review I wrote about the Five Leaves edition of Nicolas Walter's writings on the back cover of their own title, without any indication of which title I was referring to.

As to the essays in the new book, many are about the 1960s' peace movement, in which Nicolas Walter was extremely active, including the Committee of 100 and Spies for Peace. The latter are remembered these days (if at all) for their publishing of details of the Government's Regional Seats of Government (RSG), that were to be used in the aftermath of a nuclear war. It's interesting that in the follow-up to the original pamphlet, herein reproduced, Nicolas Walter's research showed that much of the material about the RSG's was already in the public domain, and was based on earlier emergency government planning, coupled with civil defence. The Spies for Peace managed to get their information out using some basic illicit publishing

QUIZ ANSWERS

1. Traditionalists called for him to be removed. However, when the Dutch Protestant Church investigated, they found that his views were too widely shared for him to be singled out. A study by the Free University of Amsterdam found that one-in-six clergy in the Netherlands was either agnostic or atheist.
2. It is still named after Feliks Dzerzhinsky,

procedures, and avoided being caught by the police for their activities. Other essays cover the ins and outs of the formation of CND and the Committee of 100 and the peace movement.

What follows includes an essay on the history of the squatting movement, a polemic with the Solidarity Group and two brief overviews of Solidarity's main ideological inspiration, Cornelius Castoriadis. David Goodway's selection then takes a literary turn, not unsurprising considering the work Nicolas Walter did for the *Times Literary Supplement* (being its chief sub-editor for many years). Nicolas Walter would have been very unimpressed, by the way, by the publishing practice of sending a book to printers without the editor being sent a proof copy. Doing so would have prevented the book being available with many of the sources for essays wrongly attributed. The publishers have promised to place errata on their website and apologised to all concerned.

Among the literary essays are two about Herbert Read, one on George Orwell (reprinted from the Freedom Press title *George Orwell at Home*), a couple on Alan Sillitoe, and one on the 'crank' publisher and editor C.W. Daniel (well worth reading, by the way). There's a biographical essay on Guy Aldred, one on Dorothy Day (of the *Catholic Worker*), some reflections on the lives and deaths of various intellectuals, politicians and media celebrities. And the book finishes up with an essay on anarchism and religion and one on facing his own death, which is very honest and moving.

All in all this is another worthwhile effort by David Goodway, to make available more of Nicolas Walter's essays and, with the provisos above, PM Press have produced an attractive book, at a reasonable price (if you shop around). I don't have a kindle device so can't comment on the electronic edition, but it seems an excellent medium to use for a book of essays, where one can dip into them when one has time.

Mal Function

A kindle edition of *Damned Fools in Utopia and Other Writings on Anarchism and War Resistance* by Nicolas Walter, edited by David Goodway, is also available at £8.79 from Amazon.

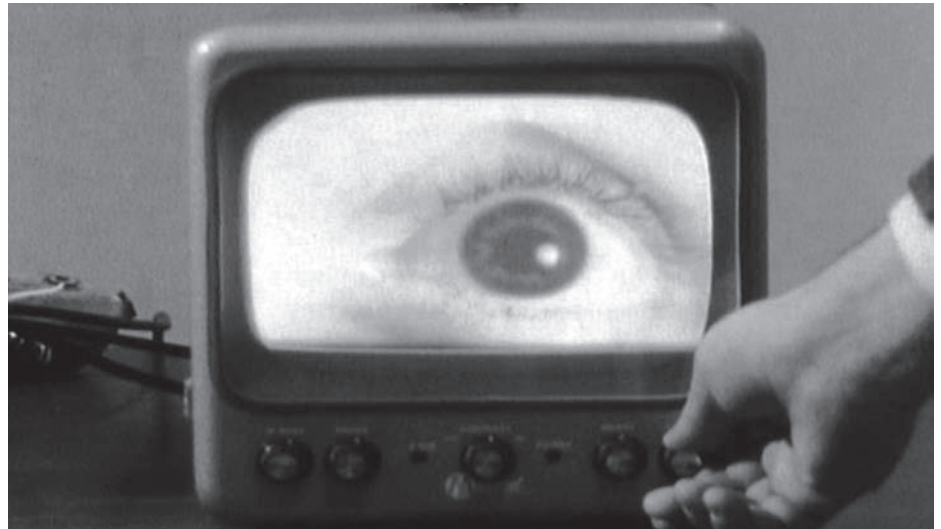
- the Polish Bolshevik who was the first head of the Cheka.
3. Gregory Zinoviev, whose home town was renamed Zinovyevsk in 1924. Stalin got Stalingrad the following year. Petrograd was renamed Leningrad on 26th January 1924, three days after Lenin's death.
4. It is a town in Krasnodar Krai, Russia, and was renamed in honour of Peter Kropotkin after his death in 1921.

Machines of Loving Grace

Adam Curtis's challenge to domination by computer systems asks questions the mainstream media typically avoid, says Tom Jennings

Another of this renegade documentarian's giddy excursions through modern history and culture renders strange and sinister what otherwise appear as consensual prevailing wisdoms – again stitched together with rich collaged detournements of television current affairs and advertising archive imagery. Previous unique disconcerting dissections of commonplace conceptual hegemonies dominating political discourse include *The Century of the Self* (2002; on the deployment of Freudian psychology in PR and advertising mystifications of human need and desire), *The Power of Nightmares* (reviewed in *Freedom*, 13th November 2004; paralleling War on Terror and jihadist worldviews), and *The Trap* (*Freedom*, 19th May 2007; deconstructing neoliberal governmentality's control-freak disciplining of individualised populations with fragmented measurement). His new trilogy, *All Watched Over By Machines Of Loving Grace* (BBC2, May and June), excavates curious cases of iconoclastic innovations in systems theory and philosophy which may seem embarrassingly uncool now but, so the story goes, paved the way not only for the contemporary stranglehold of 'there is no alternative' to capitalist governance via worldwide webs of IT algorithms increasingly mediating social, economic and political structures, but also its inevitable, inexorable attendant fuck-ups.

A somewhat arbitrary starting point is the psychotic individualism popularised by novelist Ayn Rand in the 1950s. Her purportedly 'rational' Objectivism stripped social immersion from cold heroic egos whose rabid pursuit of selfish ends somehow facilitates gratification for all without coercion. Fans included disillusioned hippies, Silicon Valley hucksters and Ivy League intellectuals like Federal Reserve boss Alan Greenspan – such vain dreams of designing communities, technics and economies with hard-wired self-correcting stability appealing to swathes of upwardly-mobile graduates obligingly blind to the dirty businesses of real history. That banishing complexity from mathematical models translate into programmes destined to collapse under the weight of their contradictions soon banjaxed utopian communes impotent to counter tyrannies of structurelessness, whereas it took decades for casino capitalism's 'perfect markets' rolled out across the globe to implode – and the internet's commodification of narcissism still hinders awareness of the



catastrophic vulnerability of virtual production and coordination. Meanwhile, trends in other fields wove the entire biosphere into the grandiose technocratic feedback loop courtesy of deterministic religions of homeostatic ecology and, from banalised neuroscience and evolutionary theory, feeble-minded 'selfish gene' science-fictions even sadder and stupider than Rand's *Atlas Shrugged*. And each turn of the managerial screw further ossifies corporate control and extracts obscene superprofits while governments blame, bludgeon and fleece the poor for failing to deserve utopia. Yet escalating disasters prompt merely cynical resignation, reactionary regression, and political activism reduced to aimless mass whingeing, with neither concrete tactics nor coherent strategy beyond tinkering with organisational niceties and other devils in the world-system's details.

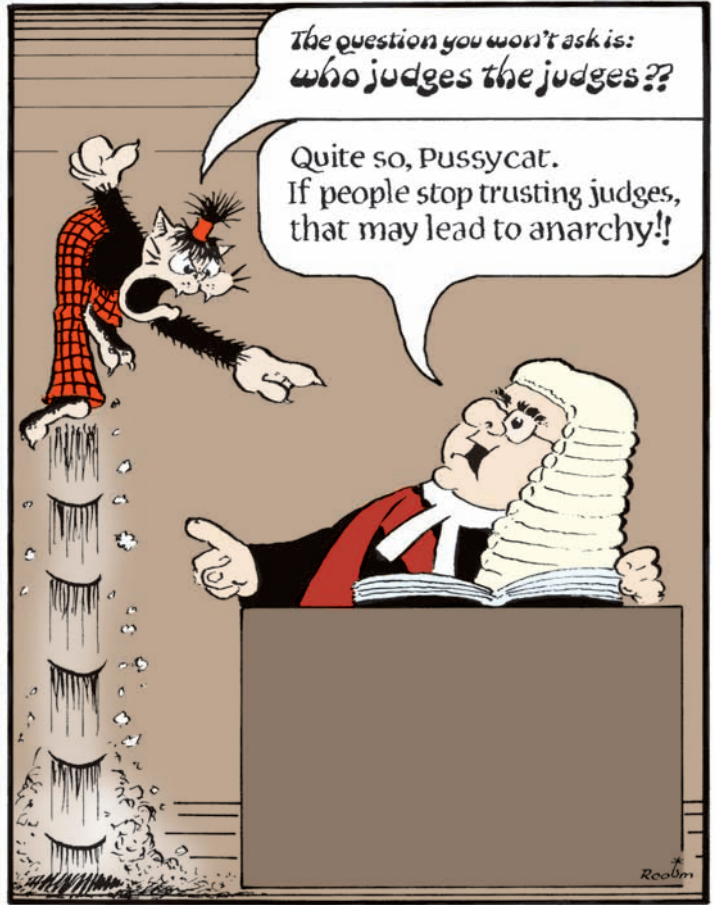
Machine (De)Code

Curtis's wildly overambitious narrative can't explain the reciprocal interactions among discourses, institutional relationships, technologies, markets and media – let alone variations across and within national and international contexts and contrasting civic and private spheres. The lack of a sense of real-world agency is clearest in the regular voiceover recourse to simplistic clichés of what 'we' believe – neither distinguishing superficial public opinion recitation from motivated assertion, nor acknowledging vast discrepancies according to biography and demography. Even lazier is a hyperbolic emphasis on the supposedly epochal significance of idiosyncratic proponents, manifestations or articulations of ideas whose frailties are then gleefully exposed. More thoroughly nuanced genealogical interpretation would root emergent patterns further back, progressing from accidental collisions of particular agglomerations of vested interests at specific times and places, which then bias subsequent events sufficiently

to become entrenched even if accompanying high-faluting theoretical contortions soon go the way of all cerebral and visceral flesh. Without fine-grained attention to grubby material circumstance, the opposite transpires – an inane idealism with the course of world history determined by thought processes among flawed geniuses, statesmen and entrepreneurs, in a kind of Da Vinci Code open conspiracy coincidentally concentrating wealth and hierarchy.

Moreover the influential notions pinpointed have actually been commonplace, in various guises, over centuries – though dismissed as trivial, marginal, fanciful or downright dangerous when not proposed from within legitimised structures, recuperable into acceptable doctrine, dovetailing with pragmatic application, and flattering privilege. Nevertheless, extremely pertinent critiques with arguably far-reaching implications for resistance to the status quo are identified in *All Watched Over*. So although illusions of stable self-regulating networks have ancient provenance, the baleful juggernaut built from current cybernetic fusions of biotechnology and political economy won't be stopped by moral posturing mimicking its circuitry. Questions of the political utility of science and rationality, and derivative techniques of social organisation, thus can't be avoided – the series' targets exemplifying discursive mission-creep, where provisional ensembles of concepts promise a tentative handle on reality where certain operations have reasonably predictable results. Yet beyond highly circumscribed conditions mayhem frequently ensues, and even within them unforeseen consequences should encourage humility about claims of truth – and not just when hindsight nails yesterday's knowledge as nonsense. But careers in expertise – or viable egalitarian communities – are scarcely persuasively founded on honest admissions of ignorance.

Therefore it's worth debunking 'facts' held



Review

◀ page 15

to be self-evident yet ignored when inconvenient and unceremoniously dumped when demonstrably toxic to elite agendas. However, no meaningful alternative is offered to satisfy those whose livelihoods and selfhoods are intimately implicated in serving the smooth functioning of today's society. Viewers are left bewildered and bereft, familiar comforting nostrums revealed as hollow contingent blips on much wider spectra of possibilities, hitherto unimagined or scrupulously suppressed in favour of sophisticated mysticisms with sundry squalid devices acting as *deus ex machina* – directly encouraging passivity and covertly infecting attempts to supersede present ills. So much for 'progress', when

gods, masters and more congenially modern heroes and villains of civilisation and barbarism jostle with contemporary impersonal universals of science, management and markets, all masquerading as guarantors of natural order and animating its loyally blinkered, even radical, oppositions. But while his neo-surrealist filmic methodology decisively perverts such fantasies, Curtis finally explicitly wagers on the conflictual politics of struggle harbouring the potential to transcend latterday compulsively conformist closed circuits – despite his high-liberal predispositions precluding any glimpse of collective subjectivities to prosecute it. That's up to us, then – providing 'we' can sidestep the pathetic pitfalls he deliriously delineates.

www.tomjennings.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk
<http://libcom.org/blog/4271>

THE QUIZ

1. What happened after Dutch minister Rev Klaas Hendrikse published a book called *Believing in a Non-Existent God*?
2. What is notable about the Russian city of Dzerzhinsk?
3. Who was the first living Soviet leader to have a city named after him?
4. Where could you visit Kropotkin today?

Answers on page 14

The Anarchist Quiz Book compiled by Martin Howard, with illustrations by Paul Petard, is available for £5 (post free) from our bookshop at 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX or by mail order from our website at freedompress.org.uk or from the above address (please send cheque with order).

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