

AN OLYMPIC MESS

What you need to know about the games

The recent struggle to save Leyton Marsh against the Olympic land-grab in east London offers a glimpse of what state reaction to dissent and public opposition during the Olympics, and beyond, could look like.

In early 2012 planning permission was granted by Waltham Forest Council to the Olympic Development Authority (ODA) to build a temporary three storey high basketball practice facility on Leyton Marsh. There was strong local opposition and the Save Leyton Marsh group was formed. Weekly demonstrations and community events were held on the marsh, resulting in large numbers regularly gathering in defence of the much loved and well used Metropolitan Open Land.

On 24th March Occupy London joined the struggle against the land-grab and a permanent "community support camp" was formed on the marsh. Their 24-hour presence on site, alongside obstruction and organised resistance, ensured that all building work on site stopped for two weeks.

Despite these early successes and widespread local support, a full-on legal attack by the ODA and associated interests on the campaign resulted in the practice arena being [page 3](#) ▶▶

LENS CAP THE LIE THAT BLOSSOMED



'The Lie that Blossomed' by G O D, whose work is also featured on pages 22 and 23 of this issue. We will be hosting a further selection at 'An exhibition of contemporary portraits, from the sublime to the sinister' at the Autonomy Club, Freedom Press, from Thursday 7th June until Sunday 29th July during shop opening hours, with a special launch event on 7th June from 6.30pm until 9.30pm.

Image © G O D Photography

THE UNIONS MAKE WAY

The trade unions' great struggle to stop the government from stealing public sector pensions has been and gone with barely a whisper it seems, as participation winds down following the 10th May walkout.

A series of one-day strikes with months-long gaps have so far failed to force the government to the table in any meaningful sense, with minister Francis Maude triumphantly crowing that it's "now time that union leaders put the best interests of their members first by asking them to accept our generous offer."

And with every day of pay lost to ineffectual protest politicking, the will to resist has weakened. From a solid showing last year to this year's stuttering will-they-won't-they and the PCS's pathetic date-

shifting, the bureaucracy has endeavoured to turn a mandate for action into a shoulder shrug.

Next up is another protest rally to be held on 20th October, by which time any interest in or hope for changing the situation will be well and truly dead.

But it doesn't have to be this way.

What is missing in the union equation is leverage. Without it, begging loudly is still just begging and, as the law stands, union bosses have no way of providing that leverage. They are a bankrupt power.

The responsibility lies, as much as it ever has, with the grassroots. With you. Action must be taken and it must, at this point, be unofficial. Those of us unlucky enough to be too young to retire must fight, if we ever wish to.

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NEWS

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- **Housmans Bookshop**, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX, tel 020 7837 4473 email shop@housmans.com <http://www.housmans.com/>
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LENS CAP ALTAB ALI REMEMBERED



Anarchists and Anti-fascists joined with over 180 locals to remember the 34th year since Altab Ali, a Bangladeshi textile worker who, as he walked home from work, was murdered by racists on the 4th May 1978. Speakers from the Altab Ali Foundation recalled their memories of the Tower Hamlets Defence Committee and the Battle of Brick Lane. Linking to the Battle of Cable Street, the speakers called on the community to continue to physically fighting fascism and racism as they once did. For details of the Battle of Brick Lane and much more, see *Beating the Fascists: the untold story of Anti-Fascist Action* by Sean Birchall, published by Freedom Press.

Workfare: a Hackney picket

Picketing shops can reap some rich rewards when the cause is as uncontroversial as 'this lot force people to work for free'. The general crowd response is along the lines of 'really, they do that? What a bunch of gits'.

That sort of response to a campaign makes a grey day shine for us and makes shop managers very, very angry.

So angry in fact that the Holland & Barrett manager on Mare Street in Hackney, where North London SolFed did its latest picket in the battle to stop Workfare today, insisted



on standing in his own doorway to berate us and ended up putting off nearly as many customers as we did.

There were quite a few, Mr Manager. Disapproving faces, Mr Manager. Your bottom line, Mr Manager, walking away because your firm doesn't pay its staff, Mr Manager.

And typically of a man with no good arguments, within a few minutes he'd hit on his main point, which he then stuck to like a limpet. "Why can't you bother another shop, there's loads of us doing this." We have done, Mr Manager, lots and lots of Holland & Barretts up and down the country. And we will continue to, until your company and the others stop undercutting wages by taking advantage of the desperation of the unemployed and the strong arm of the state.

Your company is like that kid who bounces around behind the bully and grabs the left-over change from his victims – and the Solidarity Federation doesn't like bullies, or their sidekicks.

We'll be out there as long as we must, we'll tell your customers all about your nasty little tricks and ask them to take action on it too, until you get on the blower to your top dogs and push them to drop out of Workfare.

And with a little luck, we'll get your staff talking about this. About how your dodgy deals with the government are undercutting their wages, screwing around with their shift patterns and mucking up their work. About how, in a climate where you can't just jump in and out of a job any more, it might be worth getting together to make change, Mr Manager.

North London Solidarity Federation



Left, surface to air missile launcher on Blackheath; right, the largest ship in the Royal Navy, HMS Ocean, will be moored at Greenwich and act as a launch pad for eight Lynx helicopters and a base for Royal Marine snipers.

'Security' as directed by Michael Bay

Looking at some of the Olympics ordnance arrayed against 'the enemy'

You've got to be feeling pretty safe in Stratford right now – 23,000 security guards will be patrolling an area which is home to around 38,000 actual people, and that's not all.

There's missiles on the rooftops, armed choppers in the air, Typhoon jets, secret service guys watching every corner and a battleship in the harbour. There's high-tech weaponry designed to blow a hole in your eardrums as soon as you even think about scaling that chain-link fence, which is topped by the best surveillance money can buy for £553 million.¹

Hang on a minute, that's all for Olympics attendees isn't it... In fact, is all that ordnance actually pointed at you? It's enough to blow up half of London!

Who on earth are they expecting to attack the place? Are those wily terrorists hoarding an entire armoured column under Nelson's Column?

Let's break this down a bit. Surface to Air missiles are presumably for suicide planes, as a hostile nation is unlikely to launch a raid on the heart of London during an international sporting event, but that sort of attack hasn't been launched since pilots worked out how to lock the cabin doors before takeoff (about a day after 9/11).

Realistically it's a bit more dangerous having enough live explosives to demolish a building sat on top of a residential block, supervised by bored grunts with itchy trigger fingers.

The Typhoons and battleship meanwhile tote the sort of precision ordnance that would be excellent to deal with this super-secret terrorist armada barrelling in on open ground, but might be considered overkill when levelling an entire urban zone to get at some hypothetical party-poopers.

The helicopters with snipers on are awesome

though, as we know from previous experience, this sort of Harry Stanley² never goes wrong.

Speaking of precision, their aural assault tank is set up for something of a specific task, apparently being designed solely for deafening protestors.³ It's no good for patrolling crowds of sports fans, unless they're really keen to get people out of the stadiums quickly at the end of the day.

Is anyone else starting to feel like it'd be a good idea to stay out of the capital?

Rob Ray

1 FYI that's about twice the entire Newham Council budget. If you were just giving Olympic money to individuals in the borough the £9.3bn in public spending thus far works out to around £244,000 per person. Maths is fun.

2 Harry was shot in 1999 for carrying a chair leg which looked a bit like a gun to the highly-trained police sharpshooters, if they really squinted.

3 They might need to step it up a bit to compete with the samba bands, just saying.

An Olympic mess

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built. Several high court injunctions on "protest activities" and incitement to protest were passed on the site and surrounding area, against named individuals and "persons unknown", alongside an injunction banning camping. The "persons unknown" aspect means that the injunction can apply to anyone and will remain in place until 15th October.

Simon Moore, Dan Ashman and Anita Olvadacce spent five days in prison as a result of their peaceful protest at Leyton Marsh, and on his release Simon was served with an anti-social behaviour order by the London Metropolitan Police. The Asbo prohibits him from being within 100 yards of anything to do with the Olympics or Paralympics, as well as Jubilee celebrations.

All protest at Leyton Marsh and its surround-

ing area has been effectively criminalised. Anybody deemed threatening to the contractors on site, by filming, talking to the workers, or even just walking through the marsh, faces being arrested, enjoined and potentially held liable for £335,000 costs and/or a prison sentence. The incurred costs of £335,000 could also potentially be awarded in a future action if a named person can be found.

The ODA and the London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games (LOCOG) have a multi-million pound legal budget and for local groups and individuals it is nearly impossible to challenge their legal might. We must however support those currently facing repression because of anti-Olympic protest and try to prevent further casualties.

For those of us living in the "North

Olympic Fringe" it is clear that we must prepare for increased surveillance, inconvenience and Olympic incursions in our lives. Local activists and the wider community should expect more Asbos, more injunctions on protest, more stop and searches, more arrests, more "total" policing, before, during and after the Games, all of which must be organised against. In terms of practicalities, community legal observing trainings, legal defence funds, police monitoring projects and the mass distribution of basic legal information must be an immediate priority.

For more information see:

- saveleytonmarsh.wordpress.com
- gamesmonitor.org.uk
- counterolympicsnetwork.wordpress.com

THE BIG PICTURE



The peace campaign initiated by Brian Haw in 2001 reached its 4,000th day on 15th May. Barbara Tucker (left) is carrying the protest on after Brian's death in July of last year, but has been suffering the effects of exposure after all her camping equipment was removed by police on 13th May.

Stuff your landlord

We summarise the Solidarity Federation's newest guide

Since it came out, the Stuff Your Boss leaflet detailing employment rights has been a useful tool for helping workers to organise. However, as a revolutionary union initiative, Solidarity Federation doesn't limit its activity to the workplace. Class struggle isn't limited to battles with our employers, and solidarity and direct action can apply to many other areas of working class life.

At some point, most of us have or will have to live in homes we don't own. Tenants' struggles affect a significant majority of people trying to keep a roof over their heads, and we need a way of standing up for ourselves. The aim of the Stuff Your Landlord leaflet is to provide the same basic tool for tenant organising that Stuff Your Boss has become with the workplace.

Phil D
Solfed External Relations Officer

Housing status

Your rights as a tenant often depend on what your housing status is. "Regulated tenants" have very strong rights whereas "excluded occupiers" (such as lodgers) have few rights. Most renters now are "assured shorthold tenants" and have some protections. Before taking action against your landlord on something like repairs you should check your security of tenure and read your contract.

Implied terms

No matter what your tenancy is or what your contract says, your landlord has obligations which are given by law and are implied into all tenancy agreements. Some of the most important implied terms are:

- Your landlord must carry out basic repairs.
- Your landlord must keep the installations for the supply of water, gas, electricity, sanitation, space heating and heating water in good working order.
- You have the right to live peacefully in the accommodation without nuisance from your landlord.
- Your landlord must not discriminate against you. There may be some



exceptions, for example, if you live in the same accommodation as your landlord.

Tenancy deposit scheme

Your landlord needs to pay your deposit into a government-approved deposit protection scheme, and return it to you at the end of your tenancy – unless there's a dispute.

Your landlord must give you details of the scheme they are using to protect it. It is also important that you and your landlord agree, in writing, what condition the place is in when you start renting, including a list of the furniture and fittings.

You should get your deposit back within ten days if you and your landlord agree a sum. If your landlord withholds all or part of your deposit, then s/he needs to provide an itemised invoice of all of the costs deducted, including receipts.



Landlord harassment

Harassment by a landlord is an offence and can take different forms, for example:

- Removing or restricting access to utility services or failing to pay the bills so services are cut off.
- Visiting your home regularly without warning.
- Interfering with your post.
- Threatening you.
- Sending builders round without notice.
- Entering your home when you are not there, without your permission.
- Allowing your home to get into such a bad state of repair that it's dangerous for you to stay.
- Beginning disruptive works and not finishing them.
- Harassing you because of your gender, race or sexuality.

The eviction process

If you're a private tenant, your landlord



needs "grounds" (a reason) if they want to evict you before the end of a fixed-term contract. Councils and housing associations also need grounds to evict most types of tenants. This could be due to something like 8 weeks' rent arrears or breaking a term of your tenancy agreement.

To be evicted your landlord first has to give you a written notice that complies with particular legal requirements depending on your tenancy. You don't have to leave at this point.

The next step for your landlord is to get a court order (saying when you should leave the property or pay rent), you can put your case across in writing and by going to the court hearing.

If your landlord or anyone else tries to evict a residential occupier without following the correct procedure (written notice > possession order > court bailiffs) this is an illegal eviction.

Going into dispute

Any dispute with your landlord needs to be carefully considered:

- Read your tenancy agreement to find out your contract rights and responsibilities.
- Research your legal rights regarding the dispute.
- Record and copy any and all correspondence sent to your landlord to create a 'paper trail'.

Shelter and CAB will give you good advice about your rights but if you need to teach your landlord a short, sharp lesson you might want to contact Solidarity Federation to discuss taking direct action.

Direct Action

This could mean:

- Delivering a demand letter to the landlord's home or work address.
 - Publicly 'outing' the landlord to their neighbours.
 - Bombarding their telephone or email inbox.
 - Occupying your local housing office.
- These are just examples, anything that gives you leverage over your landlord works. All of these actions are best done with your family and friends or – even better – other tenants!

For more go to solfed.org.uk

ANALYSIS

Peeking into the halls of power

Summarising what we know from the Leveson Inquiry

It doesn't happen very often that everyone can see the emperor's nudity. The current system is based on the state and its forces working closely with big business to maintain power. It works best for them when no-one sees what they're really doing. Yet we are currently in the middle of one of the biggest and most public exposés ever of how the system really works.

The Leveson Inquiry into the culture, practices and ethics of the press was set up last July after the heat from the phone-hacking scandal got too much for the government to ignore. Hearings began in November and have called on a wide range of witnesses.

In one corner, the Murdoch empire with daddy Rupert and his robot-like son trying to protect what's left of their reputation. In another, the politicians, Labour and Tories, who have been cosy up to Murdoch since the mid-1980s. In the third corner, the police and others whose financial "arrangements" with the Murdoch papers might see some people ending up in prison. And in the final corner, the victims – ranging from the people, some famous, many not, whose phones were hacked to the unnamed journalists telling of bullying newsrooms and constant pressure to get the story at any cost.

So far, apart from the victims, it's mainly been the "Great and the Good" of the media who have told their side to Justice Leveson. From Paul Dacre and Viscount Rothermere of the *Daily Mail* to National Union of Journalist general secretary Michelle



Stanistreet, who read the words of anonymous journalists telling torrid tales of working for a number of mainstream newspapers.

But it has been those related to Murdoch and his corrupt empire that have had most impact.

James Murdoch's appearance came with 163 pages of emails from News Corp public affairs executive Frédéric Michel detailing what appeared to be a very close relationship with Jeremy Hunt, the minister in charge of the attempted takeover of BSkyB.

Hunt's special advisor has resigned with claims that he overstepped the mark and that Hunt did nothing wrong. This hasn't been enough to prevent continuing calls for Hunt to resign and his forthcoming appearance at the Inquiry is eagerly awaited.

Rupert Murdoch's appearance was a strange one. As *Private Eye* editor Ian Hislop has pointed out, he appears to be afflicted by a very strange form of selective memory loss.

He remembers every word of conversations involving everyone else, but he appears to have forgotten a lot about things he's done himself. He even claimed never to have asked a politician for anything – a bizarre claim given how much politicians have done for him and his company over the years. If he didn't have to ask then it shows politicians have been more craven in seeking his approval than most suspected.

Let's not forget what Murdoch did. In 1986, having built the *Sun* and *News of the World* into huge-selling torrid tabloids and bought *The Times* and *Sunday Times*, he took on the unions. The printers had too much power, they could stop a paper appearing – just a short time before the battle really started, the printers stopped the publication of a *Sun* front-page that made Arthur Scargill look like a Nazi.

Murdoch decided to move his media empire to Wapping and leave the unions behind. The unions who fought lost, and those who didn't fight, or collaborated, soon found themselves locked out as well.

Murdoch's reward for this, over the years, has been a loosening of the rules around ownership of different kinds of media and those on foreign ownership, allowing him to expand his UK empire with a controlling share of BSkyB.

When New Labour changed the rules on union recognition, a massive out clause was left in that allowed the Murdoch empire to recognise a fake union – NISA – rather than any independent group. This is generally known as the NISA clause, but Mr Murdoch claimed at the Leveson Inquiry that he'd never heard of it.

There was some good news from Mr Murdoch at the Inquiry, as he said that he supported the NUJ's suggestion of a conscience clause – which would empower journalists to stand up to editorials demanding unethical practices. He also said that any journalist working for the paper could join the NUJ and, if a majority wanted it, he'd recognise the union.

This massive shift comes on the back of the establishment of the first official NUJ group in *The Times*, a fact that was proudly advertised on the front of the NUJ's magazine.

There's been a lot more and there's much, much more to come as the politicians take their seats in front of Lord Justice Leveson. On the day it was announced that Rebecca Brookes and her husband face criminal charges, watch this space. Who knows who will go down next?

Donnacha Delong

This article was written shortly before Leveson began interviewing politicians.

SOLFED STATEMENT**Statement about sexual assault within the anarchist/activist community**

This statement comes from recent discussions within South London and North London Solidarity Federation locals, and in response to a recent case of sexual assault which took place in the wider activist community. Following the actions taken by North London, South London and Brighton Solidarity Federation locals, this statement was written by the South London Gender Working Group.

We want to state clearly a number of things. We believe that in the event of sexual assault it is necessary to take action, and that it is appropriate to look towards processes of community accountability. In exploring how to deal with such situations, we have looked at the experiences of other activist and political communities, and the literature that has stemmed from these. We strongly support other groups who have initiated these processes; these enact a sense of responsibility and care we should have for and with each other.

It is entirely appropriate to exclude the perpetrator from spaces which the survivor may wish to be in, so as to avoid creating a platform for the particular abusive relationship to continue. It is clear that for many people, activism and politics are the environments in which they seek to form abusive relationships; therefore we exclude them from our spaces and events. In light of this, excluding a perpetrator from our events and meetings is a likely initial response that we will make to an account of abuse, and we defend our decision to do so.

In one particular recent case, a number of SolFed locals and members have come under attack for taking such a stance. It is our understanding that within similar situations it is fairly common for the survivor who calls someone out, or those who support them, to come under attack. It is not uncommon that this is in the form of endless questions around language and the very foundations of accountability processes.

In this statement we want to express our continued commitment to processes of community accountability. While we believe that all processes within a political community such as ours should be subjected to critique, we take seriously recent expressions of groups intent on disrupting any of these processes. We encourage those who have stated this as their intention to reconsider their position. This case of sexual assault comes out of a wider background of gendered violence, misogyny, sexism and patriarchy which are perpetuated within activist communities and often go unchallenged. As such, neither this individual case, nor our responses to it, can be seen in isolation.

At the same time we call for solidarity with all processes of community accountability. We invite the wider activist community to engage with the feminist tradition of these processes. It is of huge importance for political communities to maintain the safety of the spaces they create, and address questions of privilege.

Sexism in anarchism

Community accountability and solidarity

Most anarchists' eyes glaze over when they hear the phrase 'what will you do if you get rid of the prisons', so don't panic, this is not another exposition of well-known anarchist principles on prison abolition.

Instead it's a response to a series of immediate and difficult issues of abusive behaviour that have arisen in the anarchist and radical scenes. Obviously there are no ready-made solutions to these problems and nobody at *Freedom* claims to be an expert in dealing with them, but as anarchists we do have a guiding principle – solidarity. Solidarity obviously with survivors, but crucially solidarity with those comrades willing to take responsibility in dealing with them.

We were recently contacted by comrades in this position seeking support, and our response is given below:

“Dear Comrades,

“Freedom Press is a collective of people who have had great experience of all aspects of the activist movement, our members range in age from their 20s to their 80s and from the full spectrum of the anarchist movement.

“We would like to express our wholehearted support of the people who have taken on the difficult and doubtless uncomfortable task of dealing with these issues of sexual violence. We understand that it can't be easy for you and wish to help in any way we can. Most of all, we want to convey that this should not be an isolating experience; we are there for you and always ready to listen.

“Our movement can and will deal with these problems responsibly. We also know from experience that it's very easy for people to get tied up in procedural processes and may we stress the importance of staying focused on the interests of survivors and potential victims.”



INTERNATIONAL

NEWS IN BRIEF

BULGARIA: Dozens of protesters demanding radical change and a transition to direct democracy have set up camp outside the Parliament building in Sofia. Protesters said that they were inspired by the global Occupy and Indignants movement.

CANADA: The Canadian Conservative government has proposed a bill that would mean that anyone found to be wearing a mask during a riot, or at any other “unlawful” gathering, would be liable to receive a jail term of up to ten years. Protest groups are understandably worried as to what an ‘unlawful’ gathering actually constitutes, as during the G20 summit they arrested hundreds of demonstrators under a law that did not exist.

GREECE: In the days following the Greek elections, anarchists have destroyed offices of the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn for second time this year in the town of Patras.

INDIA: Pilots, represented by the Indian Pilots Guild, are on strike over training and career progression issues. Employers taking tough action against key agitators have dismissed 71 people since the dispute began, and have written to the pilots’ professional body demanding that their licenses be revoked, which would effectively end their careers.

ISRAEL: Over 1,500 Palestinian prisoners remain on hunger strike across Israeli jails, many of whom are said to be close to death. They are protesting against the continued solitary confinement, detention without charges and other so-called privileges.

NIGERIA: Workers at New Nigerian Newspapers Ltd walked out on strike in protest over non-payment of their salaries, which has now reached twelve months. In a peaceful protest outside the employers’ head offices, protestors were banned from using placards that contained slogans that may be seen as critical of the bosses. This is despite five workers dying of starvation since the dispute started, due to starvation.

SPAIN: The Indignados movement took to the streets in over 80 cities to mark the first anniversary of the movement’s birth on 15th May – they are also known as 15-M. The deepest recessions that Spain has faced for many decades is getting worse, with unemployment now standing at over 5.5 million (26%).

RUSSIA: Over 100,000 people converged in Moscow in protest against the election of Vladimir Putin. Protesters clashed with security forces, resulting in over 400 arrests, including 40 anarchists. Immediately following the protest, 200 activists occupied and set up camp in a Moscow shopping centre. They state that their occupation will end when two prominent opposition leaders who have been recently jailed are released.

LENS CAP FISHING FOR COPS IN MONTRÉAL



Anarchists in Montréal marching on Mayday were surrounded by the customary line of heavily armoured police. In a rather sweet gesture, they tried to get unimpressed coppers to join them using the tasty lure of a doughnut on a string...

A brief look at the French elections

Nicolas Sarkozy has become the 11th European leader to be rejected at the ballot box since the Europe-wide austerity drive was forced upon the people. In just four years Sarkozy has gone from being the most popular president since De Gaulle to being the most unpopular, with many in France seeing him as a “President for the rich”.

The first round of voting saw Marine Le Pen, the National Front candidate, gain 17.9% of the vote. The highest ever vote since the party’s inception in 1974. Le Pen was not able to move forward to the second round of voting, nevertheless the sharp increase in votes for a far-right party should be a cause for concern. Indeed in some respects the French elections mirror those in Greece, in that the bulk of the

electorate are beginning to move from the centre ground and more towards the centre left, or far-right.

After two rounds of voting, François Hollande, the leader of the centre-left French Socialist Party, secured over 50% of the vote, and has now been confirmed as the new French President.

Institutions and commentators from across Europe are deeply worried about any change in monetary direction that a Socialist President may decide to take France. They need not worry as the centre-ground Socialist Party will offer only empty populist rhetoric and “minor tweaks” to the European austerity agenda. The bosses can sleep easy in their beds.

Notes from the US

Spying

A Manhattan criminal court judge has ruled that prosecutors can subpoena the Twitter records of an Occupy Wall Street protester, Malcolm Harris. He was one of 700 people arrested during an Occupy-related protest on the Brooklyn Bridge last October. At press time, however, Twitter announced that it would not comply.

Then the FBI last month seized a computer server at a New York facility shared by the internet organisations Riseup Networks and May First/People Link. The server was operated by the European Counter Network and ran a program called

Mixmaster, which routes emails through anonymous servers.

The server also administered a number of mailing lists and websites for political groups. Jamie McClelland of May First said: “The server seizure is not only an attack against us, but an attack against all users of the internet who depend on anonymous communication.”

In Washington DC lawmakers voted in the last week of April on a new bill to enable widespread violation of privacy rights online. The Cyber Intelligence Sharing and Protection Act (CISPA) will allow internet companies to hand over confidential customer records and

The rise of the far right

Greek neo-Nazi electoral success and collusion

In last month's Greek elections the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn group polled around 7% of the vote, giving them 21 seats in Parliament. This will be the first time in 40 years that a far-right party has held any seats in parliament and marks a huge increase in support from their 2009 vote which was only 0.23%.

The Greek people have suffered horrendously over the few years due to crippling austerity measures and political turmoil, and currently have a youth unemployment rate at over 50%. In the classic fascist tradition of scapegoating immigrants rather than the real enemy, Golden Dawn have managed to win a foothold on the streets in many areas of Greece, which has subsequently transferred into mainstream political success.

The Greek elections have been interesting for a number of reasons, not least for the rejection of the mainstream political parties. Whilst Golden Dawn has had unprecedented success, so too has the Greek Communist Party (KKE) which polled over 8%, their biggest share of the vote for over half a century. Combined together the Greek "left" took over 50% of the vote, showing that there is a growing discontent and polarisation of political views within Greece.



Some worrying but not altogether surprising information that has arisen since the election is that a poll of serving police officers suggests over 50% of them voted for Golden Dawn.

A quick internet trawl will reveal many stories and pictures from the last few years that show the Greek Police and fascists fighting side-by-side against demonstrators. Just two days after the election, the Greek Police openly ran a joint with the members of Golden Dawn to enforce a "zero tolerance" policy on immigrant street traders in a suburb of Athens. The police and fascists fought running battles with street traders and the anarchists who had come to support them.

The rhetoric, imagery, relationship with

the state, and open violence against immigrants, trade unionists, and journalists, is worrying to say the least.

In previous cases to gain the level of electoral success that Golden Dawn has achieved, fascist parties in other countries have to an extent had to leave behind the 'streets', the Nazi insignia, and their openly fascist agendas, in order to appeal to, and become part of the mainstream.

As austerity measures continue to bite, and unemployment and poverty rises, the social and political turmoil in Greece can only deepen. With this in mind we should all be concerned about the rise of fascism. Not just in Greece, but across Europe.

Notes from the US

◀ page 8

communications to the National Security Agency and other intelligence and law enforcement agencies. It's a follow up to two earlier acts that were defeated in March.

Racism

Freedom has reported before on the fact that the New York City Police Department has spied on Muslim Americans – both in the greater New York area and across the country.

In April a series of articles from the Associated Press won the 2012 Pulitzer Prize for Investigative Reporting by revealing just how widespread this surveillance is: it extends to hundreds of mosques, businesses

and Muslim student groups, which were "investigated", monitored and infiltrated.

As if enemies, the daily life of members of these communities was observed and catalogued; eating places, shopping, schools, workplaces and places of worship were all spied on. A network of informant "mosque crawlers" was built with the help of the CIA – all of it illegal.

Protest

Pupils at one of Detroit's secondary schools who were suspended after an act of civil disobedience recently to protest at school closures and inadequate learning conditions have created their own 'freedom school'.

At the end of April over 1,000 pupils from the Western International High School started the Southwest Detroit Freedom School. "We need a voice in our school system," said student protester Raychel Gafford. "That school system is supposed to work for us. It's supposed to work with us. And it's definitely not doing that."

Several classes will run during the kids' suspension – to be taught both by themselves and by community educators; they'll cover such topics as the Civil Rights Movement, the history of Southwest Detroit, and poetry. At press time the students voted against government attempts to end their strike.

Louis Further

ECONOMICS

Pay as a weapon



Occupy and UK Uncut activists launch campaign for pay rises in response to declining real wages

Activists involved with Occupy and UK Uncut are launching a nationwide campaign called Pay Up – a well overdue attempt to win pay rises and encourage fighting for higher wages.

Since the global financial crisis started real wages have been falling. In fact real wages as a proportion of gross domestic product (GDP) have been falling for the past thirty years. GDP is the value of all the goods and services produced in a country in a year. Overall wage growth has not kept up with economic growth – but pay for the rich has significantly increased.

This is in contrast to the decades after the war when the share of economic growth that went to workers was closer to that going to the rich, until the post-war settlement came to an end at the end of the 1960s.

Financial crisis hit the UK and in 1976 Labour applied to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for a loan. Negotiators for the IMF demanded more austerity – cuts to government spending and changes to economic and social policy. Labour had already worked with the TUC to implement wage restraint in 1974.

In response to declining wages and other measures being used to make them to pay for the crisis, workers increased strike days to their highest level since the general strike

of 1926. This period of strikes and resistance culminated with the Winter of Discontent in 1978-79 and defeat for the working class.

It took four years for GDP to recover the level it had reached before the crisis. Then it grew rapidly, more than doubling until 2008. When the global financial crisis began, it gave the government another opportunity to implement austerity.

GDP has been below pre-crisis levels for more than four years now and the economy has entered another recession. UK families were £10 a week worse off in March than they were a year earlier, according to figures released by a supermarket chain.

Inflation is one reason. Inflation spiked in 2011 because of, among other things, rising oil prices caused by the Arab Spring and the government increasing VAT as they implement austerity. When we get below-inflation pay rises our spending power is reduced and we have our pay cut.

The Consumer Price Index (CPI), which the government commonly uses to define inflation, is now at 3.5%. When combined with falling and stagnant wages and declining household incomes this results in a larger squeeze on our standard of living.

While real wages have been falling, the number of actual hours worked has been rising. The total number of hours worked per week was 928.8 million in the three months to February of this year, an increase of 12.5 million on the previous quarter. Individually, the average number of hours worked per week increased by 0.3 to 31.8 hours per week.

Despite forcing us to work longer for less, what we cost employers is actually increasing while the value of what we produce is going

down. Output per worker fell by 0.5% and unit labour costs, the measure used by for the average cost of labour per unit of output, increased by 1.2% in the final three months of 2011.

One of the main aims of the government is to turn these trends around – this is what they mean when they talk about reducing the burden on employers to improve economic growth and make the economy more competitive. Over the next few years we will see more and more attempts to worsen our living conditions so the rich can benefit.

Writing in the *Occupied Times* to announce the Pay Up campaign, Daniel Garvin said: “A lot has been said over the past four years since Northern Rock collapsed about the unfairness, greed and inequality of financial capitalism. This anger should not just be reserved for the banks, but extended into the wider economy and back towards a more fundamental discussion about the relationship between labour and capital, workers and bosses.”

We could be about to see the defensive struggles against austerity turn into offensive struggles for higher wages. These struggles stand a good chance if the self-organisation and direct action of Occupy and UK Uncut are used in workplaces.

However there are some concerns about Pay Up. Trade union involvement could potentially hold the campaign back, especially



as unions have been involved in holding pay down, notably over the past few years where they have regularly agreed below inflation pay agreements.

Stunts and spectacular protests will also make little difference or spread the workplace organising necessary to fight for higher wages. Several weeks ago I met somebody involved in Occupy who works with a fellow Solidarity Federation member and encouraged them to get involved in workplace organising, they told me it wasn't their thing. Hopefully this doesn't apply to Pay Up as that aspect can't be left to the trade unions.

Jim Clarke

Follow Pay Up on twitter @PayUpUK

On... the Great Unrest

A century on, and worth remembering

This year marks the 100th anniversary of the highpoint of syndicalism in Britain, the strikes of 1912 during the period of upheaval known as the Great Unrest.

A relatively obscure piece of history, the Great Unrest covers the period 1910–13 and was characterised by waves of strike action from miners, dockers, transport workers and garment workers up and down the country.

In 1912 the conflict reached its height, with the government threatening to launch what would amount to civil war against the strikers as the mining industry ground to a halt and London's garment workers went out in a solid strike led by the famed anarcho-syndicalist Rudolf Rocker.

The garment workers' strike was successful in all but ending sweatshop labour in the tailoring houses of the capital, but remains a sadly overlooked episode in British labour history as the most influential paper of the day, *The Syndicalist*, has been all but shut down by the government.

The episode which led to the paper's closing, the brief jailing of its editors and even the arrest of the Industrial Syndicalist Movement's Tom Mann, are explained below in this edited extract from '1912: The Syndicalist Trials', from the now defunct SolWest group:

The revival of the Incitement to Mutiny Act 1797 was closely linked to increasing industrial unrest which reached a peak on 1st March 1912, when the miners went on strike to



further their demand for a national minimum wage. This was the biggest strike Britain had ever seen; according to the Board of Trade over a million workers were involved.

The syndicalist movement was extremely active at this time urging the workers to cease relying upon Parliament and advocating militant trade unionism and direct action. Such a philosophy was obviously far more alarming and constituted a much more immediate danger to the capitalist state than did the socialism of the Labour MPs.

So the authorities indulged in a piece of persecution of a kind unknown in Britain since the early nineteenth century. Guy Bowman, editor of *The Syndicalist*, along with B.E. and C.E. Buck, the printers of the paper, had three charges brought against them after they published a call to soldiers not to shoot strikers.

These included two felonies under the Act of 1797, and the common law misdemeanour of endeavouring to incite and stir up persons "serving in His Majesty's land forces to commit acts of disobedience to the lawful orders of their superior officers."

Meanwhile the miners' strike was providing unwelcome instruction in working-class solidarity and the influential militant Tom Mann (pictured below left), chairman of the Industrial Syndicalist League, would not escape prosecution simply because he was out of town at the time.

On returning to London, Mann faced the same common law charge as the others due to the links between the ISL and *The Syndicalist*, and two charges under the 1797 Act were subsequently added.

The Attorney-General, Sir Rufus Isaacs, was immediately bombarded with questions in the House of Commons and in reply stated that he was desirous of "prosecuting the person mainly responsible". The three publishers were convicted. Bowman was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment with hard labour and the Bucks to six months with hard labour. These sentences were subsequently reduced to six months and one month respectively without hard labour.

Defending himself, Mann stated emphatically at his own trial that he was compelled to come to the conclusion that these proceedings had been instituted because of his connection with the syndicalist movement; others had written and spoken as he had, but they were not identified with that particular movement and they had not been prosecuted.

He was duly convicted and Mr Justice Bankes specifically stated that he was passing the same sentence that Bowman was already undergoing – six months imprisonment (without hard labour).

The prosecution of the printers was a particularly insidious action which must be regarded as an attempt to put *The Syndicalist* out of production by intimidating any other prospective printer. In fact, this did not happen, as widespread protest led to the four men being released long before they had served their sentences. Tom Mann was only in prison for seven weeks.

The original article can be found at <http://libcom.org/history/articles/syndicalist-trials-1912>

FEATURE

The brutal truth about the London 2012 Olympics

Violence, cover-ups and dirty secrets litter the 2012 Games

Mike Wells has been covering the London 2012 Olympics as a photographer and reporter on the Games Monitor website since Stratford was confirmed as the site for Europe's biggest building project.

In that time he has been harassed, threatened, repeatedly attacked, had his equipment broken up and in the most recent incident was arrested because he dared to try and fill pages in the 2012 story that the Olympic Development Authority (ODA) would rather stayed blank.

While filming working practices at Leyton Marsh on the western edge of the project, Mike was attacked by security personnel who wrestled him to the ground, opening up a gash in his forehead in the process.

Carting him off to Stoke Newington police station, the authorities would eventually throw a laundry list of bizarre charges at him, including the Orwellian-sounding offence of "publishing events about the Olympics" and claiming falsely that he was breaking an injunction by filming.

Now free, he's been badly shaken by the episode, which was by no means a one-off. "During my work as a photographer I've seen a fellow snapper knocked unconscious by security guards. I have myself been assaulted several times and had my camera broken by G4S contractors.

"Normally, I wouldn't say anything about incidents like these because it's all part of the rough and tumble of photo-journalism, but the way they've been acting has gone too far.

"It has been getting worse as we get closer to the Games and it will be worse still when they're on. I'll not be surprised if people end up getting killed like Jean Charles de Menezes was."

And it's not just activists who have been getting the bum's rush. At a recent "public" consultation meeting for a controversial basketball courts project which caused outrage

among local residents as they saw their public green space effectively being stolen, the lockdown was very clear indeed.

Just 35 members of the local community were allowed in, where according to attendee reports they found themselves talking to four Olympics spokespeople who refused to say who they were, what arm of the Olympics providing industry they worked for or what jobs they did.

These four had a personal guard of eight police officers, who tried to stop anyone from filming before finally demanding copies of any footage.

Mike believes this is part of an increasing culture of impunity as billions of pounds of public money slosh around for the express purpose of making sure nothing takes the shine off events.

"There's 900 CCTV cameras around the outside of the Olympic fence, which is electrified. The policing is being overseen by Chris Alison – his usual remit is firearms – who has said outright there will be monitoring of dissidents.

"There's too much testosterone, posturing and mixed commands. You have elite special forces, the military, police and 23,000 G4S security people – you'd have to be very naive not to see accidents and brutality as a serious issue.

"Because the streets are saturated with personnel there will be a sense of being untouchable. It's really not funny, they are militarising our city and it's a class-based thing, an elite expecting to be protected with this bunker mentality."

Big questions, threatening replies

The ODA's actions in Mike's case and others, such as the anti-social behaviour order levelled at Simon Moore for protesting on Leyton Marsh, would be controversial even if there was nothing going wrong at the Olympics site.

But that part of Stratford, a former industrial zone, has repeatedly been shown to be unsafe, with clean-ups of toxic groundwater from leaking chemical storage costing millions and worse still, the discovery of radioactive contamination.

An investigation from Games Monitor found that 7,300 tonnes of contaminated soil were shifted in the run-up to the big build – soil with a uranium radiation signature which experts said posed a serious inhalation hazard.

"After winning, the big the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA) didn't have enough time to both build and do a full decontamination process," Mike explains.

"So when they did the original survey they skipped testing for radioactive contamination – which we now know for a fact is present at the site.

"They illegally buried thousands of tonnes of material 200 metres from the main



stadium and have of course been excavating and building on it ever since – we simply don't know what's happening and whether radioactive dust might be getting kicked up across the area.

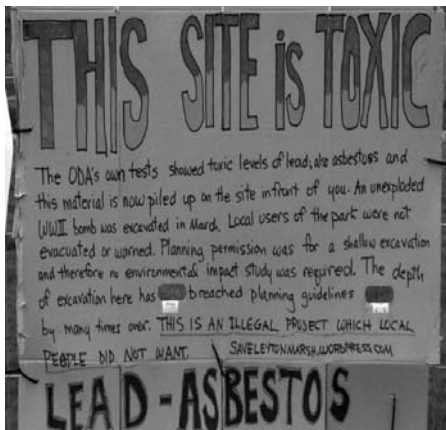
"And if people start getting sick, we may not even know then – if you're from Hackney you might have a mote lodged in you somewhere, it might give you cancer, but who can say?"

"They've treated local people's safety and the safety of their workers with utter contempt."

Such contempt has been manifested in a willingness to throw the full force of the ODA's legal eagles against local resident bloggers, who have been threatened with injunctions and fines worth hundreds of thousands of pounds.

Mike, who has been following some of the cases, believes such behaviour is far more representative of the Olympic juggernaut than fluffy images of smiling torchbearers.

"Whenever they find a way to sound nice I'm angered, to be honest, by the way in which they're misrepresenting themselves. When they have a go at residents like the people on Leyton Marshes it shows what they're really like.



London Olympics



“When they first set up I had no idea it was going to get this bad, that they’d bring in the full force of the military, police and legal system to make local people shut up.

“There’s grannies and parents – ordinary people who asked questions and got threatened with legal injunctions, bullied with the prospect of being fined hundreds of thousands of

pounds for speaking out. They don’t deserve this. They never asked for it.”

But even when questions get answers, such as in the radioactivity case, the mainstream media has been slow to say anything.

“What fascinates me is the way in which they’ve made all the bad things which have been uncovered not stick. The way the mainstream press is manipulated is really interesting.

“We’ve managed to get some stuff in the press – when we first got the story on radioactivity at the site we thought ‘that’s it, this is going to be front page news, it’ll be everywhere’. But the best we’ve ever managed is a lead page in the sports section of the *Guardian*.

“We got a hint of why this might be when we got onto another topic – bio-remediation. It’s a way of cleaning contamination out of sites by getting micro-organisms to gobble up all the petrochemicals. In recent years people have been experimenting with genetically modified versions, which increases the speed of the process by a factor of 100.

“I found vague references to this in the Olympic context, but went to a newspaper to try and get them to help with the research as it’s not my area. The reporter seemed interested, but the next I heard the news

editor had spiked it in return for an ‘exclusive’ from the ODA.

“On our own, we just couldn’t get the information – and that’s been another interesting part of this process. We’ve found that the Freedom of Information Act (FoI) is simply not working. If the authorities don’t want you to find out about something they will bury it – in fact it’s something of a smoke screen, people think there’s this thing guaranteeing openness and there’s just not.”

What can we expect?

Mike has been as close as anyone to the events of the London 2012 over the last two years, and his message is stark – be careful, because things could get very, very dangerous. Pre-crime arrests carried out against recent demonstrations, most notably at the Royal Wedding – and this is a much bigger deal.

“Worst case scenario? Pre-emptive arrests, injunctions and incarcerations with dissenters being kept away through use of the anti-terror laws. I hope that’s not the case, but it’s certainly possible.

“And if there’s actually an attack, we could be looking at some kind of collective hysteria – it’s already hysteria with this 5,000-volt fence, the battleship, etc. I have campaigner friends, who wouldn’t hurt anyone, and I’m frightened for them because this paranoia could get them hurt, and it’s spreading.

“The other question is what else is in place? Monitoring of social networking, phone tapping, surveillance drones etc, will these all be wound down after the Games now they’re in place?

“What is London 2012, a sports event or a security event with sports on the side? I’d argue it’s the latter – security outnumber athletes by a factor of five to one.”

For more background, check out gamesmonitor.org.uk



INTERVIEW

Empire of the rising punk

Capitalist mainstream culture is the tarted up result of market forces and the commodification of all things, it cannot help but be bereft of meaning and over arching purpose, it has nothing much to say and no idea where it is going, it operates as a social anaesthetic. In contrast Atari Teenage Riot are a band with purpose, vitality and a strong anarchist position. Tim F got to interview founding member Alec Empire over the phone to Berlin recently.

Tim: Atari Teenage Riot regrouped about two years ago and seem to have been on a world tour since then! Recently you have played Moscow, Mexico City and Athens, what have you been able to see of the various class struggles going on globally?

Alec: Well, the people who come to our shows are politically aware, different groups contact you and want to have a stand and flyers, but when it started to take on another level was last year in the summer.

I remember when we started the 'Black Flags' viral video project to get fans to participate, it started to grow when we got all this footage and then Anonymous activists asked if they could send in footage wearing the Guy Fawkes masks. It was great because we referenced the hacker group in the song, we got a lot of stuff from America, from Europe, from the protests in Chile. It was spreading and becoming more than the original idea.

Then we got stuff from Japan where people had changed our logo to 'Anti Tepco Riot' [in protest against the company who own the Fukushima nuclear plant]. I thought that was great when fans take your thing and adapt it into banners at protest.

When we were in America last year it was like we would play a city and a week later there would be an Occupy protest!

Your collaborator on 'Black Flags', Boots Riley, was really involved with Occupy Oakland wasn't he? What have you made of the Occupy movement?



In the beginning I was thinking where is this going? You know, the usual questions.

But on tour I met people who were involved in the protests and from Anonymous, I realised that this was a new generation of people who want to change something, who want to get together and network. I thought this was the beginning of something that could lead to something very powerful.

It involved many new and different people and wasn't under the banner of a usual political group.

I can understand the criticism that there are all these different voices, some protesting against the banks, others against the politicians, but I think what's good about it is that people were communicating about what is wrong and must be changed. Maybe to an outsider it isn't clear why these people want to get together and why they are passionate about change and 'shouldn't there be a spokesperson' but that was the strength of that movement.

When we travelled to America it was very exciting we played a show at a festival at the start of September, just before all that stuff but you sensed something... there were

people with banners, political stuff, they handed it to us on stage to put up over our band banner!

It felt great that people at a rock concert would bring their stuff even though it wasn't arranged beforehand, just a spontaneous thing. You could sense people had had enough and wanted to speak out and wanted to be heard, there was a real energy.

People were 'Let's get information, let's network, let's improve things'. Really positive. You know I've been to so many protests and demonstrations over the years and it would be easy to go 'yeah, whatever', it's just another thing, but there is something else going on.

We are at a time where we need to question a lot of political theories. On the song 'Black Flags', guest Boots Riley is more socialist/communist, not really with the 'Black Flag' but with the 'Red Flag' but I thought it was good that the track gave space to that other opinion, I think it's a constant dialogue that we need to have. Nobody has the perfect answer.

I really liked that in the end we had the video footage from Wikileaks with Julian Assange speaking at Occupy London, it was amazing that all these people contacted us and the video became something completely different to a normal music video, almost a documentation of all these protests that were going on this last half year.

What was also amazing was that in February and March there were these Anonymous guys taking down major neo-Nazi websites and putting up the 'Black Flags' video on there! Some sites had that on there for three days and didn't know how to technically remove it! For me that was so awesome!

This is an extract from Tim F's interview with Alec Empire. The rest of their talk will be published in a future issue of *Freedom*.



THE NEXT BIG SCARE

It would now appear that largely having run out of ELF and ALF activists to parade before the media as some overwhelming domestic terrorist danger that threatens to bring down the edifice of the American State, the FBI are promoting anarchists Occupiers as the latest menace. (Black Scare anyone?)

So, in the latest of a long line of entrapment and dirty tricks operations that stretch back long before the notorious COINTELPRO activities of the mid '50s - early '70s against everyone from the Communist Party, the KKK (the token rightist organisation) and hippies to the entire New Left in the USA, five "self-proclaimed anarchists" (are there any other sort?) in Ohio were arrested by the FBI's Joint Terrorism Task Force on 30th April, on the eve of the Occupy movement's countrywide May Day protests.

Douglas Wright, Brandon Baxter, Anthony Hayne, Connor Stevens and Joshua S. Stafford – aka the Cleveland Five as the press has already named them – all appear to have been active in Occupy Cleveland, and are jointly charged with conspiracy, attempted use of an explosive device to destroy property in interstate commerce, and attempted use of a weapon of mass destruction to destroy property in interstate commerce. All pleaded not guilty to charges against them at a preliminary hearing on 7th May in the city.

The whole 'plot' hinges on the use of a paid informant or "confidential human source" (CHS) as the FBI ostentatiously labelled him, who has a long string of convictions to his name and is currently on probation for cheque fraud, and a number of undercover FBI agents who steered them in the wrong (i.e. "right") direction.

The CHS pushed them in the direction of planning to blow up the bridge, even offering to secure the C4 explosives needed and one of the FBI agents (who they bizarrely believed was an undercover cop anyway) was handily able to supply them with the required (as it turned out, inert) C4, even providing it in the form of two ready-made IEDs as the 'plotters' didn't know how to make a bomb in the first place.

Thus, what appears to be a handful of Occupy activists casually expressing their disenchantment with the prevailing non-violent ethos within the Cleveland group and suggesting getting into a bit of property damage – destroy a few bank signs and the like – or making a few smoke bombs were carefully turned by the FBI into a fully fledged "violent terrorist plot" that will inevitably attract a substantial terrorist enhancement on any sentences handed down.

Money from misery

There was a time (in the run-up to the last general election to be precise) when the Tory Party had big plans for the prison system in England and Wales.

They would sell off 30 Victorian inner-city prisons and build a series of brand spanking new 1,500 place mini-Titans in their place on disused military land across the country, making sure they were near a convenient motorway as they were going to be industrial-style nicks on the HMP Coldingley model. They would be new goals of a modern, state-of-the-art, minimally-staffed design (and definitely without any major POA influence) – that would almost pay for themselves as their prisoners would have to work in factory-like conditions.

Except that it hadn't occurred to anybody that the Victorian prisons were listed as preserved buildings and, whilst the land they were built on was valuable, they were largely unsaleable.

Then the coalition discovered that there were no pennies left in the penal piggy bank and that new prisons were not only a no-no but that the only way to save any money to be, shock horror, to actually close prisons down or get their costs off the books by privatising vast swathes of the prison estate. Yet this would go against the whole ethos of the bang 'em up 'prison works' movement: hence the 'Rehabilitation Revolution' smokescreen.

But what about the plan to industrialise prisons, sell prisoners' labour to the highest bidder and generate an income for the Exchequer rather than let them sit around on their arses all day in the glorified warehouses that prisons amount to? Conveniently, there was the idea that a few policy wonks had been toying around with – enacting the Prisoners' Earnings Act 1996.

If they could be gotten working, they could be 'taxed' at an exorbitant rate and maybe even made to pay for their stay at Her Madge's Pleasure.

Unfortunately prisons are expensive things and there was no money to build, let alone equip new workshops and the ones that already existed are busy making all the things needed to run the current semi-feudal penal system – bars, chains, cell furniture, etc. So the only solution available is what the Justice Minister Ken Clarke is currently doing – begging private companies to train up prisoners for him in workshops that they have fitted out at their own expense whilst acting as cheap or even free labour as a trade-off.

Consequently the media were recently treated to a photo opportunity in the wilds of Kent where the shoe repair firm Timpson, which already operates workshops in HMP Liverpool and HMP Wandsworth and employs around 200 ex-prisoners, opened a new 12-place training operation in an ex-farm shed at HMP Blantyre House.

Clarke took the opportunity to plead for other companies to take the offer and follow Timpson's lead. After all Timpson chief executive James Timpson is no fool when he says: "I [take] only the best prisoners" – cherry-picking from a massive and essentially free captive labour pool makes good business sense.

Meanwhile the news, revealed in a Prisons' Inspectorate report, that prisoners at nearby open prison HMP Standford Hill (which is served by the Timpson facility) have had to give up working in the community as the newly-introduced 40% Victim's Tax means that they can no longer afford to pay for the bus to work received much less coverage.



COMMENT

ABOUT FREEDOM

ANGEL ALLEY

Mainly it has rained this month in Angel Alley. Of course all the usual stuff has been going on too – meetings, workshops, banner-making – with people in London Coalition Against Poverty, Solidarity Federation, Corporate Watch and the Advisory Service for Squatters all busy in their offices.

The new flyers for the London Anarchist Bookfair have arrived and should be in subscribers' envelopes. Anyone wanting more can as always ring the shop and we'll pop them in the post. There are, as always, posters which can be collected, though we remind people that the Bookfair Collective have their agents everywhere and anyone who is thinking of putting the posters on their bedroom wall or hoarding flyers under their beds should think again.

UK subscribers should have received a flyer for the anti-EDO demo in Brighton on the 4th June. Quite a few folk connected with the building will be down for a beano by the sea. Meantime we will have been grubbing up our knowledge at the Network for Police Monitoring conference at the Bishopsgate Institute on Sunday 20th.

This gives a link to thank the Bishopsgate library for providing us with bound copies of past issues of *Freedom* dating back to 1927, which comrades are welcome to come in and take a look at, but alas not borrow as we only have single copies.

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NEXT ISSUE DEADLINE

The next issue will be dated July 2012 and the last day to get copy to us for that issue will be Tuesday **12th June**. You can send your articles to us by email to copy@freedompress.org.uk or by post to 'The Editors', Freedom, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

A sideways look

by SVARTFROSK

It was probably inevitable that the announcement that much of southern and eastern England was in drought would be followed by torrential rain. Meteorologists described April as the wettest April on record and the drought warning has now been lifted in some areas. There are plans to build more pipelines to take water from the north-west and Wales, which get a lot of rain to the parched South East, which is usually also described as 'over-crowded'.

The elephant in the room is the effect of privatisation. Since the water companies were sold off, to create private monopolies, water rates have rocketed and so have profits, while rates of leakage remain about the same.

The water boards originated in Victorian times, when town councils and concerned citizens got together to make sure that sewage was pumped away from people and clean drinking water was provided. This was primarily done on public health grounds, as medical science had identified the role of water-borne bacteria in spreading disease, particularly cholera. A mixture of small local companies and municipal boards continued until the seventies, when the regional water companies were established. After Thatcher came to power, these were put under central government control and the typical pattern of firing workers, cutting investment and raising charges began.

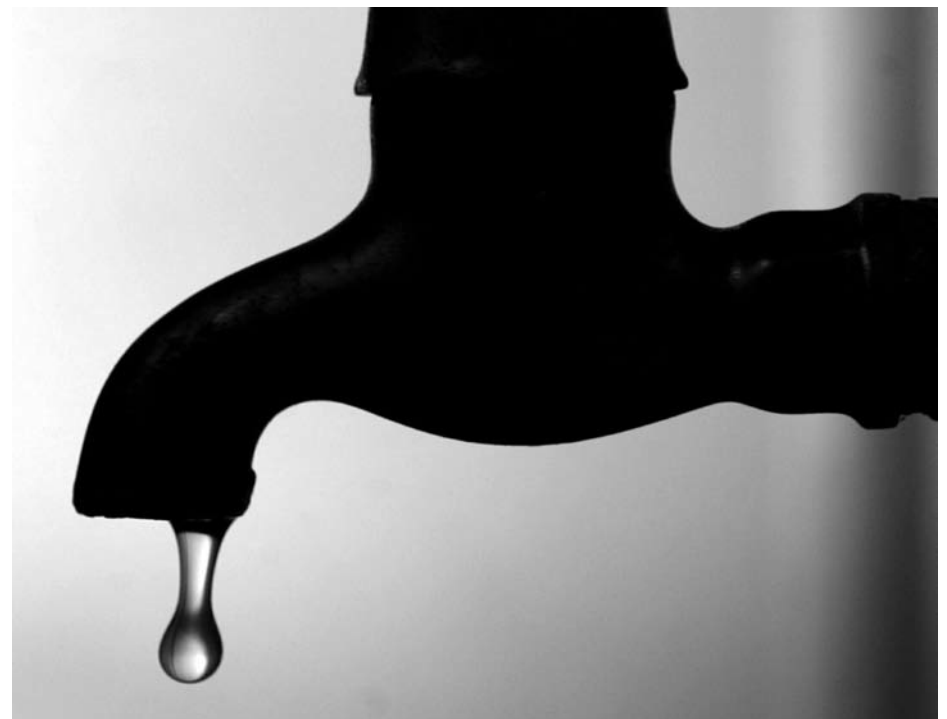
It accelerated with privatisation in 1989; since then water charges have gone up 44% in real terms. Despite the ludicrous free-market rhetoric used by the government, you cannot switch your supplier. Effectively the water companies all have a monopoly and the only restriction on what they charge comes from the feeble government regulator Ofwat. Big business has seen opportunities,

too. Many of the water companies are owned by multinationals now and profits increased 142% over the eight years from 1989.

So, the bills went up and so did the profits, so far so usual. The main argument made for privatisation is that it will increase efficiency and investment. On investment, it is a mixed picture. Some elements of the water service have been invested in – drinking water quality is up, but then it needed to be; particularly after the incident at Camelford in 1988, just before privatisation, where twenty tonnes of aluminium sulphate were accidentally added to the reservoir at the town. Ofwat claim that the water companies have reduced leakage as well. But even so, one third of all water piped by them is lost and doesn't come out of taps.

The companies will blame creaking Victorian pipes and say that they are investing. But the investment looks puny when you consider they paid £1.5 billion in dividends to shareholders in 2010–11. And Ofwat is allowing them to carry on leaking. Southern Water, which had to refund £5 million to its customers because it performed so badly, will be allowed to increase its leakage by 6% to 2015 by Ofwat. The government, who ultimately decide all this, do next to nothing to manage demand by including grey water or minimising the amount of drinking water we flush away in building regulations.

Anyone using a hosepipe in a drought area could be fined up to £1,000, for wasting water. An almost homoeopathic quantity of it compared to the water companies who sit, milking their customers and bargaining any improvements against increases in our bills. Fines for the companies who really waste so much? Not very likely.



On the Leveson Inquiry into tabloid ethics

Why are we so surprised by the extent to which media would go to make their news catchier after having given free rein to the rule of profit and the commodification of all human spheres?

The social and moral degradation that presupposes their vicious hunt for perverted violence and instant justification is never questioned. Even worse, it is benevolently considered part of the national folklore.

To blame Murdoch's empire for the pathetic state of the press and the blood-chilling tactics adopted by his employees is not only naïve but frankly ridiculous.

Good old Rupert is a businessman and like every good businessman he satisfies a market demand, no more no less. He is particularly good at it, enjoys the unbridled freedoms of neo-liberalism plus a total lack of awareness or dissent from the general reader.

Those who accuse Murdoch of pursuing a right-wing agenda may have forgotten 18th March 1997, when the *Sun's* front page blessed New Labour's leader Tony Blair.

That front page marked what at first seemed to be the most unexpected political switch of the century and today appears to be the masterstroke of a true right-wing genius.

The Levenson Inquiry will sink without a trace, as did the Chilcot Inquiry, no-one will of course be charged and people will still be starving for more gutter news.

Had it been a popular jury to put the media magnate on trial, he would have been probably covered with flattering comments about how pleasant he made our lives thanks to his catchy infotainment.

Unfortunately this is a "members only" debate, and what is being debated is serious and expensive business (the acquisition of BSkyB among others) although the feeble pretence is that of showing us how democracy functions.

If you make a mistake, we will make you say sorry in front of everyone. That is precisely what Murdoch did and that is why in Murdoch, we still trust.

Celluloid Liberation Front

Preston's narrative is a mess

The ease with which Paul Preston, ably assisted by Andrew Marr, was allowed to dismiss the role played by anarchists during the Spanish Civil War on yesterday's edition of *Start the Week* was infuriating but entirely predictable.

It seems that Professor Preston has carved himself a niche as the 'expert of choice' regarding this particular period of Spanish history, but love him or loathe him, it surely goes without saying that one person cannot be the repository of all knowledge on any subject. What's more, whether Preston likes

it or not, anarchism has a significant history in Spain, which cannot simply be dismissed or ignored because it does not fit with the narrative he wishes to construct.

Brian Bamford
Editor, *Northern Voices*

Police demonstration numbers

At big street demonstrations in London, it has been noted that estimates of numbers in police internal messages (illegally intercepted) are about five times the size of police estimates provided to the media. Those who count demonstrators on behalf of the organisers tend to over-optimism, perhaps to the extent of counting everybody twice. To calculate actual numbers, multiply official police estimates by five, and divide organisers' estimates by two.

On 16th May, the Secretary of the Police Federation said that 35,000 members had been at the demo the previous week, so we

estimate the actual number at both 175,000 and 17,500.

Donald Room

Anarchist Federation meeting on St Imier

The London group of the Anarchist Federation organised a successful meeting on the forthcoming international congress in St Imier in Switzerland on Saturday 19th May.

The upstairs room at the Lucas Arms was packed, and the audience heard presentations from the AF speaker, a comrade from the Haringey Solidarity Group and Brian Morris, as well as a last-minute speech from a rank and file electrician.

Many felt the meeting went very well, with animated and passionate speeches and a lively discussion.

Forthcoming dates for the ongoing AF speaking tour on St Imier will be 23rd June at the Sheffield Bookfair, and 24th June at the Sparrow's Nest in Nottingham.

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GETTING ACTIVE

WHAT'S ON

JUNE

■ **4th** As part of the summer of resistance, Brighton's anti-arms campaign, Smash EDO, will march through town, meet at 12 noon, Barclays Bank, North Street, Brighton, contact 07526557436, email smashedo@riseup.net or see <http://smashedo.org.uk> for details.

■ **5th and 19th** Practical Squatting Evening at Offmarket, 68 Dalston Lanes, London E8 3AH from 7pm to 8pm, for details contact offmarket@riseup.net or call 07583870733.

■ **5th** Decoding Stonehenge, a lecture by Lionel Sims at the St Martin's Community Centre, 43 Carol Street, London NW1 0HT from 6.15pm until 9.00 pm, see radicalanthropologygroup.org for more information.

■ **7th, 14th, 21st and 28th** London group of The Anarchist Federation meets weekly on Thursday evenings at Freedom Bookshop 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX. If you would like to attend please email london@afed.org.uk beforehand.

■ **9th** London Radical History Walk, a ramble through the history and music of New Cross and Deptford, meet 2pm, outside the Hobgoblin pub, New Cross Road, SE14 6AA, see <http://past-tense.org.uk/>

■ **9th** Thirty days of non-violent direct action at Faslane until 9th July to mark the 30th birthday of the camp, Faslane Peace Camp, Shandon, Helensburgh, G84 8NN, call 01436 820901, email Faslane30@riseup.net or see <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Faslane-Peace-Camp/10143429717> for further details.

■ **12th and 26th** Practical Squatting Evening at 56a Infoshop, 56a Crampton Street, London SE17 3AE from 7pm to 8pm, see <http://www.56a.org.uk/> for details.

■ **12th** Avebury Stone Circle: From Pillar to Post, a lecture by Lionel Sims at the St Martin's Community Centre, 43 Carol Street, London NW1 0HT from 6.15pm until 9pm, see radicalanthropologygroup.org for details.

■ **15th** The Red & Black Club at LARC, 62 Fieldgate Street, London E1 1ES from 8pm, Dissident Island Radio will be broadcasting live as the local anarchists host a traditional east end knees-up.

■ **16th** News from Nowhere Club presents The Poetry of Poverty, with Alan Morrison, David Kessel and Ken Worpole at The Epicentre, West Street, Leytonstone E11 4LJ, buffet 7.30pm, talk starts 8pm, for details see <http://www.newsfromnowhereclub.org/>.

■ **19th** Anthropology and Activism, lecture by Ragnhild Frend Dale at the St Martin's Community Centre, 43 Carol Street, London NW1 0HT from 6.15pm until 9pm, see radicalanthropologygroup.org for details.

■ **23rd** Sheffield's third annual bookfair from 10am until 6pm at Bank Street Arts, 32-40 Bank Street, Sheffield S1 2DS, with meetings, presentations and films, as well as stalls, plus a social/fundraiser in the evening, see <http://www.sheffieldbookfair.org.uk/> for more information.



BREAD AND ROSES

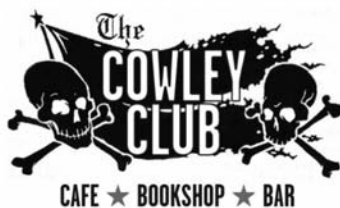
On 1st May 2012, at an award ceremony at the trade union managed Bread and Roses pub in Clapham, the Alliance of Radical Booksellers announced the winner of the first annual Bread and Roses Award for Radical Publishing. Anarchist author and academic David Graeber's *Debt: The First 5,000 Years* clinched the prize in the final hour, following a reported deadlock between the guest judges.

Announcing the winner on behalf of the guest judges, Nina Power told those assembled that this brilliantly researched book was "engaging, readable, relevant, motivated by a clear political will, and utterly indispensable, not only for understanding the terms of the world we live in, where they came from, but also for what we do about changing them". Although academic in its scope and scale, the judges commended Graeber for the quality of the language, and effort to make the ideas accessible and readily comprehensible.

Nik Górecki of Housmans Bookshop, and one of the Trustees of the prize, found that the notion of judging radical writing proved problematic, and brought up some interesting questions as to how to evaluate desirable qualities: "In trying to create guidelines for the judging process, we soon found that certain criteria often contradicted one another, such as relevance to the current political situation as opposed to valuable historical analysis, or writing that is populist and rousing against more theoretical and reflective work. The question of 'what political texts people want to read, as opposed to those the author wants them to read' is still unresolved. We hope that as the prize continues in the future this is something we will continue to address, and that readers, writers and publishers will debate."

Plans are afoot for a bigger and better Bread and Roses event next year, by including the book award as part of a day-long radical bookfair, accompanied with author events.

Nik Górecki



The Cowley Club is a collectively-owned, volunteer-run libertarian social centre in Brighton soon to be celebrating its 10th anniversary.

The Club contains a bar, vegan cafe, bookshop and library as well as hosting a constant programme of talks, films, discussions and gigs and providing welfare rights advice and free English lessons for migrants.

The Cowley Club functions as a base for a variety of local activist groups from Smash EDO to SchNEWS and Brighton Anarchist Black Cross.

12 London Road, Brighton, BN1 4JA
cowleyclub@riseup.net

WWW.COWLEYCLUB.ORG.UK

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We welcome donations of anarchist and other related materials - either new publications or historical archive materials.

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And check our online catalogue on the website.



BOOKSHOP

The bookshop is open in the daytime, stocking anarchist, feminist and other radical literature. As well as the latest publications from publishers such as AK and PM Press, we also stock a variety of magazines, T-shirts, postcards and badges as well as a ton of free info.

We host regular author talks and discussions. In the last year we have hosted Kate Evans, John Zerzan, David Graeber and Clive Bloom.

We are always looking for interesting new stock and new authors to host.

For more info check the website or email: cowleybooks@gmail.com

What's the solution for Rayo?

Late March last year as I was walking up the steps at Portazgo metro in Madrid, a number of skinny, black-clad teenagers ran past me, yelling obscenities at some unseen target above. Nearing the street I heard the sound of horses and saw smoke in the distance. At the top of the stairs were half a dozen mounted police, batons drawn, and a burning coup car at the end of the road. Welcome to the People's Republic of Vallekas [sic].

Football in Vallekas isn't for everyone. The stadium is scruffy and unimpressive, the pitch is invariably called a "potato patch" and the players are all cast-offs. Yet, whether it's the neighbourhood or being the city's underdog team, Rayo offers something to a certain type of football fan. "*Odio eterno al fútbol moderno*" (eternal hate for modern football) runs the slogan; hatred for the arrogant over-hyped players, the showbiz, the armchair fans, the expensive tickets, the ridiculous kick-off times, the sanitised, sit-down, shut-up and applaud culture of modern football. The renamed Campo de Fútbol de Vallecas is a place for football fans whose nightmare is eternity in The Emirates Stadium.

Unfortunately for all their die-hard revolutionary followers, and their songs about explosives, pirates and anarchism, the reality of modern football is never far away. Saved from extinction in 1991 by former jailbird José María Ruiz-Mateos, Rayo plunged into the abyss as his Rumasa empire went into administration last year. Massive debts were announced, and most commentators predicted bankruptcy. Despite a fan fund-raising campaign, the team would play out the season unpaid.

Amid angry protests, the club passed mysteriously into the hands of unknown businessman Raúl Martín Presa (pictured above) in May. The takeover secured the existence of the club, but it was José Ramón Sandoval and his players who really saved it.



Taking over from the popular Pepe Mel, Sandoval junked most of the team and took just one summer to make another out of youth teamers, loanees, veterans and free transfers. When financial disaster struck in February the team was in the promotion places and their hastily assembled squad had to see out the season and win promotion unpaid.

That summer saw administration, the disappearance of key players and likely humiliation in La Liga. Sandoval promptly brought in another new team, again for nothing, and Rayo were surprisingly good. Cue the January transfer window and more miraculous improvements.

Now Rayo are confronted by two dangers, both stemming from their precarious finances. Firstly ticket prices have rocketed up to €70 in a recession-hit working-class neighbourhood and, despite promises to the contrary, a €30 surcharge was introduced for season ticket holders who wanted to see the Real Madrid game. Paying off the creditors in La Liga may

mean profiteering and the club cashing in on popularity at the expense of locals.

Rayo's future hangs in the balance.

This article first appeared at <http://elcentrocampista.com> and is reproduced with kind permission of the author.

A shot in the arm for the Olympics

◀ page 24

By 1997, Krieger underwent sex reassignment surgery and changed his name to Andreas. Krieger had "felt out of place and longed in some vague way to be a boy" even before receiving hormonal treatments, and said in a 2004 *New York Times* interview that he was "glad that he became a man".

But he was also upset that receiving hormones without his consent deprived him of the right to "find out for myself which sex I wanted to be".

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REVIEWS

FICTION

Unwelcome Visitors

Connie bit her lip and took another sip of coffee. Her phone sat on the kitchen table, reminding her of the calls she needed to make. There was a list of names next to it, scribbled on the back of an out of date leaflet. Only two of the names had ticks next to them. The phone buzzed, she answered it.

"Hi Dave," she said. "No, I've not called anyone yet."

"Have you heard?" Dave asked.

"What?" said Connie.

"The EDL have announced they're coming to town in July," said Dave.

"Shit. Why?"

"Dunno, football season's over, they fancy a ruck, who knows?" Connie sighed.

"I've provisionally booked a room at the community centre for next Thursday, so we can discuss it," said Dave. "And I know a few of the folks who organised the successful Brighton shenanigans, one of whom might come up."

There's one bright side, she thought, it gives me a good way to break the ice with all these calls I've been putting off.

Connie had phoned quite a few of the old group's contacts, letting them know about the EDL and canvassing times for a meeting to discuss it. She was left with one, Pete, who had stormed out of the group after alleging there was a police infiltrator. It turned out there had been, but not the person Pete had expected. She brought his number up on the phone and pressed dial.

"Hi Pete," said Connie.

"Hello," said Pete. He sounded upbeat.

"I wanted to tell you about what we found out. About the infiltrator." There was silence, which Connie thought meant Pete already knew.

"It was Steve," she said.

"I know now," said Pete. Connie decided not to push him. They both knew he owed the group an apology, but that wasn't the priority at the moment.

"Have you heard about the EDL coming to town?" said Connie.

"Yes I have. What are we going to do about it?" asked Pete. Connie smiled.

"We're looking to have a meeting next week to talk about that. We'd like you to come along, your experience would be useful."

"Okay I think I can make that," said Pete. "I'll ask some others I know."

Connie went into her living room, carrying a bottle of wine, a large wine glass and a large bar of vegan chocolate. She popped the wine and turned her phone off, collapsing into a big soft armchair.

Martin H.

To be continued...

EGO IS NOT

Iain McKay finds Kropotkin vindicated by recent research into the evolution of cooperation

This is an excellent, if occasionally frustrating, book. Written by leading primatologist Frans de Waal, *The Age of Empathy* summarises the research into the evolution of cooperation, social feelings and empathy. If I were to sum it up in a few words it would be: "Kropotkin was right."

These were subjects close to Kropotkin's heart and, as de Waal shows, he has been vindicated. Sadly, the scientific community did not follow Kropotkin's lead. Instead we got ideology and cultural assumptions passing for science – a nature allegedly rooted in individualistic competition having so much cooperation within it was labelled a paradox rather than a refutation by many scientists. Such is the power of unstated and assumed societal assumptions.

Now, a century after *Mutual Aid* was published, we are seeing the outcome of research into how natural selection could produce morality. The book describes this in convincing detail and summarises much of the "exciting new research about the origins of altruism and fairness in both ourselves and other animals." "Human empathy," de Waal shows, "has the backing of a long evolutionary history" and has its basis in the

cooperation required to survive in a hostile environment.

So the book's title plays on two themes, namely that now is the time to create more empathy within society and that empathy has been evolving within mammals for millions of years: "Empathy is part of our evolution, and not just a recent part, but an innate, age-old capacity." This evolutionary heritage is reflected today, with research showing that we "know an unfair distribution when we see one, and try to counteract it" and "we still have a psychology that feels most comfortable with these outcomes." Thus: "Empathy builds on proximity, similarity, and familiarity, which is entirely logical given that it evolves to promote in-group cooperation. Combined with our interest in social harmony, which requires a fair distribution of resources, empathy put the human species on a path towards small-scale societies that stress equality and solidarity."

De Waal's discussion of our evolutionary heritage will make encouraging reading for libertarians. "We have," he argues, "a deeply ingrained sense of fairness, which derives from our long history as egalitarians." Not only are we "born revolutionaries," we "emphasise sharing and suppress distinctions of wealth and power" and so "tribal communities level the hierarchy" by "ridicule, gossip, and disobedience" but also "more drastic measures." We have a "distinctly subversive streak" which mocks those seeking power over others – and acts to stop them. Thus "empathy binds individuals together and gives each a stake in the welfare of others"



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QUIZ ANSWERS

1. 'The Harder They Come' by Jimmy Cliff, which begins "Well they tell me of a pie up in the sky, Waiting for me when I die".
2. "Crime is only a *left-handed form of human endeavour*."
3. The mine owners. He said "It would be

- possible to say without exaggeration that the miners' leaders were the stupidest men in England if we had not frequent occasion to meet the owners."
4. 'A Las Barricadas', the song of the Spanish CNT.

THE SUM

and “the true cradle of cooperation is the community.”

Moreover, this cooperative and egalitarian legacy impacts on us today and, in spite of all the erosive impacts of surviving under capitalism, in economic experiments the majority are “altruistic, cooperative, sensitive to fairness, and orientated towards community goals.” This means that the “[t]raditional economic models don’t consider the human sense of fairness, even though it demonstrably affects economic decisions.” Similarly, rather than us being the aggressive animals of popular culture, warfare “conflicts at the deepest level with our humanity” – witness the amount of propaganda required to get a nation to go to war.

All this confirms anarchist theory. As de Waal suggests, and no anarchist would disagree, the “firmest support for the common good comes from enlightened self-interest: the realisation that we’re all better off if we work together.”

De Waal explicitly mentions Kropotkin and summarises his argument that mutual aid benefits those who practice it: “If helping is communal, he argued, all parties stand to gain.” This means that cooperation is “a crucial survival skill” and “cooperative groups of animals (or humans) would outperform less cooperative ones.” It boils down to “the choice between the small rewards of individualism and the large rewards of collective action.” Cooperation is in our best interests – as Kropotkin argued.

Sadly, de Waal suggests that Kropotkin “forgot to add” that “cooperation is vulnerable to freeloaders” and suggests that he “corrected himself” by arguing (in *Conquest of Bread*) a “few years after publication” of *Mutual Aid* that the non-cooperative would be expelled from groups. However, while *Conquest of Bread* may have been published in English after *Mutual Aid*, it was originally published in French before it. Nor is *Mutual Aid* silent on the need for groups to act on anti-social and non-cooperative behaviour as de Waal suggests. Thus we find Kropotkin mentioning how animals penalise uncooperative individuals (for example, “selfish” ants would be “treated as an enemy, or worse”). In this way “natural selection continually must eliminate” anti-social instincts. Kropotkin recognised that a “measure of reciprocity” is required for mutual aid to work and so there is a need “to penalise those who fall short” in order to ensure cooperative behaviour benefits all.

So to state that “Mutual aid has become a standard ingredient of modern evolutionary theories, albeit not exactly in the way Kropotkin formulated it” is incorrect. Kropotkin recognised the need to reward cooperative behaviour and punish those who do not reciprocate in the same way as modern evolutionary theories.

The Age of Empathy shows that the



modern researcher is following in Kropotkin’s footsteps. As Kropotkin put it in his *Ethics*, “Mutual Aid-Justice-Morality are thus the consecutive steps of an ascending series.” Morality “developed later than the others” (and so was “an unstable feeling and the least imperative of the three”). Thus mutual aid came first and ensured “the ground is prepared for the further and the more general development of more refined relations.” This is an important point, both because many confuse mutual aid with altruism, and because it shows that Kropotkin recognised that ethical behaviour is not fixed in spite of it having an evolutionary basis.

Kropotkin noted in *Mutual Aid* that “Man is a result of both his inherited instincts and his education.” Looking around, it is obvious that humans can, and do, ignore our evolved sense of empathy and fairness. Some of us have developed whole ideologies (such as economics!) to rationalise doing this. Kropotkin recognised this very obvious fact.

So recognising that ethics have an evolutionary basis is not to suggest that ethical positions are unchanging. Far from it – as history shows, different cultures have radically different notions of what is moral. Moreover, the rationales for these practices

have also changed (e.g. divine right, religious authority, economic “science”). Kropotkin sketched these changing notions in *Ethics*. Human society evolves and changes, reflecting changing economic, class and social relationships, but within limits based upon an evolved sense of ethics – a “human nature” which simply cannot be assumed away.

The frustrating aspects of the book relate to the obvious societal assumptions which creep in. It is somewhat ironic to see a scientist so keen to refute the myths inflicted upon the animal world so readily accept the myths of modern human society: the USA is presented as the land of liberty, for example, and Europe the land of equality. That de Waal indulges in metaphors which reflect the society he lives in – mentioning “past exchanges” and “marketplace of services” – is to be expected, given that scientists are products of the society they live and work in, but it cannot really be excused.

The problems with this can be seen when de Waal asks the question whether a “harder worker deserves to make more? This libertarian fairness ideal is quintessentially American.” Yet genuine libertarians (as opposed to the American proprietarians) know that under capitalism those who work

THE ARTS

THE ALCHEMICAL



1

With a history in film, music (bands as diverse as Then Jerico, Jimmy Somerville, Madonna, etc.) and painting, it was only a matter of time before G O D took to standing behind the lens and manipulating images of a far darker flavour than what he describes as “nasty pop-fashion-culture images” which he so dislikes, for him the face is everything and each portrait is endowed with subtle symbolism and an honesty sadly lacking in today’s photographers.

Review

◀ page 21

hardest are usually the poorest and that those who “make more” do so because others work for them. As such, genuine libertarians acknowledge Proudhon’s analysis that property meant “another shall perform the labour while [the proprietor] receives the product” and so it was “the right to enjoy and dispose of another’s goods – the fruit of another’s labour.”

So while de Waal wishes to foster empathy, he does not ask whether this requires changing our economic system at its base rather than trying to change its outcomes. Yes, taxing

Born in South Wales to Catholic/Pagan parents, religion moulded the way he sees and portrays images. Such conflicting belief systems he insists were “a gift, a balcony from which to view and evaluate the quagmire of madness that religions thrive on and encourage”.

His love of all things occult and alchemical are evidenced by works such as ‘The Blind Man and the Flame’ and ‘Bringing Famine to the Feast’, part of a series of ongoing

illuminations he describes as his *magnum opus*.

This exhibition brings together images of people from all walks of life and all ages, from A-list actresses to the homeless of Paris, each presented in a light not often seen, almost voyeuristic in approach, begging the question does he see the sitter as flesh or meat?

Stark, harsh black and white images, offset by the luxuriously extravagant colours

the wealthy to reduce inequality is all fine and well, but surely the question should be asked why the rich are richer at all. The unreflecting assumptions of capitalism can be seen in de Waal but the scientific method of analysis is found in Proudhon.

So de Waal’s work is of interest to anarchists and provides substantial evidence to bolster our arguments on the importance of mutual aid as a factor of evolution. It is refreshing to read a scientist proclaim that we are born egalitarian revolutionaries. Yet while he is willing to challenge the stereotypes and lazy-

thinking regarding empathy and cooperation within animals, de Waal shows no such scientific enquiry regarding today’s social system. Still, this is a minor complaint about an excellent book.

(I discuss how Kropotkin’s ideas have fared in my pamphlet *Mutual Aid: An Introduction and Evaluation*, reviewed in the April 2012 issue of *Freedom*.)

The Age of Empathy: Nature’s Lessons for a Kinder Society by Frans de Waal, ISBN 9780285640382, Souvenir Press, £12.00.

VISIONS OF G O D



of the concocted still life pieces, are in direct opposition to each other and yet somehow there is an uneasy union. Some of the photographs are uncomfortable and sometimes disturbing viewing.

A recent planned exhibition in Madrid was cancelled due to the gallery owners taking umbrage at some of the more provocative

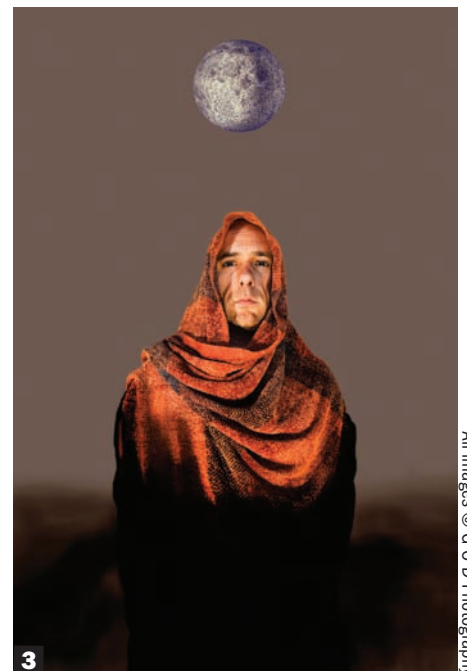
religious imagery, he says. "They asked me to remove six photographs, which were core material for the feel of the show and without which the exhibition would be meaningless and confusing, so I went into the gallery and removed every photograph, nailed a dead fish to the wall, and left Spain."

Michael Whitely

Pictured here:

- 1 *Woman with Blind Goose, Luxor*
- 2 *Ahmad Awad*
- 3 *Walker of Two Worlds*
- 4 *The Blind Man and the Flame*

To see more of his work go to <http://www.god-photography.co.uk/>



SPORT

A shot in the arm for the Olympics



"The 1992 Olympics men's shot put competition may not have been the first in which all the medalists had taken prohibited drugs, but it was definitely the first in which all the medalists had actually served suspensions for taking prohibited drugs" (*The Complete Book of the Olympics* by David Wallechinsky and Jaime Loucky).

"Aha," you say "another shameless plug for unsellable trash in that bookshop of theirs,"

well okay, but this is also a little anti-drugs piece centering on the shot put as one of the most drug-riddled of Olympic sports.

There are endless anecdotes you can find in a sport where the women's Olympic record holder set her record after spending the previous season on a drug ban and the only reason the men's world record holder hasn't had his record taken away after twice being caught and on a life ban is because the second best ever was an East German who is now known to have taken drugs but was never caught.

There must be some improvements being made in stopping drug use, you may think, or why would the Olympic records date from the 1980s?

In fact although there was a sharp decline after the introduction of out-of-competition testing in 1989, performances have been picking up again as the old steroids have been replaced by ever-more sophisticated combinations of human growth hormone and insulin growth factor, along with suitable masking agents.

Sadly there will never be a real incentive to protect young people from the physical and emotional effects of sporting drug use while nationalism and profit are the driving force in sport.

Heidi Krieger (pictured left) was only 21

years old when she won the 1986 European Championships shot put and looked a good bet for the 1988 Olympics, but unfortunately injury intervened.

However there were more serious effects of achieving athletic prowess. As early as the age of 18, Krieger began developing male characteristics. Eventually, years of doping left him with many masculine traits.

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THE QUIZ

1. Which reggae song begins by paraphrasing a Joe Hill song?
2. How did character Lon Emmerich describe crime in *The Asphalt Jungle*?
3. According to Tory politician Lord Birkenhead at the time of the General Strike, who were stupider than the miners' union leaders?
4. Which anarchist anthem is sung to the tune *Warszawianka*?

Answers on page 20

The Anarchist Quiz Book compiled by Martin Howard, illustrated by Paul Petard, is available for £5 from freedompress.org.uk or from our bookshop at 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

