

FREEDOM CONTACT PAGE
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INTERNATIONAL

AUSTRALIA
New South Wales
 Black Ram, P.O.Box 238, DARLINGHURST, N.S.W. 2010
 Disintegrator! P.O. Box 291, Bondi Junction, Sydney
 Sydney Anarcho-Syndicalists, Jura Books Collective, 417 King St., NEWTOWN, NSW 2042
 Sydney Libertarians, P.O. BOX 24, DARLINGHURST, NSW 2010

Queensland
 Libertarian Socialist Organisation, P.O. Box 268, Mount Gravatt Central 4122
 Self Management Organisation, P.O. Box 332, North Quay

Victoria
 La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o SRC, La Trobe University, BUNDOORA, Vic. 3083
 Monash Anarchist Society, c/o Monash University, Clayton, 3168 MELBOURNE
 Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society, P.O. Box 20, PARKVILLE 3052

South Australia
 Adelaide Anarchists, P.O. Box 67 NORTH ADELAIDE 5006

Western Australia
 Freedom Collective, P.O. Box 14, MOUNT HAWTHORN 6018

TASMANIA
 c/o 34 Kennedy Street, LAUNCESTON 7250

New Zealand
 P.O. Box 2052, AUCKLAND
 P.O. Box 22-607 CHRISTCHURCH
 Daybreak Bookshop, P.O. Box 5424 DUNEDIN

NORTH AMERICA
Canada
 Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, VANCOUVER, B.C.

U. S. A.
Arizona
 'Malicious Hooligans' (anti-nuclear group), 1110 W. 2nd St., TEMPE, AZ 85281

California
 Free Socialist, PO Box 1751, SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94101

Minnesota
 Soil of Liberty, Box 7056, Powderhorn Station, MINNEAPOLIS Mn55407

New York
 Libertarian Book Club, Box 842 GPO, NEW YORK, NY 10012
 SRAF/Freespace Alternative U, 339 Lafayette St., NEW YORK, NY 10012

Texas
 Houston SRAF, South Post Oak Station, PO Box 35233, HOUSTON, Tx. 77035

WESTERN EUROPE
Federal Republic of Germany
Baden: Karin Bauer, Info-Büro, Postfach 161, 717 SCHWABISH HALL. Anarkistisches Bund, publishers of 'anarkistische texte', c/o Gebr. Schmueck, c/o Libertad Verlag, Postfach 153, 1000 BERLIN 44
Libertäres Forum e.V., Postfach 100755, 1000 BERLIN 36

East Westfalia: Anarchistische Föderation Ostwestfalen-Lippe
 Wolfgang Fabisch, c/o Wohngemeinschaft Schwarzwurzel, Wöhrener Str. 138, 4970 BAD OEYNHAUSEN 2.
Hamburg: Initiative Freie Arbeiter Union (anarcho-syndicalists) FAU, Repsoldstr. 49, Hochpaterre links, 2000 HAMBURG 1.
 'Gewaltfreie Aktion', groups throughout FRG, associated with WRI. For information write Karl-Heinz Sang, Methfesselstr. 69, 2000 HAMBURG 19.

France
 Federation anarchiste française, 3 rue Ternaux, 75011 PARIS (groups throughout France)

Italy
 Rome: Gruppo Hem Day, c/o Giovanni Trapani, via A. Tittoni 5, 00153 Roma.

The Netherlands
 De Vrije Socialist, Postbus 411, UTRECHT

SCANDINAVIA

Denmark
Aarhus: Regnbuen Anarkist Bog-kafe, Mejlgade 48, 8000 AARHUS.
Copenhagen: Anarkist-Synd. Bog-kafe, Studiestræde 18, 1455 COPENHAGEN.

Rainbow Anarchists of the Free City of Christiana, c/o Allan Anarchos, Tinghuset, Fristaden Christiana, 1407K COPENHAGEN

Sweden
 Frihetligt Forum, Landsvagsgatan 19, 41304 GÖTEBORG
 Stockholm: Box 110 75, 100 61 STOCKHOLM (address for both Frihetligt Forum Stockholm and Revolutionära Anarkisters Organisation).

Meetings

U. S. A.
ANTI-NUCLEAR DEMONSTRATION against against PALO VERDE (west of Phoenix, Ariz.) nuclear reactor site NOVEMBER 10. Contact Malicious Hooligans, 1110 W. 2nd St., TEMPE, Arizona 85281.

U. K.
LONDON
 Thurs. 4 Oct. 8.15. pm 'Animal Liberation (as opposed to conservation)', with Ronnie Lee of ALF.
 Thurs. 25 Oct. 8 pm 'The Struggle of American Indians against Uranium Mining', with Winona La Duke (chairperson of Women of All Red Nations)
 Both meetings org. by Greenpeace London, at Dick Sheppard House,

6 Endsleigh Street, London W.C.1.
 October 7 1979 is 100th anniversary of birth of JOE HILL. Celebrations being organized by London Workers Group and Surrey & Middlesex Syndicalists. For details of plans or to offer participation contact London Workers Group, Box W, 182 Upper Street, London N.1 (tel. 01-249 7042).
CENTRAL LONDON WEA classes Autumn programme 'Human Rights in Contemporary Society'; 'Heritage in Buildings'; 'Socialism and Feminism in Britain'; 'Psychology and Sociology'. Details from S. Billson, 33 Compton Rd. N.1.

NOTTINGHAM
 Thurs. 4 Oct. 'The Right to not Work', speaker Ross Bradshaw. In the International Community Centre, Mansfield Road, Nottingham. (Organized by 'Mutual Aid', 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham.)

Desires

PRISONERS ACTION GROUP
 John Nightingale, P.O. Box 82 London E2.

Comrades in the North and West London area who would like to meet an anarchist who is feeling rather isolated, please contact Bob Mander, houseboat 'Viva Zapata', High Line Mooring, Rowdell Road, Northolt.

Anyone in Wandsworth/Battersea/Clapham interested in forming an anarchist group contact D. Elder, 28 Swanage Road, Wandsworth SW18.

URGENTLY REQUIRED 1 copy of "The Technology of Political Control" by Ackroyd et al (Pelican). New or s/h. Contact Jim at Freedom with offers (donations?).

Will any anarchist in Lambeth please ring Harry 735 2215

Would anyone interested in joining a campaign against the sale of war toys & the like before christmas, please contact Michael Habernoll, 45 Harcourt Terrace, London SW 10

ECOLOGY AND ANARCHISM No3
 Just out. Anti-nuclear issue. 15p. +post
STREETFARMERS. Anyone know of, was in or can find out about the London Streetfarmers, who brought farming into the city streets? We would like an article on the said people for "Ecology and Anarchism" Box 1000, Rising Free, 182 Upper St. N 1

JOE HILL FESTIVAL 6 & 7 October
 Sat 6th. All night party at Centro Iberico 421a, Harrow Rd. London W 11
 Wholefood buffet, Music, Alt. Theatre, Creche. From 9pm
 Sun 7th. Speak-in and rally at Speakers Corner 12-4.00
 Meeting at Action Space Drill Hall, Chenies St. WC 1 5pm
 Speakers and discussion on IWW and modern labour organisations in Britain
 Film, "Upper Clyde Shipbuilders" Creche

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'Ignorant, prejudiced and inflammatory'

THESE are the words used by Judge King-Hamilton to describe the leaflet handed out at the Old Bailey for the opening of the case which even The Observer now calls 'Persons Unknown' (other papers still talk of 'alleged anarchists'). Well, on the evidence so far a number of words can be used to describe the judge's attitudes, 'ignorant', 'prejudiced', 'inflammatory' and 'hypocritical'. What else can you call someone who criticises a newspaper for putting at risk a "fair trial"?

At least the media have finally noticed it is with an air of sardonic amusement that we can watch the British system of law enforcement act in a manner so blatant and so clumsy as to undermine their traditional foundation on public 'good will'. What with this, and the ABC case and the SPG and Sus and all the rest it won't be long before that 'good will' is irrevocably shattered. We must avoid the temptation to be too smug in saying 'told you so'.

To recap. On 10 August, at a pre-trial hearing, the prosecution revealed their intention to 'vet' the jury. They then set out to do so with the aid of the Special Branch and the Criminal Records Office computers, although they do not seem to have made extensive use of local CID. A couple of weeks later the defence got a jury list. They were under the impression that they had legal aid to hire private detectives, though there was disquiet at the whole idea. The legal aid administrators thought differently and brought a court hearing to get this stopped.

On 11 September Justice Gibbons cleared everything up. He had not 'extended' the right of jury vetting. In fact, as with telephone tapping, there is no actual law on the matter so anyone can do as they like. Justice Gibbons is not sympathetic to talk of 'packed' juries, as both sides can vet. The apparent difference in resources available to the two sides is not significant. After all, it would be



a 'waste of money' for the defence to duplicate investigations and he had been 'incautious' to give the impression that legal aid would be available. (Tut, tut, silly me). How much more sensible to share! Mutual aid all round. The police were to make their information available 'in full'. It is understood that they had some reluctance about this, however they undertook to screen only for 'sensitive personal information'. Justice Gibbons assured everyone that 'the prosecution

can be completely trusted in this matter'.

On Thursday, 20 September the trial finally opened, attended by a picket. This went off quietly enough, although a large black flag was not permitted. A smaller red and black one was. That morning *The Guardian* printed information relating to the police vetting. We don't intend to duplicate it as those concerned have had their privacy invaded quite sufficiently. However, once again the lies by the police about their records are revealed. Constantly we are told of the solid substantial nature of these records, all 'facts'. Yet in their Thames Valley trial run they had entries such as 'likes little boys' which turned out to have been overheard in a shop by a policeman's wife. Now they have listings like 'address believed to be a squat', listings that a person had made a complaint against the police, listings of victims of offences and listings of friends and relatives of people with records.

Judge King-Hamilton was enraged by these revelations. After two days, much

of it in a closed court, the jury was dismissed. A new one is to be cobbled together as soon as they can be suitably vetted. The *Guardian* article, a copy of the leaflet and a *Time Out* article have been passed on for possible contempt of court proceedings.

It would be possible to fill several columns sneering at the judge's remarks, but there's no need. They speak for themselves. Just one, to show the fair, impartial, 'learned' mind at work. King-Hamilton is of the opinion that *The Guardian's* article was an invasion of the privacy of the potential jurors. He is not of the opinion that the existence of the records without which the article would not have appeared, is a similar invasion. On the contrary, this is 'proper'.

We must give a friendly nod to *The Guardian* for standing by their liberal conscience and printing the article. It's a pity they had to spoil this the next day with a typical leader. They rightly said, in relation to jury vetting, that 'Temperate language is barely adequate to point

out the contradictions'. The rest of the leader was an awful mish-mash. We cannot understand how they can flatly claim that 'we have a fair judicial system'. And however much they feel that 'these arguments do not constitute an attack on "the system"', as members of the 'nihilistic fringe' we do 'cite' them as evidence of the corruption of the state.

TAFF GONE

TAFF Ladd has not appeared for the trial. Before making this desperate decision he must have carefully considered all its disadvantages, to himself, to the other defendants and to the bail sureties. He spent 11 months in prison, most of it in Category A maximum security. The police had stated that he was a particular target. He was especially concerned about the vetting. We may regret his decision but we cannot condemn. We wish him luck.

FOULING THEIR OWN NESTS

The latest example of the extent to which the so-called guardians of law-and-order hold law-and-order in contempt has been blatant enough to stir moribund liberal consciences as they have not been stirred for a long time.

It is not so long ago that a jury in a British Court had to arrive at its decision unanimously. True, this was in the days when a jury was chosen exclusively from the ranks of property owners and no doubt these could be relied upon to arrive at their decision unanimously when the crime represented a threat to property—as the vast majority of 'crimes' do.

But crime is the one great successful growth industry of our time, created by the other great growth industry—legislation. If government ever was supposed to be the just administration of society, that concept has long since passed away and government, in this country in the shape of Parliament, has for long been no more than a sausage machine for churning out more and more laws.

New laws are made, but the old ones are never repealed, with the result that the possibilities for breaking the law are multiplying yearly. Motoring regulations alone have meant that respectable middle-class citizens making errors of judgement have fallen foul of the law and have been subjected to the nastiness of the police. Equally respectable liberal-minded and concerned citizens have seen peaceful demonstrations suddenly turned into riots as the police have—murderously—moved in. Public-spirited objectors to a new road or the destruction of a well-loved neighbourhood have discovered the

deception behind the so-called democratic processes of objection.

For a well-behaved and easily-governed people like the British—who have traditionally scorned the Germans for exactly the same characteristics—the habit of doing as you are told has meant an acceptance of the gradual growth of the bureaucracy and even a smug approval of police power. So what if demonstrators get themselves killed? So what if IRA bombers are beaten up in prison? So what if anarchists are sent down for years on the flimsiest of evidence? So what as long as law and order are maintained!

So the old principle of unanimity in the jury's verdict was overthrown without a murmur, nobody apparently noticing that with it went the principle that a defendant must be found guilty beyond any reasonable doubt. For surely two jurors out of twelve dissenting from the majority verdict means a reasonable doubt?

The excuse was the pressure on the courts. So much work to get through, so little time. Basically, though, the attitude as that the people going through the sausage machine of so-called justice in the court-rooms were guilty anyway, if not of what they were precisely charged with, then probably of something else. And we have to support the police—to the extent that they have to appear infallible as well as all-powerful.

So the principle of over-riding a minority of the jury slipped through the jury without any kind of public outcry—in spite of the fact that it is only through the jury system that the public have any say in the courts or in the administration of the law, or, indeed, that any remnant of 'natural justice' remains in the over-whelming

bureaucratic penal system whatsoever.

Suddenly, however, something is seen to go wrong. Suddenly the appallingly rapid growth of state control and manipulation of the whole process has been disclosed.

Why? Because suddenly it is not the criminals that are being gone over—it is the jury itself! Given the god-like power offered by the computer's infallibility the state could not resist the temptation to fix the jury in the 'Persons Unknown' case by making use of the 'guidelines' laid down in 1974 by Labour's Attorney Sam Silkin.

Silkin's decision gives us a very interesting sideline on social-democratic thought, for it was undoubtedly as a result of the 'democratisation' of juries by the removal of the 'property' clause that made them suspect in the eyes of the executive! And not only that, for the recently-introduced Rehabilitation Act that means that a person's offences are stricken from the records (but not it seems from the Computer's elephantine memory!) means also that someone who was an offender in the past can now appear on a juror's panel as a potentially untrustworthy weigher of the evidence.

In all these considerations, one principle that should have withstood all change is the one that claims that the jury should be a random selection of fellow-citizens, no more selected for their prejudices, colour, opinions or, nowadays, for their sex or their wealth, than names pulled out of a hat.

The police, who have obviously influenced the 'Crown' in their course of action, simply have not realised that whatever credibility the legal system may have for the ordinary citizen rests precisely in the principle of the random jury.

Cont. on p4



ANTI-nuclear demonstrators, calling themselves the Invisible Radiators, interrupted the welcoming reception of the Uranium Institute at the Banqueting House in Whitehall at 8 p.m. on Monday, 10 September. The Uranium Institute is the western world's most powerful organisation of uranium suppliers to the atomic bomb and nuclear energy programme. The demonstrators made a statement drawing attention to the radiation dangers arising from every stage of the nuclear fuel cycle and let off four stink bombs.

The Uranium Institute was formed in 1975 and is based at New Zealand House, London. Its members include all the major uranium mining companies including Rio Tinto Zinc, Anglo American and

This is the text of the leaflet. It is 'ignorant' in a couple of respects. This is just the number of vettings that have been admitted (after the event). Even the police inspector outside the Old Bailey said there were probably lots more. And it now appears that the practise is not illegal.

'THE LAW SHOULD BE USED AS JUST ANOTHER WEAPON IN THE GOVERNMENT'S ARSENAL' AND IN THIS CASE IT BECOMES MORE THAN A PROPAGANDA COVER FOR THE DISPOSAL OF UNWANTED MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC'
(Brigadier Kitson, Military Advisor to the Govt)

IS THIS A POLICE STATE?

JURY 'VETTING'

25 times in the last 4 years, police have secretly and illegally vetted juries when they wanted. This was exposed by the campaign to support the Official Secrets defendants last year (2 journalists and an ex-soldier arrested for talking to each other), and has now been exposed by the Persons Unknown defendants and supporters.

Anyone who's ever been to a court knows the intimidation and helplessness felt by anyone on trial, forced into such an alien environment—surrounded by aristocratic Judges, police and legal functionaries: They all make a living out of the control and suffering of people.

You'd naturally look towards the 12 jury people for some understanding. In fact, jurors are entitled to acquit someone whether proved 'innocent' or 'guilty', if 'they think that the prosecution is oppressive and should never have been brought' (from a leaflet about the rights of jurors, available free from the National Council for Civil Liberties.)

In reality, though, despite the token presence of 12 random people, the courts are merely an impersonal production-line, threatening and fining, punishing and imprisoning hundreds of thous-

Rothschilds. The Queen is a major shareholder in Rio Tinto. There are no American mining companies who are members. In the United States, Westinghouse, the manufacturers of the pressurised water reactor, successfully brought legal proceedings against Rio Tinto under the Anti Trust laws for their part in a price-rigging cartel. It is widely considered that the Institute performs some of the functions of this previous cartel.

Uranium mining creates appallingly dangerous conditions for those working underground in radon-affected air. The US Public Health Service has estimated that of some 6000 who have worked in underground uranium mines in the USA, 600 to 1100 will die of cancer. Rio Tinto's mine at Rossing in Namibia saw a prolonged strike at Christmas over failure to provide black miners with adequate safety against radiation hazards. Rio Tinto has a contract to supply British Nuclear Fuels Ltd with 7500 tonnes of uranium from the Rossing mine in collaboration with the South African government whose security police are present at the mine. This contract violates the United Nations Decree for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. The present Conservative administration claims that on technical grounds this decree does not bind the British Government. The danger from the failure of a nuclear reactor was amply demonstrated by the emergency at Harrisburg in March this year. Approximately 100,000 people were evacuated from the area. In the event of a melt-down, as envisaged in the film 'The

China Syndrome', huge clouds of radioactive dust would be released into the atmosphere, potentially leading to the deaths and injuries of tens of thousands of people. Nuclear waste cannot be disposed of safely. The Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution stated in 1976 "... there should be no substantial expansion of nuclear power until the feasibility of a method of safe disposal of high level wastes for the indefinite future has been established beyond reasonable doubt."

On commercial grounds alone, there is no reason to be confident in the British nuclear industry. The Advanced Gas-cooled Reactor programme has cost well over three billion pounds, three times the cost of Concorde, and has not produced a single export order; Dungeness B is twelve years behind schedule; all other AGR reactors are also behind schedule, out of action or running at considerable under-capacity.

(The demonstration took place in the building from which Charles I was taken to be executed. Its ceiling is painted by Rubens and illustrates the Stuart dynasty's belief in the Divine Right of Kings; one of the ceiling paintings portrays abundance astride a cowering picture of avarice.) For further information see CIS Report "The Nuclear Disaster" pages 32 to 35

Walt Patterson "Nuclear Power" pages 87 to 114 and 170/1 and 228/9
"The Namibian Uranium Robbery", available from Campaign Against the Namibian Uranium Contract, 188 North Gower Street, London NW1.

ands of working class people each year.

It's power—just never satisfied, the State now aims to vet juries, using information and files it's police are secretly building up on the whole population. This strengthens the POLICE STATE.

WHY THIS SHOW TRIAL

Why the Police and press hysteria last year around the arrests and armed raids against libertarians Why the theatrical siege of the remand court Why the surveillance and intimidation of the support campaign. Why the jury vetting From the start the police have built up those arrested into a major threat to civilisation, so as to justify their own totalitarian activities, the further militarising of the Police and Society in general.

WHO ARE THEY SCARED OF

The Police do the dirty work, along with all the other State Institutions, of protecting the ruling classes—landowners, industrialists, financiers etc.—and suppressing the majority of people who are forced to work, consume and obey.

But with the breakdown of Authority amongst young people everywhere, and with an economic crisis, the State is afraid of opposition and is preparing for battle. At the same time as wage-cuts, price rises, and axeing of hospitals, schools etc. it is attacking and scapegoating restless minorities—young blacks, squatters and now Anarchists. They've attacked unorganised workers at Grunwick's, but faced with mass unrest amongst crucial sections of industrial workers, they are worried if they can keep control.

We all must prepare also, to replace wars, poverty, repression & pollution with freedom. Working people can create a new system by taking over all workplaces and towns themselves.

WHAT IS ANARCHISM

... a harmonious society without Governments. Anarchists along with all other intelligent, sensitive and angry people, have struggled for this aim throughout the world, against ALL Governments. And we will continue to do so.

OUR READERS' MEETING THE FLYING AGENDA

THE event of the year started off with Veronica and the Flying Agendas. After admitting who we were we gave our side of the story as far as it goes and how we would like to see it progress. Our suggestions as to the role of the Review, that it should be open to other groups writing on particular issues of relevance to anarchism and which we felt we could defend, even if not in toto, met with little or no resistance. We then issued a call for help in providing material for the news section. We explained our finances, our printing schedule, and asked for help in the typing department. The meeting was then thrown open to the eager hordes.

Suggestions and criticisms were immediately forthcoming on just about every aspect of the paper. It was said that we didn't report enough on the problems of women, there was not enough foreign news, that we suffered from that well-known radical disease 'intellectualism', not to mention 'authoritarianism' contracted from being such a centralised paper. Some comrades wanted to know if we could come out more frequently, that we should carry more articles on topics 'in the public eye', even if this meant a certain amount of rehased journalism. Should we be easier to read and more appealing to the majority of people, or

a little more basic in some articles so that those new to anarchist journalism would be able to understand what was going on? Much more was said and discussed, and more constructively than at the last readers' meeting, and basically the meeting developed into a discussion of what should the role of the paper be.

"Are we trying to create a good anarchist paper or an anarchist movement that might possibly change the course of history?" FREEDOM is obviously not a 'mass' agitational paper, nor is it in the position to be, and the feeling was that it shouldn't even try to be. That job, which must be done, is up to other people and individuals to carry out. Should its main aim be to coordinate groups across the country and abroad, or to be an 'intellectually respectable' paper?

Of course no consensus decisions were arrived at but those present showed deep feeling and support for the paper.

The last 15 minutes were given over to the problems of distribution. A request was made that individuals take it upon themselves to sell FREEDOM either personally or by hassling newsgagents to take copies.

There was a rather disappointing turnout (despite the fact that readership has increased, and despite any ideas you may have had to the contrary). Maybe this made for a better meeting, as dictatorial crowd control was not really necessary and everyone who desired it had the chance to speak. And so the great event was over, and what masses there were drifted lazily away into the smoke-filled hubbub of the downstairs bar (where some people had been hiding all the time), and gurgled on till closing time and the last tube home.

Thanks for the whip-round. The meeting realised a profit of 52p.

This account is from The Red And The Black Bookshop, Brisbane. It tells of their successful defence against an obscenity

charge. They have also produced a pamphlet "christian terrorism" arguing that if anything should be banned it is the bible.

Fuck the Obscenity Laws



why the 39 magazines should not be destroyed indecent or obscene publications.

Detective Sergeant Bates, who executed the search warrant, said he regarded certain words in the two magazines to be indecent or obscene.

Under cross-examination, Bates said he took one of the words in its sexual meaning; to have sexual intercourse. (How disgusting!)

He agreed the word often was used as a general term of abuse, and could also mean to mess or fool about, or make off.

He agreed it could have been used in the magazines to intensify the meaning of other words used with it. He then said that he would "possibly consider any publication that carried the word to be obscene."

Asked if he knew the word was in the Concise Oxford Dictionary, he replied "No".

In defence it was stated that the mags were neither indecent or obscene - Libertarian Education was a serious publication aimed at presenting ideas for change in Old's education system, and contained serious articles on sexism, discipline and the role of women in education. Some articles repeated words people used all the time. (Fuck me, do they really?)

In the magazine Noxious Weed the word (fuck) had been used in several ads

only to intensify other words. Just like in this article - Ed

In both mags, the word in most cases carried no sexual allusions. (And even if it had, so what?)

The Act under which the search and confiscation was carried out has such a narrow definition that cops can pick and choose whom they wanted to prosecute, thus such prosecutions become political.

The magistrate ruled that the public... I mean publications, were neither obscene indecent, and dismissed the case. This may just possibly have something to do with the Government wanting to improve its image (remember last years National Party conference at Mt Isa where Sparks said that the NP had to get rid of its "reactionary, semi-fascist image"), and considering that there are three by-elections happening in less than a month from now, well, who can predict the opportunist minds of vote-grabbing politicians.

The victory shows that the Government can be defeated. It highlights the importance of fighting politically as well as legally (after all, remember who owns the courts). Perhaps Forum would have won their case, and saved almost \$15,000 legal costs, if they'd put it in a political rather than purely judicial context.

J Q Wasturtry

Fouling their nests

Cont. from p2

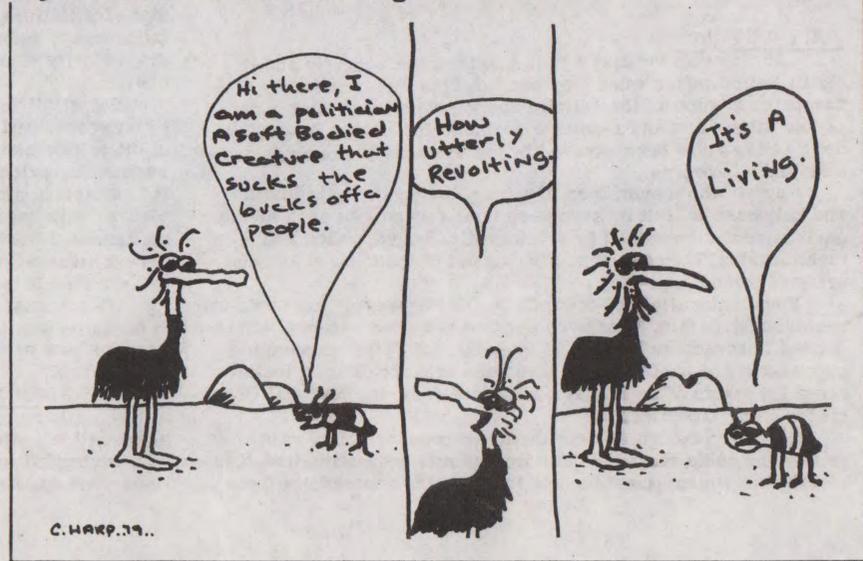
Knowing the enormous weight that rests with the police or the 'Crown' as prosecutors and the entire legal set-up as the stage-managers of the penal processing system, the one remotely equalizing factor in an unequal struggle is the jury.

Inasmuch as this country has always prided itself on the division that exists here between the executive and the judiciary - that is, between the State and the Courts, between those who make the laws and those who administer them - that pride has now been humbled.

No longer can a Briton look with scorn or pity upon a Russian or a South African because their courts are in the pocket of the government. No longer can we denounce the 'totalitarians' for the blatant way the bureaucrats fix things for their own advantage. For all to see, the British are now fouling their own nests.

A Labour Attorney General and the good old British copper have thoroughly blurred that distinction. Is it too much to ask that this may be the turning point? That this originally trumped-up case against a handful of 'alleged anarchists' may be the turning point against that gradual erosion that we have warned about for so long? Could this be where 'statism' will get its comeuppance?

View from the Black Dragon Collective...



THE WAR OF THE SUITCASE.....

Hot. We were clattering along slowly in an old pickup fighting for breath in the thin air. The vehicle moved in the shimmering heat waves. The sun scorched the earth, bent the bonnet and seemed to boil our blood. We hadn't spoken for many kilometres, straining together to watch the mirage strewn tarmac from our sun-warped cab. Only the dream-like movement that was hopefully taking us to Maseru provided some circulation.

In the distance a lone figure trudged by the side of the road carrying a suitcase. As we came nearer we could see that the bent body wore yellow overalls with the letters N.R.C. printed on the back. When we passed the man neither turned nor signalled for a lift. He wandered on hatless in the dust under the penetrating sun.

My Basotho travelling companion began to murmur in a bitter rueful undertone:

"Finished, not a man, broken. Those days, ah man, those days of the Native Recruitment Commission they came fresh from the mountains to get the overalls and the train to Welkom or Harmony. 8cents a shift, 6 fourteen hour shifts a week. In ten years he's bent double with nothing but a blanket and dead eyes for staring at the topsoil blowing away. Now they say it's different! Hah man, now it's a suitcase full of trinkets. I said nothing, in that heat, thinking of those bent overalls. We rode on in silence. Then one sentence, "ah, but maybe, maybe after Mozambique...."

There is no denying that when FRELMO began winning in Mozambique things started changing. Between 1973 and 1975 there were 54 riots in 34 different mines throughout South Africa. During that period there were, on average, 196,000 migrant workers from the countries around South Africa in the mines. They were being paid, on average, fifteen pounds a month with the rest 'deferred' back to the governments of the countries they came from.

A recent report issued by the Geneva-based International Labour Organisation described the conditions in the mines as prison like and suggested that these conditions were ample reason in themselves for the riots. Between September 1973 and March 1975, 332 workers lost their lives and at least 500 were seriously injured. Lung diseases are common. There is no sick leave or unemployment benefits. Trade Unions are banned and collective bargaining is 'discouraged'. Men are hired for nine months at a time (although many renew constantly) and live in compounds stacked 20 to a room.

At the same time as the I. L. O. report was issued it was acknowledged that a secret South African Government report had been prepared on the mines during 1976. Copies of this report surfaced in Geneva last June.

The South African report also referred to the nature of migrant hiring practices and the conditions of compound life. But instead of placing the blame on the contradictions within the system, it dwelt upon the influence of 'political events'.

The 'Inter-Departmental Committee' is clear about the effects of change in Mozambique; "At certain mines there was an attitude among Mozambiquans that FRELMO was showing how to deal with whites. Migrant labourers from Mozambique... will from now on be under considerable pressure and political influence. The Inter-Departmental Committee assumes that BOSS and the security division of the South African Police are continually on the lookout for secret and underhand political activities... we expect that with the passage of time (if it is not already happening) agitators (communists or otherwise) and terrorists from outside the country will attempt to be absorbed as part of the migrant labour force taken up by the mines, and that the authorities are on their toes for such infiltrators".

The gold mines are at the heart of the South African economy and for this reason both the mine owners and the governments of the surrounding countries want to reduce the number of migrants. The mine owners want to insulate themselves from 'infiltration'. The countries involuntarily want to reduce their relations with the mines because of the economic dependence it supports, the degradation it brings upon their citizens, and the blow it might strike against the South African economy.

It is a moot point whether the withdrawal of foreign workers will bring the South African mines to their knees. The secret report set out measures which the mine owners are now implementing. These measures aim to create a docile workforce drawn completely from the Bantustans.

The attrition on jobs for migrants is in full seing. Numbers from Malawi have gone down from 97,000 to 20,000. Lesotho is seeing a loss of something like 5000 jobs a year. At last count the numbers from Mozambique stood at 34,000 and falling. Only 306 men came from Angola last year and the 20,000 from Botswana and 13,000 from Zimbabwe are said to be next for the chop. Meanwhile Transkei provided 104,000 mine workers last year and that number is to increase this year.

Following the reduction of foreign workers the report has called for other 'improvements'. For example:-

Smaller compounds with no more than 2000 in each.

Fewer workers (10 at most) to a room. More privacy in showers and lavatories. Shorter labour contracts. Stronger control of compound liquor outlets.

Adoption of a disciplinary code and a central bureau with a 'black list' to help enforce it.

A Security Unit for each mine equipped with tear gas, batons, dogs etc, with an armoured vehicle on call.

New hostels designed to hinder rioters and help 'suppressors' of riots.

A changeover from coal to electricity for power (coal was used for rioters to assault police and damage property).

Television and/or video tapes to identify 'instigators' during riots.

In an attempt to attract more workers from inside South Africa construction of entertainment facilities to fill in time due to a changeover to a five day week.

'Inciters' and 'instigators' of riots to be discharged from work, criminally charged and afterwards debarred from obtaining employment again in any mine.

In addition the secret report suggests that the chamber of mines investigate the possibility of getting a fully computerised fingerprint system.

The ILO report asserts that the withdrawal of foreign labour would have a crippling effect upon the South African economy. Yet they overlook the fact that the South African government is already preparing for the day when, with massive international subsidies, neighbouring countries pull out all migrant labour. With the construction of an even more restrictive hegemony within the mines the planners expect to circumvent the worst effects of these kinds of sanctions while guarding against the 'infiltration' of political elements'. The weight will fall upon the Azanians in the Bantustans.

As one ANC delegate at a Maseru conference on apartheid said: "We are now at war with the racist fascist regime in South Africa. The implementation of sanctions may assist us to reach our goal of liberation faster than we might without them, but in the last resort the sanctions are meaningless without the armed struggle. With or without sanctions the war will continue. With or without sanctions the war of liberation will succeed - it is but a matter of time".

Sometime later I went with an exiled Soweto student to hear my Lesotho travelling companion speak at a wake. He compared death to the return of a miner to Lesotho: "When the man goes to the mine the first thing he buys is a suitcase. Then he begins to fill it with different items bought from each pay cheque - a jumper for a daughter, a dress for his wife, shoes for his father, a blouse for his mother, trousers for his son, a transistor radio. When that case is full he leaves the mine. At home he opens the suitcase with his family and the worthiness of each item defines the character of the man who bought them. In death we carry a suitcase full of life's actions to the door of heaven. Before God we open the case and each action defines the character of the person and God's decision."

As I listened I thought of the bent overalls, the secret report and the words of the ANC delegate. The student commented: "Sanctions may shake the bedrock of the Boer economy and throw the Nationalist Party into restrictive practices but only concerted social change, with violence if need be, can hope to confront the conditions and mythologies of the suitcase."

BRIAN MURPHY

ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT SPECIAL

Unholy alliance with anarchists

In case any field sportsmen and women are sitting back, breathing relaxed sighs of relief now that the advent of a Conservative Government has apparently removed the immediate threat to field sports, they would do well to realise that our common enemy is working full time and with increased vigour as they find themselves thwarted and frustrated.

One, possibly the most alarming, development is the apparent alliance between the so-called Animal Liberation Front, the Hunt Saboteurs and the anarchist movement, published by Ronnie Lee and Gary Treadwell (of John Peel's desecration ill-fame). ALF clearly states that it will continue to destroy property used to oppress non-human animals, both angling and shooting come under violent attack. The HSA is, perhaps to its embarrassment, given a glowing mention in despatches, whilst we are also told that the RSPCA is shortly to condemn angling. ALF claims to have broken hundreds of pounds worth of fishing floats in Woodworths in the last two years. Whilst we accept that individuals are perfectly entitled to oppose field sports by any legitimate means available to them, and whilst we accept that the HSA is violent and disruptive, we doubt if even their members care to be so closely associated with the Animal Liberation Front who, in their extreme frenzy, are prepared to be linked with anarchists.

We suggest that even the "respectable" field sports opposition groups appear to be lying with some extremely dubious bed-partners.

SHOOTING TIMES & COUNTRY MAGAZINE
SEPTEMBER 6-12, 1979

INSTEAD of paying attention to the points raised in the ALF Review, the letters protesting about it include the following arguments: 1) it's all crankiness, and unrelated to anarchism; 2) people fighting animal oppression hamper the fight against human oppression and think the latter less important, whereas it is more important; 3) an ecological imbalance is created by releasing animals into the wild.

Leaving aside for the present the question of ecological imbalance - which is, after all, the state of the world in general - I want to reply to the two former arguments. Not because they are the better ones, but because they are the most commonly used in refutation of the concept of animal liberation.

Point 1) is difficult to deal with because almost always used in a highly subjective way. I think, however, that if crankiness can be defined at all, it means the belief that there is one simple solution to the problems of the world. Thus I might call someone cranky who believed that we could achieve Utopia once we had all become atheist/or Christian, once we had all put solar panels in our homes, or once (to use Paul Foot's rather silly phrase in the recent Time Out article, precipitated, it seems by the ALF Review*) we all managed to live on 'a handful of brown rice and bananas'.

But the ALF Review writers don't believe that there is one solution, and they make this plain.

Tony Gibson then claims that the ALF has nothing to do with anarchism. He doesn't say why, and I've certainly not come across any definition of anarchism that would exclude what the ALF are doing. Anarchism can't exist in a vacuum; it has of necessity to be related to something - be it the oppression of human beings in prisons and mental hospitals, the treat-

ment of women, the 'conquest of bread' or leisure, the questions of nuclear energy and ecology or whatever. It isn't, or at least it shouldn't be, a crystallised thing, but a dynamic force; it doesn't place certain subjects on the equivalent of a papal index, or does it?

I am reminded of the Cambridge philosopher who tried to refute Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights of Women by arguing (quite rightly) that all she said could be carried one stage further, and wrote A Vindication of the Rights of Brutes to show the absurdity of her arguments. Yet it is he who now looks absurd. . . . As for the breaking of fishing floats - no, of course this doesn't strike a blow for freedom, any more than 'reclaiming the night' does, or occupying a factory. As single actions, these can only be symbolic protests. It is their sum that strikes a blow for freedom. And freedom is multi-dimensional, or it is nothing.

To turn now to the argument that human oppression must be eradicated before we can switch to other matters, this is no different from arguing that women should wait till men, blacks till whites, 'gays' till 'straights', children till adults, are liberated, and so on. It may then be argued that the difference lies in the fact that all these belong to the human race. But this is something of a non sequitur unless it means that because they don't look like us, don't have our vocal cords, don't have the strength and cunning that we have to destroy them, because (at least in most known cases) they don't have our kind of highly developed neocortex (though they may have plenty of other things) it's pointless for human beings to help the other species of the earth. They wouldn't share our 'good intentions' as MK put it in the last issue.

This argument reflects the reverse side of anthropomorphism. It says that

under no circumstances should we equate the pain or sensitivity we experience as one species with that of other species. I know of no evidence for such a view and to those who would argue the contrary, I suggest they read some ethnology, or books by writers who know something of it like the space scientist and biologist, Carl Sagan. And this reminds me of a final point. If intelligent life forms were found beneath the dense atmosphere of Titan, would anarchists be indifferent to any attempts to capture and exploit them? Would aliens have to be declared at least as 'high' on the evolutionary ladder' as we are before anarchist papers spoke up on their behalf? And if, sooner or later, we did meet with alien intelligent life that was as, or more 'advanced' than ours, could we expect it to treat us with a sense of justice, or to sort out its more internal problems first?

GAIA

Putney, London

* Time Out's report paid FREEDOM the compliment of "indicating the emergence of the concept of animal liberation from the shades of crankiness to the glare of media and political discussion". It's good that FREEDOM is regarded as "the glare of (the) media"!

Dear Friends

The criticisms of the Animal Liberation Front were all to be predicted and are seeking a purity of action and ideology that puts me in mind of the Master Race. Beware! The ALF Special showed that they do not indulge in nice philosophising all the time nor do they apply themselves first to drawing up reformist constitutions. They take direct action to rescue imprisoned animals from institutional torture and they sabotage such institutions which are involved in licenced torture and death. Very few people can claim such positive results. The ecological purists are blinkered in that they assume that we have a pure and soundly balanced environment. We do not. The areas of untouched wildness are few and those that do remain are subject to the obscene practices of the Ministry of Defence. The purists seem to want to eliminate all suffering which is part of a soundly balanced ecology. Remember that captive animals have to be fed - whence comes their food and through what process? I would rather take my chances for survival in freedom than in a locked room, strapped to a table, subject to a scientist's pleasure. The view that the ALF aims are politically naive, premature or incorrect, smacks of fascist or CP dogma. In my view, the ALF FREEDOM section was the most honest, courageous and uncompromising few pages I have ever read. Rare qualities those. On reading those pages I felt immediate solidarity and hope.

Love,
ANN

NOT DISHONEST,
JUST CARELESS...

Dear FREEDOM

As a regular subscriber to FREEDOM over the years, I was rather surprised to find myself being among those you attacked in the article 'ACA - Confused or Just Plain Dishonest?' in your last issue.

As the person who produced the 'Introduction to the ACA' pamphlet you refer to at the end of that article, I must apologise for the fact that we failed to acknowledge that a number of the illustrations originally came from FREEDOM. In our defence, I can only point out that most radical publications, including FREEDOM, often reprint illustrations without acknowledging their source.

As for the rest of the comments you make in the article, I can assure you that any inaccuracies by the author of the offending article in Bread and Roses were due to carelessness rather than plain dishonesty as you suggest.

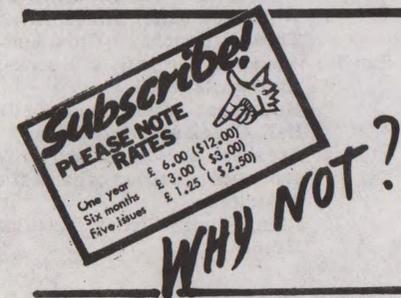
I also hope you will not interpret this letter as another 'thinly disguised plug for the ACA'. I thought every letter was a 'plug' for the writer's own ideas and would also like to point out that you gave the Direct Action Movement a 2-page plug in a recent issue without complaining.

Finally, I'd just like to say that I look forward to receiving FREEDOM every fortnight and will continue to do so even though I don't always agree with everything you say!

In solidarity
BOB PREW

Birmingham

We agree with Bob, that every letter is a 'plug' for the writer's ideas, but we think that there is a difference between this and a recruiting call for an organisation. Sure, we carried the DAM stuff without complaining. We also carried the ACA stuff without complaining, until their paper attacked us. In general, we think that disagreements with another publication should be expressed in a letter to that publication, not in a snide comment in one's own. We stooped to this method in this case only in response to ACA's original lapse. As for illustrations, our policy is to acknowledge them, though one sometimes slips through. In all of this we are referring to our attitudes to comrades, anyone else can look after themselves



LETTERS

a parody of
anarchism?

dear friends

paul buckland's article has at least provoked some creative correspondence (see no. 12). the obsession with movement history, the conspiratorial nature of the organisations, the willingness to engage in semantic arguments about what is and is not anarchism; all of this contributes to the irrelevance of the movement to most of contemporary society.

it is paradoxical that the idea of anarchism is both the rallying point for people of common sympathies and a stumbling block for these same people in the struggle towards an anarchist 'millennium'. is it necessary, or wise, to submit ourselves, lacking in self-knowledge as we are, to rigorous ideological conceptions? the 'status quo' becomes too easily the scapegoat for our anger. the point is not to find who to blame, but to learn how to enact change, both in ourselves and in our society.

anarchists have always rallied under cries like 'down with the bosses', 'smear the state', etc, when in fact few anarchists have shown the ability to create viable alternatives. we have a 'chicken and the egg' problem. can all failures be ascribable to the 'pressures of the system'? can we be assured that, 'come the revolution', we will be able to find new modes of social behaviour overnight? a millennium indeed! the value of our ideas surely lies in the ability to realise them.

what gives us the ideological purity to take part in this millennium? what makes us 'workers'? I left school when sixteen, have worked for the last ten years in factories and as a labourer, have been politicised for all that time, yet have been generally considered by my fellow 'workers' to be a middle class intellectual. i have also been pursuing the idea of socially productive labour for most of that time, but it is not a new idea; the buddhists have encouraged 'right livelihood' for the last two-and-a-half thousand years. . .

whatever anarchism may or may not be, i suggest that for it to be at all meaningful we have to be aware of our own contradictions. why did FREEDOM not plead for a collective to run the library? why do we need to sit at home and 'look forward to the first copy of "direct action"'. this is simply a parody of anarchism! in the words of a cartoon in re-inventing anarchy, THE OPPRESSED MUST BE THEIR OWN EXAMPLE.

fraternally (is there a non-sexist equivalent of this?)

david collins

london w11

A.M. IN GOOD
COMPANY

OF course FREEDOM couldn't know the Ehrlichs and Glenda Morris weren't telling the truth when they say I refused to have anything to do with them as having, like Kropotkin, an 'incorrect political line' . . . (this is the usual explanation, isn't it?)

In fact, they did not write asking me to contribute, but asked if they could reprint a pamphlet I wrote regarding class struggle in China. I first said yes - until I got a further communication which made it quite apparent there was to be nothing whatever regarding class struggle in any other country, and the names of some of the contributors. I then wrote asking to be excused from being associated.

But who am I to complain of misrepresentation when I look at their wretched book and see the gross unsupported libel against Makhno?

ALBERT MELTZER

London SE13

DON'T BE AFRAID OF
CONTRADICTIONS!

Dear Comrades

Every nation on earth would appear to rule its population by fear. Every nation is armed and equipped with prisons and mental asylums. These regimes are designed to suppress and control and a Belsen or Soweto situation could occur and does occur anywhere on earth. Britain is a leading research nation in control methods, chemical and atomic warfare and Ulster is its active service training ground. However, no force on earth has ever succeeded in suppressing the inherent desire of all oppressed peoples for peace and freedom.

As a libertarian communist pacifist I feel it is my duty to communicate the basic anarchist proposition as I see it, and that is that a free society will emerge only when we have collective decision-making and economic equality. And a collective decision making that should never be able to suppress an individual or a minority desire where it is harmless to others. As I see it there is no reason for an anarchist group not to circulate contradictory leaflets or leaflets composed by each member with differing views. Let's get it straight, either we embody the principles of utmost freedom and harmlessness or we might as well go home and get brainwashed by Kojak & Co.

Yours
AMA

Edinburgh

P.S. Turn cars into ploughs could perhaps be a contemporary version of a former slogan, turn swords into ploughs!

BOOKS FROM ANGEL ALLEY

GUSTAV LANDAUER:

*Gustav Landauer: For Socialism, 150pp., ppr., £1.75 (22p)
*Eugene Lunn: Prophet of Community, 434pp., cloth £15. (66p)

SVEJK AND HIS CREATOR:

Jaroslav Hasek: The Good Soldier Svejk and his Fortunes in the Great War. An unabridged translation by Cecil Parrott, with the original illustrations by Josef Lade, 752pp. ppr., £2.25 (54p) / Cecil Parrott: The Bad Bohemian: A Life of Jaroslav Hasek, 296pp cloth, £10.00 (54p).

SACCO AND VANZETTI:

Katherine Ann Porter: The Never-Ending Wrong, 64pp., cloth, £2.90 (22p) / *Louis Joughlin and Edmund M. Morgan: The Legacy of Sacco & Vanzetti 596pp., ppr., £4.95 (54p). Interesting - not only for its coverage of the period 1920-1927 but also for the aftermath, the literature, plays, the myths that grew up - and the realities - after the deaths of Sacco and Vanzetti.

A MISCELLANY:

Ida Mett: The Kronstadt Uprising, 96pp., ppr., 80p (15p)
Stephen Schechter: The Poli-

Funds

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208pp., ppr., £3.50 (22p)
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*Martin A. Miller: Kropotkin 342pp., ppr., £4.50 (54p). Newly in paperback - a recent scholarly and sympathetic biography of Kropotkin, written with the aid of material hitherto confined to various Soviet archives. The cloth edition is also available at £10.50 (54p) if you're feeling rich!

BOOK OF THE WEEK

William J. Fishman: The Streets of East London, with photographs by Nicholas Breach. A large format book, profusely illustrated. Not only a fascinating geographical guide to East London but a historical guide and also a political guide with specific reference to the anarchists, libertarians, Yiddish and other emigré groups that flooded into London's East End, by the author of the shortly-to-be-reprinted 'East End Jewish Radicals'. It includes, incidentally, a full page photograph of Freedom Press's current 'home' for all of our good friends far away who are never likely to be able to see where we hang out in person. 140pp., ppr., £4.95 (54p).

Edward Bellamy: Looking Backward (2000-1887) or Life in the year 2000 A.D. An interesting nineteenth century study of 'Utopia' or things as they might be; rather along the lines of William Morris's 'News from Nowhere'. 123pp., ppr., £1.20 (15p).

FREEDOM PRESS 84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET
in Angel Alley LONDON E1 7QX Phone 01-247 9249

*Ammon Hennacy: The Book of Ammon, 490pp., ppr., £3.50 (66p)

*Henry D. Thoreau: The Illustrated Maine Woods (with photographs from the Gleason Collection) 347pp., ppr., £4.95 (54p)

*Lysander Spooner: Vices are not crimes: a vindication of moral liberty, 46pp., ppr., £1.95 (15p)

*Fred W. THOMPSON and Patrick MURFIN: The I.W.W. Its First Seventy Years 1905-1975, 238pp., ppr., £2.50 (33p)

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Vernon Richards: The Impossibilities of Social Democracy 142pp., paper, £1.00 (£2.25) 19p post.

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Colin Ward: Housing: An Anarchist Approach, 182pp., paper £1.25 (£2.50) 22p post
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Paul Avrich: Bakunin & Nechaev 32pp, paper, 20p (50c) 10 p post
Alexander Berkman: A B C of Anarchism, 86pp., paper, 50p (£1.00) 15p post.

ANARCHY 1961-1970 Nos. 1-118
Bound in full cloth, ten volumes, £45.00 incl. postage. (£40 to the trade)

Freedom Press also distributes the following (i.e. can give full trade terms on):

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Peter Arshinov: History of the Makhnovist Movement 1918-1921 284pp, paper, £2.50 (33p). NOT for distribution in U.S.A.

Voline: The Unknown Revolution 1917-1921, 717pp., paper £4.50 (86p) NOT for distribution in U.S.A.

Freedom

Anarchist Review

SUPPLEMENT
22 September / 79
Vol 40 No 17



Vladimir Bukovsky: A recent picture taken at Cambridge

Books by Russian dissenters are practically a drug on the market; many have been best-sellers and no doubt the guilty consciences of the West have helped to swell the coffers of frozen dollars and pounds salted away for several prominent deported dissidents. However, many of these works had their faults - an unreliability, a gross leaning backward to the right and a complete lack of humour. Whilst these latter-day Dostoyevskys and Ingolourious Tolstoys invoke very little anarchist response, Vladimir Bukovsky should find an echo in every anarchist. It would be rash and untrue to label Bukovsky as an anarchist, but he is of the stuff of which anarchists are made.

His autobiography (a hefty 350 pages) is full of the wry humour and wisdom garnered from a total of twelve years in prisons, labour camps and psychiatric hospitals in a life of thirty-six years.

The 'castle' of the title is an imaginative construction conceived to while away the time spent in solitary confinement. It has no connection with Kafka's 'Castle', but it had so much reality that in a later sentence Bukovsky managed to persuade a cell-mate (a former construction boss) to give an estimate for the cost of erecting the castle. True to Soviet form the contractor muses "the best thing to do is to buy the materials on the black market, it works out cheaper that way". But Bukovsky protests "In my position I had to make sure that everything was legal and to keep my nose clean".

This was all part of Bukovsky's conviction that 'it is essential to fill every spare minute of your time with activity - best of all with studying some complex subject that demands enormous concentration'.

This stems from his observation that prison gives the sensation of having lost your personality. 'As a result, every man strives to stand out from the crowd, stress his individuality, to appear superior and better than the rest'. Hence the fights and struggles for leadership in prison. 'In general it is possible to divide mankind into two categories - those you could share a cell with and those you couldn't. But then your opinion is never asked. You are obliged to be extraordinarily tolerant of your cell-mates and to suppress your own habits and peculiarities; you have to adapt yourself to everybody and go along with everybody, otherwise life becomes unbearable'. This is in spite of the fact that Bukovsky during his many imprisonments and detentions was subjected many times to the test of having an informer billeted on him. Such was his tolerance that he frequently supplied informers with completely useless pieces of information to take back to the KGB.

On the other hand his inter-prison philosophy was just as practical... 'every time I was released, my only thought was how to get as much done as possible so that afterwards, put in prison again, I wouldn't have to spend sleepless nights dwelling on lost opportunities, punishing myself and making myself sick with rage over my own indecision.... But when you met

a person for the first time, you invariably thought of him as a witness at your future trial. Which interrogation would he crack at - the first or the second? . . . therefore don't burden your neighbour with information he doesn't need, don't place him in a position where he will later be stricken with a guilty conscience'.

Bukovsky tells his story interspersed with an italicised account of his sudden release in exchange, ironically enough, for Luis Corvalan, a Chilean communist - who Bukovsky never even saw. His release, although seemingly by exchange, was due in a great measure to the work of Amnesty International, and specifically to the work of our comrade David Markham (see FREEDOM). The publicity given to such dissident cases is one of the chief factors in securing releases. The State dislikes publicity for its persecutions. Other states welcome the publicity given them for their efforts on behalf of civil rights - of other country's citizens.

The secrecy of the State's activities is vividly conveyed in Bukovsky's italicised account of his release. Never, until the actual moment of setting down in Switzerland is he released from physical custody or told what is going to happen to him. No wonder that for a while he speculates that he is being taken out to be shot. This is the state at its most Kafkaesque.

'Since ancient times, man has been accustomed to regard three things as the most terrifying on earth; death, madness and imprisonment. . . . And these three terrors that reside in every one of us are exploited by society to punish the disobedient. Or, rather, to deter the remainder, for who nowadays speaks seriously of punishment?' So writes Bukovsky and 'The deterrent function of imprisonment has become so firmly fixed in the minds of people . . . that they take it for granted that prison must be made nasty and degrading. . . and society is particularly upset if prisoners start to stammer something about rights and human dignity'.

'Somewhere along the line it seems to have been forgotten that the original aim of prison was to frighten not the prisoners, but those who remained at liberty; that is to say, society itself. The more society tortures the prisoner, the more it is able to frighten itself.

Consequently it craves the prisoners fear. Of course, the prison population too, like any respectable society, has its own internal prison - the punishment cells, and also a variety of different prison regimes, ranging from the ordinary to the strict and to the especially strict. Even in prison a man is not supposed to be indifferent to his fate. There is always something he can be deprived of. A man who has nothing else to lose, of course, is morally dangerous to society. . . . the experienced con doesn't judge a jail by its appearance or its general cells, but by its 'box' (punishment cell). Similarly, it is more just to judge a country by its prisons than by its monuments'. In this respect one cannot feel smug or complacent about the British prison system. Bukovsky's remarks on imprisonment and punishment have a universality which sets To Build a Castle above the run of anti-Soviet propaganda.

Bukovsky's continual aim was to use the hypocrisy and bureaucracy of the system to defeat itself. Primarily he used the conflict between the state KGB and the civil police-prison administration, who had very little reason to like each other.

The hypocrisy of the Soviet state meant that laws giving the prisoners rights still existed (on paper) within the constitution. Bukovsky exploited these mythical rights to complain which meant that prisoners could complain of conditions to any state or public official or public institution. Complaints have to be forwarded within three days of their receipt. The administration has to write an explanation and add relevant details from the prisoners dossier. Bukovsky advises 'you should write enormous numbers of complaints and send them to the officials least equipped to deal with them'. Writing about a particular campaign Bukovsky says 'At the height of our war, each of us (the prisoners) wrote from ten to thirty complaints a day'. In order for the prison to keep up to the three-day deadline 'the prison governor summoned every last man to help out at the office with this work - librarians, book-keepers, censors, political instructors, security officers.

And it went even further. All the students of the next door Ministry of the Interior training college were pressed into helping out as well'.

One of the things that helped to keep the sanity of Bukovsky - and others - intact was a supply of books, books which Bukovsky had a constant struggle to obtain - and keep. He had a period when he had about thirty books (his property, sent him from abroad) confiscated in the prison stores. He was transferred from one prison to another at night and made a scene about his books. The prison guards had no stomach for 'a material claim against the prison' which would set in motion the complaints procedure - it was only the KGB who were interested in the mind-corrupting influence of books, so after hours of discussion he was allowed to take the books away.

He writes 'one way or another we (prisoners) all had our sacks of books. What is more, they were usually passed on as a legacy from one generation of prisoners to another, and therefore were a sort of public property'. They covered up by tearing off covers and passing the book off as toilet paper or, forging the library stamp and passing it as a library book, or by pasting a magazine cover on it and passing it off as a magazine. The authorities eventually caught up with each of these devices. Bukovsky's answer was that 'The safest thing was simply to read the book fast and copy as much as you could into your notebook'.

Political prisoners in Interior Ministry jails were not expected to work (up to 1975). It was thought that they would not, or sabotage anyhow - but in the labour camps it was a different story. Bukovsky comments 'that no more than thirty years ago millions of political prisoners in Russia were rounded up and driven out to work on the great construction projects of communism. Hundreds of thousands of them died of scurvy and malnutrition. Meanwhile, large numbers of people, overcome with admiration, lauded the Soviet regime. It wasn't that they lacked the necessary information, simply that they didn't want to know, didn't want to believe it'.

For example, in 1939 Pat Sloane wrote (in Soviet Democracy) 'Soviet penal settlements are now usually situated in places where large-scale construction work is in progress. The Baltic-White Sea Canal was built to a great extent by penal labour, and the building of the Moscow-Volga canal is being undertaken in a similar way. An essential feature of such large construction enterprises is that they provide work for people of all specialities. Therefore it is unusual, when serving a sentence in the USSR, for people not to be able to practice their own speciality'. The Webbs, in their classical Soviet Communism: a New Civilisation? (with or without the question mark) had similar admiration for the therapeutic properties of navvying - so come to think of it, did the German nazis and the Japanese and it is interesting to see the Chinese carrying on the grand old tradition of slavation through work.

The old jailers deplored the passing of the old days. Bukovsky comments, 'But we were nothing like the rabbits who died without a murmur (in the White Sea Canal camps etc). We had grasped the great truth that it was not rifles, not tanks and not atom bombs that created power, nor upon them that power rested. Power depended upon public obedience, upon a willingness to submit. Therefore each individual who refused to submit reduced that force by one 250th million of its sum. We had been schooled by our participation in the civil rights movement and had received an excellent education in the camps, and we knew of the implacable force of one man's refusal to submit'.

Bukovsky's book is full of instances of how the prisoners (many of course unpolitical) resisted and often defeated authority.

* * *

Another strand of To Build a Castle is Bukovsky's autobiography. When a mere boy he decided not to continue membership of the Young Pioneers. These doubts of Communism were fortified, for example, by contact with a non-Communist family who began arguing about 'What Lenin Said'; each member of the family, not particularly heretofore knowledgeable about Lenin, had differing ideas on what Lenin said. It developed that the prevailing Soviet shortage was toilet paper and the

works of Lenin had sacrilegiously been pressed into this base use. Each member of the family had perused a different page of 'the Works'; hence each had got differing ideas from his opportunist and confused outpourings.

Bukovsky started in secret organisations early. True to schoolboy form his first organisation, though secretly successful and growing, had no real aims except its mere existence. Bukovsky early recognised that 'if a man wanted to act, he didn't need an organisation'.

His first clash with authority was when he was working on an iconoclastic school magazine. He was called before the City Commune who adjudged him 'politically immature' and barred Bukovsky's entrance into the university. Bukovsky did not take this to heart, he forged a certificate of entry to the university and backed by genuine credentials from sympathetic teachers, entered university and qualified in his particular subject.

His experience with the City Commune made him reflect, 'A pathetic school magazine with no politics in it and the whole menagerie gets into a stew, up to and including the Central Committee. That means they're afraid, this is what they fear the most. Alright, that's what we need. It was one thing to know theoretically that we had no freedom of the press or speech, but quite another thing to experience it in practice. Was there any guarantee that Stalinism wouldn't come back if they could sack people, issue reprimands and ban you from studying, all because of some paltry magazine? That is how it always begins. And would they say afterwards that nobody knew and they were all afraid?'

Bukovsky grew up during the 50s, during the so-called Kruschev 'thaw' and he considers that 'Kruschev took fright (at de-Stalinisation) and sounded the retreat.' Bukovsky believes that the release of prisoners was due more to Kruschev's old friend Snegov (an ex-prisoner) whom he appointed as deputy in the rehabilitation committee - and by the time he was removed, Bukovsky says, only 40,000 or so were left in the camps.

* * *

Bukovsky writes of the fifties as 'springtime, hope and expectation'. The rebirth of culture in the Soviet Union was due, says Bukovsky, to the political joke, the typewriter which made the samizdat (or self-publishing) possible, and the man with the guitar. Bukovsky thinks that a monument should be erected to these three.

Bukovsky joined in poetry readings in Moscow's Mayakovsky Square. They were infiltrated by plain clothes men and some of the poets were arrested. Bukovsky tried to open an official club - with a preliminary exhibition of nonconformist artists - but this was banned and the club closed. The KGB summoned him for questioning. Bukovsky was expelled from Moscow University in 1961, partly as a result of all this.

He was first arrested in October 1961 and released, the pretext a supposed plot to assassinate Kruschev. Eventually, four months later, some of the participants in the poetry readings were convicted of 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' and were sentenced to five and seven years in labour camps.

Seven months later Bukovsky was arrested. The origin was the discovery by the KGB of a copy of Djilas' The New Class which Bukovsky was photocopying. He was interrogated by the KGB who planted a 'stoolie' on him to share his cell.

Eventually Bukovsky was pronounced 'unfit to stand trial' and was transferred to Leningrad Special Mental Hospital. About this time (1963) Kruschev had said 'the USSR no longer had any political prisoners and that no-one was dissatisfied with the system; the few who still expressed dissatisfaction were simply mentally ill'. Not many realised that this was 'a major turn in punitive policy'.

Bukovsky was eventually returned to the Lefortovo prison where he discovered that his case had been tried in his absence. Then, as a convict, he was returned to the Leningrad Special Mental Hospital where he found fellow 'lunatics' in on charges of fomenting strikes, circulating 'anti-Soviet' propaganda, 'espionage' (i.e. contact with foreigners or sending manuscripts abroad). In 1965 Bukovsky was discharged as a convalescent paranoid - into the care of his mother.

In 1965 a new wave of young poets attempted to start readings again in Mayakovsky Square. They called themselves SMOG

or the 'youngest society of geniuses'. Sinyavsky and Daniel were arrested for publishing books in the West - although the author Tarsis had done the same with impunity. Bukovsky was involved in publicising a SMOG protest about the arrests. He was picked up by the KGB and committed to another mental 'hospital'. He was transferred to a hospital outside Moscow which was intended for the compulsory treatment of people found guilty of petty crimes.

Bukovsky struck up acquaintance with Kashirov, an elderly Moscow thief, and a cobbler, who knew the hospital ropes and gave Bukovsky his protection and advice. Several commissions were set up on Bukovsky's case. The medical staff were inclined to favour him but the KGB intervened and produced a deadlock on the case. However, due to the efforts of Amnesty the case had received wide publicity and he was eventually released. Three months after his release Bukovsky's mother was receiving replies from the Public Prosecutor's office. 'No grounds have been found for your complaint. The investigation is being carried out according to normal judicial practice. Your son has been detained in accordance with the law'. Bukovsky comments 'Truly we were born to make Kafka live'.

In 1967 there was another wave of arrests of writers, including Alexander Ginzburg. Bukovsky and some of his friends organised a public protest against these arrests and were in turn themselves arrested.

Bukovsky comments on his investigation. 'The task of political investigation is thus not to disentangle the crime, but above all to collect compromising material. Its duty is to elucidate why it is that citizen N, who to all intents and purposes is wholly Soviet, grew up in a Soviet family and was educated in Soviet schools, has turned out to be so terribly un-Soviet'. The Party will not believe that a man is capable of arriving at certain thoughts on his own. Therefore any deviation must be a conspiracy or a plot and 'Never in our (Soviet) history has a court acquitted anyone on a political charge'.

Bukovsky was tried in August 1967 and was sentenced to three years in a labour camp at Bor, 300 miles south of Moscow. This, like all prison camps, was run on the virtues of competitive labour. It was represented as a species of self-government but there was simply a second tier of 'assistants working to secure an early release - 'on the road to reform'. Such 'assistants' invoke a reign of terror which is often unendurable and as was a common occurrence in the sixties, rebellions take place.

Bukovsky has a theory that the State Planning Agency works in with the Ministry of the Interior to get the number of prisoners required to maintain the national economy at the requisite level. Campaigns are waged, say, against 'hooligans' and (as in Britain) this has the natural result of discovering and denouncing an increased number of so-called 'hooligans'. 'Battalions of provocative young hooligans are being shipped out to work on the Brask Hydroelectric Station or the Baikal Amur Railway'. This number of hooligans on the feedback system could extend to infinity but instead the authorities choose some other offence for a campaign: 'Step up the struggle against embezzlers of socialist property!'

Bukovsky was released in 1970. By now psychiatric punishment was well established. 'What had not been achieved by the forces of the Warsaw Pact, jails, camps, interrogations, searches, deprivation of jobs, blackmail and intimidation, was now being realised with the help of psychiatry'. By this method, embarrassing trials were avoided. One of the dicta to come out of the Serbsky Institute was 'Most frequently, ideas about "a struggle for truth and justice" are formed by personalities with a paranoid structure'.

In 1971 Bukovsky decided to contact, with the help of David Markham, Western psychiatrists who were holding an international conference at the end of the year when the actions of Russian psychiatrists could be documented and discussed.

Before this Bukovsky had given a televised interview with an AP correspondent which was being smuggled out of the USSR. This activity intensified the interest of the KGB and he was frequently shadowed and threatened. In March 1971 Bukovsky was again arrested.

It was decided to send him to the Serbsky Institute as 'unfit to plead'. During this period the usual commissions and in-

vestigations were held but under Soviet law investigation has a time limit and if the case isn't closed by then the prisoner has the right to be released. The investigator simply forged the record to say that Bukovsky had refused to have the case read to him. At this point Bukovsky went on hunger strike. He was forcibly fed for ten days and after twelve days the authorities surrendered and gave way to Bukovsky on the technical point of his defence counsel.

His trial took place in January 1972. He was charged in connection with the interviews and conversations with soldiers he

met in a cafe and advised never to fire on unarmed people. He told the court he didn't regret what had happened, he merely regretted that he had achieved too little while he was at liberty. He was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment.

JACK ROBINSON

Vladimir Bukovsky. To Build a Castle: My Life as a Dissenter. Deutch 1978. £7.50

J'Accuse!
but no-one's listening...



OFF beat history is littered with the unrecorded corpses of the righteous whose last dying words were "I told you so" yet, ignoring the need for self preservation, one feels yea knows that they were right to say it. The wife gazing at the ruins of the family car or the Sunday dinner and her drunken husband says it before high tailing it, screaming, into the night. The private soldier finding himself shackled up in the prisoner of war camp with the general who led the retreat carwise, the passenger on the DC10 wondering why in God's Name he bothered to buckle on the Safety Harness, the patient on the operating table gazing with horror at the unnecessary removal by brilliant and dedicated surgeons of his or her various vital

internal organs when he or she has tried to explain, but in vain, to the hospital bureaucracy that they are R. Smith and not K. Smith are all expounding the Vision Beautiful or the Inevitable Ghastly and because they were unheeded and unhonoured they are justified, as with the expert on Inland Tides in Pharaoh's package tour with the Egyptian Grand Army of the Red Sea, in being bitter and saying "I told you so".

Edouard Manet died in 1883 and he was one of the master painters who with his flair for the intelligent juxtaposition of bright flat colours and his fluid brush strokes led the way into twentieth century styles of painting. The reproductions of his *Le Bar aux Folies-Bergeres*, *Dejeuner sur l'Herbe* and

The Execution of Maximilian have made his work something of a reproduction industry cliché but it is good and solid work for all that. Manet painted four versions, all life size, of the Execution and it is the second version in the caretaking of the National Gallery that should concern anyone who professes to have a love or understanding of the work of any artist be they genius or simple happytime awful. After Manet's death this second version was cut into rough crude pieces and it was the artist Degas who rescued the three pieces and once again assembled them within a single frame. The vulture dealers moved in and the painting was acquired by the Gallery in 1918 and the bureaucrats of that year of final sacrifice, 1000,000 dead, ever conscious of the need to expand once more 'cut' this painting into crude pieces and according to the whim of the day hung each framed piece in whatever gallery needed visual wallpaper. Ten, fifteen or was it twenty years ago I began to honour Degas's artistic action by attempting to get the pieces of Manet's painting of the Execution reassembled within a single frame. I wrote and wrote to the bureaucracies that control our State galleries but always and ever was brushed away with a typed letter and the pieces festered in separate frames in separate galleries. I prowled around the National Gallery and when I was unobserved I measured the frames with a length of string to prove to the bureaucracy that these pieces of Manet's painting could be assembled within a single frame without loss of gallery space and still no answer. I wrote and wrote asking permission to go down into the dusty and gloomy vaults of the National Gallery and finally got a brusque and reluctant permission and with an aged attendant we pulled huge frame after frame aside to finally expose the painted 'fragment' of the General Miramon who now stands to the left of the painting and when was that? Ten years ago? I again wrote to the Gallery bureaucracy for these parts of Manet's painting to be reassembled within a single frame but as I recall my letter was not worth an answer. At the sales desk at that time there was no photograph for sale of the pieces of Manet's painting of the Execution as a unified whole. Only a photograph of a head of a soldier and a small photograph of the firing squad and the size of these two photographs made it impossible to relate them to each other. A month or so before the National Gallery exhibition selected by the artist Howard Hodgkin of works that pleased the artist I had on two separate occasions lightly broached the matter of this mutilated painting with the Director of the National Gallery Michael Levey, once at the Serpentine Gallery and once at a private viewing of Poussin's 'restored' painting and the matter was politely but smilingly brushed aside and in the early months of this year, 1979, I had again written to the bureaucracy of the National Gallery pleading and asking that the pieces of Manet's painting be reassembled within a single frame but received no answer. On the 19th of June 1979 Howard Hodgkin held, with official permission of the State, his 'The Artist Eye' exhibition of work within the National Gallery that pleased him and the centre piece is all the known pieces of Manet's painting of the Execution of the Emperor Maximilian and within a single frame and this 'SINGLE' painting has been given the place of honour on the posters on the hoardings, the cover of the catalogue and within the gallery. For ten to twenty years I have written, protested, pulled aside frames in dusty vaults, measured frame space with string when no attendant was looking and protested in person to the Director of the National Gallery that Manet's mutilated painting should be reassembled within a single frame and my cries, my pleas and my protests, as with the clerk at the Social Supplement counter, have been ignored. I do not

want the credit or the glory, which I do, for forcing the State bureaucracy to reassemble this vandalised painting, but I and my columns in FREEDOM have a right to be bitter when Michael Levey the Director of the National Gallery writes in his preface to Howard Hodgkin's exhibition that in 1979 'Not the least of our debts to him (Howard Hodgkin) is to have focused attention on the portrait we own of the Execution of the Emperor Maximilian by Manet; for this exhibition the somewhat neglected fragment of General Miramon has been cleaned, and the result is beautifully direct painting, powerful and most moving even in mutilated form'.

I thank and honour Howard Hodgkin for being able to do what I could not do in nearly twenty years of effort but if Michael Levey's description of Manet's painting is correct then one must ask why nothing was done to reassemble the pieces within a single frame during the last fifty years, and it is no more than a single day's work for any competent framer, why the painting of the General lay in the vaults year after year, and why my pleas for this painting over the last five, ten, fifteen years were not considered important enough to act on. I take my stand with Degas the artist against the bureaucracy who can still pull this painting apart for one critic of the national press typed the 'hope' that the painting would remain united while the doyen of the popular critics Edward Lucie-Smith writes that the National Gallery "has given us back a masterpiece" and seeing that the National Gallery held the pieces in vaults, frames and wandering galleries one must ask who lost that 'masterpiece' my masters, meanwhile I will weep in my Guinness in Wards civilised vaults.

In 1979 'we few' were invited to view the restoration of Nicolas Poussin's painting of the Adoration of the Calf after it had been slashed, unofficially, by an unpaid member of the public. It was all very James Bond as we were taken up by lift and through locked then unlocked doors to view the restoration of Poussin's 'famous' painting and again I felt sick and sad at what I personally hold to be the ruin of an artist's work. The knife slash had been filled in from the back and then over painted so that as one stupid X cried "Isn't it marvellous it is as good as new" and so it is but we will never know who in the hell's brush strokes we are looking at, Poussin's or the official restorer's 1978 essay in 17th century painting. The British Museum honour the dead artists by leaving their time worn craftsmanship on a sword hilt and buckle unrestored but not our great State galleries with their permanent staff of highly paid restorers. Give them the pieces of a large painting by Manet executed in broad brush strokes, then when some unknown bully boy has cut it in pieces with tailor's shears the bureaucracy will destroy its unity and aesthetic value by imprisoning the pieces in isolated frames so that the brush strokes become meaningless daubs but let some drear character slash a painting with a single cut and instead of pressing the sides of the cut together within a new protected frame so that in a hundred or more years men and women will marvel at the skill of the restorer but let us pray comrades that when the ghosts of our images walk the halls of that libertarian or authoritarian society they will find Manet's painting of the Execution of the Emperor Maximilian still within a single frame and accept our apologies for the repainting of Poussin's Adoration of the Calf and you my American or German comrade one hundred years from now running your eye down the computerised copies of our 1979 FREEDOM do not judge me too harshly because I told the State bureaucrats "I told you so".

ARTHUR MOYSE



"England is not a free people, till the poor that have no land, have a free allowance to dig and labour the commons..."

Gerrard Winstanley, 1649

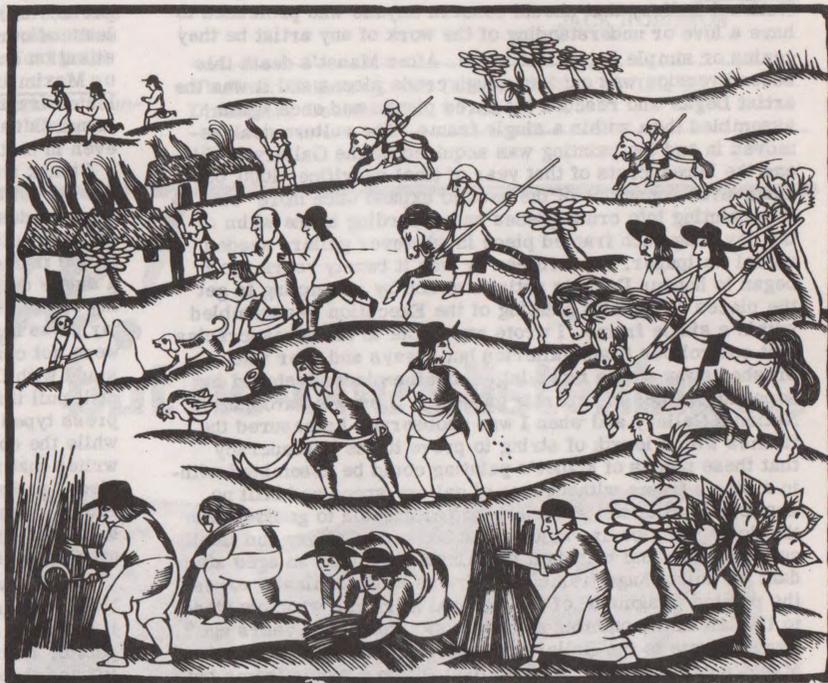


Fig. 3.2 The illustration (designed by Oscar Zarate) is from a poster for the film *Winstanley*.

DOING IT TOGETHER

Alternative Communities in Nineteenth Century England,
Dennis Hardy (Longman £9.95, paper £5.95)

ONE of the least known aspects of anarchist history is the phenomenon of collectives, co-operatives, communes and communities of various kinds which have been established on libertarian principles - that is, the many attempts to put anarchist theory into practice within existing society rather than through the creation of a new society - and this is particularly true in this country. It is relatively easy to find out about individuals and organisations, periodicals and pamphlets, conferences and demonstrations, attacks on present society and accounts of future society; but it is very hard to find out about what anarchists have actually done to express their anarchism, working together, producing and purchasing together, living together.

Few books - even otherwise good books - on anarchism attempt to fill this gap. One glaring fault of the only acceptable history of British anarchism - John Quail's book *The Slow Burning Fuse* (1978) - was the chapter in the middle called 'Cooperative Colonies', about the libertarian experiments of the 1890s seen from a militant perspective as a symptom of decline, which was so inadequate and inaccurate that it should have been rewritten or left out of the book. Now disappointed readers may turn instead to the relevant chapter in Dennis Hardy's new book on all kinds of 'alternative communities' in England during the last century, which conveniently replaces Quail's account of this subject and complements his account of the wider subject of anarchist theory and practice in Britain.

Hardy is Principal Lecturer in Social Science at Middlesex Polytechnic, and his book begins with a rather academic chapter called 'Context'. He describes the communities he studies as 'practical utopias', and discusses the social and historical

contexts of such phenomena in England. The former will mainly interest other social scientists, and the latter is a barely sufficient summary of medieval monasteries, the Diggers of Gerrard Winstanley in the English Revolution of the mid-seventeenth century, and the Pantisocracy of Coleridge and Southey in the revolutionary upheaval of the late eighteenth century. There is a rather inadequate analysis of the various forms of new community which appeared during the nineteenth century - the 'mainstream communities', which represented the ordinary development of a growing population (and which continue to appear all around us); the 'model communities', which were founded by philanthropic or visionary capitalists as a part of but also an improvement in the ordinary development of an advancing society (and which continued to appear in the form of Garden Cities and New Towns); and the 'alternative communities', which were "inspired by ideologies opposed to the established order of society".

The rest of the book is devoted to a detailed account of the alternative communities which appeared in England (not Scotland, Wales and Ireland) in the nineteenth century (and to some extent the twentieth century). There were only a few dozen of these, compared to hundreds in Continental Europe or North America, and Hardy divides them into four categories, each of which gets a chapter to itself.

There are "the communities of utopian socialism", based on the idea that socialism could be deliberately created within existing society by establishing communities rather than by voting in elections or fighting in revolutions; the main figures were Robert Owen, William Thompson, and Goodwyn Barmby, and the movement is hard to distinguish from the trade union movement and the co-operative movement of the early nineteenth century. (Incidentally, Hardy doesn't discuss the libertarian links represented by such figures as Ambrose Cuddon and Josiah Warren, but then he is more interested in the actual communities).

There are the "communities of agrarian socialism", based on the idea that socialism could be deliberately created by organising workers in a movement "back to the land"; the fore-runners were Gerrard Winstanley, Thomas Spence and Thomas Paine, the inspirers were John Ruskin and Henry George, but the movement was dominated by Feargus O'Connor and is hard to distinguish from the Chartist movement of the mid-nineteenth century. It later turned to schemes for 'home colonisation' and 'rural industries', and tended to become a way of evading rather than encouraging real change.

There are "the communities of sectarianism" or religious separatism, following the ancient tradition of monasteries and sects withdrawing from the evil world and establishing a miniature heaven on earth. This should really have been the first rather than the third category to be considered, since it is by far the oldest and may be seen as the origin of the whole phenomenon (rather as religious dissent may be seen as the origin of social and political dissent).

Then there are "the communities of anarchism". This chapter begins with a very interesting and informative 25-page discussion of anarchism in general and of communist anarchism and religious anarchism in particular, as the varieties which inspired nineteenth-century communities in England. Hardy has worked industriously and thought intelligently about anarchist theory and history, and he can seldom be faulted in his treatment. He does perhaps follow rather too closely the romantic and literary version of George Woodcock's well-known Penguin book *Anarchism*, and he inevitably makes a few minor slips (the editor of the Pelican Classics edition of Godwin is Kramnick, not Kraminck, and FREEDOM is now a fortnightly, not a weekly). He takes the significant influences on anarchist communitarianism in late nineteenth-century England as being Godwin, Proudhon, Warren, Thoreau, Kropotkin, Morris, Carpenter, Wilde and Tolstoy.

The communitarian movement developed during the 1890s under the direct influence of Kropotkin and Tolstoy, and under the leadership of Thomas Davidson (whose Fellowship of the New Life prompted the formation of the Fabian Society before becoming the New Fellowship), Bruce Wallace (who founded a Brotherhood Church in North London), and John Kenworthy (who dominated another Brotherhood Church in Croydon). The New Fellowship published a periodical called *Sower* and then *Seed Time*, and the Croydon organisation published one called the *New Order*; at the same time more traditional anarchists in the North published one called the *Free Commune*. From 1895 to 1899 this movement led to the formation of a series of communities in several parts of England, and the rest of the chapter describes them in detail.

Versions of two of these 'community profiles' were given in Dennis Hardy's own article in *FREEDOM* on 19 May, and it would be a pity to add any more, since this is the real meat of the book and should be enjoyed there. A great virtue of Hardy's work is that he has visited the sites of the communities he describes, and gives not just descriptions but maps and photographs of them. This social or political archaeology resembles the work of Bill Fishman on East London and of the History Workshop movement on many other examples of left-wing historiography, and it adds the spice of real life to his research.

Two of the communities - Clousden Hill near Newcastle and Norton in Sheffield - were mainly inspired by Kropotkinian ideas; six were Tolstoyan - Purleigh, Ashington and Wickford in Essex, Whiteway in Gloucestershire, and the Brotherhood Workshops in Leeds and Blackburn. Nearly all of them lasted only a few years, but some lasted longer. C.W. Daniels was active at Ashington until the 1950s; Whiteway still exists, though much modified; and, as A.G. Higgins pointed out in *FREEDOM* on 14 July, the Brotherhood Church in Blackburn, originating from Leeds, moved to Purleigh, then back to Leeds, and finally to Stapleton near Pontefract, where it still survives eighty years after its foundation. Anyway, a community should not be judged by its longevity, but quality, not how long it lasts but how well it works while it lasts. From this perspective some of the communities were good and others were less good, which is no surprise.

The book ends with a rather academic chapter called 'Appraisal'. Again, the social discussion is less interesting than the historical description of the continuation of communitarian ideas among the Guild Socialists, the Distributivists, the pacifists before and after the Second World War, and of course

the commune movement of the 1960s and 1970s. It would not be difficult to trace a continuous line of development from the present day to the 1890s, and on back to the 1790s, and perhaps even further.

From the anarchist point of view, the communities of the 1890s are interesting both in theory and in practice. In theory, do they represent a retreat from the real world or an advance into a new world? Are they utopian in the bad or the good sense? Do they make more or less sense than conventional agitation and propaganda, and are they the ideal or a substitute form of direct action and social revolution for a minority? In practice, did they appear as a desperate reaction to decline or as a confident contribution to development? Was their effect on the anarchist movement in particular and on society at large good or bad? In both theory and practice, how do they relate to other experiments in production (collectives) and distribution (cooperatives) or in personal life (communes)?

As a non-communitarian, I find it hard to answer these questions, and I am helped by the facts which Hardy has gathered but not much by the comments he has added. Mainstream historians and social scientists may find this aspect of *Alternative Communities* useful, but I think that most anarchists will be mainly grateful for his work in collecting and presenting so much basic information on the subject. On his last page, Hardy remarks that people like Owen and Ruskin are famous, "but how many have heard of William Hodson, Thomas Smith, or Nellie Shaw? This is not to suggest that these latter figures changed the course of history - but they may have come closer to reflecting common ideals and aspirations than many who are better known and who achieved more tangible results". Not a bad epitaph for these forgotten but unforgettable communitarians, anarchists and non-anarchists alike, who tried to create heaven on earth - or earth in heaven, perhaps.

N.W.

