

FREEDOM CONTACT PAGE

PHONE 01-247 9249
Freedom Press
 IN ANGEL ALLEY
 84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH ST.
 LONDON E.1

Groups

ABERDEEN Libertarian group. Contact c/o 163 King St, Aberdeen.

ABERYSTWYTH. Mike Sheehan. 2 South St, Aberystwyth.

BELFAST Anarchist Collective, c/o Just Books, 7 Winetavern St, Belfast.

BIRMINGHAM. Meet Sundays, 8.30pm at the Fox & Grapes, Freeman St. B'ham or Ring Joanna 440 5132
 Also Anarcha Feminist Group

BRISTOL CITY. 4 British Road, Bristol BS3 3BW
BRISTOL Students. Libertarian Society, Students Union, Queen's Road, Bristol 8

CAMBRIDGE. Raphael Salkie, Queen's College, Cambridge.

CARDIFF. Write c/o 108 Bookshop, Salisbury Road, Cardiff.

CHELTENHAM Anarchists see street-sellers, 11.00-1.30 Saturday mornings at Boots corner, High St.

CORB. Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

COVENTRY: John England, Students Union, University of Warwick, Coventry.

DERBY (and environs). All two of us welcome collaborators. Contact Andrew Huckerby, 49 Westleigh Av, Derby DE3 3BY, tel: 368678.

EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians. Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.

EDINBURGH Anarchists meet at 8 p.m. on Monday at First of May Bookshop, Mairie St.

EXETER Anarchist Society, Univ. of Exeter, Devonshire House, Stocker Rd, Exeter.

GREENWICH & BEXLEY. Any trade unionists interested in forming a syndicalist group please contact John Ryan, 47 Binsey Walk, SE2 9 TU.

HASTINGS Anarchist Group. Solstice, 127 Bohemia Rd, St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex. Tel: 0424 429537.

HIGH BENTHAM. Ask at the Dragonfly on Saturdays.

HUDDERSFIELD. Meetings every two weeks. For details phone 0484-38156 (Polytechnic Students' Union).

HULL Libertarian Collective. Pete Jordan, 70 Perth St, Hull, East Yorks. Always available for any Anarchists passing through Hull for coffee, food or a place to crash. Transport, in the form of Citroen 2CV also available.

LEAMINGTON & WARWICK. c/o 42 Bath St, Leamington Spa.

LEEDS. 29 Blenheim Terrace, Leeds 2.
LEICESTER. Anarchist group, Lyn Hurst, 41 Briarfield Drive, Leicester. Tel: 0533-21250 (days). 0533-414060 (nights). Bookshop, Blackthorn, 76 Highcross St, Leicester. Tel: 0533-21896. Libertarian Education. 6 Beaconsfield Rd, Leicester. Tel: 0533-552085.

MALVERN & WORCESTER area. Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storrige, Malvern, Worcs.

MANCHESTER. c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1.

MID-SUSSEX Anarchists. Contact Resources Centre, North Road, Brighton
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE. Black Jake, c/o 115 Westgate Road, Newcastle NE1 4AG.

NOTTINGHAM. c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St (Tel: 582506) or 15 Scotch-olme Av, Hyson Green (Tel: 708302).
OLDHAM. Anyone interested in forming anarchist group in Oldham area, contact Nigel Broadbent, 31 Cooke St, Falls-worth, Manchester. (Activities to be decided on formation).

OXFORD. Danny Simpson, Room 1, Turf St, Oxford.

PORTSMOUTH. Caroline Cahm, 25 Albany Road, Southsea, Hants.

READING University anarchists, c/o Students Union, Univ. of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading, Berks.

SALFORD MOVEMENT FOR ANARCHY Experimental Group 2. Contact SNOWY at 22 George Henry St, Salford 5.

SHEFFIELD. Contact Sheffield Libertarian Society, PO Box 168, Sheffield S11 8SE. Groups at above address are: Sheffield Autonomous Anarchists, Black Cross Group, IWW, Syndicate of Initiative. John Creaghe Memorial Society.

SWANSEA. Don Williams, 24 Derlwyn, Dunvant, Swansea.

THAMES VALLEY. Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress Rd, Maidenhead (Tel: 062 2974).

WESTON-SUPER-MARE. Martyn Redman, Flat 5, 23 Milton Rd, Weston-super-Mare, Som.

WILTSHIRE. Comrades in Swindon wish to start anarchist group (as well as existing Community Arts Group). Get in touch with Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton. Swindon. Wilts.

FEDERATION

LONDON
 FEDERATION OF LONDON ANARCHIST GROUPS:-
 Anarchy Collective, 37a Grosvenor Av, Tel: 359-4794. Before 7 pm.
 Freedom Collective, 84b Whitechapel High St, E1, Tel: 247-9249
 Hackney Anarchists, Dave, 249-7042 Kingston Anarchists, 13 Denmark Rd, Kingston upon Thames, Tel: 549-2564.
 London Workers' Group, Box W., 182 Upper St. N1, Tel: 249-7042
 Love V. Power, Box 779, Peace News (London office: 5 Caledonian Rd).
 West London Anarchists, 7 Pennard Rd, W12.

LEICESTER
 See under Groups for address

KENT
 Ramsgate: Peter Ford, 22 Royal Rd Sevenoaks; Jim Endesby, 70 Bradbourne Rd.

MIDLANDS FEDERATION

Secretariat: c/o Andrew Huckerby, 49 Westleigh Av, Derby DE3 3 BY, Tel: 0332-3686 678. Groups in Federation include Corby, Coventry, Derby, Leamington/Warwick, Nottingham, Sheffield (all separately listed), Birmingham.

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION
 c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1.

Groups are:
 Burnley Anarchist Group, 5 Hollin Hill, Burnley, Lancs.
 Lancaster Anarchist Group, 41 Main Rd, Galgate, Lancaster.
 Manchester Anarchist Group, c/o Grass Roots
 Manchester Anarchist Organisation, c/o Jill or Jack, 21 Holmfirth St, Manchester M13.
 Manchester Syndicalist Workers' Federation, c/o Grass Roots.
 Newsletter & quarterly meetings. Contacts in other areas.

NORTH EASTERN ANARCHIST FEDERATION
 Secretariat:- C/o Black Jake, 115 Westgate Rd, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 4AG.

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION
 Contact: Nina Woodcock, 74 Arklay St (Top R.), Dundee. Tel: Dundee 814541

"SOLIDARITY": a libertarian communist organisation which publishes the journal **SOLIDARITY For Social Revolution**
 Local Contacts: Aberdeen c/o 167 King St, Aberdeen. Dundee: c/o N. Woodcock 74 Arklay st, Dundee. Manchester: c/o 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1. Oxford: c/o 34 Cowley St, Oxford. London c/o 123 Lathom Rd, London E6., and members in many other towns.

ANARCHIST COMMUNIST ASSOCIATION
 (Organisation of class struggle anarchists who produce their own newspaper **Bread and Roses**). Local contacts: London: Danny Jakob, 88 Speedwell House, Cornet St, Deptford, SE8. Birmingham: Bob Prew, 13 Trinity Ct, Trinity Rd, Aston, BG. Burnley: Jim Petty, 5 Hollin Hill. Glasgow: Dave Carruthers, 53 Ormonde Av, G4



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It's now 1.25, thursday and this issue of FREEDOM will be late getting to you! But there should be a small bonus for you inside this issue, if we don't have any problems with the machines later on this day. Further copies of the enclosed sheet of gummed labels are available from the Freedom collective at £2 per 100 sheets (inc. postage). Thanks to some comrades in Leicester for the artwork. Demand for the Guy Fawkes poster has overwhelmed the collective! We don't know if it was the special "end of run" price or its topicality. Extra copies are now being reprinted (and sticking to the blanket!) but these will cost more! New prices £2.50 for 100 or 35p for 10 (inc. postage). Thanks to Mushroom for permission to use their artwork - sorry we forgot to mention this in last issue. Copies of the Peter Ford linocuts printed in last week's issue are now available as economy gummed labels at 40p for 50 labels (inc. postage) from UAPS/Europe, 22 Dane Road, Margate, Kent CT9 2AA. The 3 designs "Politicians - Bugger the Lot of Them - Organize at Grass Roots Level"; "Don't Vote - To Change the Master is Not to be Free - Organize at Grass Roots Level"; "of homespun of



such as plastic bags, broken bottles & empty tin cans'. Designs available, without slogans, as greetings cards and postcards. Packs of 6 cards (small) 30p; (large) 50p; postcards 6 for 30p (inc. postage). DU, 22 Dane Road, Margate, Kent CT9 2AA. Residential and Recreational Developments Please Preserve Our Habitat. Please Protect Our Habitat from all forms of pollution, inc. plastic bags, broken bottles & empty tin cans'. Designs available, without slogans, as greetings cards and postcards. Packs of 6 cards (small) 30p; (large) 50p; bumper pack 75p (6 large cards, gift tags, bookmarks & notelets etc.); postcards 6 for 30p (all prices include postage) from DU, 22 Dane Road, Margate, Kent CT9 2AA. It's now 2am - really must go to bed and take dog out! Just remembered (!) Peter is also doing an anti-Nuclear Power design for UAPS. Finally, correct spelling of bourgeois is...
 outmeal gray without a blazon is the flag that I hold up and do not wag - Paul Goodman' are in single or mixed packs. Later on they will also be available as greetings cards and postcards. Pack of 6 large cards & envelopes 60p; 6 postcards 36p (inc. postage).
DISABILITIES UNLIMITED are also marketing a series of animal studies as gummed labels with slogans such as "Save Our Sea Birds Stop Oil Pollution", "Stop Oil Pollution", "When Visiting the Countryside, Please Take Your Litter Home", "When Planning Industrial, Residential and Recreational Developments Please Preserve Our Habitat". Please Protect Our Habitat from all forms of pollution

anarchist fortnightly
Freedom

WHAT YOU CAN DO!
 YOU CAN VOTE LABOUR TO KEEP THE
 TORIES OUT; YOU CAN VOTE TORY TO
 KEEP LABOUR OUT; YOU CAN VOTE CP
 OR ASSORTED TROT OR LIBERAL TO
 KEEP THE NF OUT - OR VICE VERSA.
 OR YOU CAN SPOIL YOUR VOTE.
WHAT YOU CAN'T DO
 YOU CAN'T VOTE THE
 GOVERNMENT OUT!

FREEDOM NOW!

ANARCHISM is the political expression of the desire and the need to be free. Throughout the world, this freedom is denied. For most of the world's population it is restricted due to the lack of the basic needs for life. For a small section of humanity material goods are available in abundance, yet still freedom is confined to areas the limits of which are set by others. There are a range of interacting forces which maintain these limitations. Their most overt political expression is the State.

Anarchism is literally 'no government' and traditionally its focus has been opposition to the State. The anarchist movement as we know it grew from the day to day struggles of working people to gain control over their own lives. It therefore has the same roots as other political tendencies, such as socialism. However,

anarchists recognise that it is illogical to expect to remove authority by using methods and organisations which are themselves authoritarian. This has been borne out in practice. Anarchism transcends other political ideas in its insistence on freedom now, not in an ever-receding utopia.

The 'state' is a hotchpotch of factors. Its pinnacle is the government, but this is only one aspect of the forces which manipulate life. All governments possess weapons such as legal systems and police forces, with which to enforce the rules that they themselves draw up. Most use these forces openly. Some, existing in societies of relative abundance are largely maintained by more subtle constraints.

People are brought up in surroundings where the need for authority is taken for granted. These assumptions are continually reinforced by the nature of the institutions in which they lead their lives, by the media, in fact by their entire environment. 'Deviancy' elicits the other forces of the State. It is hardly surprising that the existence of authority is taken as a 'fact of life'. But that's not the way it has to be.

People show that they are capable of running their own lives. They invest large amounts of energy in things which they see as relevant to them, such as football matches, stamp collecting or political parties. Yet most understand that the arrangement of society is not in their control, so they are apathetic, leaving more room for the bureaucrats to encroach upon.

power structures which affect us by determining, more or less, how we live our lives in a personal sense. Analysis of the power of the state and how it operates is all very well, but unless we can understand how we build and operate similar power structures in our own lives, then the revolution will be a waste of time.

ANARCHISM & INDUSTRY

All our physical needs are satisfied - or not, as the case may be - by industry of one kind or another. But the satisfaction of our needs is not the motivation for industry - that is the accumulation of profit, and we are allowed to participate purely on the level of hired help. Our help is required by management as long as they cannot make the goods, or run the services, they want to sell, without us. When they can, we are dismissed as redundant.

No election is ever fought to change this relationship. The most that has ever happened is that the Labour Party has included nationalisation in its manifesto and - between 25 and 35 years ago - actually took several unprofitable industries under State control. This made no difference to the relationship between the workers and the management, which in most cases remained the same, only more secure in their offices.

The workers are still hired and fired according to the ups and downs of the market economy; they still have to fight

the management to defend or improve their living standards; they still have no say whatsoever in the running of their place of work. They are useful as part of the means of production - but they are not considered capable of judgement in making decisions.

Anarchists say they are. We say that workers should not be regarded purely as adjuncts to the machines they tend, as commodities to be bought or sold as they are needed for a profit-making system. Nor should they be used simply as work-units under the bureaucratic control of managers in sinecures, whose inefficiencies can be covered up by injections of public money.

We say in the first place that profit should not be the motivation. We say that, since production can only be carried on for the good of society, not for profit, and that all those who co-operate in the work should make the decisions on all matters which affect them and their relationship to their work.

It is through work that men and women make their contribution to society - and their dignity and wellbeing and job-satisfaction demand that they should be in control of that work.

Anarchists therefore stand for direct workers' control of industry, which should be socialised, not nationalised. That is, it should be run by those workers for the benefit of society, not the state, and that the satisfaction of society's needs should be the motivation, not the making of profit. Only then can waste and pollution be controlled, natural resources husbanded instead of raped, the present made pleasurable and satisfying and the future secure.

The world has the resources to provide for everybody. Yet most go without the basic minimum of material needs. In the affluent West social attitudes more suited to conditions of scarcity are taken as logical. By using technology rationally everybody can be provided for. The problem is one of distribution and power. Advances with computers, the feted microchips, make the present arrangements still more ludicrous. They also provide even more opportunity to dispense with centralised power structures. Failing this, the world will become, at best, a nationalised soup kitchen.

PICNIC

MAY DAY PICNIC. 1 May, 2.00 - 6.00. Highgate Woods (Highgate tube, Northern line). Maypole, tug-of-war, football, bookstall, manoeuvres, music (if instruments brought). One group has declared intention of progressing to picnic site from Sunpower Bookshop, 84 Blackstock Rd, Finsbury Park, from 1.00. Bring food and drink and, most important, yourselves.

STATE REPRESSION

As anarchists we have a special interest in analysis of, and opposition to, the legal as well as economic and bureaucratic aspects of the State.

In this context the next months require a comprehensive anarchist analysis of 'anti-terrorist' legislation and legal repression in general. The 'Persons Unknown' campaign for the five anarchists facing conspiracy charges provides a perfect focal point. Arising out of the campaign, anarchists have recently initiated an attempt to ally themselves with other (non-party) groupings sharing similar experience of repression through law. The People's Commission, intended as a counter-weight to the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure - which will be bringing out its report sometime next year - is to collect and assess information and plan activities to coincide with the publication of the 'Royal' report. (Groups involved in the People's Commission include Persons Unknown, Huntley St. Defence Campaign, the Friends of Astrid Proll, York Anarchist Group and Black Cross Prisoners' Aid.)

The law is, of course, only one aspect of State repression - it is one which we are forced over and over again to concentrate on, without, unfortunately, suggesting alternatives to the judicial, police and penal structure that are in any proportion at all to the intransigence of our opposition. We do not think comrades will disagree

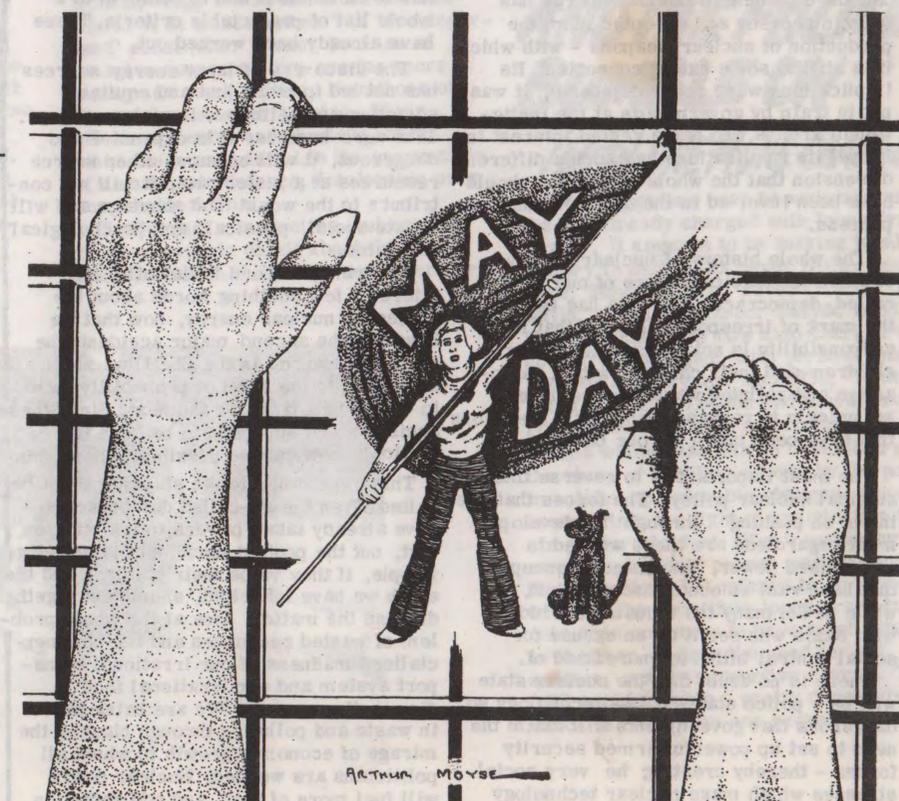
that this whole area needs far more, and more positive, thought than hitherto - not least from ourselves in Whitechapel.

At the same time, there is as least as great a need for anarchists to consider the other forms of state repression.

Whatever the long-term results of the elections, there is no doubt that Britain today cannot be called either traditional capitalist or, (to use the updated version) state capitalist. This particular term of abuse has become meaningless. If we are to provide any effective opposition as a socio-political movement, we have once and for all to shelve simplistic Marxist jargon for a far more realistic, i.e. complex, view of the structure of the British state.

The anarchists' techno-bureaucratic analysis of the state in general has to be adapted to the situation in Britain today. (Know thine enemy!) This is an analysis that must get into focus the real forces of power, and not the Marxist windmills - the power, that is, to do not with accumulation and possession of wealth, either by individuals or the State, so much as with the control of wealth, and even more important, the control of knowledge.

Anarchists are better equipped than others to develop and apply this theory in different spheres of life - the prison, the hospital, the school, the research laboratory, the local housing corporation or whatever.



ANARCHISM & FEMINISM

Anarchists were among the first people to recognise the importance, both social and political, of what is now called women's liberation. Some anarchists have felt that our male comrades' fight has been more theoretical than practical, and believe that a distinct feminist analysis of society expands and improves the anarchist perspective. Therefore, we think it is worth mentioning some of the more important connections between anarchist theory and the practice of the feminist movement.

Organisation

Many women have organised themselves within the feminist movement into non-hierarchical, self-governing groups. While these are not necessarily anarchist, it is a form of 'anarchistic activity' which is becoming more common, and enabling people to perceive that they are capable of running their own lives and taking responsibility for themselves in a way they had not thought possible before.

Mutual Aid

Women have been coming together in order to help each other, without reference to (usually male) experts in many fields, e.g. childbirth, rape counselling, health groups. In most cases, the aim of these groups is to enable people to have more control over their own lives.

'A Woman's Right to Choose'

This campaign has made fertility control a political issue in the public arena. A woman's right to control her own fertility is absolutely basic - without it any other achievements in a social or political context are useless.

Sexism

The women's movement has begun to make people aware of how the trivialisation and objectification of women, in particular by the advertising industry, has distorted our perception of ourselves as human beings. The most welcome by-product of this has been the growing awareness among men that they, too, are distorted and hurt by this same process. Just as the apparently brainless buxom blonde posing half-naked to sell motor cars or whatever, is a gross insult to all women, so the image of the big, handsome, super-virile macho male who never weeps, is a dreadful caricature of maleness. We all need to be free to be ourselves.

Sexuality

The male/female 'division' is only the most overt form of sexual repression. People are pressurised to fit one or other of these polarised stereotypes. Yet there is no black or white, there are a million shades of grey. Humans are capable of an infinite spectrum of sexual responses, perhaps changing with the moment. As these rigid notions are broken down, all this variety can be expressed. And along with this expression can come an outpouring of all other forms of creativity.

In all these areas anarchists have been active in the past, and are active now. What is important about the feminist movement is that it has forced all of us, especially the men, to consider very carefully whether we have been practising what we were preaching, or indeed whether we even believed what we were preaching as it related to women. Feminism has made us much more aware of the

ANARCHISM AND AGRICULTURE

Agriculture in Britain does not feature very much in the manifestos of the political parties. In fact it does not feature very much at all in people's reckoning - only when there is a shortage of some item of food or other. As the peasantry in this country have been more thoroughly liquidated than ever Stalin achieved in Russia, and their cottages occupied by the affluent sedentary middle classes, they do not count for much in terms of vote fodder. Yet agriculture is the basis of a stable civilisation and with the growth of population its importance is paramount. Essential policy regarding agriculture is common to all the political parties. The state ownership of land has largely the same result as extensive private ownership. In

Britain the land is being purchased for insurance companies' pension schemes and other non-agricultural enterprises, with the consequent rise in price which makes it virtually impossible for persons who would like to make their life on the land to do so. The main political parties are committed to increasing industrialisation of agriculture. The excuse for this was the necessity to grow large quantities of cheap food for the teeming population of the cities. As we are beginning to find out, industrial farming is by no means cheap and will become more and more uncertain. The conflicts in the EEC are caused by the fact that large numbers of European peasants refuse to go away, but they are under increasing pressure from the industrially orientated governments.

NUCLEAR STATE = POLICE STATE

The development of nuclear energy has been in secrecy and sprouted from the production of nuclear weapons - with which it is still to some extent connected. Its implications were never discussed; it was put in train by governments at the instigation of groups who had a vested interest in it, yet its implications had such a different dimension that the whole population should have been involved in the decision-making process.

The whole history of nuclear energy exposes the farcical nature of our so-called democracy. The vote has become the mark of irresponsibility. If that irresponsibility is not going to leave our children and their children with a radioactive and polluted wasteland we have to act quickly to reverse many of the decisions that have been taken on our behalf.

The most important is to reverse this suicidal nuclear policy. The forces that are intent on pushing through its development regardless are those wedded to centralised power, the financial groups that have vast amounts invested in it, while in Germany the industry is riddled with Nazis who see it as an excuse for social control hitherto undreamed of.

There is no doubt that the nuclear state will be a police state. It is a technology so dangerous that governments will claim the need to set up powerful armed security forces - thereby creating the very social stresses which make nuclear technology even more dangerous. The atomic person

has to be obedient and to conform to a whole list of predictable criteria. These have already been worked out,

The discovery of large energy sources has not led to more just and equitable societies and neither will nuclear energy. Like agro-business it is expensive and dangerous, it will consume other scarce resources at a faster rate, it will not contribute to the world food shortage and will create social, physical, and psychological problems.

According to Lord Rothschild, who uttered a few soothing words about the subject of nuclear energy, now that we have had the second major accident (the first one occurred in the USSR) we shall, according to the laws of probability, have to wait a long time for the next. Since these accidents are supposed to be "one in a million", how can we possibly believe this?

This expanding atomic stupidity must be halted. Even the so-called democracies have already taken powers to inhibit protest, but the protest movement is growing. People, if they value their children and the earth we have inherited, should get together, discuss the matter, look at the whole problem of wasted resources and the commercialised madness of our irrational transport system and our irrational food distribution system. We are being buried in waste and pollution through chasing the mirage of economic growth to which all politicians are wedded. Nuclear power will fuel more of that, and add radiation to the deadly cocktail.

A sane agriculture is non-exploitative. It increases fertility, using the energy of the sun to create more than was there before. Industrial agriculture requires more input of energy than its output, is polluting, and allied to the vast distributive network produces food which is chemically adulterated and nutritionally unsound. Not only does agro-industry exert a damaging effect on the land, it now also affects the sea, since the protein content of animals' diet in intensive rearing units is largely fish - so the temptation to scoop up, with bed-disturbing nets, fish of all sizes for factory ships, is very great.

This is not the end of the destructive processes that the huge industrial centralised bureaucracies are inflicting on the environment upon which we all rely. The enormous demand for paper and timber is reducing forest areas catastrophically. What replanting is done is of specialised trees with this end in view.

THE ANARCHIST ANSWER

Knowledge that everyone should have is withheld so that centralised and authoritarian powers can manipulate and move populations in their own interests. There is an unease abroad that we will encourage to grow into positive action to reverse the destructive processes that capitalism and state capitalism have wreaked on the physical and social environment.

The large urban conurbations are already decaying in the centres; the state institutions have become too inflexible, too tied up with vast vested interests to institute the changes necessary to reverse those processes. The libertarian forces in Spain in the civil war showed both in the agrarian and the industrial field that ordinary people are quite capable of organising the means of life with common sense and with social justice.

THE IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE

Anarchism is a concept which is acceptable because it is more in line with human aspirations than an authoritarian social structure; that is, a concept that will serve humanity's future as part of the ecological structure of organic life on earth. The first essential for a stable civilisation is a stable, non-exploitative agriculture, an agriculture which can not only nourish the community, but will continue to do so indefinitely. Unless this is achieved, industrialisation and its techniques will merely be illusions which, if they do not achieve the total demise of life on this planet through modern warfare, will achieve the same through starvation.

ANARCHISTS AND ANIMAL LIBERATION

Rarely referred to, but real and important, is the close link between human and animal liberation - between human exploitation and the factory farm or research laboratory, between the destruction of the earth's ecology and the destruction of other animal species.

Animal liberation is a developing movement with infinite potential - politically, socially, ecologically, and economically. One sign of this growing movement is the fact that animal liberation groups operating in Britain have been involved in direct action more radical (guerrilla-style attacks on property and so forth) than any other group in this country at the present time. We welcome the example they have given.

AFTER THE IRON-WORKERS MARCH -

FRENCH ANARCHISTS ARRESTED

The French Anarchist Federation reports:

ON Friday, 23 March there was a large demonstration by iron workers in Paris. After the demonstration fights which broke out between State forces on one hand and workers, unemployed workers and students on the other, resulted in 48 people being charged under article 314 (para. 3) of the penal code (loi anti-casseurs) for carrying arms or for assaults on police officers.

Thirty six of these people received particularly high sentences because they had been arrested in spots where there was fierce fighting with the police.

The charges were based on the evidence of policemen (some at the demonstration were not in uniform), and all the evidence was fragile and contradictory. For instance, one of the accused had been seen to pull down the fence round a tree in a street where there is no tree... The sentences range from 15 months to 3 years. Only one person was acquitted for lack of evidence.

The most important case is that of Georges Croissant, an art student. He fell down in a police attack, and police found in his pocket a small knife (which he used to make carvings with). On the basis of this discovery a trumped up charge was made of premeditated crime and he could be tried in the assize court.

Twelve other defendants are militants of the Anarchist Federation. On the day of the demonstration they were on their way to show solidarity with the iron workers. Before reaching the spot, how-

ever, 20 Federation members were arrested by the police. Five were released but 15 were taken to the police station. On Friday night three were taken to have their identities checked. They were released later that night.

Police kept close watch on the 12 others for 48 hours, and raids were made on their homes. They could have been brought to trial on 26 March but the court decided to postpone the trial until 4 April. Although the twelve declared themselves interdependent, the judge decided to release 10 provisionally, and keep two in gaol.

The trial of the 12 comrades was a trial against all anarchists. It was a political trial. The defendants declared that they were members of the Anarchist Federation and were charged under the anti-casseurs law, although they had not been in the demonstration when arrested.* They were sentenced to:-

- 1 month's imprisonment, and 3 months' imprisonment suspended, for the two comrades who had been kept in gaol;

- 3 months' imprisonment suspended for the nine comrades who had been provisionally released (the twelfth comrade was ill and will be tried later).

The State is not satisfied with these sentences and the prosecutor has appealed. All will be tried over again.

* The twelve were specifically charged with carrying weapons (the staffs of black flags!)

VINDICTIVE CHILDREN?

Dear Editors

I have always held that true Anarchists are men and women of good will, but your editorial proves either that I am wrong, or that you are naive and vindictive children. Morality is largely a matter of good and bad intentions, from which it follows that anyone deliberately setting out to maim or murder in cold blood can only be described as evil. This was not an accidental killing or self-defence. What Mr. Neave may have done in the putative future, neither we nor his killers, can possibly know but up to the time of his death he had neither killed nor been responsible for the death of a single Irishman. So presumably his murder was some sort of warning to others. People who give themselves the right to set up such warnings, together with people who claim to be concerned with the greater welfare of mankind, yet who

do not outrightly condemn such thinking, are not members of the human race to which I wish to belong. I would wish to advise that there is a necessary distinction between the criminal and his crime: one may hate the act but still love the actor. Mr. Neave was no doubt muddle-headed, but he was still a human being and the death of anyone must diminish us. If not then we have failed as human beings.

In the same piece you say, without explanation, that feeling obliged to take up positions either for or against violence is sterile. If that is what you really feel then small wonder that Anarchism is in perpetual suspended animation. Fear of violence is a major cog in the thinking of our fellow citizens. People are terrified of violence and as long as editorials like yours fail to disassociate Anarchism from violence then so long will the public distrust Anarchists and we'll get nowhere. If intelligent revolutionary thinking cannot have rapport with violence 'in itself' (and there is a spurious reification if ever there was) then I'm glad I'm not intell-

Meetings

EDINBURGH. Friday, 27 April 7.30 at First of May Bookshop, Niddrie St. Iris Mills talking on 'Persons Unknown'.

NEWCASTLE upon TYNE. Public meeting against the elections. 'Don't vote: fight back'. Organised by Black Jake. Bridge Hotel, 8 p.m. Wednesday, 25 April.

25 April, Wednesday

LONDON WC1 Emergency public meeting "No Harriburg here - end British Nuclear Programme"; including film "The Plutonium Connection". University of London Union, Malet St, 7-30pm.

To encourage people to join in the work of the many anti-nuke groups represented at the meeting. Organised by London Region Torness Alliance. Details: IRTA, c/o 6 Endsleigh St, WC1.

PERSONS UNKNOWN BENEFIT. Friday, 11 May; 7.30 pm. North London Polytechnic. £1.50. With Crass, Charge and Poison Girls.

DESIRES

Italian comrade researching into: "Human geography, contribution and relationship between comrades Reclus, Patrick Geddes and Kropotkin" Would be very grateful for any information, references articles, manuscripts etc.

Would also like to find a copy of the monograph by the Association of federal scientists. A group founded by Kropotkin on his return to Russia.

TRAIN FROM LONDON TO DUNBAR for the Torness Gathering (Festival/Site Occupation) leaves London Friday eve May 4; return Sunday or Monday night (Monday is Bank Holiday). Seats available strictly in order of receipt of £17 (minimum - extra donation welcome too) by; London Region Torness Alliance, c/o 6 Endsleigh St, London WC1.

Spectacular Times Pocketbook No. 1 "IMAGES": Available 20p (inc. post) from Larry Law, Box 99, Freedom Press.

ABERDEEN Libertarian Socialist Group have reprinted their series of anti-election stickers, at 1p. each (min. 25) up to 100, 75p. per hundred thereafter, post paid. Black on red with an A sign. The words: 'Anarchist Warning: Governments can Seriously Damage your Health'; 'whoever you vote for the government always gets in'; 'Don't Vote - It Only Encourages Them'; 'there's no government like no government'; 'Election Day: Tweedledum or Tweedledee'; 'Bullshit'.

igent. When all else has failed and you have a universally agreed right on your side then violence as a last resort (and if you are able to be certain that it will do more good than harm) becomes tenable - I doubt that this criterion can be met in any Western democracy however and anyway I dispute that any anarchist or any other benevolent revolutionary has the right to use other people - and especially to misuse or abuse them.

Only delta minus I'm afraid.

TIM FLINN

REPORTS

IMPRESSIONS FROM AUSTRALIA

1. On a flying visit through Perth, Western Australia, I didn't get a chance to contact the Freedom Group there. However it was good to see their posters around the city appealing for a May Day celebration this year - 'Take a Sickie on May First'. It certainly makes a change from the majority of French and Italian cities with their walls full of graffiti, but no further sign of activities; a pleasant change at that.

2. Jura Books in Newtown (an inner suburb of Sydney, Australia) has now been open for about 20 months. They have built up a good selection of anarchist material from both movement and capitalist publishers. Turnover is now around \$1000 per month, which is hardly a sound commercial level, but does provide a gratifying distribution of anarchist propaganda which was previously impossible to obtain in Sydney.

On first impression the shop looks a mess due to the large amount of newspapers around the door - can anyone suggest or design a good system of displaying magazines, pamphlets, leaflets and newspapers where they don't get dog-eared and flop over and look as untidy as they do in conventional wire racks. The distribution of papers like FREEDOM, Open Road, Black Flag, Industrial Worker, CNT etc. is vital to the development of our movement, but it presents serious display

problems for bookshops once you get more than five or six. I quite liked the system used at Freedom Bookshop with a flat table top surface, but whether or not this is appropriate will depend on the shape of the shop, and Jura's premises being long and thin seems to rule it out.

On the positive side of Jura, the way in which the shop is run has improved, with more open information channels and better access to resources amongst the voluntary workforce than was the case 12 months ago. This and the sheer fact of the shop's survival with its \$80 per week rent bill are encouraging signs.

3. Since my arrival in Sydney I have learned of the death of Ken Hauptman last August (resulting from an overdose of dog tranquillisers). Ken was known to many comrades both in Australia and overseas. He contributed significantly to the re-birth of the movement in Sydney in 1974 for which we remain in his debt. Unfortunately his politics took a dive towards cynicism, irresponsibility and drugs (nihilism in the worst sense of the word) and his presence became increasingly disruptive and at times downright embarrassing. I cannot find his death or the manner in which it happened, either surprising or tragic - the tragedy had already happened. Nevertheless I am sure there will be many interested to hear the news.

ALAN WESTFALL

FREEDOM ON A RUSSIAN SHIP

4. We've just spent five weeks on a Russian cruise ship - the T.S. Leonid Sobinov - returning home to Sydney after a year and a half away (mostly spent in England). The journey was much enjoyed, but that is not our reason for writing. Before leaving Southampton we equipped ourselves with some back issues of FREEDOM and a few pamphlets which we were able to leave around the main lounge in the afternoons throughout the five-week voyage. We didn't attempt any follow-up, but it was a good opportunity to observe people's reactions. Quite a few times we saw people reading an entire copy of FREEDOM intently from cover to cover, and generally by the end of the afternoon about half had disappeared, presumably with people taking them away to their cabins to read. Although the magazines were anything up to a year old, we put the news section inside the review so that they did not look out of date. We would have dispensed with the news sections altogether except that we wanted to keep the contacts page in them. This system of reversing the places of news section and review might be an idea for groups who get left with occasional issues of FREEDOM from their selling activities. It makes them more presentable and keeps them saleable, especially as the reviews contain articles of enduring interest and often of considerable significance.

DI & RICHARD

5. It should be free, with any group or individual receiving as they can contribute.

HAG can get a certain amount of printing done very cheaply and are offering to produce the first issue 'as an experiment'. They add, "Any anarchist group or individual who would like to contribute articles, cartoons, or anything should send it to us as soon as possible. When we have enough material we will print it and send it out to every anarchist and anti-authoritarian group we can find the address of - and anyone who asks us. As to the name, we thought until some kind of consensus is reached, something fairly neutral like Anarchist News. Of course the next group can change that if they want, it doesn't matter that much."

"Even if this didn't get off the ground and only one or two were produced (we certainly wouldn't do more than that without production going to someone else) we think it would still have been effort well spent."

See Contact page for HAG's new address.

HAG: BREAKING DOWN ANARCHO-CENTRALISM

SINCE Hastings Anarchist Group proposed a new anarchist paper with the purpose of 'breaking down the centralism of the movement and involving small groups in provincial towns', the response, they report, has been good. They have now put forward concrete proposals as to how the paper should be organised:-

1. The production should be rotated between as many groups as possible.

2. It should be a paper for the movement itself - not trying to convince people that anarchist principles are correct, but rather anarchists sharing experience with each other.

- Suggested topics - how anarchist groups in various places developed; how they operate and relate to other revolutionaries and the community in general in their area; reports of specific actions.

3. No editorial policy. Anything of an anarchist nature, taking the word anarchist in its widest possible sense, should be published (excluding racist, sexist, authoritarian, party-building and right wing crap in general).

4. To keep costs down, no effort should be made to produce a slick magazine - as long as it's well laid out, readable and with an occasional cartoon for light relief.

RONAN: STILL NO BAIL

RONAN BENNETT was yet again refused bail when his application was made on 23 March, at the Old Bailey.

Ronan, as readers will know, is the last of the five anarchists who will be standing trial together from 3 September, to still be held in Brixton prison.

Rejecting the application, Recorder George Shindler, Q.C. remarked: "We have to be realistic about these things. There are associations and there are dangers. We cannot have a man disappearing over the water".

These devastatingly brief and vague words are worth noting. They are a clear indication of the reason why Ronan has served what amounts already to a 1 year prison sentence, even before coming to trial. The fact that he is Irish.

Shindler, indeed, went out of his way to ask the police "Is there an Irish connection in this case?" A question which could well serve as answer to an earlier query of The Leveller's - "Are the police leaning on the court to stop one of the anarchist case defendants from being granted bail?"

Given the cue, of course, the police lost no time in referring back to Ronan's escape attempt from Long Kesh, where he had been held on a charge of which he was later acquitted. That the judge in the escape case had merely bound Ronan over with the remark that he could hardly blame an innocent man for trying to regain his freedom was, need we say, unmentioned.

Apart from this, the police brought up the usual objections - danger of intimidation of witnesses, probability of absconding, seriousness of charges - none of which have sufficed to keep Ronan's co-defendants in gaol.

But it is useless to argue along these lines. It is obvious that any 'Irish connection' has a totally irrational grip over the courts.

As the QC David Turner Samuels remarked after the hearing, the logical consequence of Shindler's argument was that any Irish person in this country, charged with a serious offence, would automatically be denied bail.

Whether a further bail application will be made is uncertain at this stage. But if no bail is granted, and assuming that the provisional trial date of 3 September is held to, which may not be the case, Ronan Bennett will have spent almost 18 months on remand - with little, or no, chance of compensation if not convicted, or sentenced to a shorter prison term.

This situation is bad enough in itself. What makes it yet worse are the appalling conditions of remand prisoners in this country, where the remand period has traditionally been (at least relatively) short.

In this case, however, not only was the 7 month pre-committal period exceptionally long, but Ronan faces the likelihood of at least another 7 in 'de-categorised' conditions. These, because of massive overcrowding, are far more taxing and much dirtier, than those of the maximum security wing. Their effect on mental and physical health make them prejudicial to the preparation of an adequate defence, intolerable over any length of time.

To list just a few points (but sparing readers graphic detail about the fat cockroaches in H.M. kitchens) there are:



two toilets for 80 men on the landing of the block where Ronan is held. There are at most two showers a week, and these are usually cold. The statutory 1 hour's exercise per day is limited to periods ranging from 30-45 minutes only, and prisoners are locked up for at least 22 hours a day (the two 'free' hours being taken up with visits, exercise, slop-out etc). There is no television, no gym facilities, no proper association with other prisoners, or recreational facilities, no access to up-to-date prison rules, and no adequate educational or library facilities (one educational officer and one library officer supply the entire population of 1,200 men).

In addition, although allowed to use a typewriter as a Category A (maximum security) prisoner, he is now not permitted to use it on the grounds that if he has one it could be stolen from him! He was also refused access to his defence papers for up to 10 days while on punishment for protesting at the refusal to hand him over a chess book.

A meeting on Ronan's case is to be held on Friday, 25 May from 7.30 at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London. *Gair*

AND THE POLICE BUMBLE ON

(WITH ONE MORE CHARGE)

A new charge has been brought against the six already charged with 'conspiracy to rob'. It appears to be making legal history in that it has never before been used. Stewart Carr, Trevor Dawton, Iris Mills, Vince Stevenson, Dafydd Ladd and Ronan Bennett are now also charged with conspiring together 'with persons unknown' between January and May 1978, 'to defraud people in London and elsewhere by robbing them of cash and firearms'.

This whole case can be described as the story of bungling efforts by the police to bolster up untenable charges. Once brought into the light of examination they simply turn to dust. The 'conspiracy to cause explosions' charge was so gross that even the DPP refused to go through with it. The substitute 'conspiracy to rob' does not seem to have much future in it either - hence the need for yet another, purely supportive charge. The ATS are obviously a pretty desperate bunch in more than one sense.



Anarcho-nationalist

Dear friends,

As a Scottish Nationalist with anarchist sympathies, I would like to reply to Colin Mackay's very witty but, in my view, muddle-headed and factually inaccurate article 'Edinburgh Spring'.

It is true of course that, as Colin says, Scots do not share a common origin. There is no such thing as a Scottish 'race', since the Scots are an amalgam of many different races, who have moved into the country throughout the centuries. Colin is also right in claiming that much of the Scottish historical tradition consists of wars, both civil and with England. He is wrong, however, in imagining that the great Wars of Independence in the late 13th and early 14th centuries did not have the support of the ordinary people. Far from being press-ganged into fighting for William Wallace and Robert the Bruce, the common folk of Scotland rallied spontaneously behind the banners of these mighty leaders. In these days the Scots were a people 'harrided by a callous super-power (England), their language (Gaelic) was dying unrecognised, their customs were forbidden' and so on. Moreover, all the old inter-tribe rivalries were forgotten in the struggle against the common enemy, England (Highlanders and Lowlanders fought side by side at Bannockburn), which, as a matter of historical fact, was always the aggressor.

Colin, of course, will maintain that all this has now changed, and that what remains is, as he writes, "a strange, ghost-like nationalism". But this is simply untrue. Colin grossly underestimates the strength of the sense of national identity in Scotland today. From a coldly rational point of view, of course, Scotland is merely "so much earth between the Atlantic and the North Sea". Yet the fact remains that if Scotland were to be invaded again tomorrow, the vast majority of the population would unite to try to repel the aggressor, just as they did six centuries ago. Even on the trivial level of the football field, the antagonism between Celtic and Rangers is temporarily put into cold storage when Scotland meets England at Hampden or Wembley. Colin may deny that Scotland is a nation until he is blue in the face,



As Suits...

FREEDOM

Whilst agreeing with most of Dave Coull's reaction to John Clark's 'What is Anarchism?' I would suggest Dave might be an even better active anarchist by reading Bookchin, Goodman and Guerin. Dave, in fact, by taking the trouble to write to FREEDOM, indicates that he considers the influence of the written word is to be respected. We neither desire mindless anarchism nor anarchology.

CONT. ON PAGE 9

but he will never convince 99 per cent of his fellow countrymen that he is right, and that includes "the aspiring bourgeois shoppers of Princes Street"! Ultimately, definitions of what constitutes a nation are unimportant; what matters is whether people feel themselves to belong to a nation or not. I know with my head that all frontiers are artificially created, yet when I returned to Scotland after a prolonged sojourn in England some years ago, my heart did beat faster as the train approached the Scottish border and the land of my fathers. And Colin will never convince me that the passionate love I feel for the country of my birth is something I should be ashamed of, and try to overcome.

The recent referendum was a fiasco because it was not about devolution at all, but about the implementation of the 'Scotland Act', which proposed the setting up of a feeble domestic Assembly which would have been a mere appendage of Westminster. Many electors voted 'No' or abstained, not because they were against home rule, but on the contrary because they believed that the emasculated Assembly which would have resulted had 40 per cent voted 'Yes', would have prevented the achievement of real self-government for many years. In 1950, over 2 million Scots signed a Covenant demanding the setting up of a Scottish parliament, and had the referendum question been worded along these lines, the 40 per cent hurdle would have been surmounted with ease.

Colin's account of the rise of modern Scottish nationalism is a complete travesty. In the first place, it originated long before the 1920s. The Scottish Home Rule Association was founded in 1886,



We Ought to...

Dear comrades

The last Review (29 March) was really good. Giulia's article touched on the subject of rape and violence to women, and I think this is something anarchists should be paying more attention to, especially since the collapse of Zero means that there is no specifically anarcho-feminist paper worth speaking of being produced in Britain.

Rape, women-beating and the unspoken ideology which accompanies it affects

CONT. ON PAGE 9

and by 1894 the Liberal majority in the House of Commons was supporting a Scottish parliament. Keir Hardie, the first Labour MP, was a staunch advocate of home rule, and in 1913 a bill to establish a Scottish parliament was passed at Westminster by 204 votes to 159. Only the outbreak of the first World War prevented its being implemented. Between the two World Wars and later, the home-rule movement was led by such great Scots as James Maxton, R. B. Cunningham Graham, John Maclean, Compton Mackenzie, Eric Linklater, Hugh MacDiarmid, Neil M. Gunn, Oliver Brown, Sydney Goodsir Smith, Sorley Maclean and Naomi Mitchison, some of them fine poets, it is true (though not particularly gaunt ones!), but none "little Tory ladies in tartan skirts"! The modern SNP is certainly a bourgeois monarchist Party (which is one of the main reasons why I, a Scottish Socialist Republican, am not a member), but Colin's assertion that the Party "would napalm aborigine tribes on the land needed for oil terminals out of the way without the slightest hesitation" is a gratuitous and offensive lie. I know personally some of the SNP leaders (I went to school with the present chairman, Billy Wolfe), and can vouch for their integrity and humanity. Indeed, the Party's record on conservation issues has been good. They have always advocated that the extraction of oil should be slowed down, and are at present in the vanguard of the opposition to the iniquitous proposal to carry out uranium mining in the North of Scotland and the Orkney Islands.

Of course, there would have to be much devolution and decentralisation within an

CONT. ON PAGE 9
COLUMN 2



Pseudo-colonial Wales

Dear Editors

I found myself agreeing with a lot of the comments about devolution in vol. 40 no. 4 of FREEDOM, although the few SNP stalwarts I have met seem far better material than the "girls in blue jeans exuding Chanel No. 5" to whom Colin Mackay refers.

But the vital point has been missed entirely.

The lack of public support for the devolution proposals has been solidly interpreted in the capitalist press as satisfaction with the status quo and rejection of the concept of home rule. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Nobody I know is happy with the present pseudo-colonial way in which Wales is governed (I don't get to mix with the well-heeled upper crust who benefit from this situation) and everyone - of all political leanings and none - wants to see a lot more local control in local hands. But in the referendum people voted convincingly against the establishment of a useless, toothless, expensive white elephant in Wales which would provide an elaborate haven for ageing Labour hacks in Cardiff on the lines of the haven for ageing ex-Eton hacks which exists in Westminster.

The creation of Westminster-style centralised government in Wales (and in Scotland as well for all I know) has a fairly substantial appeal, as we have the RIGHT to be free of English colonialism, a colonialism which is comparatively soft in world terms, but which still leaves us with an exploited economy, a ravaged culture and on-going linguistic genocide. But substantial, and wider, progress is only feasible if we can continue the process of power-decentralisation not just from London to Wales, Scotland and the English regions, but also from Cardiff outwards to each district and community in Wales.

By no process of revolution, political education (how many people read FREEDOM?) or the arrival of a messiah, can

CONTINUED TOP OF COLUMN 2

community freedom be grasped without the dynamic of national freedom behind it. Only when the concept of 'small nation' self-government has been accepted within our hypnotised society can the concept of 'small community' self-government take root - in England as well as Wales.

I agree with your conclusion that 'devolution', as presented by a centralist English Labour government is (or was) a load of crap. But judging by the contents of vol. 40 no. 4 the anarchist movement is in danger of chucking out the baby with the bathwater if it also fails to see the relevance of nationalism, de-colonialisation and national self-government as essential steps towards creating the free society which we would all, I think, like to see.

Pob hwyl
MEURIG PARRI

Aberystwyth, Dyfed, Cymru/Wales

'ANARCHO-NATIONALIST'

independent Scotland, and I would personally favour a federal system along the lines of that operating in Switzerland, though with a socialist economy. 'Scotland means nothing to me .. people everything ... love live Anarchy!' cries Colin with a flourish. But, as I have tried to explain, people just cannot be separated from the nation they feel they belong to, and while I agree that anarchism is a noble ideal, I do not believe it could ever work in practice for more than a very limited period. As Bertrand Russell pointed out 60 years ago in *Roads to Freedom*, even assuming that an anarchist society could be set up without much bloodshed (a large assumption indeed!), because of its very libertarian nature, there would be nothing to prevent an unscrupulous person from forming his own private army, seizing power, and establishing a military dictatorship. I will, therefore, continue to work for an independent Scotland which, I believe, could be achieved by peaceful and democratic means before the end of the century.

JOHN L. BROOM

Orkney

OUR printing of the article 'Edinburgh Spring' in FREEDOM Review vol. 40 no. 4 (10th. March) unfortunately missed a line which rather jumbled up one of the paragraphs. The top of page 11, lines eleven to twelve should read:-

"... had closed down its second hand bookshops, its dives and even some of its pubs in my absence and blossomed out in a rash of boutiques health food shops... etc."

Colin Mackay adds: "The point I was making was that the nature of the city centre was changing to cater for a growing bourgeoisie. Oh, one other point: it is foolish and immature 'mind' not a foolish and immature 'wind' which equates importance with bloodshed (p. 10 line 48). What a comrade's mature wind is like is something I would hate to imagine."



Solidarity

Dear comrades

Thought the last two Reviews were very good. In fact, together with the news of group activities section there has been a definite improvement in your journal. Hope you might be able to solicit more reports from anarchist and libertarian communist groups abroad. Keep up the good work!

MIKE BALLARD

Solidarity (Manchester)

WE OUGHT TO...

all of us in our everyday lives, not just those who are unlucky enough to be its direct victims. Moreover, as anarchists upholding the freedom of women and the social prevention of violence, we really ought to be coming up with some reasonable ideas on this subject, at a time when even the trad Left are beginning to think about it.

If anyone, male or female, is interested in getting a Review together on the subject of violence against women, please contact me.

WIN SMITH

(Box A, Crabapple, 16 St. Mary's St, Shrewsbury, Shropshire).

'AS SUITS' (CONT)

Laurens Otter's letter is surely another example of what Dave objects to and it surely ill befits Laurens to criticise anarchist guerrillas for being elitist whilst suggesting Gandhi as a figure for anarchists to follow. One notes Laurens did not pick up John Clark's elitist comment about 'major anarchist theorists'. The anarchist theorists are usually too academic and surely this is the major error of John Clark's interesting but incomplete essay. No-one but an academic could write that "some figures, like Emma Goldman, seem to have an equally strong commitment to both individual freedom and social solidarity" when considering the distinction between individualist and social anarchism. I've found practically all anarchists in the same mould as Emma Goldman.

Neither is the anarcho-communist/anarcho-syndicalist distinction so vital to anyone outside the intellectual greenhouse. We are syndicalists or egoists at work as suits the situation, and may take other perspectives at different times.

Yours JW

Weybridge, Surrey

NEWS FROM ANGEL ALLEY

WE WERE SAYING in the last issue that it would be physically impossible to carry on our propaganda work if we did not have at least one room for the editors to ponder over the issues of the day and to produce the paper. Freedom Press could hardly deal with the administration without an office too. Then we run a Bookservice which not only welcomes callers but also supplies comrades and groups all over the world with literature, and this needs another room for stock and the packing of parcels. We are also publishers of a number of books and pamphlets, and our stocks of these fill another room. Last but not least we have two rooms filled with material accumulated over the years always hoping that the means will be available one day to set up a flourishing anarchist library. On the ground floor at Angel Alley we have a printing press. At the moment it is at a standstill; we will tell you why next time.

SO THAT'S THE SET-UP at Angel Alley. Two floors bustling with activity. One floor bulging with books, archives &c. for an exciting library. The ground floor idle, but not for long if we can put our present financial commitments on a sound footing. When we moved into Angel Alley in 1941 we rented the building opposite which is bigger than 84B for £2 a week and the Rates were less than £50 a year! Today we pay no Rent but have to find £850 for Rates, £100 for Water Rates a year. The telephone accounts for £200, heat another £200, and lighting and Insurance another £100 each. In all, £1,600 at 1978 prices.

With all these charges about to go up again one thing is

FREEDOM DEFICIT FUND
(Target 1979: £2000)

Contributions received
March 22 - 28 inclusive

STOKE NEWINGTON: L.F. £5;
WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £1.50;
J.K.W. 50p; TROY, NY: D.T.W. £12;
ACCRINGTON: G.H. £2;
LONDON SE14: B.S.B. £1.

TOTAL: £22.00
Previously ackndgd: £489.06

TOTAL TO DATE £511.06

certain, and that is we will be unable to meet them out of the "profits" on our Bookservice. We have no financial reserves to draw on and it will mean using the income from the sale of Freedom Press literature for this purpose, instead of its true purpose of replacing and renewing our stocks of FP literature. We are confident that many of you will share our concern, and will agree that all those working in Angel Alley who unfailingly produce FREEDOM, who dispatch your orders promptly, and have maintained a small but important list of anarchist literature over all these years, are not asking a lot when they expect to have a roof over all their activities, and space to work in. And when one thinks of the printing press, these two idle years are not such a bad record considering that we did all our own printing throughout the previous 36 years!

So it's £1,000 this year for the PREMISES OVERHEADS FUND to keep us in Angel Alley. The fund is now open and we look forward to receiving donations large and small.

BOOKSHOP

Robert Blatchford: Merrie England, £1.20 (19p). First published in Blatchford's paper "The Clarion" in 1892-3. This has become a classic work on the plight of the working people in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century.

*Carlotta O'Neill: Trapped in Spain, £2. (26p). An eye witness account of the Spanish Revolution.

Raoul Vaneigen: The Revolution of Everyday Life, £2. (29p). One of the Classic Texts of Situationism.

*Jose Peirats: Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution, £2.50 (54p). A first English translation by Mary An Slocombe & Paul Hollow of Peirats' important work. It originally appeared in Spanish in 1964 and is an important, sympathetic and scholarly account of the Spanish Revolution from an anarchist perspective.

SPECIAL
PRE-ELECTIONS OFFER:

Freedom Press's latest title: THE IMPOSSIBILITIES OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. £1. 3 copies for £2.25 post free. This special offer is available on orders received up to the end of April.

This book is most suitable for your voting friends who still cherish hopes in Labour Party socialism. Nor will it be of much comfort to those who think it is "time for a change" of rulers. The Fourth Section of the book deals with "The Means: Elections Vote Catching" and includes just the kind of material for Election Time: The Myth of "Good" Government, Three Parties in Search of Votes, Self-Interest and Voting, Notes for those about to be Double-Crossed.

142 pages of anti-voting ammunition for £1, 3 copies for £2.25 (post free) for April only.

*Anthony D'Agostino: Marxism and the Russian Anarchists, £2. (36p). Eight Studies of the role of the Russian Anarchists from the emergence of Marxism to the post-Stalinist era.

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Freedom



JUSTICE DESERTED

THE HOME OFFICE recently financed an investigation by two academics into the workings of the jury system and found that about one in 20 of those imprisoned for serious offences are 'probably' innocent and one in four acquitted are 'probably' guilty.

The probably comes about when the verdicts are compared with the opinions of experts - the police, judges and lawyers - who make their living from crime no less than the criminals they arrest and punish.

The report concludes that the traditional British faith in juries is 'misplaced'. No-one, of course, has ever claimed that the jury represents perfection and never errs. But, for one reason or another, most of us would rather take our chances with 12 fellow citizens than one, two or three State officials.

In 1973 Robert Mark, then Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, complained that juries were acquitting too many people. He described acquittals as 'failures' and declared the 'failure rate is too high'.

Harman and Griffith say, "On his line of argument it is hard to see the point of any trial at all - if the police are always right in their determination of guilt, why involve a court?"

From personal experience

The defendant was accused of five robberies, two while armed with a sawn-off shotgun and one with an imitation automatic. The only evidence against him, in spite of 20 or so witnesses, consisted of two statements allegedly made to members of a Crime Squad and the Flying Squad admitting his part in a string of robberies, some of which he hadn't been charged with.

There had already been one trial. The jury had split and been unable to reach a verdict either way. The defendant's case was that both groups of policemen had concocted the statements, he had been 'verballed'.

At the outset defence counsel objected to two jurors, both elderly women, on the grounds presumably that they would be prejudiced against a young 'thug', guilty or not. The prosecution

The police are always right. They either get the right person or, if they can't do that, manufacture enough evidence to make it look as if they have. The law is always right. That it is a class law, codified to protect the interests of a ruling minority, is something that most people including, unfortunately, juries do not take into account.

"The jury", say the authors of this pamphlet, "is the one chance that most people have of administering the law for themselves. And so it has always been the subject of attack from those who think they know better: judges, Government law officers and senior policemen".

Writing in The Guardian, Michael Zander suggests "Authorising a study conducted by bugging a random sample of jury rooms without the jury knowing it". In this way the State might discover more about the "deepening mysteries of the jury room". Who is to say they're not doing that already?

There is, as it happens, no mystery. Theoretically any man or woman on the electoral roll can be called for jury service. Every year about 200,000 are called. The real mystery is why the State feels itself so undermined that it must, in turn, attempt to undermine the jury.

ion asked one man to "stand by for the Crown", on the face of it because he looked the same age and class as the prisoner and might be biased in his favour.

At the end of the evidence and summing-up the judge told us we should reach a unanimous verdict. If we were unable to do this he would call us back into court and explain what a majority verdict entailed.

The 12 of us - three women and nine men, aged from early 30s to late 50s - were taken to the jury room and locked in. We chose a foreman (not the strongest personality but a man who'd sat on a jury before) and discussed first what form our verdict would take.

We immediately agreed that as the prosecution rested on a confession, the witness evidence being almost entirely marginal, the prisoner was either guilty of all the charges or, if the confession was false, none of them.

Then we went round the table.

*Justice Deserted - The Subversion of the Jury
Harriet Harman and John Griffith, NCCL, 50p.

We had a rough idea what way things might go. Four or five of us regularly had lunch together throughout the two weeks of the trial, going over and over the morning's evidence. We had all had a good opportunity to see not only how one another's minds were working on the case but how they worked generally.

But a weekend had intervened between the judge's final summing-up and the point when we were sent out and it was over these two days that people had to sort it out alone.

Ten said "Guilty", one "Not Guilty" and one, apologetically, "Not Sure". I had expected things to be closer than this with perhaps eight saying "Guilty", two "Don't Know" and two "Not Guilty". The best I had hoped for, based on what people had been saying, was another split jury.

A general discussion broke out, centering around me - who was saying "Not Guilty" - and the people I'd expected not to say "Guilty" so decisively. Being in a minority meant having to argue in support of the man's innocence - which is, naturally, the reality of courtroom practice anyway.

We argued for five hours, everyone eventually being drawn in to give reasons for their decision. About half way through we returned to court to say that a unanimous decision was impossible. Back in the jury room the one "Not Sure" changed to "Not Guilty".

The defence case was that it had been easy for the police to create plausible confessions because they possessed statements from other men involved in the robberies - these men were already in prison - together with all the witness statements. (As someone once said about another case, a police officer involved deserved not a Queen's Commendation but the Nobel Prize for Fiction).

The prosecution case was that this might be true, were it not for a number of details in the confession that appeared nowhere else. Our argument in the jury room revolved around these points.

As in any argument it was possible to insist that black was white and white black, particularly as were all certain the police had more information than they were willing to let on. Ultimately it came down to a feeling, a willingness or unwillingness to accept that ten police officers were able to conspire to fabricate a confession.

Two of the jurors said that if it had involved, say, three policemen they could have accepted it. The "balance of probabilities" therefore lay not in whether the prisoner had committed the robberies but in whether that many police officers would lie together.

We all agreed that some officers falsified evidence because they were financially corrupt, some because they were down-right evil and others for what they saw as 'good' reasons - to get what they thought was a genuine public menace out of circulation.

We all agreed that, when it came to it ('it' being our responsibility, collectively, to decide whether a man was gaoled or not) the 'good' reasons just weren't good enough to constitute real evidence.

The ability to sift evidence varies from individual to individual. The amount of prejudice (either way) roughly balances out. The final decision was reached, by most people, in what they felt were the interests of people like themselves, not the police or the law. That those interests might be defined by the law was something we could not go into.

No-one was taken in by the eloquence of the counsel. Everyone said it was just a game lawyers play. But some jurors' attitude towards the judge worried me. He appeared to be seen as genuinely playing the part of an unbiased arbiter.

Two or three of them said openly as the trial went on that they were hoping for 'firm' guidance from him, not simply on points of law (which is said to be his province) but also on the relative weight to be attached to evidence. Oddly enough this attitude came from people who, intellectually at least, were among the most capable of doing this for themselves.

The judge gave this guidance and pointed out over and over that while we were bound to accept his ruling on law we were at liberty (his expression) to ignore every word he said in his summing-up of the evidence. "Accept, members of the jury, anything that fits your view, reject anything that doesn't".

But judges are old hands at the game. "It is of course quite possible", he said at one point, "that two groups of police officers should manufacture a confession". To read this is one

thing. In reality he was rubbing his chin and peering dubiously over his spectacles as he said it.

When I said this to one of the jurors who voted "Guilty" he said, "That's why we have juries. To see through things like that".

Had he? "Yes. But I agreed with the judge".

Perhaps we would be a lot safer if we got rid of the judge's summing-up.

The prisoner was given ten years for each robbery, to run concurrently, and three for each gun charge, again to run concurrently, making 13 in all. He took it well but again insisted on his innocence. One of the jurors who voted "Not Guilty" ran to the lavatory and we never saw her again.

In the end it didn't make a blind bit of difference to the prisoner, the victim, whether he had a jury or not. Thirteen years is 13 years. But how the jury is selected and what powers it manages to retain can make an essential difference.

* * *

Justice Deserted details the gradual changes made in the past ten years or so to undermine the position of the jury, and thus the part ordinary people play in the process of 'justice'.

The 1967 Criminal Justice Act brought in majority verdicts. Until then a jury had to agree unanimously that guilt had been proven. If one member had, as they say, "any shadow of doubt", the case was over and the Crown had to start again and convince another jury or drop the charges altogether.

The justification for the change by which a majority of at least ten to two was sufficient for conviction was that gangsters could intimidate one juror and undermine the legal process. No evidence for this was ever presented. The number of trials involving organised gangsters are, to say the least, limited. But it had the advantage of making conviction a simpler thing.

The second change came in 1973 when a direction was issued to judges barring any questioning of jurors by the defence. The Angry Brigade trial had seen defence barristers asking potential jurors questions to ascertain what level of bias there might be amongst them.

Senior members of the judiciary attacked this on the grounds that a "jury consists of 12 members chosen at random". We shall see that the sanctity of randomness doesn't always apply - when it suits the State.

A further change came in the same year when the Tory Lord Chancellor Hailsham had details of occupation removed from the information on jurors available to both sides at the beginning of the trial. Hailsham complained that the defence were using this knowledge as a basis for challenge. It was being 'abused'.

"By 'abused' Lord Hailsham seemed to mean 'exercised' by the defence", say Harman and Griffith, "for he remained unconcerned at the increasing use of the challenge by prosecutors to remove young men with long hair from juries in drug cases".

Two years ago the next major change came when whole categories of offences were taken from the Crown Courts - where juries sit - and handed over to the Magistrates' Courts - where they don't. The old name for the Magistrates' Court was the Police Court, which says enough.

The justification for this was that it would speed up the process of justice and reduce the amount of time defendants had to wait before their cases were heard. Public order charges involving threatening or insulting behaviour, for example, were no longer to be heard before a jury.

The first clear result of this in real terms came during the picketing at Grunwick where workers were fighting for the right to belong to a union. Over 500 people were arrested and most were charged with Public Order offences.

The authors say, "The local magistrates showed their disapproval of the events at Grunwick by handing down hundreds of convictions and fines. In the majority of cases the police evidence (for they were all convicted on police evidence alone) was so thin as to be derisory. Here was a factor which would seriously have concerned a jury but hardly seemed to matter to the magistrates".

In the same Act - the 1977 Criminal Justice Act - the defence right to challenge jurors was further whittled away. Originally 35 could be challenged but this fell in time to seven. The Act reduced this to three - the prosecution's right of challenge in open court being left unlimited.

THE MONSTER IN COLUMBIA

MONSTROSITY a huge place with fearful human beings inside, and next to this monstrosity is a river called the Congaree river where garbage is disposed of. And ... coincidentally the very same river feeds water back into that monstrosity, that the entombed victims have no choice but to drink it.

Building one is an inmate living quarters; the cells are 5 x 8 and two inmates are housed to each cell. The building itself was built in the 1800s. It was once used for the selling of slaves and used to house General Sherman's horses in 1846 when the Confederate war was being fought. And in 1979 the Confederate flag, the symbol of that very same war, is still aired daily from the mast and the capital city.

The bell rings awakening me to the harsh realities of its meaning. Another day to see if it is I who have been selected for sacrifice --- To become another historical statistic, as others before me, who saw the inhuman purpose of its existence.

Another warning bell laughs out at the preparation many are taking to no avail - especially at me as the metal grind against metal and the jungle of keys set the day in motion. Sending throngs of lonely, fearful beings into the tunnel to nowhere.

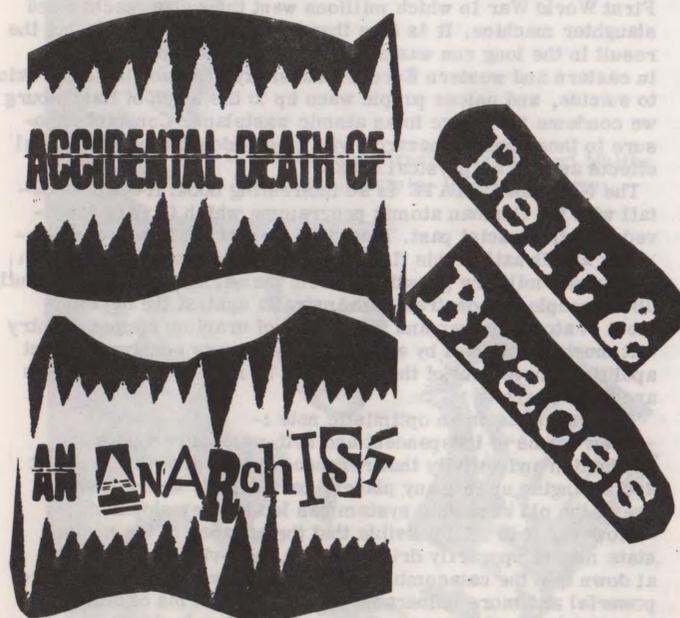
A tenseness grips me as I am pushed through the surging crowd going nowhere. A caution is singing, someone has been tagged with the red tail of death.

Already the prodders electrify the surging crowd, calling out mockingly to their helpless condition. But always in hope of being spared a few more minutes, hours, or possibly another day, for none know the names called in the silence of the morning.

Everywhere pleas are wailed pitifully, yet unheard.

Another mocking bell rings and all actions cease momentarily, not for choice of response but to sniff the air. The truce called could be an invitation to death.

MICHAEL HITTER



The Accidental Death of an Anarchist, Belt & Braces - a touring group, at the Jackson Lane Community Centre, London N. 7.

BY the time you read this review the tour will be almost over. This is great stuff by Dario Fo, and a great performance by Belt and Braces, who ad libbed it up to date. You will laugh from beginning to end, if at times somewhat grimly. It is called a farce, and indeed we are living in farcical times. It is a robust and enthusiastic performance, and it was good to see the establishment being kicked in every part of its anatomy before a packed audience. I felt that the left establishment was a little uneasy as it came in for a few side-swipes as well.

See it at your first opportunity; encourage Belt and Braces to put it on in your area.

Details of the group and performances: - (01) 267-6722.

ALAN ALBON

THE NUCLEAR STATE

The Nuclear State, Robert Jungk, John Calder, £2.95 paperback, £5.95 hardback.

HITHERTO humanity's actions have been reversible and no doubt in terms of infinity the nuclear decision will also be. We are concerned with humanity and the immense potential that lies before us. The unpleasant aspects of the nuclear decision have been pushed to the background by the vast economic and political interests that surround the issue. In the immediate future the effects are likely to be enormous on the physical, social and psychological level. The symbolic milestone the Friends of the Earth recently rolled to the Ministry of the Environment has added significance because of the recent events at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania. The sad thing is, it is likely to take a tragedy of immense proportions to get people to review the whole direction of our industrial technology. Nuclear technology is the dangerous and destructive climax to this power-based technology.

The whole development of nuclear energy has been shrouded in secrecy, subterfuge, dishonesty and miscalculation. Born in the circumstances of weaponry and the cancerous civil offspring of the Nagasaki and Hiroshima bombs has been developed by government stealth, and in many countries growing opposition has been ruthlessly suppressed. In the USSR secrecy is so complete that even an accident of great magnitude is still not known to the citizens of that country. It is probable that although the accident became known to the West through surveillance techniques, it was some time before the news trickled out here.

THE 'HARD PATH' AND THE 'SOFT PATH'

In the foreword to this book, Jungk says, "Looking back at the industrial and political development of the past hundred years, in the light of the contrast before us of the 'hard path' chosen by most modern societies and the 'soft path' that has fallen into disrepute because it is considered industrially backward, one significant factor becomes plain. The decision to opt for nuclear energy was the logical consequence of a technological policy that gave precedence to material growth over all over human interests"

The discovery of vast sources of energy has never led to a more just and equitable society, it has led in some places to a wider sharing of the cake but never to the relinquishing of power. As Jungk says:

"It is now clear that it has led to a concentration of power in the hands of a few... to an ever widening gulf between the rich, who get no joy from their riches, and the poor, who are no longer able to even help themselves. It is a path that leads deeper and deeper into alienation, isolation and hostility."

RADIATION FODDER

Radiation bypasses the human senses and at low levels can only be detected by instruments; all personnel at nuclear plants are liable to be exposed to levels of radiation higher than normal. The true hazards of such cumulative radiation are, as yet, unknown. The processing plants have a very bad history of malfunctioning. La Hague, in France, is probably the worst example, erected in greedy haste to capture the reprocessing market, its record is appalling. It has leaked a deadly cocktail into the atmosphere and into the sea, even the pipes taking it to the sea have leaked many times. The conditions at the plant lead to the first strike at a nuclear plant. The story of this establishment in the book make very interesting reading.

THE GAMBLERS

Nuclear technology is a gamble of astonishing proportions, socially and technically imperfect where perfection is of total importance and hitherto unattainable. Referring to past human tragedies Jungk says -

"All the major tragedies known to history which used to be called acts of god were eventually forgotten. The wounds healed in the course of time. But that does not apply to the latest acts of man. For breakdowns and accidents in a chemical factory, a biological factory or a nuclear plant are capable of doing more than immediate damage. The consequences may have to be suffered by later generations. Such catastrophes destroy not only the present but also the future. That is why the fears and anxieties aroused by such disasters of human origin are so much deeper than had been expected"

THE ATOMIC MAN

The atomic man has to be an obedient one and conform to a whole list of predictable criteria. The management selection criteria of West Germany, published in the book, make George Orwell's 1984 a reality. The persuaders will use all the weap-

ons in their arsenal to convince people that the risk of nuclear energy is worth while. Complicated calculations are being made on the value of an average human life. In this connection Jungk says the industry is thinking along the following lines -

"Instead of spending vast sums on blast containment and other costly protective measures, would it not be cheaper if the industry - with state aid of course - paid 'appropriate' compensation to the victims of radiation sickness or the next-of-kin of those killed in accidents. For the 'manufacturers' of 'atomic' man judge the latter only by his cash value, the only thing that really counts in their eyes'.

In one chapter Jungk relates a series of incidents in USA & Germany which look remarkably like intimidation and removal of opponents of the nuclear programme. This becomes very possible where the financial stakes are so high. It should not be surprising that the history of the USA is littered with the bodies of those who opposed the powerful.

Atoms for peace was and is a sad joke and the proliferation of fast breeders will produce hundreds of kilos of dangerous high quality plutonium. The human race has saddled itself with a suicidal burden and to some extent is slowly realising it. The first great tragedy of western industrial civilization was the First World War in which millions went through a mechanised slaughter machine. It is true there was some rebellion, but the result in the long run was a degeneration into totalitarianism in eastern and western Europe. Passivity and submission is akin to suicide, and unless people wake up to the omen of Harrisburg we condemn the future to an atomic wasteland. Constant exposure to these unseen hazards will have undoubted psychological effects as well as physical ones.

The NUCLEAR STATE is an interesting book: it deals in detail with the German atomic programme which is very involved with the fascist past. Indeed the secret deals between Germany and Brazil in this field are reminiscent of the help given to German military growth between the wars by Russia. Recently 30000 people demonstrated in Australia against the development of atomic power and the mining of uranium on that country - it must be followed by action here. In every country the vast apolitical movement of the past must be revived if the dangers are to be averted.

The book ends on an optimistic note :-

"New forms of independent and self-managed cooperative production and activity that renounce forced growth and profit are springing up in many places, particularly where the failure of the old economic system has led to unemployment.

However it is still possible that the advance of the nuclear state may temporarily drive the new, non-violent international down into the catacomb. Technological tyranny is both more powerful and more vulnerable than earlier forms of domination. But in the long run water wears away any stone"

Alan Albon.

MOVIES WORTH SEEING

VERY occasionally a film gets made and distributed that's worth shelling out a hard-earned few bob on - and with average ticket prices now topping £1 you can't afford seeing too many bum movies. Some recent titles that should appeal to libertarians - and the left in general - are The Chant of Jimmy Blacksmith, Blue Collar and Divide and Rule - Never!

Jimmy Blacksmith is the best find of the bunch - and against all the odds has gained a limited general release. An X certificate, running for 122 minutes, this must rate as one of the outstanding films from Australia. It is based on real events that occurred around the turn of the century and is adapted from a novel - whose inspiration was drawn from the same events - by Thomas Keneally.

Essentially it lays bare many of the realities of white domination in Australia - the racist and violent attitudes suffered by the aborigines and the economic exploitation. Without spoiling the story, this theme is served well by a narrative that follows the life of one, highly intelligent, half-caste aborigine who is torn between the two cultures he straddles.

It's a bit violent in parts, on the whole well acted, superbly photographed, ably directed and generally compelling. I saw it in an audience that included some young working class blacks who positively identified - through some sympathetic cries - with the film's point of view. Jimmy Blacksmith has gained a seal of street-level approval, the like of which Grease and Saturday Night Fever could never even aspire to.

Blue Collar is the first feature from Paul Schrader - who wrote the screenplay for Scorsese's Mean Streets - a much favoured movie. It basically does for the car industry what the Fraud T-shirts do for the image of the Ford Motor company - they shit on it. The film attempts to convey what it's like to work on a car production line and seems to acquit itself reasonably well - although I've never worked on one, and most of what I know about them has been gleaned from Solidarity pamphlets.

It has a strong story line - mostly connected with union corruption in the US (which is no doubt mirrored here in a less dramatic way) - and an even stronger music sound track. For fanatics the credit sequence is worth the price of a seat in itself. It is a reasonably principled account of working class American life and not a bad way of spending an evening - or even afternoon.

Divide and Rule - Never! comes from a bunch of lefty film makers, the Newsreel Collective, and it doesn't stand a chance in hell of getting shown in a 'proper' cinema. Made on 16mm in colour and lasting 37 minutes, it is basically an anti-fascist, anti-NF documentary which doesn't do its job too badly. Primarily, it is aimed at teenagers and a considerable part of it is taken up with young black and white people giving their views and experience on the subject.

There is an obligatory section on the history of British colonialism and footage from concentration camps. The soundtrack has ANL concerts (and RAR gigs), including sequences of the much exposed Tom Robinson band. Probably the most effective part has an interview with two white teenagers who used to be NF youth members, but had seen the error in their ways.

The reality of racism and its ugly manifestations often gain clear expression in the comments of the young people. As one boy puts it: 'Who do all the filthy jobs Black people do'. A good support film for your own do-it-yourself movie programmes (which can raise money for all kinds of campaigns and activities). It is distributed by The Other Cinema (12-13 Little Newport Street, London WC2) - the distribution side has not closed down, although the cinema has and is now the Scala - and Concord Films of Ipswich.

GRAHAM WADE

ain't misbehavin'

THIS riproaring musical, stemming from an exuberant tribute to Thomas 'Fats' Waller, the great American jazz pianist, must surely be the hit of 1979. The show seeks to exemplify Waller's spirit by performing many of his memorable numbers and using a few by others he made famous, such as Hoagy Carmichael's 'Two Sleepy People'.

Five singers, a pianist and a jazz band make up the cast. The emphasis is firmly on the singing which is zestful and highly accomplished. Annie Joe Edwards sings a beautiful 'Mean to Me', Jozella Reed an irresistible 'Squeeze Me', Charlene Woodard an incredible 'Keepin' Out of Mischief Now'.

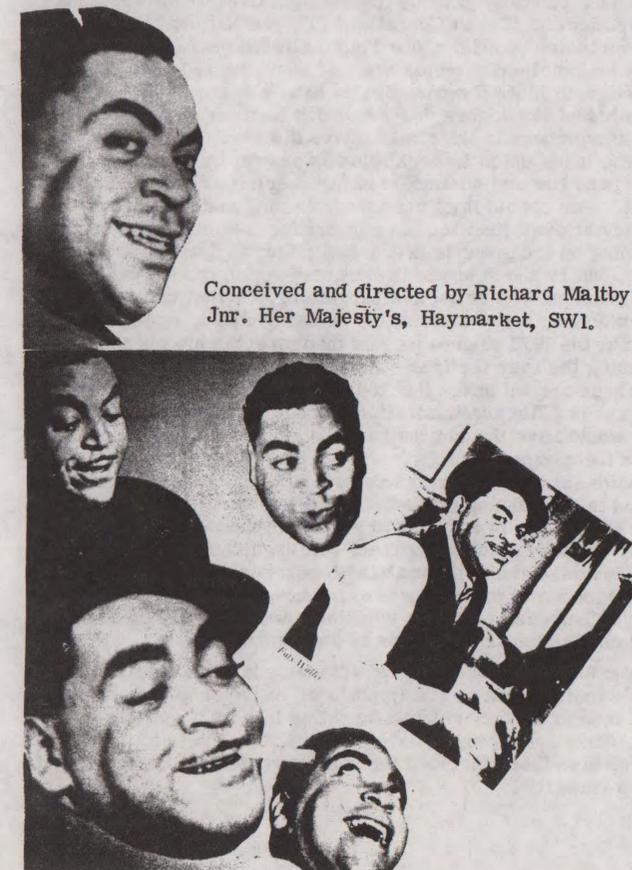
But it is the two male singers who are quite outstanding. Andre De Shield's 'Viper's Drag' floats in a moody haze and 'Fat and Greasy' has Andre and Evan Bell almost creating the smarmy character from the song. Evan's 'You're Feet's Too Big' is superb and really funny. Together the vocalists combine on a moving 'Black and Blue' and dance throughout with relaxed flexibility.

The only criticism is rather unfair but it needs to be said that Luther Henderson is not in the same class as Fats on the keyboard.* Nor is the back-up band much more than adequate. One hopes that many will now discover the joyous music of Fats Waller, who died aged 39 from pneumonia, and drink, in 1943.

A double album 'All That Jazz' (DJM MD 8003) is recommended. Anyone turned on by 'Viper's Drag' can hear Fats Waller's version on 'Tea Pad Songs' (Stash ST-103) along with other tributes to marijuana. For the best jazz by Fats turn to a rare session with Louis Armstrong recorded in 1938 on Saga 6901.

JERRY WESTALL

* Who is? - Eds.



Conceived and directed by Richard Maltby Jr. Her Majesty's, Haymarket, SW1.

BRATACH DUBH

Workers' Autonomy, published by Bratach Dubh, Anarchist Pamphlet no. 3, price 30p.

Critique of Syndicalist Methods - Trade Unionism to Anarcho-Syndicalism, by Alfredo M. Bonanno, published by Bratach Dubh, Anarchist Pamphlets no. 2, price 30p.

'Everyone with a little imagination can think up alternative worlds. He who would be politically relevant must continually ask himself which of these worlds are possible'.

PETER BERGER et al. The Homeless Mind

CRITICS of anarchism (political theorists and historians alike) have often singled out the conflict between principles and practice as the central contradiction of anarchist thought. This contradiction is amply illustrated in the pamphlets under review, Bonanno's Critique of Syndicalist Methods and Workers' Autonomy, published by the same group.

While their case against anarcho-syndicalism and the traditional trade unions is rooted in the classic critiques of organisational structures of Michaels and Malatesta, their attack may be seen as an affirmation of anarchist principles over the pursuit of power and self interest. The 'Syndicalist church', for them, stands condemned in all its forms, from straightforward defence of workers' self interest to revolutionary anarcho-syndicalism. Its members stand accused of collaboration, compromise and authoritarianism. Intermediaries such as shop stewards, trade union officials and political ideologues are attacked with a force not seen since the Reformation puritans poured scorn on the priesthood for claiming to represent God on earth.

SHOPFLOOR STRUGGLE

In an essay in Workers' Autonomy, Bonanno proposes that the workers' struggle could be elevated to a level in which output may be controlled 'without the mediation of shop stewards, trade union officials, or ideological militants' (whatever this latter category means). In other words, he uses the point that syndicalists have often made, namely that workers exercise control, to knock the shopfloor syndicalism practiced by workers is thus recognised and extolled, while anathema is pronounced on the syndicalist 'priesthood'.

Much of this is appealing. We have long been advocates of shopfloor syndicalism, insofar as we have argued that we should examine more closely the whole series of subtle ways in which workers claim for themselves control over their own lives at work. This does not entail, however, the view that the shop steward or the trade union is unimportant to the struggle for control. Recent studies of industrial conflict in Britain suggest that in firms where there are no shop stewards there is little industrial action of any kind. More significantly, in plants without shop stewards action other than strikes is almost unknown, whereas in firms with stewards other forms of action are widespread. Our own experience in textiles in the north west of England (an industry in which shop stewards are virtually unknown) leads us to believe that the existence of stewards limits the power of the union boss and employer alike.

TRADE UNIONISM EQUALS SELF INTEREST

In his 'Critique of Syndicalism' Bonanno argues that "The atmosphere of the trade unions is animated by a spirit of class collaboration, a corporative vision of the economy, uniting bourgeois and proletariat with the intention of assuring the maximum well being of the workers". This view, which is echoed by both Andy McGowan in the preface to this pamphlet and by Jean Weir, in her preface to Workers' Autonomy, leans on Gramsci's analysis according to which "Trade unionism is evidently nothing but a reflection of capitalist society, not a potential means of transcending capitalist society" (1)

We would readily admit that the trade union is largely a vehicle for promoting and protecting its' members prudential self interest. But the union, its stewards and the accompanying negotiating structures, also represents the means by which workers extend themselves and limit the control of the boss.

The point is that there is an ambiguity in the role of the trade unions under capitalism, which these critics of unions too readily overlook. The union bosses may want to embrace the State. They may in certain circumstances believe that improvements for their members can be got through collaboration with governments. However, as Tony Lane (2) points out, in Britain this "collaboration was never total and at no time ever approached the point where the leaders effectively became government functionaries". The fact is that no matter how keen individual union leaders are to comply with governments they cannot rely on their members to follow.

There are in this country many historical examples of this ability of the rank and file to restrain the officials; in 1950 the TUC virtually gave up its attempts to restrain wages; it boycotted the 'Cohen Council' of 157, the National Incomes Commission of 1932, the Industrial Relations Act of 1971. And now an excellent example has just been enacted under our noses with Moss Evans and Alex Kitson of the T & G. being compelled to adopt radical positions in order to try to 'control' their members in the road haulage dispute.

The trade union leaders' clothes are really supplied by the rank and file and no amount of hired ermine robes can alter that. Nor should it go unnoticed, in this context, that Moss Evans himself justifies his support for free collective bargaining on the grounds that T & G policy is determined not by him, but by the delegate conference, which in 1977 came out in favour of free collective bargaining. Or that before him Jack Jones, the creator of the social contract, accepted defeat at the 1977 conference and then directed his energies into arguing the case for free collective bargaining.

These are all snags that those who claim the unions are organs of state administration and not of struggle must tackle. We would have thought the hard argument implied throughout both the pamphlets under review - that the true vocation of syndicalist structures (the unions) is their "concrete participation in the running of the State and the exploitation of the workers" (3) - is not easy to sustain in the face of the mass of contradictory evidence. Their soft argument - that unions compromise and collaborate with governments as a logical consequence of their efforts to improve their members' lot in the 'here and now' - is something we might all agree on and as a result is worthless as an argument.

The argument for workers' autonomy is sound in its emphasis on the fundamental importance of the shopfloor struggle and insofar as they relate anarchism to it as a moral component. They are wrong to develop this to the level of a fixation which dismisses the need for union structure, negotiation and shop stewards.

CONT. ON PAGE 15

MORAL CONSTRAINTS - LIMITATIONS OF ANARCHISM

Bonanno invokes Malatesta to clarify his own position on syndicalism - according to Malatesta "syndicalism can be accepted as a means, never as an end". Here we would agree that syndicalism and trade unionism are a means in the sense that they are largely about the methods workers use to improve their well being, to capture control of their lives at work and extend their power in relation to the boss and other agencies. They are as we have already said to do with prudential actions which directly serve the self interests (in some cases sectional interests) of groups of workers.

But if syndicalism is a means, what then is anarchism? Bonanno at times seems to suggest that it is a vision; in other places he seems to imply that the revolutionary role is part of the 'moral' solution. If anarchism is a moral component guiding action then anarchism is a means as much as syndicalism in the prudential sense is a means.

It strikes us that the main impact of anarchism in our own lives is its moral influence over our conduct towards others. In our view Horowitz is right to stress that "It would be difficult, and pointless, to deny that anarchism is indeed highly moralistic in both phraseology and practice".

The flaw in the approach of many anarchists, including Bonanno, is that the means, the moral issues conditioning our behaviour to others, become the ends. On this point hinges the failure, and it is a familiar one in anarchist circles, of the pamphlets under review insofar as they try to state a position based on the rejection of intermediaries - shop stewards, union negotiators, syndicalist structures etc. This is really a moral one about the side constraints on the anarchist role in institutions like unions in a capitalist society, but which threatens to become an end in itself, entitled 'workers' autonomy'. In their obsession with principles they lose sight of strategy.

Thus the advocates of pure anarchism, in elevating principles to the level of ends, effectively surrender critical judgement and choice in human affairs. It is an approach which risks not only the problem of political irrelevancy mentioned by Berger et al, but its own very special form of corruption - the pursuit of an abstract principle like violence or non-violence or workers' autonomy, for its own sake.

Most anarchists sense the limitations and this is why they usually qualify their anarchism by describing themselves as individualist anarchists or anarcho-communists or anarcho-syndicalists, etc. The problem which Bonanno, Workers' Autonomy, and most British anarchists evade, is how do we best apply the moral constraints of anarchism to the problem of power in everyday life. In the British context at least, anarcho-syndicalism seems to offer the most plausible and relevant solution.

However, the pamphlets are a good antidote to the more sectarian forms of syndicalism, and should be read by those libertarians involved in the industrial struggle.

BB & IS

Bibliography

- (1) A. Gramsci - Sindicalismo e Consigli (1919) in Ordine Nuovo 1919-1920; also quoted in Marxism and the Sociology of Trade Unionism by Richard Hyman.
- (2) Tony Lane - The Union Makes Us Strong
- (3) Alfredo M. Bonanno - Critique of Syndicalist Methods, page 13.



The authors stress the importance of this right to a defendant. "Those jurors make a decision which could result in his being imprisoned for many years. Because of that it would seem fair to allow him to take a subjective view and say 'I do not want to be tried by that person; he looks hostile'".

Finally, last year, we saw the open vetting of the jury by the State officially acknowledged and legitimised. The questioning of jurors by the defence had been ruled out of order because this interfered with the random nature of the jury. But the State pays officials who choose who will be called for service and has complete power to decide exactly how random random is.

Last year an ex-soldier and two journalists were prosecuted under the Official Secrets Act. On the opening day of the trial, which came to be known as the ABC trial, a defence counsel discovered that the Crown lawyer had been given a list of potential jurors several weeks earlier.

Crown counsel agreed this had been done so that names on it could be vetted. "Anyone who is known to be disloyal would obviously be disqualified", he said. The judge agreed it was "perfectly proper in a case like this".

On the jury there was a former member of the Special Air Service who might be thought to have a certain amount of bias against the defendants, though his 'loyalty' would be in little doubt. This was revealed and the trial ended prematurely.

In the middle of the second trial, again with a vetted jury, the Attorney General issued a directive setting out the guidelines for jury vetting.

The usual platitudes about the sanctity of random selection were rolled out. But it was already accepted that "Parliament has provided safeguards ... in the shape of majority verdicts, against jurors who may be corrupt or biased".

In some cases, however, even this wasn't good enough for the State's purposes, particularly trials involving "strong political motives". In those areas it was essential for the jury panel to be checked at the Criminal Records Office and in the files of the Special Branch and CID. If found sufficiently 'disloyal' then the juror wouldn't be asked to sit in that trial.

The Attorney General said later that by issuing this directive he was simply regularising a practice which "has been going on since at least 1948".

To counter what they describe as the "subversion of the jury" Harman and Griffith want every change made in the last ten years reversed. In addition they demand that the right to jury trial be extended.

Ultimately, they say, "It is vital that no further alterations in the jury system should take place except by the process of legislation".

We can allow ourselves a wry smile at this point. "By the process of legislation" unanimous verdicts were abolished, the right to trial by jury in many cases was denied and the defence power to challenge potential jurors was reduced.

What galls the State about the work of a jury is that, short of planting an agent in every jury room, there is no means of controlling the discussion a jury has and the decision it reaches. When we confront the majesty of the law we must, by its very nature, be fighting with one arm tied behind our back. Without the opportunity to at least make an appeal to 12 ordinary people we are fighting with no arms at all.

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