

FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

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FEDERATIONS + GROUPS!
PLEASE SEND MORE NEWS
OF YOUR MULTIFARIOUS
(NEFARIOUS?) ACTIVITIES!

Meetings

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST CONFERENCE

The next anarcho-syndicalist conference is being held in Manchester at the end of March. The exact venue and date has not been fixed yet but any anarcho-syndicalist or sympathiser who wishes to



Case adjourned until May

Support Demolition Decorators and the Leicester Square Four

The wheels of the law grind exceeding

attend should write to SWF, 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1, who will send details as soon as they are known. Items for discussion should be sent to the same address.

SHADY CHARACTERS Artworks by Peter Ford, Blackthorn Bookshop Gallery, 74 Highcross St, Leicester. Tues. 20 Feb - Sat. 3 March. Tel: Leics 21896

FRIENDS OF ASTRID PROLL. Public meeting at st. Pancras Town Hall on 20 February at 7.30 p.m. Speakers, discussion, poetry and music. See p. 4 (inside) for further details.

Desires

MATERIAL REQUIRED FOR PROPOSED ANARCHIST FESTIVAL. Plays, films, photographs etc. Contact Alan Albon at Freedom Press.

RADICAL HUMOUR

For a book entitled **Radical Humour: An Anthology**, Tuli Kupferberg and Michael Brown are soliciting suggestions and examples of radical (and anti-establishment) jokes, cartoons, aphorisms, 'quips', quotations, songs, poems, essays, stories, skits and plays etc. etc. of all countries and periods. Please send suggestions and materials to Tuli Kupferberg, 210 Spring St, NY, NY 10012, USA.

FREEDOM Typewriter Fund

JL (W'ampton), £2; NB (Hull), 75p; JS (Stevenage), £6; LA (Hitchen), £2; HD (Capel Cwg), £2; CH (London), £2; BL (T. Wells), £2; MC £2; JCM (Madrid) £2; RBM (Oslo), £2; JL (W'ampton), £1; JH (B'ham), £10; JL, £4; OM (Sussex), £5; LH, £1; TJ, £1; JJ, £5; RL, £6; CC, £1. Cash shop, £3. TOTAL £60.25 PREVIOUSLY ACKNOWLEDGED £430.10 RECEIVED TO DATE £490.35. STILL REQUIRED TO MEET TARGET £509.65.

slow. Six months after their arrest for obstruction last year after two popular and entertaining busk-ins in Leicester Square, the Nine Clowns of DEMOLITION DECORATORS and the LEICESTER SQUARE FOUR go to Wells Street Court on Tuesday and Wednesday 6th and 7th Feb at 10 am. The magistrate presiding over the adjournments so long ago predicted 'an musing day', so we hope to give him just that - some pure theatre in the courtroom. There will be colourful goings-on outside the court by supporters of the Campaign for Street Performers and anyone else is most welcome to join in. For more info call Pru on (01) 485-0881.

As you may have gathered this edition of FREEDOM is a week late - a combination of events in London and the train drivers' strike - 'han the printer'

anarchist fortnightly Freedom

10 February/79
Vol 40 No 2

20p

'AS A REVOLUTION IT WAS QUICK, DEVASTATING AND ALMOST BLOODLESS IN ITS EFFECTS. THE WORKERS HAVE TURNED OFF THE TAPS.'

'WE DON'T BELONG TO ANY KIND OF PARTY AND DON'T LET ANYBODY SAY HE IS LEADING US.'

-IRANIAN OIL WORKERS

THERE'S NOT a lot I can say about Iran, until something clearer emerges. I certainly don't intend to follow the lead of the media and present 'Today the Shah/Bakhtiar/Khomeini/General X will ...', followed the next day by an equally dogmatic assertion of the opposite, followed on the third day by ... To hell with their manoeuvring.

But we can't allow the achievement of the people of Iran to pass unremarked. A year, even six months ago the state looked solid. The Shah ran his empire from a seemingly unassailable Peacock Throne; he had one of the best equipped military machines in the world. And one of the most vicious secret police forces.

There was, to all intents and purposes no political activity. FREEDOM can at least claim that it sensed the change before Carter, Owen and the European press; it carried small reports of student and religious unrest. (Of course we firmly reject the claim of Gaddhafi that he was 'the first man to foresee the outbreak of the Iranian Revolution).

Removed from all the manoeuvrings in Iran and out of it (oh wouldn't the British and American governments love to be able to send a gunboat!) what is this

BUT-

'35 MILLION PEOPLE IN IRAN WANT TO SEND OUT THE SHAH AND BRING IN THE AYATOLLAH AND MAKE A DEMOCRACY IN IRAN' !!

change? What is this achievement? A people, by their own will, have brought down a system.

And the future? Who can say? The thing is still poised. I'm afraid. I'm afraid of the army, I'm afraid of politicians, Bakhtiar or whoever, it wouldn't make any difference. And I'm afraid of the mosque. What are the risks? The government's position is obvious: they want things back to normal, with a few 'reforms'.

As anarchists we know what 'reforms' mean. Enshallah! (If I can be permitted a bit of religiosity). The Shah had reforms; he had a fucking 'White Revolution'. Bakhtiar has shown that he is quite prepared to use repression and murder. He deliberately unleashed the army for a couple of days last week, had a few demonstrators shot and then, having proved his point, calmed things down a bit.

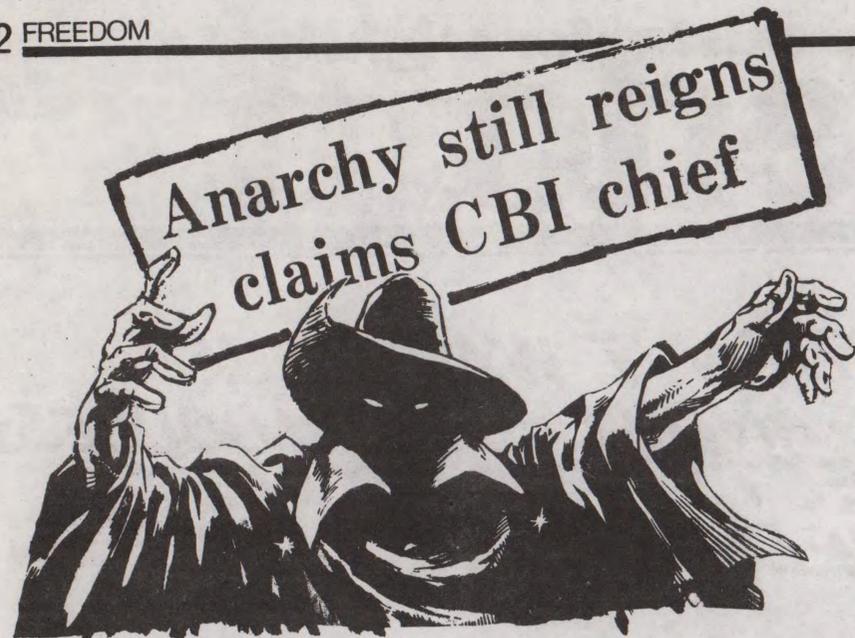
Then there's all the nonsense with the airports. At the moment Mehrabad (Tehran) is circled with tanks (British Chieftains of course), loaded with the modern equivalent of grapeshot. 'Interesting' to see what that could do to a crowd such as one welcoming Khomeini. Then there's the army. They might try a coup on behalf of the Shah or on their own accord. They'd probably split, a lot of the conscripts wouldn't go along with it. But the hard core, the professionals, the

Imperial Guard and such might fancy their chances. Defecting soldiers would take some equipment with them, but the elite have all the best stuff - they've been pampered with the best military toys that oil money could provide.

Then there's the mosque; represented through the good Ayatollah. At the moment everybody talks as if his personal plans will determine every aspect of day to day life. This is nonsense of course. He has his ideas (though I don't think they're very clearly worked out) but a leader doesn't have that much power. Even the Shah worked through a system. The type of repression Islam could bring would not be through the dictates of one individual (and, let's face it, he's 78) but via the establishment of the mosque, the mullahs and so on. This could easily be worse; they're on the ground and could interfere in everything. It's the bigotry of hundreds of minor officials which would be the problem. Think of priests in Ireland.

Still, Khomeini does have vast influence as a symbol and figurehead, so it's worth noting what he intends. He hasn't been very specific on much yet. Some of what he has spelt out is applaudable - no oil for South Africa for example. But the rest is dubious. The position of women is particularly worrying. They have little enough freedom in Iran as it is.

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PREDICTABLY, 'Anarchy' has been hitting the headlines this last three weeks. There has been 'Anarchy' on the railways as the points froze and 'Anarchy' on the picket lines as they became effective. Indeed, the frequency of the use of the word was in direct proportion to the effectiveness of the pickets - so much so that we would have thought the striking lorry drivers would have realised that 'Anarchy' is a secret weapon of great power, the very mention of which strikes terror into the hearts of the capitalists.

In some minute degree the word was used with its proper meaning. 'Is Britain becoming ungovernable?' mused *The Guardian*, agonisingly aware that it has a lot of ex-*Times* readers to nurture, and the prospect daunted Maggie Thatcher so much that she was screaming for a State of Emergency (which did not suit Callaghan's book, however) even before she had finished the first emergency tin of caviar from her well-stocked larder.

It is always instructive to see how the bold Tory defenders of individual liberty, the most vocal opponents of state interference in free enterprise, will scream like stuck pigs for state action when their interests are threatened. Maggie was practically demanding tanks outside every Tesco's, to defend the panic-buying housewives' right to strip the shelves of margarine and toilet paper. Odd, some people's priorities, ain't they?

Nor was Ms Thatcher alone. The Chairman of the CBI (sometimes laughingly called the bosses' trade union) foretold the collapse of civilisation as some of us know it, while the head of ICI prophesied an immediate loss of £25 million a week and total closure within a month.

All this because a proportion of the nation's truck drivers stopped work! We need only to reverse the argument to see clearly that ICI make £25 million a week while the truck drivers are working and civilisation as the CBI likes it bowls merrily along for the same reason.

This, it would seem to us, makes the lorry drivers Very Important Persons. We wonder why it is that persons who are so vital to the running of society have to fight to get a living wage? We

seem to remember that every summer Parliament closes down for over two months and life goes on. When the transport workers stop for two days, we are tottering on the brink of chaos. Could Maggie Thatcher please spell out a conclusion from that for us?

A similar assessment of importance could be made for the train drivers who staged two one-day strikes over the last two weeks. A few thousand railwaymen are responsible for millions of others getting to work every day. The cursing City commuters struggled to get to work the first two days, then obviously many of them said what they should have said straight away. 'Sod it' they said, and stayed home.

So its the wheels of industry and commerce that are kept turning by these relatively small numbers of working men and women. Whether they are transporting goods or people they are taken for granted and taken notice of only when they stop - and the commuters who scream blue murder at the inconvenience never realise that they are themselves commodities, bought and sold and carted from place to place with a cost listed in the overheads just like the margarine in the canteen or the toilet paper in the loo.

Perhaps the most piercing screams went up however when hospital workers and ambulancemen stopped briefly. These workers, whose daily toil is tending the sick and comforting the dying and the injured, suddenly became caillous, heartless murderers! Newspapers and authorities, having ignored the social service workers who have been on strike for months (or if they have mentioned them, have dismissed their claim for a working wage on the grounds that the country can't afford it!) suddenly became so concerned for the sick and elderly that you couldn't believe they were the same creeps who had called for cuts in government spending on the social services 'for the sake of the national economy'.

In fact, the hospital workers' strike went off half-cock precisely because the workers are so bloody decent that they couldn't put an all-out stoppage into operation (no pun intended)! And the lorry

drivers' strike has also dragged on much longer than necessary because they have made so many concessions that its impact has been weakened.

The press has been so full of stories of employers having to traipse around getting 'permits' for their trucks to cross the picket lines, or of violence on the part of pickets armed with pickhandles, that attention has been drawn away from the fact that food has got through; hospital supplies have got through; essential services have kept running; not one single case of assault by a picket has led to any action by the police - and in fact the only casualty we have seen reported has been a picket knocked down by a lorry crossing the line! And he died - with very little comment.

Two new concepts, however, have been unearthed in this wave of strikes. The first has given us a new phrase, 'Secondary picketing'. This means briefly the picketing of places one step removed from the actual scene of the strike - like the destination of goods that might be carried by blackleg hauliers.

The legality of secondary picketing is now preoccupying all those good solid democratic citizens who accept, however reluctantly, that we must allow the right to strike in principle, but can never support one in practice. The way striking becomes acceptable in a democracy is to make it so hedged around by legal restrictions that it is rendered ineffective. That way we can boast to the Communists, for example, that our workers, unlike theirs, are free to strike - but we make sure it does them no good.

The second concept to surface is not a new one to us, but must have been to some readers of the bourgeois press. It is Syndicalism! Yes, comrades, syndicalism is alive and well and dancing on the grave of socialism, according to a Reverend gentleman in the correspondence column of *The Guardian*! (Betcha he's a refugee from *The Times*!)

But rather more (superficially) intelligent arguments have been paraded based on the observation that the trade union leadership has been losing control (though that's hardly something new is it?) and the local strike committees have been taking action without consulting Head Office and indeed, in flagrant defiance of Head Office directives. We have seen TU bosses squirming on the telly trying to explain the difference between directives and directives, both of which have been ignored by the lads and lasses on the picket lines. Undoubtedly, as happens in every strike, decisions have to be made on the spot - and since it is the lads and lasses on the line who are standing out there in the cold, they are going to take tougher decisions than the officials who meet the opposition only over a boardroom table.

So, yes, decentralisation happens. Yes, that is a syndicalist principle. But we shall need a bit more than on-the-spot militancy to convince us that the coffin-club, wage-bargaining mentality, the craft-based divisionism, the clinging to differentials and one-up-man-ship

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REPORTS



berdeen

I'M pleased that over the last two or three issues of FREEDOM there have been some reports from anarchist groups in Britain, talking about what they're up to. It's encouraging to read what people are involved with - sometimes you can get the impression, reading FREEDOM, that the Contact list is made up of groups that say and do nothing. The local group here is as guilty as anyone else of course so this report will perhaps make up some.

The Aberdeen Libertarian Socialist Group was formed about a year and a half ago from individuals who had been separately active in peace, women's and other groups but who never met specifically as libertarians.

From the beginning we met fortnightly as a discussion group, open to anybody, with occasional 'planning' meetings which were also open. Ten-20 was about the usual amount coming along, occasional films attracting twice that number. Several people in the group, including some who had been previously to do with the old Aberdeen People's Press, launched a new local paper, the Big Print. This is now monthly, selling 500-600 per issue and is explicitly anarchist.

After discussing mostly anything you could think of, we now feel that it's time to act collectively as a group rather than simply having discussions. Although for the past few years libertarians have been involved in starting up several work cooperatives, peace and anti-nuke groups etc. we still felt that far too often we finish up tail-ending the authoritarian left and joining their campaigns or trying to spread some sort of libertarian influence in fairly established organisations. Yes, there's a need to be involved wherever we can, but as libertarians we have a view of the world which demands action on our own behalf as a (semi) organised group too.

This year we hope to start a major campaign locally on housing, which in Aberdeen is a really vital issue - ridiculously high rents, no provision for single people etc. We'd also like to work on more national campaigns, eg. Persons Unknown and have greater contact with other anarchist groups - though obviously being in the north east of Scotland we have certain geographical limitations!

The Aberdeen group is by no means a

group with a single view. We include pacifists, Solidarity members etc. and probably if you put two of us in a room you'd get three views on anything - and we all have our own priorities.

One thing that probably everyone would agree with though is that our politics can't exclude fun and personal development. To this end there are plans afoot to have a May Day picnic and, on the other point, several of the group have formed a men's group and an anarchist women's group is forming.

The discussion meetings will now be monthly: the next two are on 'libertarians and the left' and the 'nuclear family' and we've booked the film 'Harlem County' which is about a miners' strike in the US.

Lastly, thanks for printing a mention of our anti-election stickers. From that and similar mentions in Peace News and Solidarity we've already had to reprint due to a flood of orders. We haven't used many ourselves yet, but with lots of 'democracy' expected this year, our tongues will have lots of licking to do.

ROSS BRADSHAW

NUCLEAR STATE?



We have now received the above picture from our comrades in Sydney of the picket outside British Airways in solidarity with the 'Persons Unknown' campaign. (See FREEDOM, 28 October). Mean-

while they comment: "The decision to mine uranium has come as a blow! As always, if we don't fight we lose! ... We will all have to take and not demand if we want to run our own lives."

DEMONSTRATORS in New Zealand have carried out a large protest at the arrival of the American nuclear submarine, Haddo. It arrived in Waitemata Harbour, Auckland on 19 January for a visit, variously described as five or six days for 'rest and recreation'. The submarine met a New Zealand navy frigate outside the harbour and then attempted to enter, only to meet a flotilla of small boats containing demonstrators. They blocked its path so that it only got through with an escort of police and navy boats. Along the way one man managed to board it. (He was arrested). It was splashed with yellow paint and it had to stop its propellers twice. The local press had a field day, with photos of clean-cut naval officers and quotes from all and sundry - well, mainly police and sailors: 'irresponsible', 'it has not put a damper on the trip', 'seagoing hoodlums'. The cost of the policing operation has been estimated at \$500,000. There were seven arrests.

Nearer home, the London Greenpeace Group have agreed to act as a clearing house for the monitoring of movements of nuclear materials around Britain, as an aid to more effective opposition to the nuclear industry. They report: "The scheme has been called (for want of a better name!) the Systematic Accumulation of Information on Nuclear Transport (or SAINT). ... One of the problems of

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LEX

PROLL

BRITAIN/FRG

AS expected, at Bow Street on 17 January chief magistrate Evelyn Russell came down on the side of the German government and against the former Red Army Fraction member Astrid Proll, concluding that she had charges of robbery and attempted murder to answer in the German courts. Thus Russell has ignored the dubious quality of the police evidence and that of notorious crown witness in RAF cases, Karl-Heinz Ruhland. At the next hearing, fixed for 5 February at Lambeth, Astrid's fate will be sealed on the technical basis of the nationality issue: whether her marriage to a Briton was valid and whether she could claim British citizenship.

A lot of good that will do her! The British government, as readers know, has already made its contingency plans in an arse-licking deal with the Germans. An 'order in Council' (decree) 'laid before Parliament' (in Parliament's absence) on 3 October, just a fortnight after Astrid's arrest, now enables the extradition of British citizens to West Germany. ... When we talk these days about the 'model West Germany' and the new German police state, somehow implying we're not yet quite as bad, we should at least remember that the written constitution of Germany would have to be debated and altered in the full glare of publicity before West German citizens could be extradited to Britain. A 'Lex Proll' would certainly have been much harder, and taken much longer, to make.

If it has illustrated so well the role of law as a means of sole protection - and satisfaction of bloodlust - of the State, this extradition case has also shown up the absence of a liberal lobby in a country which has a powerful, but treacherously misleading reputation for liberality. The Croissant affair in France in 1977 caused such heated debate that the former lawyer of RAF prisoners had to be spirited over the Franco-German border before the appeal court had concluded its deliberations - and during an international football match. (The political manipulation of football is worth a study in itself!) On the other hand the only British signatories of a recent open letter to the federal justice minister in Germany which argued against extradition (and there has been nothing like it here) were two left-Labour MPs, Maureen Colquhoun and Arthur Latham, the chairman of the British section of Amnesty, Paul Oestreicher, and the historian E. P. Thompson.

But let us leave liberals like Thompson to bury their own dead. As the possibility becomes increasingly the probability of extradition it is up to US to do our utmost to ensure Astrid's survival. And that can only mean her early release.



Poignancy has been added to the issue less by the deaths in Stammheim than by the case of the RAF prisoner Werner Hoppe in Hamburg. At around the same time as Astrid's arrest in London Werner Hoppe was moved out of Holstenglacis prison hospital to the clinic of Altona and, like Astrid before him, was soon declared by medical experts to be 'unfit for imprisonment'. Werner is serving a 10-year sentence and since his arrest in 1971 has been held in varying degrees of isolation-torture (from total isolation and solitary confinement to detention in small groups of often not more than one or two).

When taken to the clinic he looked as if he had come out of a labour camp. A tall man he weighed only about seven stone. For several months he had been unable to eat food without vomiting; he could walk only with difficulty and showed the classic symptoms of this form of torture, which, to borrow a phrase from his medical report, strikes at the 'core of the personality' as well as the body. He was, to quote the medical jargon, in a 'real and mortally dangerous psychosomatic crisis-situation'. But despite the findings of the medical examinations it is still not known whether Werner will have to return to the prison or remain in hospital pending completion of the new, political, maximum security prison wing of 'Santa Fu'. Release doesn't seem on the government's cards, despite (or because of?) the fact that, in Werner's own words, he faces 'release or a zinc coffin'.

The case of Werner Hoppe is important not only in itself but as it reflects upon Astrid's fate. It is imperative, should she be extradited, that she is not placed in a maximum security prison, or in conditions of isolation in any other place, that she is quickly released and that the practice of solitary confinement and isolation is ended altogether and at once. In Germany as in Britain as everywhere.

Gaia

STOP PRESS At the hearing on 5 February the magistrate decided that the extradition should proceed forthwith. "This case" he said, "has gone on long enough. I do not think she will be very disadvantaged if I make an order for extradition today". Astrid's defence now has 15 days in which to lodge an appeal for habeas corpus (in which her lawyers will go before the divisional court of the Queen's Bench Division and ask for a writ ordering her release.) Last resort is appeal to the House of Lords. In the meantime a public meeting is being organised by FAP on 20 February at St. Pancras Town Hall at 7.30. Speakers will include Jo Richardson MP, Lord Gifford (both members of the Russell Tribunal), Larry Grant, a specialist on immigration law, Phil Kelly of State Research and a member of FAP. Donations should be sent to FAP, Box 174, London E3 4DE. There are regular FAP meetings each Monday at the Prince Albert, Balfe St, London N1 at 7.30 pm.

Ulrike: no suicide

AN international commission of enquiry into the death of Ulrike Meinhof at the prison of Stuttgart-Stammheim on 9 May 1976 has concluded that: "It is quite improbable that Ulrike Meinhof committed suicide". However, the report goes on to say that this does not mean there is "formal proof of her assassination". (It also takes care to distance itself from the ideology and actions of the Red Army Fraction).

The report was made public at a press conference in France on 31 January, and is published by the French house of Maspero. In it experts document "a number of medical and criminological impossibilities or improbabilities which lead to the conclusion that Ulrike Meinhof resisted the conditions of detention and rigorous isolation in which she was placed and that a third party intervened at the moment of her death" (*Le Monde*). Among those present at the press conference was the German neuro-psychiatrist Hans Joachim Meyer and the sister of Ulrike Meinhof who said that conditions at Cologne-Ossendorf prison today were even worse than in the time of Ulrike's imprisonment. Another speaker said it was widespread practice in European countries these days for the police to act inside prisons and that judicial safeguards were insufficient. Well, no comment.

AUSTRALIA

THE QUIET SPANNER

MOUNT ISA, 19 Jan. 1979. The telephone was out of order for nearly four weeks, and now with the storms it's as good as out of order. It's been very hot and very humid. I've got prickly heat all over my chest and arms, even sunburn won't move it. The rain cools things down but it's still humid. We've been out in the wilds a lot recently, coiling up steel ropes left behind by exploration drilling companies. They're used as fence wires in the cattle yards. It's very isolated country here, but the mineral companies have been scratching around for years - they must know every yard of the place, perhaps even better than the Aborigines.

Twenty-five miles north of here is what was until a couple of months ago the largest deposit of lead/zinc in the world. That was why Mount Isa Mines leased this and two other stations between here and the sea, bought the leases that is. They're going to build a big town there, redirect the river, and build a big pipeline and railway to a deep-water port on one side of the Edward Pellew Islands which the Aborigines say belongs to them. A lot of land claims were put in by the Aborigines under new legislation but the mining company has not been made to part with much.

Borroloda is on the McArthur River about 40 miles in from the sea. The majority of the population is Aborigine, the whites who live there are the policeman, the teachers - about seven of them - the two nurses in the clinic, the man who manages the store owned by the Aborigine Council, the owners of the Borroloda Inn/Post Office who charge double for everything, a few employees of the Highway Dept. and some 'wild whites' who live with Aborigine women. There are no jobs for 99.9% of the Aborigines; the town is a sitting place, to get the welfare from. The town and 400 sq. miles of surrounding country now belongs to the Council, but the mining company was given the right to put a 'roadway' one mile wide through it. So much for land rights, in the year that the Guardian said has been the year of black power in Australia.

WORD OF HONOUR

Northern Territory got 'Home Rule' in July but the Federal Government have kept control of educa-

tion, transport etc., and uranium mining which could earn a lot of money. There's been a lot of argument between black and white, not over 'to dig or not to dig' but over royalty payments. The deposits are mostly in Arnhem Land, a big reserve east of Darwin. An agreement was recently signed which will give quite a few millions (of Australian dollars) in royalties to the Aborigines, but peanuts compared with what the government is going to make. Would-be customers for the uranium are requested to sign to say they'll not use the stuff in weapons, but one of the first to turn up was the Philippines government whose president, Marcos, is a pathological liar. It's obvious that any such agreements aren't worth anything in the long run.

PLUS CA CHANGE

A lot of Aborigines are now saying that they've been sold out by their spokesmen who fell for the executive jet and government luncheon bit.

I suppose it's easy to sneer - twenty years ago the Aborigines would have been booted off the land and the uranium taken, now at least they get something. But although some things have changed some haven't. The majority of whites in this part of the country have a very low opinion of Aborigines. I get hours and hours of moans, complaints and nasty remarks about 'the natives'. I don't bother to make any comment - you can't educate pork. One ranter told me, 'They ought to cut off the welfare, that'd make the lazy devils work.' I told him there weren't any jobs; he didn't hear. He replied, 'When I was a lad we used to whip 'em and tie 'em on the horse.'

Because I'm white I'm expected to give orders to the black stockmen, some of whom have been at the job for years. Because they're black some of the older men expect me to give orders. We have some good fun on the quiet. The Aborigines are said to be the backbone of the cattle industry in Northern Australia. In most places they are the only labour available.

A stockman's wage is very low. In the Northern Territory it's A\$136 for a 40-hour week, without keep. Keep amounts to A\$115 a month. (I was earning A\$200 in Melbourne.) What you get for your A\$115 keep

varies from station to station. Here one gets rent - fixed at A\$3.40 a week by the Agricultural Awards Board -, limitless electricity, water, and basic foods such as vegetables, fruit, beef, tinned milk, tea, flour, salt, sugar, tinned fruit, milk etc. Luxuries such as ice cream, cigarettes, soap, soft drinks, biscuits etc. have to be paid for. Some stations are very mean with the keep and they jack up the price on the other things. This station doesn't pay for overtime and the average working week is 57-60 hours. In theory, time off

in lieu of overtime is available, but as the labour force is continually changing the company gains a lot of free labour. To be fair, the company may not know, as station managers traditionally decide how work is, or in this case is not, paid for. Because the majority of the Aborigines are ignorant of their rights as regards wages, conditions, public holidays etc. they are easy prey to the unscrupulous manager. Some stations even have conned their employees into going on the dole and working just for 'tucker'. This station by most standards is very good.

I suppose things will change for the Aborigine in time; education is the answer. But so many people say, 'Education? What for - the dole?' One old man who works here - in the boss's garden - has a large family scattered about the territory. He's shortly going to put in a claim for some land up country from here. He wants me to be the manager of the community when they get it. I feel very honoured. This old man - he is in his eighties and still rides - has been on station all his working life. He never received any pay until World War II. He gets no pay here but gets free stores. He'd never heard of old age pension until the manager got him the forms. I hope he gets his land claim, he's worked hard for it.

Despite all the hardships and abuse the Aborigines seem to be very resilient, and they do have the last laugh. How many times have you tut-tutted at the stupidity of the black man and then on reflection realized it's only a quiet spanner in the works. I suspect they've only gone 'walk-about' since the silly white man turned up.

M.B.

PEOPLE SHOULD HELP PEOPLE!

Dear friends

As one of those active in the campaign against the Vietnam war during the sixties I do not regret our actions because the London Committee of 100 was totally non-aligned and claimed at all times that whilst we opposed American aggression and the puppet regime in Saigon we did not believe that a victory for Hanoi would solve many problems. The South Vietnamese people fought their oppressors and called for a victory for the Vietcong, who at least were Vietnamese nationals. One cannot, however, substitute one tyranny for another and think that all will be well.

The anarchists produced a poster: 'Who Loses in Vietnam?' This was widely used by libertarian socialists as well and it applied not only to Vietnam but to the people in all lands, even the so-called democracies. Who loses? Always the people!

The Vietnamese are probably better off in some ways than they were before but they are still living under a tyranny.

It is inevitable that there will be refugees after every war and the boatloads of Vietnamese refugees may well be one lot of tyrants escaping from another. On the other hand they may not and it behoves all of us to try and help them. No proper help can be expected from governments or from the United Nations. People should help People and I should like to see libertarians, both as groups and as individuals, setting up communes to help the refugees. I realise that this would cost a lot of money but I believe it could be done.

Yours fraternally
DOUGLAS KEPPEL

Bridgwater, Somerset.

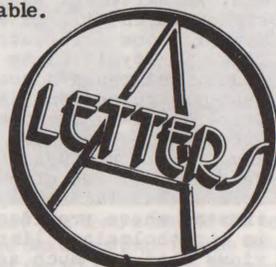
MASS MOVEMENT?

IT'S a pity that Nigel Pennick stopped short in his letter 'Needed: a mass movement' and did not attempt to point out HOW it might be possible to create a mass revolutionary movement. After all, the British state is in crisis - with its political and property-owning classes exhausted and real power moving increasingly to its executive and administrative institutions. At the moment increasing numbers of people are becoming sympathetic to the ideas of anarchism in spite of the crude portrayals by the mass media. Most anarchists already know that we need to be a mass movement, but if they

are like me they have only very hesitant ideas about how we get one, and that's why I thought I'd set down my ideas for people to chew over.

Firstly I think we need more mass propaganda, using the traditional format well-produced leaflets, stickers, posters, wall newsheets, which revolve around a series of common themes, and do not date quickly. None of these take long to circulate and distribute, but they do absorb a lot of energy and time in preparation. If different groups could cooperate over production and make extra quantities available to small groups and individuals in other parts of the country it would make scarce resources go a lot further.

We also need to utilise a lot of the new technology that is now available and go beyond printed propaganda: radio, television, video film, cassette recorders could all make anarchist ideas more widely available.



Local propaganda must be used: leaflets, meetings and film shows can all help establish a local presence, and a local paper or newsheet can provide a real focus for activity and the exchange of ideas. Any individual or group with access to a duplicator or xerox machine can produce their own leaflets or newsheet, for their own town or workplace.

This kind of thing is already being done, although we need to do it better than we are, and also on a much wider scale - what I really want to take issue with are current forms of organisation. At the moment (and in spite of the critique that anarchism presents of political parties) there exists within the anarchist movement a strong tendency towards 'party-type' organisation. By this, I don't mean a centralised or hierarchical attitude, but people do form groups on the basis of a common 'political' stance (ie. an anarchist one) with the result these groups often have little contact with people 'outside' the 'movement', and are also subject to problems such as personality clashes and so on.

We really need to learn from our own ideas, and re-orient ourselves properly on the basis of affinity groups, organised around specific projects. These affinity groups need not necessarily be purely anarchist, but the point is that they should be constructed with a purpose, rather than on the sole basis of common ideology. In this way the growing structure of the anarchist movement will be responsible to the activity of the people involved and not as often is today, superfluous to it.

One of the problems with society at present is that it is a 'mass society' and in the creation of our 'mass' movement we need to be careful that we don't duplicate the bizarre and soulless features of society. Groups once having reached the size necessary to achieve their pur-

pose should not seek to recruit new members, but encourage other people to form new affinity groups. This involves our re-learning another anarchist principle: that we should not retain a false loyalty to organisations and ideas that have outlived their use.

Lastly, I think that we'd be living in cloud cuckoo land if we believed that we can create a mass anarchist movement - for a start it's difficult enough to agree among ourselves just what is and isn't anarchist. What we can do (and the potential is there) is help in the creation of a mass revolutionary movement with a strong anarchist dynamic.

PAUL WILSON

ISRAEL

Dear FREEDOM

Noam Clerman's intention (vol. 39 no. 24) to provide 'an anarchist solution in the Middle East' is admirable, but his article is, I feel, seriously flawed. His specific criticisms of Israel, and his description of the oppression of the Palestinians are accurate, but his proposals would merely confirm and legitimate this situation.

The central point, which he entirely misses, is that Israel is a state entirely different from any other, in that it is a state, not of its inhabitants, but of 'the Jewish people' wherever they happen to live. This is the real racism of Israel, which is reflected in popular attitudes towards Arabs. This racism is enshrined in Israeli laws which give me, a British Jew, the automatic right to enter Israel and become a citizen whenever I like - a right that is denied to, for example, a friend of mine, a Palestinian Arab from Al Manseh, a destroyed village whose site is now occupied by an Israeli army base.

Noam's dismissal of the facts surrounding the creation of the state of Israel is unjustified. Israel was created through the activities of the World Zionist Organisation, whose policy was to turn Palestine into a 'Jewish state', in complete disregard of the rights and existence of the Palestine Arab community. This policy was largely carried out through the land-buying activities of the Jewish National Fund, a body which specialised in buying land in Palestine from absentee landlords, evicting the Palestinian tenant farmers and renting it to Jewish immigrants, with the stipulation that the land was for the benefit of people of 'Jewish race, religion or origin'. Following the creation of the state of Israel, this body acquired responsibility for the administration of all state-owned land, and its racist restrictions now apply to some 92 per cent of the surface of Israel. The JNF is now busy buying land in the Israeli occupied Sinai, Golan Heights and West Bank. As a result of this activity, since 1948, 385 of the 475 Palestinian villages inside the borders of Israel have been destroyed, and about 1 1/2 million Palestinians now live outside Palestine. continued p. 7

ANARCHY

continued from p. 2

which is what our degenerate trade unionism is today (the rail strike was an example of inter-union conflict as much as anything) before we see signs of an emergent syndicalist consciousness.

Of course there is the point that when the chips are down, direct action class-war tactics fit the bill better than the collaborationist reformism of the trade union bosses. But unless the workers go further and think in terms of ending the struggle once and for all by taking over; unless they give up ideas of fighting among themselves for crumbs, but of sharing the whole cake equally, then talk of syndicalism or socialism or anarchy is just a lot of journalistic bullshit.

PS

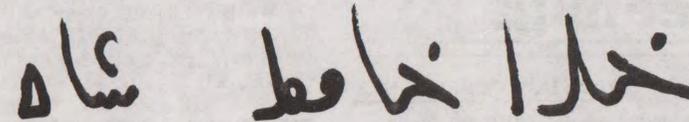


"AND RIGHT BEHIND YOU STANDS THE EMPLOYERS' SECONDARY FLYING PICKET."

ANTI-NUCLEAR

continued from p. 3

the nuclear industry is the lack of information that is available about it - some is protected by the Official Secrets Act, and what isn't is protected by people who act in the spirit of those notorious laws. It's not so much that we want to know more so that we can make up our minds about the industry. For most of us in this group, our opposition is based in principles of the sort that wouldn't be affected if more information became available. Rather, we want to know about it so as to more effectively oppose it. And one of the aspects of the industry particularly vulnerable to opposition of many sorts is the transport of nuclear materials from site to site ... What we



continued from p. 1

Oh, he says that they'll be OK, but we have to remember that the problem would be public prejudice, goaded by minor clerics.

To take a symbolic test case, veils. Even now a woman not wearing one can come in for harassment, especially near a mosque. What would it be like if encouragement were given to a lot of self-appointed thought police? It's not that half the population would be flung into the Middle Ages; most never left them. 'Liberation' has mainly been a chance for middle class women to wear western clothes, their position in society hasn't changed much. But it has changed at least for some, and a backward step would be a tragedy.

SHAHIN

continued from p. 6

Given this background, it is disingenuous of Noam to base his argument on the existing demographic facts. These 'facts' are part of the problem to which a solution must be found, and not the conditions which such a solution must satisfy.

The Camp David agreements, to which Noam lends his grudging support, will have the effect of perpetuating this problem. Israel hopes to detach Egypt from the Arab camp, while making minimal concessions. Sadat is interested in attracting international capital to prop up his ailing and unpopular regime. (Marks and Spencer are reported to be interested). America wants to maintain a conflict in order to use Israel as a threat against any radicalisation in the area, particularly in Iran and Saudi Arabia, and at the same time wants to prevent any increase in Soviet influence over the conservative Arab states (including Syria). None of these forces is concerned with the fate of the Palestinian Arabs, nor even with that of the vast majority of Israeli Jews, trapped in an apparently irresolvable and eternal conflict.

Even the creation of a 'separate, independent Palestinian state in the Gaza strip and the West Bank' would provide no solution. Israel is massively exploiting the water resources of the West Bank, and cannot afford to forego this. Israel's economy is increasingly dependent on the use of slave labour imported from these territories. The Israeli settlements will not be removed. Nor would Israel allow Palestine to have an army (though Israel would, of course, maintain its own) or an independent foreign policy. And Israel itself will remain a Zionist, ie. racist, state with the Arabs very much third class citizens (after the 'white' Ashkenazi and 'black' Sephardi Jews), and with no possibility of return for the hundreds of thousands of refugees.

The only policy which can be supported by radicals, whether anarchist or socialist, is for the promotion of a social transformation of the entire Arab world, which will create the conditions necessary for the integration of the non-Arab minorities - Israeli Jews, Kurds, Armenians, Copts and others - into the communities among whom they live. The Zionist state of Israel is an obstacle to such a revolution, and it is not possible to solve the Middle East problem without calling for the dismantlement of the state of Israel.

Bradford 7 ROLAND RANCE

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

From the judge giving an injunction to prevent 'secondary picketing': "Totally unlimited construction of those words (*) would have meant Parliament was writing a recipe for anarchy, a proposition I am quite unable to accept. There must be a presumption that Parliament does not intend to legislate to bring about its own destruction".

* "in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute".

BOOKSHOP NOTES

AS will be appreciated, our large booklist which appeared as a supplement to FREEDOM vol. 39 no. 25, and which is of course available to all who send a 9" x 4" sae, was many months in preparation.

Consequently as well as the only too familiar price increases - and it is impossible to continually update these in list supplements - there are also a number of titles on that list that are either temporarily or permanently unavailable at present.

These are listed below in an attempt to avoid would-be customers being disappointed. (Please note that the titles listed below are NOT CURRENTLY AVAILABLE).

Elton E. Smith: William Godwin
 Peter Kropotkin: The Great French Revolution
 Gerrard Winstanley: The Law of Freedom and other Writings
 Domenico Tarizzo: L'Anarchia
 RAF: Background and Information
 Albert Camus: Neither Victims nor Executioners
 Wilhelm Reich: The Mass Psychology of Fascism
 Charles Fourier: Harmonian Man
 B. Traven: The Death Ship

These titles will remain unavailable until listed again in FREEDOM

To be a Borrible

The Borribles, Michael de Larrabeiti, Bodley Head, £2.95.

THIS is almost an anarchist children's book (though like all good 'children's books' it's fine for anybody else as well). The Borribles are groups of people who have been turned into outcasts by society. Accordingly they live on the fringes, in inner cities, living on what they can scrounge or steal. They have become expert thieves, especially in the street markets around which they live. Their stunted growth helps them to remain inconspicuous, their only betraying feature being large pointed ears which are kept hidden under woolly hats. Like this they can pass as 'normal' children. Their main enemy is the police (the 'woolies').

The organisation of their society is tribal, a group to each of the poorer areas of London. Within a tribe status is strictly by merit. Borribles are fiercely individualistic, but they will settle mutual concerns at general meetings. When individuals first become 'borribilised' they have no name; they must earn one by a feat of daring, theft or the like. All the Borribles are great admirers of flash and cheek and love to tell and listen to the stories of how names were won. There is one strongly non-anarchistic feature to the society - a strict set of rules and proverbs for such activities as quests to earn names. However, although there is great respect for these guidelines, in practice the lip service can be circumvented by any smart Borrible. There is some sexism, the central character in the book (who has one name but would dearly love another, though this is strictly against the rules), is at first shocked to learn that two women will be going on the quest which forms the theme. He thinks that they will not be able to stand up to the strain. He is proved wrong.

As already implied, the plot of the book is a 'quest' in the mythological sense; a group of champions (one from each of the main London tribes) sets off to face immense dangers. And here lies the best joke. The dangers are thinly disguised Womble (here called Rumbles). These soft, comfort-loving creat-

B.Traven

SEE Pgs 10+11

The main books by B. Traven are as follows:-

NOVELS (date of first German edition, followed by date of first English translation)

The Cottonpickers (1926, 1956)
 The Death Ship (1926, 1934)
 The Treasure of the Sierra Madre (1927, 1935)
 The Bridge in the Jungle (1929, 1938)
 The White Rose (1929, 1938)
 The Carreta (1931, 1935)
 Government (1931, 1935)
 The March to Caobaland (1933, 1960)
 The Rebellion of the Hanged (1936, 1952)
 The Troza (1936, not translated)
 The Creation of the Sun and Moon (1936, 1968)
 The General from the Jungle (1940, 1954)
 Aslan Norval (1960, not translated)

COLLECTIONS OF STORIES (date of first American edition)

Stories by the Man Nobody Knows (1961)

The Night Visitor (1966)
 The Kidnapped Saint (1975)

Most of these books have been published on both sides of the Atlantic. Paperback editions of several have been published by Hill & Wang in the United States and by Penguin or Panther in Britain.

ures are seen to be infiltrating the Borrible areas, taking over and ruining them. So their 'High Command', eight of them, must be assassinated. Each of the champions is assigned to one of them, and provisionally given their prospective victim's name. If they succeed, they will have earned the name for use among the Borribles. A bit of rule-bending allows a couple of extras, who have already gained names, to accompany them and off they go. The story tells of their adventures along the way, facing fearsome odds, etc.

From an anarchist point of view the book has its flaws. As I said, there's underlying sexism. In fact it seems that the two women are only included because two of the high Rumbles are female. And even then, one of them is called Sydney... There's also some racism - not among the Borribles themselves (one of the champions is black) but in their attitudes to the Rumbles, who are treated as vermin to be massacred at will, like Indians in a western. (Of course a Marxist would see the Borribles as hopelessly individualistic and therefore bourgeois, which leads to intriguing speculations as these fanatical proletarians set off to fight the evidently bourgeois Rumbles, who are totally conformist. But then I suppose that the Rumbles, living on the fringes as they do, would be lumpen-proletarians and therefore... but, hell, let's allow Marxists to sort out their own contradictions). Then there's the way the Rumbles fall apart as soon as they lose their leaders.

Still, the book is not written as anarchist propaganda. And it has its fine bits. The free nature of the Borrible society, their disrespect for Normals, their mutual aid. And the book is based on reality: the quest is not in some vague Never Never land. It starts in Battersea High Street and ends up on Wimbledon (sorry, Rumbledon) Common. The Borribles curse and squabble; comparisons are made 'like a fart in bathwater'. One tribe has become authoritarian and militaristic, which is attributed to stress - they hold the border against the Rumbles. Borribles have little use for money. When some appears in the story it is seen as a source of conflict. And finally war is seen as a product of greed and manipulation.

So, all in all, a fun book. It has a rich underlying strain of life and humour. It is far preferable to the dreadful whimsy of many 'children's books' as parodied in the Rumbles or the didacticism of Andrew Ant the Anarchist. As usual, borrow it from a library, or wait for the paperback.

D. P.

Freedom

Anarchist Review

3 FEB 1979

VOL 40 No 2

A FARCE
 by Dario Fo

ACCIDENTAL DEATH OF AN ANARCHIST

Belt & Braces

DETAILS ON PAGE 10

WHO WAS B. TRAVEN?

B. TRAVEN is well known as the author of some remarkable stories and novels which were written in Mexico and first published in German from the 1920s to the 1940s, and which are among the most powerful expressions of revolutionary libertarians in literature; but he has always been almost unknown as a person. He is of particular interest to anarchists because, quite apart from the strong mixture of individualism and syndicalism in his fiction, it seems likely that he was once an active member of the anarchist movement.

B. Traven resisted and obstructed all inquiries about his life or even his identity during his lifetime, and the greater freedom of investigation during the decade since his death has not meant any closer approach to certainty. A succession of articles and books on the subject has appeared during the past half century, but it is possible that a recent BBC television programme has at last solved the mystery.

The writings signed 'B. Traven' began to appear in Germany in 1925. The author was known to live in Mexico, but this was all that was known about him. He gave only an accommodation address, and refused to give any information about himself or to meet any visitors. He took care to type everything he wrote, even his signature. He did bother to say that his first name was not Bruno or Ben, but not what it actually was.

It was not until 1948, when John Huston made his film *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*, that some hard facts emerged. Huston suspected that Traven's agent, Hal Croves, was actually Traven himself. A Mexican journalist called Luis Spota, writing in *Mañana* on 7 August 1948, not only confirmed this, but added that his real name seemed to be Berick Traven Torsvan, and that he claimed to be an American, born in Chicago on 3 May 1890, the son of a Norwegian farmer called Burton Torsvan and an Englishwoman called Dorothy Croves. Spota had tracked Torsvan down to Acapulco, but he disappeared after the exposure, and Croves appeared in Mexico City. He was always vague about when he went to Mexico, but he took Mexican nationality in 1951.

It became generally accepted that Croves and Traven were the same person, through it was odd that he wrote nothing worth reading after 1948. But it was not so widely accepted that he was American, or that his real name was Torsvan. There was no record of his birth in Chicago in 1890, and no corroboration of the details about his parents. Among the many identities suggested - the American writer Ambrose Bierce (who disappeared in Mexico in 1914 at the age of 72), the American writer Jack London (who killed himself in California in 1916 at the age of 40), President López Mateos of Mexico (whose sister helped to translate and publicise Traven's work in Mexico), an illegitimate son of Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany (for whom he had a curious affection), an American Wobbly or a German revolutionary in exile - the most popular has been that B. Traven was the same person as Ret Marut.

THE ACCIDENTAL DEATH OF AN ANARCHIST See Pg. 9.

BELT & BRACES, a touring theatre group, is presenting a farce based on Italian police corruption and the subsequent cover-up, after our comrade Giuseppe Pinelli 'jumped' four floors to his death on 15 December 1969 while in police custody in Milan.

This play, with the title 'A Farce - The Accidental Death of an Anarchist' by Dario Fo, will be shown at the following places on the following dates:-

FEBRUARY

9 & 10 at the Dartington Hall, Totnes (Devon)
13 & 14 at the Manchester Polytechnic (Manchester)
15 & 16 at The Grange Art Centre, Oldham (Lancs.)
20 at Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art, Dundee (Scotland)
21 & 22 at Glasgow University (Glasgow)
23 & 24 at the Moray Hall of Education, Edinburgh



Police photo of Ret Marut, 1923

Ret Marut was another almost equally mysterious figure who was known as an actor wandering around Germany from 1906 to 1915 and as an anarchist working in Bavaria from 1915 to 1921. He produced a paper called *Der Ziegelbrenner* ('The Brickburner') from September 1917 to March 1919, was a member of the Propaganda Committee of the Bavarian Socialist Republic in April 1919, was arrested but managed to escape in May 1919, continued to produce *Der Ziegelbrenner* from underground from December 1919 to December 1921, and then disappeared. At the end of 1922 he sent a postcard to a friend saying that he was about to leave Rotterdam for America. He was never heard from again.

During this period his constant companion and colleague was an actress called Irene Mermet, who also disappeared in 1921. The most detailed account of his political career appears in the book *B. Traven: Beitrage zur Biographie* by the East German scholar Ralf Recknagel (Leipzig, 1966, 1971). The complete run of his paper has been reprinted in East Germany - *Der Ziegelbrenner* (Leipzig, 1968).

In 1927 the German anarchist Erich Muehsam, released from prison for his part in the Bavarian Revolution, published an appeal in his paper *Fanal* for Ret Marut to return to the anarchist movement. There was no response, but Muehsam noticed internal parallels between the political journalism of Ret Marut and the political fiction of B. Traven, which had become popular on the German left, especially when his books were published by the Gutenberg Book Club from 1926. Rudolf Rucker was convinced by Muehsam's theory, but the destruction of the German anarchist movement by the nazis made further investigation impossible.

When Croves died in Mexico City on 26 March 1969, his widow Rosa Elena Laján (who had first known him as Torsvan in the 1930s and finally married him in 1957) said that he had told her he was indeed Ret Marut as well as B. Traven. One of the times she said this was a conference organised by anarchist admirers of Traven in Tucson, Arizona (see *The Match!* May 1974). She also said that he was indeed an illegitimate son of Wilhelm II, but she denied this too. It is clearly relevant that Traven wrote in German rather than English, and that Croves spoke with a German rather than an American or Scandinavian accent, though it has been argued that his German

FEBRUARY/MARCH

27 - 3 at the Crucible Studio, Sheffield

MARCH

6 - 10 at The Everyman, Liverpool
12 & 13 at Litman Studios, Newcastle Polytechnic (Newcastle)
15 - 17 at the Centre for the Arts, Birmingham
19 - 24 at Jackson Lane Community Centre, London N. 7.
29 & 30 at Bury Arts Centre, Bury (Lancs.)

APRIL

2 - 4 at The Studio Theatre (Theatr Clwyd), Mold (Wales)
5 - 7 at The Theatr Gwynedd, Bangor (N. Wales)

For further details of times, places and contact addresses, please ring:
BELT & BRACES, (01) 267-6722

was imperfect, and he claimed that he had been taken from the United States to Germany as a child. It seems that any defects in his German are those of an uneducated native rather than of an ignorant foreigner, and it looks as though his claim to be American was mainly designed to protect his position as an immigrant in Mexico or a traveller wherever else he went.

It has become generally accepted that B. Traven was Ret Marut as well as Torsvan and Croves. The first biography about him since his death - *The Mystery of B. Traven* by Judy Stone (Los Altos, California: William Kaufmann, 1977) - based on interviews published in *Ramparts* magazine in 1967, gives as much space to Marut as to Traven; and the first posthumous collection of Traven stories - *The Kidnapped Saint*, edited by Rosa Elena Lujan (New York: Leonard Hill, 1975), which was published in Britain at the end of 1978 (Alison & Busby, £4.95) - takes the identification so much for granted that it includes an article by Ret Marut first published in *Der Ziegelbrenner* in December 1919. But, even if Traven-Torsvan-Croves was also Ret Marut, this only leads to a further question: who was Ret Marut? The most convincing answer so far was given by the television programme which was ambitiously called 'B. Traven: A Mystery Solved', was researched and produced by Will Wyatt and presented by Robert Robinson, and broadcast on BBC 2 on 19 December 1978, and was printed in *The Listener* on 4 and 11 January 1979.

After showing what is already known - or rather, believed - about B. Traven through documents, film and interviews, the BBC team ended by trying to find the answers for two questions: what happened between the disappearance of Ret Marut from Germany in 1921 and the appearance of Traven's first work in Germany in 1925? Where did Marut come from before 1906?

Following up information obtained by American investigators from the American authorities under the new Freedom of Information Law, the BBC team were able to show from Home Office records that Ret Marut was actually in this country in 1923-1924. He apparently entered Britain in August 1923, was arrested as an unregistered alien in December 1923, was detained in Brixton prison for two months, was allowed to stay in London for two more months, and was finally deported on a Norwegian ship called the *Hegre* bound for Tenerife in April 1924. This would just give him time to reach Mexico and write the first Traven stories for publication in Germany in June 1925 - but only just. There is a theory that someone else might have had the experiences described in Traven's Mexican fiction and may even have written the first versions, and that Marut-Croves produced the final versions for publication; but this is pure speculation, and it seems to raise more questions than it answers.

The BBC team also showed from British and American records that Ret Marut gave two quite different stories about his origins to the British authorities. The first story was that he was an American, born in San Francisco on 25 February 1882, the son of William Marut and Helene Ottarent. This was what he had always told the German authorities, from the time he was registered as an alien in Duesseldorf in 1912 to the time he was arrested as a revolutionary in Munich in 1919. He claimed that he was British until 1914, when that would have made him an enemy alien, and then claimed that he was American. This claim was rejected by the American authorities for lack of evidence - the San Francisco records were destroyed in the 1906 earthquake, and there was no corroboration of the details about his parents.

So the two claims for American origins - Chicago in 1890 by Torsvan, San Francisco in 1882 by Marut - lead nowhere. But Ret Marut's second story was that he was really Otto Feige, born in Schwiebus in Prussia on 23 February 1882, and the BBC team showed that for the first time there is ample evidence for the claim. A person with that name was indeed born on that date in that place (now Swiebodzin in Poland), and the details about his parents may be corroborated. He said that his father was a potter, but the only pottery in Schwiebus was a brickworks - so he was actually a brickburner. He said that his mother was a millhand, but although his birth certificate says she was a factory worker the only Schwiebus were cloth mills. His mother's surname Wienecke was one of the aliases used by Ret Marut.

All this is very suggestive, but the BBC team seemed rather too anxious to accept this new story. They dismissed the obvious objection that Ret Marut could have adopted someone else's identity by asking how an impostor could have known so much about Feige. The answer is that he could easily have done so



Torsvan in the Twenties

if he had known him well or got hold of his papers. They insisted that the police photographs of Ret Marut in London are "clearly the same man" as the photographs of Torsvan-Croves in Mexico. The answer is that, while they are certainly similar they are not certainly the same.

The BBC team managed to trace Feige's surviving brother and sister, living in West Germany in their eighties. They showed them all the photographs, and insisted that "their recognition was the final endorsement". The answer is that it was not convincing on the screen, being uncomfortably reminiscent of the way policemen and psychics force recognition in the desired direction. There is after all an interval of more than 20 years between the photographs of the young Feige and those of the mature Marut and the middle-aged Torsvan-Croves, and Feige's brother and sister last saw him more than 70 years ago.

Even so, they did give fascinating information about Feige's early life. He was intended for the Lutheran church but was apprenticed to a locksmith, he became a socialist and collected revolutionary literature, he joined the army and disappeared, he was being searched for by the police after the First World War, and the last they heard was a letter saying he was about to be deported from London. In *Der Ziegelbrenner* Ret Marut said that he had studied theology and had quarrelled with the Social Democrats in 1905-1907. It is also interesting that Stanislaw, the narrator's friend in *The Death Ship*, came from Posen, only about 50 miles from Schwiebus; that when Ret Marut was deported from London he sailed as a fireman, the job of the narrator of *The Death Ship*. There are many more such connections, but for a full discussion of them we shall have to wait for the book Will Wyatt is now writing on the subject.

So the BBC team presented a great deal of new material about Ret Marut which is chronologically, biographically, politically and intellectually consistent both with the Otto Feige who was born in Germany in 1882 and with the Hal Croves-Berick Traven Torsvan who died in Mexico in 1969. The first reaction to the programme is the feeling that we may at last have a continuous series of identities from birth to death for the person who wrote the books of B. Traven. We need more concrete evidence to strengthen the weaker links before we can be sure that there really is a single claim, and more research needs to be done in the German police records and the Mexican immigration records, but even the most determined sceptic must be impressed. Perhaps we do now know who B. Traven was.

It is now pretty certain that B. Traven the writer was the same person as Berick Traven Torsvan the photographer and Hal Croves the literary agent. It is not yet so certain that he was previously Ret Marut, or that Ret Marut was originally Otto Feige; but it is highly probable, and the British journalist Will Wyatt seems to have made the biggest advance in Traven research for a decade - if not for three decades.

But the final reaction to the programme is the feeling that complete proof will never be found, that further research will lead nowhere. Whoever they were, Ret Marut and B. Traven have been on the run for more than half a century. We should wish them the best of luck in escaping the literary detectives as they escaped the political ones. As Traven said, "My work is important; I am not". Like the narrator of *The Death Ship*, he doesn't need any papers to know who he is; he knows who he is. And so do we when we read his work.

N.W.

'Timothy Winters comes to school
With eyes as wide as a football-pool,
Ears like bombs and teeth like splinters:
A blitz of a boy is Timothy Winters.

When teacher talks he won't hear a word
And he shoots down dead the arithmetic-bird,
He licks the patterns off his plate
And he's not even heard of the Welfare State".

From 'Timothy Winters' by Charles Causley

THE Timothy Winters of this world are at the sharp end of any debate on inequality in education: they know only too well what it is like to be the undisputed victims of a system which helps some more than others. Like many other disturbing features of both capitalist and state communist societies - racketeering, gambling, violence, prostitution and forms of extreme exploitation - they never seem to go away, although every effort is made to obscure them.

Leaving aside those people, probably the majority, who are quite happy to live in a society which is very unequal (because that's what they've been persuaded to believe), there are basically three schools of thought on the matter: those who believe that by tinkering with the present system here and there an acceptable society will be produced - they could be typified as liberal or social democrat; next come the Marxists who basically follow a Leninist line of replacing the capitalist state by a centralised communist one; and lastly comes a group I will term libertarian, which believes in neither capitalist nor communist state organisation, but a non-statist system where individuals actually exert a measure of control over their own daily lives in cooperation with their fellows.

Needless to say this is only a rough guide, and each group tends to merge into the next one, but for our purposes it will do. So in terms of the question under discussion the group we are to concentrate on is the last one, the libertarian, for it is within their philosophy that the ideas of deschooling are located. But what exactly is meant by deschooling?

The word itself was first used by Ivan Illich when a misheard a questioner at a public meeting who said 'Schools screw you'. Illich thought he had said 'Schools school you' and so had gone on to talk about 'de-schooling'. Since that point the term has never looked back and is now in popular usage.

Apart from Illich himself there are a number of other educational writers whose names have come to be either closely or more loosely associated with the deschooling movement, and as is the case with most 'movements' it is sometimes difficult to tell where they begin and end. A representative handful would be people like John Holt, Paul Goodman, Everett Reimer and Paulo Freire.

So what are the key points of their arguments and how can they be seen as belonging to a libertarian tradition? A popular starting point for any debate on education is that 'schools are in crisis', and the deschoolers would go along with this well-worn view.

Many years back, before the spread of universal education well into the teens had become a reality for industrialised nations, it was a common view that when the provision of free education did arrive it would bring with it a society of fairness, equality and justice. Education would be a panacea for most, if not all the problems of society. This somewhat simplistic analysis was at variance with the unfolding reality and has since been consigned to the wastebin of history.

Inequality did not fly out of the window either in the narrower educational sphere or in the wider one of society. The middle classes did very well out of the state education system, the upper middle classes did even better with their private set-up, and the working classes didn't do very well at all. There was a degree of social mobility between the various groups, but on the whole it was very much business as usual.

To take the UK, the last major phase of reform of the secondary schools has been the move towards the comprehensive system, but few real advances have been achieved from it. Truancy rates in many urban areas are very high, minority ethnic groups such as West Indian blacks, do not appear to gain much from what is offered them. Many comprehensives have rigid streaming policies which effectively preserve the

DESCHOOLING

old division of grammar and secondary modern schools. A large number of children continue to go to school in order to learn how to fail. To take John Holt's phrase, 'Schools are bad places for kids'.

Illich argues that the crisis in the schools is a crisis in a political institution and the crisis for the people who attend the schools is a crisis in political attitudes. One point is clear: schools are not independent of the politics of the society which spawns them. They are there as organised enterprises designed to reproduce the established order whatever its complexion might be.

To come back to specifics for a moment and underline these points. In 1972 the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario, Canada, reported to its government that post-secondary education was inevitably and without remedy taxing the poor disproportionately for an education that would always be mainly enjoyed by the rich. In the UK in 1968 the percentage of males entering universities from the manual working classes was a mere 4.8 per cent (source Robbins).

Yet the painful myth that the only remedy for escape from lives of deprivation for the poor is to agitate for better schooling still maintains a strong hold over those very same people's imagination. It is literally the same as trying to raise yourself up by pulling at your own bootlaces. The middle classes already are aware that no professional competence can be attained without an array of certificates and diplomas, but they are equipped to obtain them. The process by which this certification takes place has been termed by Illich 'the hidden curriculum'.

This curriculum is embedded in the very structure of schooling which has been standardised to a remarkable degree in every part of the world. It is the tradition of people of a certain age meeting in groups of about 30 in front of a recognised teacher for so many hours a day. Attendance at these ritualised gatherings is compulsory by law.

The underlying motive for all of this expensive organisation is an unshakeable belief shared by all nation states that political and economic development depend on more and more investment in schooling. In this way knowledge can be seen as a commodity - in fact it becomes and can be regarded as the securest form of wealth for most people. It is the building up of this knowledge or cultural capital, based on a system of examinations, assessments and certificates, that the student will be able to trade on for the rest of his life. It is a highly negotiable commodity which cannot be appropriated, stolen or left behind. It guarantees privilege and power.

As well as providing an excuse for stratification on the perceived basis of a meritocracy, although this may well mask well-established skeletons in the cupboard, the school and its hidden curriculum is also an inhumane and unfulfilling institution in the eyes of the deschoolers. Illich has drawn attention with some mild satisfaction to the Marxist concept of alienation and how even the states which embrace Marxist ideology have met with scant success in abolishing it.

Using the idea of alienation Illich argues that in the 'service-centred' economies of developed industrial states, people are estranged from what they can do, as well as from what they can make. The process of education is an alienating one. It is part of the process of production and consumption which is basic to all varieties of capitalism. In a teacher-dominated system students are not encouraged to direct their own learning. They are condemned to accept the teacher's view, even if they resent the judgement of the educator. They are made to feel apathetic and unable to change the reality which surrounds them.

One of the most succinct efforts at conveying what deschooling is all about comes, again from Illich, in the pamphlet *After Deschooling, What?*

"Deschooling must be the secularisation of teaching and learning. It must involve a return of control to another, more amorphous set of institutions, and its perhaps less obvious representatives. The learner must be guaranteed his freedom without guaranteeing to society what learning he will acquire and hold as his own.

Each man must be guaranteed privacy in learning, with the hope that he will assume the obligation of helping others to grow into uniqueness. Whoever takes the risk of teaching others must assume responsibility for the results, as must the student who exposes himself to the influence of a teacher; neither should shift guilt to sheltering institutions or laws. A schooled society must reassert the joy of conscious living over the capitalisation of manpower'.

One of the central themes of this approach is its anti-authoritarianism; and in turn this trend underlines the libertarian heritage from which it has sprung. Rather than have the individual subjected to the unnatural constraints of a capitalist 'education' which produces people who will fit its requirements, whether they are destined to become unemployed or brain surgeons, deschooling stresses the civil rights aspect of education. Those elements which strive towards self-fulfillment and away from self-alienation.

The work of Paulo Freire amongst 'the wretched of the earth' - in his case the illiterate who inhabit the poorest areas in Brazil - explores remarkably similar ideas. The belief that ordinary people educate each other through the mediation of the world. That those who commit themselves to the pedagogy of the oppressed must be radicals and not sectarians. And in one sense his most important belief of all: '... my trust in the people, and my faith in men and in the creation of a world in which it will be easier to love'.

Freire sees established education as a programme of indoctrination in the interests of what he terms the dominant elites. In parallel to Illich's concept of knowledge as commodity, as cultural capital, Freire puts forward the idea of 'banking education'. What is taught can be extracted by the student and banked, like a pay cheque, to be drawn on for other commodities later. Although politically Freire draws a lot on strands of neo-Marxism it is no surprise to find that for his educational philosophy he tends towards Erich Fromm, whose firm libertarian attachments stretch farther back than almost any thinker I have mentioned. Along with Goodman one can trace a direct line of descent from Rousseau through Tolstoy to twentieth century radicals in the free school and anti-school movements.

To summarise any movement of thought is always difficult, if not completely impossible, but a rough and ready checklist of the central themes of deschooling would probably include some of these points: the disestablishment of institutions known as schools; the decertification of learning; learning to be based on the needs of individuals as human beings, not on the requirements of an alien economic system; education as something the individual explores and defines for him/herself; and finally the demystification of knowledge with open access to its many branches.

The list is an impressive one and highly idealistic. More like a political manifesto than an academic critique. It con-

trasts strongly with other forms of contribution to the educational debate in general, and as that debate relates to 'inequality' in particular. (Although the two are so closely identified they are effectively different sides of the same coin). It does not, for instance, confine its angle of approach like Jencks did in the US to income inequality, or to any other aspect. It presents a *Weltanschauung*. It goes straight to what it perceives are the roots of the problem, rather than tinkering about on the surface. It is a complete reappraisal.

To step sideways for a moment. In a recent interview, the famous counter-psychiatrist R.D. Laing posed these two models for understanding someone. One way is to minutely examine the physical matter of the human body: the body is dissected and analysed to see how it works. The other is to approach the person with sympathy and to engage h/er in conversation to find out how s/he functions. The first method is hopeless at understanding people as people, whereas the second is likely to be more successful.

I quote the example because I feel it throws some light on the question of inequality and education. It is of relatively little use to pick over the decaying body of our current educational practice in an empirical fashion and throw up guarded prescriptions here and there. Someone is just as likely to come up with a set of contradicting data and conflicting recommendations with just as much validation the following week.



Free schools: readjusting or helping dismantle the machine? (See also GW's article on Delta Free School in the last issue).

An essentially philosophical approach on an open scale is what is needed. Overviews of woods tend to be of greater use than the occasional close-up of individual trees.

But what exactly is the contribution of the deschoolers to the debate on inequality of education? In simplistic terms it is that you cannot achieve any sort of meaningful equality without a fundamental change in society's attitude to learning. If there is this basic reappraisal, then necessarily society itself will have undergone a process of transformation.

Inequality exists and will continue to exist in the future unless the core inequities of the class structures embodied in both developing and developed nation states are abolished. Necessarily elites will perpetuate themselves, and unless the class system is dismantled there will be only cosmetic reform.

The ability of capitalist society to maintain itself through an elaborate system of state education is quite remarkable. As Illich points out in *Deschooling Society*, "Once a man or

Anarchism and "GAY-LIB"

THE WORD 'gay' has been coined to describe or denote a person whose main sexual interest is homophile. In this article, the definition will be extended on the one hand to include all people who are aware of the possibility of their enjoying a homosexual or heterosexual relationship, and restricted on the other hand to exclude those whose main preference is homosexual, but who are in no way liberated about sexuality. In the words of Tom Robinson, to be gay is to be fighting all prejudice and might.

The concept 'gay' as defined above is to be active in support of sexual liberation. Gay liberation, then, encompasses the whole gamut of sexual liberation. Specifically it concentrates on homosexuality. To be homosexual is, potentially, to be an underminer of sexual mores. To be gay is actually an underminer of sexual mores.

Is it important for us as anarchists to concern ourselves with the question of sexuality at all? Would it not do to shelve consideration of sexual questions until after 'the revolution', as so many vanguardist left groups appear to do? To answer these questions one merely has to examine the nature of society today. The laws, the way in which they are interpreted and the customs of society make our gender dominant and the other submissive. Sexuality is only acceptable if it is expressed in dominant/submissive ways. Thus by not considering the question of sexuality we are not freeing ourselves from authority.

At a rather less simplistic level there is the whole question of the family. The laws governing society are based on the assumption that people live in families, nuclear or extended. Whatever sort of family, one thing necessary is marriage. There is even a preferentially treated type of marriage, i.e. a state-registered marriage. As regards tax assessment, for instance, claims can be made for dependents, usually wife, children, elderly relatives. The same goes for social security. Common law marriage (cohabitation for over 6 months) is a double-edged weapon exploited by the state. On the one hand a man will find great difficulty trying to claim for a dependent common law wife. On the other, a woman living with a man is treated as a dependent if she tries to claim social security. It is interesting to note here that the cohabitation rule has been extended (one-sidedly of course) to cover homosexual relationships.

It is respectable to be married, so the state reinforces the institution of marriage. Naturally, this is something of a vicious circle. Marriage (the taking of one partner of the other sex, theoretically for life) as an institution is unacceptable to sexual liberationists. Its form perpetuates male domination, which

means that any man claiming to strive for freedom should avoid marriage. Naturally, marriage is anathema to the women's liberation movement. By its nature and status in society marriage is unsuitable for homosexual people.

We, as anarchists, believe in freedom. This freedom can take many forms, from the total individualism of Max Stirner to the syndicalism of Michael Bakunin, from the pacifism of Leon Tolstoy to the communism of Alexander Berkman. On sexual liberation we have too long been too silent. Emma Goldman did preach - and practice - sexual liberation. Unfortunately it has been left to other groups, eg. the Gay Liberation Front and the Women's Liberation Movement, to tackle the problems of sexual liberation. Unfortunately, that is, because sexual liberation is fundamental to any sort of free society that we may wish to bring about. There is no point to individualism if men are freer than women. What use is a syndicalism which exploits women workers? How can any relationship be pacifist when it endorses the latent anger of sexual exploitation? A commune is a nonsense without sexual equality. It is vital, therefore, that we concern ourselves with the theory and practice of sexual liberation.

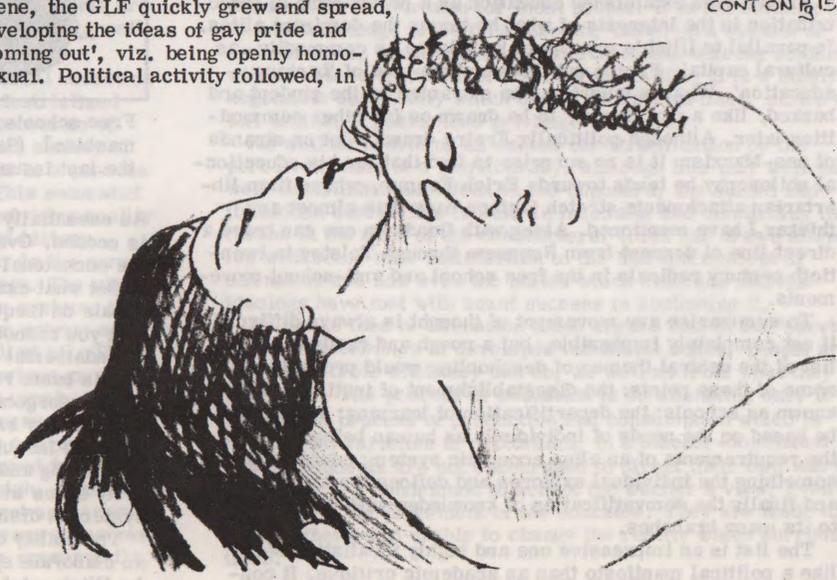
At the start of this article, sexual liberation was equated with gay liberation. This may seem to give a rather homosexual bias to sexual liberation; indeed, gay liberation had its recent origins in the homosexual bars of New York City (Christopher Street/Gay Street riots, late 1960s). However, it was the Gay Liberation Front which gay rise to a great deal of thought on the whole question of sexual liberation. Starting from the gut reaction to police harassment of the New York gay scene, the GLF quickly grew and spread, developing the ideas of gay pride and 'coming out', viz. being openly homosexual. Political activity followed, in

such forms as campaigning for law reform/abolition and 'zapping' anti-gay gatherings (eg. the AGM of the American psychiatrists). But by far the most profound happening was that homosexuals became news. People actually started to examine the state of knowledge about homosexuality. Something somewhere was wrong. The more homosexuality was examined, the less was the justification for treating or trying to change or persecuting it. But one last bastion remained - and remains still.

To be gay is to challenge the family. On the one hand to be gay is to seek relationships outside the scope of family life. On the other hand it is to recognise that marriage is oppressive. Homosexual people start from a position of forced criticism of the family, which enables them to adopt a gay attitude with far greater ease than can people who do not have or are unable to recognise any homosexual emotion within themselves. To be homosexual is to be an enemy of the state. Some people may not be aware of the connection between the state and the family. For clarification, just ask Uncle Jim, Auntie Maggie or that naughty man in the dirty raincoat who is so respectable by day. (For reasons of British justice, impending cases etc, his identity cannot be revealed at the moment). Just remember that Abraham was the father of Israel.

Of what benefit to the state is organisation into families? Look at the family. Aged mothers-in-law notwithstanding, the man of the house is boss. Look at that sentence again. The man what? The man of the house. Nuclear (or otherwise) families tend to live by themselves, in houses or, if not so well off, in strictly divided parts of houses or flats.

CONT ON P 15



LICENTED FROM "THE LEVELLER"

G.A.A.

Members of Gay Activists Alliance send the following report:

We are writing to you on behalf of London GAA with regard to certain events in Brazil that have come to our notice.

It appears that *Lampiao de Esquina*, Brazil's first serious gay newspaper, may be forced out of existence after only eight months.

The paper's policy has been to avoid pornography and eroticism, but despite this, and maybe because of this, the authorities have been incensed by what they call 'homosexual propaganda' and have already subpoenaed five of the editorial staff with a view to a trial on charges of outrage to public morality.

Two of the more influential Brazilian papers, *Jornao da Brasil* and *O Globo* have published articles on the subject suggesting that the ultimate aim of the Department of Federal Police, which has instigated the inquiry, is to shut down the paper by intimidation and economic pressure, such as the seizure of one complete issue (15,000 copies) rather than by the process of a formal trial.

The editorial staff of the paper have told us 'that the solidarity of friends from foreign countries has a deep meaning for us' and that the Brazilian government is susceptible to pressure from abroad.

The staff of *Lampiao* and the members of London GAA therefore request that letters of protest be sent to the Minister of Justice, 70064 Brasilia, Brazil. RP & MY. (London GAA can be contacted at 5 Caledonian Rd, London N1).

Other families living nearby are increasingly regarded as aliens - potential invaders of privacy etc. At once a small example of divide and rule is apparent. Ever heard the expression 'keeping up with the Jones's'? Families are money - to businesses, that is. No bulk buying, internecine competition, the middleman who rubs his hands with glee. Families and a state supporting capitalism (as they all must) go hand in glove. Of course, the organisation and aspirations of the family have been grossly generalised, but the message is still there.

Some homosexuals fall into the trap of defining themselves as 'butch', 'femme', 'effeminate' or 'macho', or several other terms indicative of supposed gender characteristics. Some even go so far as to 'role play', i.e. to play a 'masculine' or 'feminine' part in a relationship. However, the very nature of homosexuality makes it easier for homosexuals to avoid these traps. It is not quite that simple for heterosexuals to be liberated in relationships, though many do try and some succeed. One could say that it is as difficult for a heterosexual to have a liberated relationship as for a rich man to pass through the eye of a camel. Anyway, gay liberation, which started out as being about homosexual victimisation, must now be seen as the aim of all of us - freedom from sexual exploitation.

One gender must not exploit the other in the name of sex, nor may any organisation exploit sexual relationships or define them. Brothers and sisters, friends, comrades, we must eliminate this exploitation from ourselves and from the system under which we exist. Only then will the worst atrocities of the state be clearly seen to be committed in the name of irrelevance. You never know, we may even achieve anarchy.

This article should not be interpreted as meaning that sexual liberation is all that matters. Rather, it should appear that no freedom is real or valid without concomitant sexual liberation. The essence of homosexuality is a challenge to the state. Thus this article has sought to examine how and why anarchism, homosexuality and gay liberation are related. Any comments etc. would be welcome.

JOHN MORTON

Deschooling

FROM P 13

woman has accepted the need for school, he or she is easy prey for other institutions. Once young people have allowed their imaginations to be formed by curricular instruction, they are conditioned to institutional planning of every sort. "Instruction" smothers the horizon of their imagination.

At the philosophical base of all of these ideas, whether they come from Illich or Goodman or whoever, is a great anti-authoritarianism. And it is this, incidentally, which is such anathema to the neo-Marxist school of critics such as Gintis. The deschoolers believe that equality can only become a reality if authoritarianism is rejected. The ideology of conservatism, of hierarchies, of elites is closely linked to strong authority symbols. It is about the delimiting of experience to narrow recognised paths. It teaches people to accept their place in the order of things and make the best of it.

But the kind of equality that the deschoolers are pursuing is not the equality of numbers. It is useless to achieve, let us say, an exactly representative entry into universities on the basis of a country's socio-economic class breakdown, if what the universities do has not changed. As Freire remarks: 'It is rare for a peasant, once promoted to overseer, not to become more of a tyrant towards his former comrades than the owner himself'. The thing to do is not change the overseer, or change the owner, but abolish them, and institute a non-hierarchical, cooperative system. The same with the existing pattern of compulsory education. Don't repair - replace.

The sad fact is - and this is the major contribution of the deschoolers - that no matter how much you try to remedy school's class inequalities in school you are on to a certain loser. Schools like factories produce products. They produce these products to required designs. If, by some chance, the working class child or the peasant succeeds in terms of the school's function, then s/he must adopt the values of the structure that surrounds him and gives her that success.

The success of the disadvantaged is, however, relatively rare. Success is mostly reserved for those whose parents have already been successful. Failure awaits the sons and

daughters of past failures. The percentages might waver a little if you replace grammar schools with comprehensives, or you reserve a number of university places for peasants, but soon enough the reform will be accommodated.

The equality the deschoolers are after is not the equality even of a meritocracy, which fascinates some social democrats so much. It is rather that equality which bases itself on a 'celebration of awareness' - to borrow a phrase. It is a world in which reification would be replaced. Where knowledge ceased to be an object, and became valued for itself rather than just as another commodity. And with these new attitudes the old class divisions would evaporate, because the conflict of competition would no longer have any point. It would be the world of Epi methean wo/man. How we get there is not too clearly explained.

So in order to achieve any move towards this type of Rousseauian equality the whole machine must be dismantled. Some would not be more equal than others in the new system because there would be no urge to be superior or better or richer. There would be no pedants, demagogues or masters.

To finish with the concluding paragraph of Paul Goodman's *Compulsory Miseducation*: 'Nevertheless, in my opinion, the present system is not viable; it is leading straight to 1984, which is not viable. The change, when it comes, will not be practical and orderly.'

But I bet Timothy Winters will be there.

GRAHAM WADE

ERRATUM: Ireland

Under the section 'What is to be Done?' of the article on Ireland in the last issue of the Review, a sentence of the first paragraph ran '... militarist and Marxist groups alike emphasise Brits Out without clearly analysing what sort of society is to replace it other than a "32 County Socialist Republic" or a "Federal Ireland"'. If the groundwork is not laid down now, "Brits Out" would mean something equally innocuous "In". Obviously the word "innocuous" should have been OBNOXIOUS!