

## International

### AUSTRALIA

New South Wales  
Black Ram, P.O. Box 238, DARLINGHURST, NSW 2010  
Disintegrator! P.O. Box 291, BONDI JUNCTION, Sydney  
Sydney Anarcho-Syndicalists, Jura Books Collective, 417 King Street, NEWTOWN, NSW 2042  
Sydney Libertarians, P.O. Box 24, DARLINGHURST, NSW 2010

### Queensland

Libertarian Socialist Organisation, PO Box 268, Mount Gravatt, Central 4122  
Self-Management Organisation, PO 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, PO Box 20, Parkville, 3052

### South Australia

Adelaide Anarchists, PO Box 67, North Adelaide 5006

### Western Australia

Freedom Collective, PO 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, PO Box 5424, Dunedin

### 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

Autonomia (formerly Free Socialist) PO Box 1751, San Francisco CA 94101  
Libertarian Anarchist Coffeehouse, last Sunday every month 7 pm at Cafe Commons, 3161 Mission St., S.F.

#### Minnesota

Soil of Liberty, Box 7056 Powderhorn Station, Minneapolis, Minn. 55407

#### Missouri

Columbia Anarchist League, PO Box 380, Columbia, Missouri 65201

#### New York

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

#### Texas

Houston SRAF, South Post Oak Station, PO Box 35253, Houston, TX 77035

### WESTERN EUROPE

#### Federal Republic of Germany

Baden: Karin Bauer, Infö-Buro, Postfach 161, Schwäbisch Hall.  
Anarkistisches Bund, publ. of 'anarkistische texte' c/o Gebr. Schmueck, c/o Libertad Verlag, Postfach 143, 1000 Berlin 44  
Libertares Forum, Postfach 100755, 1000 BERLIN 36  
East Westfalia; Anarchistische Föderation Ostwestfalen-Lippe, Wolfgang Fabish 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 info. write Karl-Heinz Sang, Methfesselstr. 69, 2000 Hamburg 19

#### France

Fédération 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

Regnbuen Anarkist Bogcafe, Meijlgade 48, 8000 Aarhus  
Anarkist-Syndicalist Bogcafe, Studiestræde 18, 1455 Copenhagen  
Rainbow Anarchists of the Free City of Christiania, c/o Allan Anarchos, Tinghuset, Fristaden Christiania, 1407 K Copenhagen

#### Sweden

Frihetligt Forum, Landsvagsgatan 19, 41304 Göteborg  
Frihetligt Forum and Revolutionära Anarchisters Organisation - both at Box 110 75, 10061 Stockholm 11.

## Desires

Accommodation Lady requires furnished room in Leyton, Leytonstone, Walthamstow or Wanstead. Box C c/o FREEDOM.

South-east London. Vegetarian anarchist wants to establish group and organize accommodation with others.

P. Stone, c/o FREEDOM.

Would any anarchists in North London who would like to form a group contact Alan via FREEDOM

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

Anarchists/libertarians in Bushey/Watford area who would like to make contact & perhaps group please get in touch with Roger Little, 23 Lambert Court, Bushey Grove Road, Bushey.

RED & BLACK Sacco & Vanzetti T-shirts price £2.20 including postage available from 108c Marlborough Rd, London N22. Cheques payable to the anarchist/animal liberationist rock group 'Total Attack'. Four sizes - small, medium, large, extra large. Also sweat shirts price £4.20 including postage, in same colours. T-shirts show the heads of Sacco and Vanzetti with the quote 'Yes I am a prisoner/Fear not to rely my crime/ The crime is loving the forsaken/Only silence is shame'.

## Meetings

'The N.H.S. - it makes you sick'. Discussion meeting about state medicine and self-help groups. In International Community Centre, Mansfield Rd Nottingham. Thurs. 1st November 8 pm Organised by 'Mutual Aid'.

FREEDOM FOR GLUZMAN and all victims of the abuse of psychiatry in USSR. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square WC1 Sunday 11 November 2-4.30 pm. Speakers include 2 U.K. and one ex-USSR psychiatrists, Vladimir Bukovsky and David Markham.

Redunancies, Occupations, Sit-Ins... A public meeting held by the London Workers Group. At The Metropolitan, 95 Farringdon Road, EC 1 (Farringdon tube) on Tuesday Nov. 6th. at 8.00 p.m.

## Literature

Pagan "Christmas" card. Have traditional carols restored to their pre-Christian words. Ten different cards for £1.50. From Norman Iles, 381 Marine Road, Morecambe, Lancs.

We're all living on BORROWED TIME Borrowed Time will be a monthly wall newspaper suitable for notice boards, shop windows or fly-posting. Among the themes that will be featured in successive issues will be direct action, nuclear power state repression, prisons, education, housing work and sexual politics.

If you would like to help with the preparation or distribution of B.T. please write to; Borrowed Time, Box A, Grapevine Bookshop, 41 Fitzroy Street, Cambridge.

Some of our distinguished contributors....



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# Freedom

# It's not the state's business!

ABORTION rights are under attack again, this time by Tory MP John Corrie. If Corrie's Abortion Amendment Bill is passed as it stands, then as many as an estimated 70 per cent of abortions being done under the present law (1967 Abortion Act) would be made illegal. In terms of women's lives, this would mean about 70,000 women each year having to go through with an unwanted pregnancy or have an illegal backstreet abortion. Corrie's bill has already passed its second reading in parliament by 264 votes to 98 and the parliamentary committee now considering it is heavily weighted in its favour. Moreover, unlike previous attempts, which failed through the Labour government refusing to grant them extra parliamentary time, Corrie is likely to get a more favourable response from the present Conservative government.

One clause of the 1967 Abortion Act states that a woman can have an abortion if two doctors decide that the risk to the woman's life, or to her physical or mental health, or to her existing family is greater than that of continuing the pregnancy. Most abortions are carried out under this so-called 'social clause' which can be interpreted by liberal-minded doctors as allowing 'abortion on request' since statistics show that it is actually safer to have an early abortion than to have a child. Corrie wants to redefine the word 'risk' by adding the adjectives 'substantial', 'grave' and 'serious'. These qualifying words would be open to many interpretations and few doctors would be willing to risk prosecution in these circumstances.

Corrie also wants to decrease the time limit for legal abortion from 28 weeks to 20 weeks. Only about 1 per cent of abortions are done after 20 weeks, but these are often the most desperate and serious cases. Schoolgirls would be particularly affected by this amendment, because they tend to put off seeking abortion early on in the pregnancy, through a mixture of fear, ignorance and 'wishful thinking'. Older women also tend to have a higher proportion of late abortions, because they can easily mistake the symptoms of pregnancy for those of the menopause. No woman takes the decision to have an abortion lightly, and this clause will hurt those women most in need.

The third drastic change Corrie proposes will make the present work of the charitable abortion services illegal by changing the licensing regulations. These organisations do about half of all abortions in Britain and help reduce the problem of regional variation in the ease with which women can have an abortion on the National Health Service. Even though these women have grounds within the law, more than half of the women who have a legal abortion have to pay for private treatment. The 1967 Act does not even apply to Northern Ireland, forcing over 1,000 women to travel to England to pay for an abortion and women from predominantly Roman Catholic countries continue to seek help in Britain in increasing numbers. This amendment may well prove to be the most serious clause in the bill, since Corrie and the government are unwilling to compromise on it.

Corrie is at pains to point out that he is not strongly anti-abortion, yet he has produced the most serious threat to abortion rights so far. If he was seriously concerned about reducing the numbers of late abortions and the number of abortions done by the charities, then he should produce a bill removing the obstacles that delay women from obtaining an early abortion on the NHS. The earlier an abortion is carried out, the safer it is to have one. If abortion was available to all those who wanted one without needing two doctors' signatures, if menstrual regulation (i.e. abortion within two weeks of a missed period) could be done in GPs' surgeries, in family planning clinics or in women's centres, if doctors working in the NHS could organise themselves better to share the workload (as they have done in Newcastle, for example), then Corrie's main objections to abortion would disappear.

Ideally, the decision to have an abortion should be taken by the woman herself as only she can know what is best for her. Abortion should not be subject to the arbitrary whims of the State, the Church or the medical profession. Indeed, until the beginning of the 19th century, abortion was not considered a crime or subject to the rule of law and may be so again - given the gradual change in public and medical opinion since 1967. However, as women in New Zealand, Romania and the USA have found out to their cost, what the State gives, the State can also take away.

ALAN FAIRLAMB

See also 'An Open Letter to the Anti-Rape Movement', this Review.

# PRISON NOTES

## STATE TERROR IN GREECE

THE retrial of our comrades Sophia and Phillipas Kyritsis opened at Athens high court on 20 October. On 11 September last year they were sentenced to 5 and 9 years respectively on charges of having formed a 'terrorist group' and possession of explosives, which they were allegedly intending to supply to other persons and groups. Followers of the 'Persons Unknown' trial here in London will be interested to note that possession of The Anarchist Cookbook seems to have played the same kind of role in the trial of Sophia and Phillipas as it has at the Old Bailey (see no. 18).

The committee for the Liberation of Sophia and Phillipas Kyritsis write:-

The discussion about the anti-terrorist law officially started in the Greek parliament on March 1978. However, the passing of such a law had been announced by the prime minister Karamanlis in December 1977, shortly after a meeting with the chancellor of West Germany. Simultaneously searches were made of the homes of leftists and anarchists under the pretext that "there was information that ammunition and explosive devices were hidden in this house". This was in order to create the impression in the media that 'terrorist' groups were operating in Athens.

In one of these raids, that of the house of the student Nicholas Papadopoulos, the National Security Forces (NSF) found the Anarchist Cookbook. According to his

statement Nicholas Papadopoulos said the book had been borrowed from Phillipas Kyritsis and, since he didn't remember the actual address, he would take the NSF there himself. They broke down the door of the flat, because the tenants were in Thessaloniki, and 'discovered' a fair amount of books and magazines of 'anarchist content' and two bottles of petrol used for rubbing out stains from clothing and which is sold publicly in Greece, being part of every household. This obviously not being enough evidence they returned to the house of Nicholas Papadopoulos, where, in a room used by all the flats, they 'discovered' eight Molotov cocktails, which Papadopoulos said had been given to him to be destroyed by Phillipas and Sophia Kyritsis.

The latter were immediately arrested (on 24 March). They refused any connection with the Molotov cocktails. The press presented them as the Greek equivalent of the Baader-Meinhof group: hence the pretended need for the official introduction of the anti-terrorist law.

Sentence was passed on them, although it had not been proved that a married couple could form a 'terrorist' group, or that Molotov cocktails could be considered as explosives, or even that the Molotov cocktails had belonged to them (other than Papadopoulos' statement) or that there were existing parties to whom the 'explosives' could be sold or given to use. After their arrest Phillipas and Sophia refused to take part in the whole proceedings, which they believed had been manufactured by the NSF. In prison they have not been allowed to communicate, although visits are allowed once a month, and they have gone on long hunger strikes against their maltreatment.

It is notable, though, that in recent (EEC goodwill) trials of fascist groups, who were initially accused along similar lines, the maximum sentences passed were two years. This was because the court had found no proof of the formation of a group or that they were supplying explosives to other fascists, despite many deaths and the destruction of leftist bookshops by their army-made bombs.

\* \* \*

THE law concerning 'repression of terrorism and protection of democracy', better known as the 'anti-terrorist' law was passed by the Greek parliament in 1978. It just happens to be a copy of the German 'anti-terrorist' laws. This is what it means to be 'good Europeans'. According to the law, even one person may be considered as a 'terrorist' group and, to add insult to injury, anybody who



merely supports any actions or who knows or suspects without informing the police, can get from 2 to 10 years in prison. Those who do inform get special benefits, from being left alone to extra money and jobs.

There are no words to describe the implications of this state terrorism, now on a European scale, for the everyday life of a person who may simply disagree, and talk about it, with the 'democratic' parliamentarians.

State terror in Greece involves nearly every aspect of dissidence from the parliamentary game played by all parties from the Right to the five Communist parties of the Left.

Writing in a paper in support of an anti-statist demonstration can cost more than a year in prison. There is no anarchist paper as such currently edited in Greece. Flyposting or otherwise publicising a libertarian event or protest is prohibited. Bookshops are terrorised or vandalised by fascists and the secret police. Anarchists are framed in civil law accusations - and admitting to being an anarchist can cost one's freedom anyway. Homosexuality is a civil law crime. There is little or no chance of forming a support group for or by anarchists.

There are currently about 15 anarchists in prison, with sentences ranging from 2 to 9 years, and for reasons which vary between taking part in a riotous demonstration to 'preparing to cause trouble'. And of course there are some more anti-statists imprisoned about whom, under the circumstances, not much is known.

- From an article by DIOGENES (July 1979) for Leeds Autonomous Group

\* \* \*

COMRADES are asked to publicise the case of Phillipas and Sophia Kyritsis and the other Greek political prisoners. Further information can be supplied by 'To Rigma', c/o Black and Red, The Students Union, The University, Leeds LS2 9JT. The Kyritsis' barrister is Katerina Iatropoulou, Navarinou 8, Athens, Greece

## GLUZMAN

A public meeting demanding freedom for all victims of the abuse of psychiatry in the USSR is being held on Sunday, 11 November at 2 pm. in Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. Among the speakers will be David Markham, Vladimir Bukovsky, Dr Marina Volkhanskaya, a former Soviet psychiatrist and two British psychiatrists, Dr Sidney Bloch and Dr David Clark.

The meeting is calling in particular for the release of Dr Semyon Gluzman. Gluzman refused a post at a psychiatric hospital where he knew people were being treated because of their political views. He also criticised the official diagnosis of the dissident General Pyotr Grigorenko. As a result he was sentenced in 1972 to 7 years' imprisonment in strict regime labour camps, followed by 3 years' internal exile. He spent the last four months of his imprisonment alone in a punishment cell and arrived in exile in Siberia in May 1979 in poor state of health.

He is not due to be released before 1982.

Semyon Gluzman's address is: Dr. S. Gluzman, USSR 626020, Tyumenskaya oblast, pos. Nizhnyaya Tavda, do Vostrebvaniya. Letters to the Soviet ambassador, Nikolai M. Lunkov are also suggested: address, Harrington House, 13 Kensington Palace Gardens, London W8 4QX.

David Markham writes: Only time for a brief response to your thoughtful review of Vladimir Bukovsky's book (Review by Jack Robinson, no. 17). For the record: I went to Moscow in May 1970, specifically to visit Bukovsky. I also met Alek Essenin-Volpin and it was through these talks that the Working Group on Political Dissenters in Mental Hospitals was later founded in London, with Peter Reddaway as acting chairman. For various reasons we were not able to get a response from British psychiatrists - with one or two exceptions - and the WPA Congress at Mexico City was a fiasco. Years of contact with members of the Royal College of Psychiatrists convinced me (what I should have known) that there is continuing collusion between East-West scientists and 'doctors'



SEMYON GLUZMAN - MAY 1979

- for the same reasons. I mentioned all this in the January edition of Index on Censorship and I shall bring it up again at the Conway Hall meeting for Gluzman on November 11th.

• PERSONS UNKNOWN •

# 'ANARCHY IS NOT POLITICAL'

"I don't interpret politics as including anarchy. Anarchy is not political. An anarchist as I understand it is against law and order. There is no political party as far as I know called the anarchist party". Judge Alan King-Hamilton

Comments like this illustrate the difficulty which the defence has, or will have, in any contention that politics is very much at issue in this trial.

As we go to press the prosecution continues with its case, one reason for the length of time it has taken being the interruptions of legal argument as to what can be admissible as evidence.

By now the Crown's line is clear. It is that the defendants, Vince Stevenson, Ronan Bennett, Trevor Dawton and Iris Mills, were conspiring with each other and with others, to rob supermarkets, steal firearms and, in so doing, prepare for the overthrow of society/authority, and that this is implied by various documents in their possession.

The defence, however, is impaired by the contradictions in the attitudes of both prosecution and judge as to what kind of trial they are involved in. Over the last few days there has been a growing tendency by judge King-Hamilton and prosecutor Worsley to object to the defence's reference to political issues and to insist that "politics are not allowed to be discussed at criminal trials. This is not a political trial" (King-Hamilton, 22 October), as well as to make out that in any case anarchism is not political! Yet the prosecution has made it clear that, in its view, the alleged crimes were politically motivated and that political motivation

is a definite part of the jigsaw it has been putting together. The prosecution cannot have it both ways. But of course it does.

To give recent examples, let us take the last day of the trial as we go to press.

The day began with examination of the prosecution witnesses involved in the police interrogation of the various defendants after their arrests.

During cross-examination of Det-Serg. Bradbury, who headed for a time police investigations in the case, Trevor's counsel referred to a long informal conversation Bradbury had had with him before the 'formal interview' took place. Bradbury agreed that he had wanted to find out (in a fatherly sort of way, it seems, having a teenage son himself) about Trevor's political attitudes. What was Trevor's opinion about religion being the basis of war in Northern Ireland? (He had expressed abhorrence of the violence and disapproval of the IRA). What did Trevor mean by anarchy?

(There were a lot of different groups with different views, including pacifist anarchists and feminist anarchists). What was Trevor's attitude to the left and right? (He was equally opposed to both fascism and communism and disagreed with the imposing of regimes on people, etc). At this stage there were no interruptions except for one query by the judge who didn't seem clear about the word 'feminist'. But then Bradbury was asked by another barrister about questions that had been put to Trevor about Black Aid (an anarchist prisoner aid group formed in 1977) and whether he

had been a member. (Bradbury couldn't recollect very much of the organisation - "I'd heard a phrase mentioned").

Apart from Black Aid did he know of other groups such as Black Flag and FREEDOM ("I can't speak with any authority", said Bradbury).

At this stage the judge erupted. What was the relevance of Black Aid? What had it to do with criminal robbery? "For 15½ years", he said in imploring tones, "I have been trying to stop irrelevant questions ... It was in vain that the defence tried to show the relevance. The judge would have no more of it.

A subsequent incident, when a barrister asked whether Bradbury had seen the literature put out by Persons Unknown went something like this:-

Q: During the weeks you headed this inquiry did you hear of Rising Free?  
A: Yes

Q: Did you know that the support group operated from it?  
A: No

Q: But you had heard of it?  
Q: Yes

Q: Did you see their literature?  
A: Yes ... To be frank, sir, I consider it to be rubbish. (And, on further questioning) I just happened to think it was tripe.

Q: Why?  
A: Well, it's a personal thing

Here Worsley interrupted, protesting about the irrelevance of the questions. The defence tried to continue.

Q: ... is it right that Rising Free was under surveillance?  
A: There was observation kept there, sir,



A miner at the Tsumeb copper mine, owned by parent companies in the United States. The mask is a safeguard against toxic gases.

# Living in a hothouse

WESTERN nations would have us believe that 'codes of conduct' and pressures of liberal capitalism together with the actions of 'liberal' mine owners like Harry Oppenheimer have led to a gradual improvement in the conditions under which miners work in South Africa. This does not seem to be the case. Although South Africa is embarked upon a policy of cutting out migrant workers and replacing them with displaced Azanians from the new Bantustans, there are still significant numbers of miners from Lesotho, Malawi and Mozambique working underground. Their experiences will be no different from Xhosa miners from Transkei or any of the other Bantustans.

From the railway station at the capital of Lesotho, Maseru, men are carried to the mines of the Northern Cape and the Orange Free State.

From the train station the men, exhausted from a 16 to 24 hour journey packed like sardines into old wooden cars, proceed to the mine hospital. Everyone must strip naked. Physical examinations and X-rays are completed. One miner's comment: "The whole show ran like the examination of slaves - a landowner looking at the muscles of the men to see whether they are big enough".

Next everyone is finger printed and given a basic IQ test which will decide place and promotion within the mine.

At the mine compound or hostel one large pot of food is given to the members of each language group. The mine security staff (called the Induna) show the men their rooms and beds, which are cement slabs in most Transvaal mines. A second medical examination takes place and an injection is given. One miner's comment: "The gentleman giving the injection does not clean the skin before the injection - the needle is not changed or cleaned after injecting each man".

After these preliminaries are settled the new miners begin their 'training'. First a man receives his number. Names are not used, just the number. All men receive training in Fanakalo, the lingua franca of the mine. Then the rules of mine life are taught by rote. These include instructions on relations between black and white: "The instructor pointed out that under no circumstances should a black miner fight with a white miner. If the white miner seems ready to fight one should run away. The men pointed out that it was sheer nonsense to run away because the white miners will trouble one every day".

Finally the miners are 'acclimatised'. They are taken to a 'hot room' where they do exercises under conditions of extreme heat which the bosses say prepare them for work underground. Here is one description of the process:-

"We are all half naked and it's very hot in that room - some drop unconscious. After every 15 minutes or so we are given water. The Team Leaders are very rough with the beginners. This lasts for about three to four hours a day. There are many shifts to undergo that process a day. The shorts given to each and everyone of those shifts are used without being washed and dried first. One may find them wet and smelling. One man uses these shorts and when finished he leaves it. Then, wet with sweat, some fifteen minutes later it's used by another man. The process continues like that until maybe the weekend when they may be washed".

"Coming from the hothouse we are given surface work. After four hours of burning and toiling, when one's muscles are almost grumping the white compound managers expect us to work as if we are just from our rest. One will go to lunch only after 2 p. m. while one had breakfast around 4.45 a. m."

"I have always asked myself as whether this heat underground is only dangerous for blacks because the white men are never acclimatised. It is very cruel indeed to make somebody work after a period of acclimatisation. It is either because the whites do not know how it is to be acclimatised or they take the blacks to be animals".

The acclimatisation process goes on for nine days.

Compound life has three kinds of functionaries or 'leaders'. The Induna is a headman appointed by the hostel management to deal with minor affairs. He keeps discipline and as a tribal authority he represents his ethnic group in dealings with the hostel and mine authorities. The miners hate the Indunas. They are considered to be in the pocket of the white bosses.

The Masisa is the personnel officer or office clerk. These people are thought to have been appointed through favouritism and there is friction between them and the miners at most mines.

The Isibonda is a real leader. He is voted for by the men of his room. "The reason for liking the Isibonda is that everything is discussed before it becomes a binding ruling within the room".

Food at the mines is uniformly bad and is the cause of strikes and riots. Miners must spend their precious money at the mine store buying palatable food (bread and milk).

The church is used as an opiate. "The standard of the black 'pastors' is not high. Some have been to bible school while others are promoted miners. They are paid for their ministry. They have their own opinions about the place, but most of them have gone there for the money. The minimum salary is one hundred and sixty rand per month plus free food and accommodation in the married quarters".

Although the hostels provide entertainments like films and a bar the miners see this as just another attempt to steal their money back. Many go to the location seeking companionship.

"If a man is a regular customer of a prostitute he pays a monthly amount of

thirty rand (£17.50). The irregular cannot pay less than five rand a time (£2.90). The consequence is that a man either prefers to pay regularly and forgets about family and home, or pays irregularly but expensively (and thus has less money to send home)".

"Homosexuality is the alternative and it is widely practiced. Young boys, called 'women of the compound' sell their favours for money, blankets and other goods. This practice is done by both blacks and whites. The whites do it underground while the blacks practice it in their rooms. When visiting friends in another hostel room you don't bat an eyelid if some are doing it".

Down in the mine itself the black men work the digging, shovelling and transportation of ore while white men 'supervise'. The white men only set the explosives. Otherwise they read the papers, lounge and move about.

"They say they are there to keep safety, make decisions and set explosives but often if one warns them of danger they say 'go back to work', then they leave. Many are killed".

"Some of the black miners are more experienced than the white miners and they give some advice as to how the problem may be solved. It seems that generally the white miners do not take the advice and accidents happen that way".

Recently a white miner was fined 600 rand (£352) when he was accused of letting black men handle explosives. The untrained men accidentally lit a fuse which created a fire and explosion. Fourteen were killed. "But the white men most often let us use the explosives. They say do this or that and then we go and do it. So the bosses should not care if the white strike. Who needs them? We do their jobs now for cheap rates".

"As long as we cannot approach the whites in such a way that they can think that we are human beings, we shall never peacefully live with them as brothers. Although we have seen their character we must try to make them our brothers, but if they refuse we must really do it by force".

These are a few glimpses of the specifics of everyday life in the mines. The

brutalisation is complete after a few years, and the men themselves know it only too well. "When one spends a longer time on the mine and observes the compound life one begins to understand how inhuman it can be to a migrant labourer on the mines in South Africa. Surely the miners are ill-treated, not only by the whites but more especially by their fellow men. That is why they have to be rough, because they live in a rough situation. Any kind of soft person cannot survive here in these circumstances. To be a miner is to change one's character now and again because at home one has to behave one way and at work another way".

Although the experience is brutalising, although it is destroying families, villages and whole societies, there is no alternative.

In Lesotho and the other bantustans locked into the South African neo-colonial economy migrancy is the only way by which families can make ends meet. By 1977 the minimum wage on the mines was £458.00 a year, outstripping the average yearly earnings from agriculture (£115 a year) and above the basic rate for secondary teachers (£400 per year).

As one man, a migrant since 1948, put it: "A man wants to reach home before dark after shopping. But he cannot reach it because the river is in flood. Then he sees satan who promises to carry him over the river. What would you do, since some of the shopping is food? There is no food at home and the children will go to bed with empty stomachs. It would be very stupid to refuse the offer made by satan because it will be choosing deliberately to kill those children. This does not mean that he is pleased to be carried on the shoulders of satan, but he wants the food to reach his children before they die."

BRIAN MURPHY

Note: Quotations in this piece are drawn from interviews conducted by the author together with excerpts from the publication, 'Another Blanket: Report on an Investigation into the Migrant Situation, June 1976', Agency of Industrial Mission, PO Box 65 Horison 1730, Transvaal, South Africa.



# DAM!

## WHO WON?

How one views the settlement of the engineering dispute depends on the sources one uses. The press and union leaders are claiming the strikers won.

Nightshift workers interviewed just after the strike on the radio condemned the outcome.

At work the main opinion seemed to be that it had all been a bloody waste of time and money. As one bloke in our shop said, "If this is an historic victory, I'm glad we didn't lose or else we'd have been paying them money".

The International Metalworkers Federation (the worldwide coordinating body of engineering workers) will interpret the reduction in hours as a breakthrough and this may well have beneficial consequences for other workers. But the criticisms of the shopfloor seem to have been overwhelmingly hostile both to the strike and the settlement. Indeed the shop stewards and local officials can hardly hide their embarrassment with the outcome - shorter hours and extra holidays on easy payments for the employers over the next four years.

Of course it is possible to argue as Alan Pike does in the Financial Times that it was a 'symbolic victory' for the strikers. But the fact is that the shopfloor can't eat symbols and most of us forget history when we leave school.

## Shopfloor Syndicalism vs The Pen Pushers

A leading intellectual in the Socialist Workers Party told me last week that the main problem in this dispute will be whether we can go back to work with the unity of the trade unions intact. Well, people are still jibbing at buying tickets for the AUEW union Xmas Draw.

We can't say as yet if the consequence of the strike and settlement will be that it undermines the shopfloor negotiating role of the shop stewards. This is important, because in engineering the realistic negotiations over pay are carried out locally firm by firm by shop stewards.

The average rate of pay for engineers being £85 for 40 hours, well over the £73 now agreed nationally.

In this sense because the shop stewards traditionally negotiate much higher wage rates than the union minimum rate, the current national negotiations have been largely irrelevant.

Seldom has the gap between shopfloor syndicalism and the pen pushers of the union office been so clearly demonstrated as during this dispute. Members of the Direct Action Movement, a syndicalist body, have complained that not only was the union action undemocratic, but that union members have not been kept informed on developments such as the dropping of the 35 hour week demand.

## Social Justice

The point is that while the principle of the shorter working week looks good on paper, it is no good if it merely results in more overtime being worked. As yet, for all their talk of meeting the problems of increasing unemployment through the shorter working week, the union bosses have failed to convince the membership that they have any real positive programme for dealing with unemployment.

In reality the unions don't have a programme of their own for social justice, because on social issues they look to the Labour Party for solutions. Their view basically embraces the belief common to most British socialists that the nature of the class system can be transferred through the use of existing state structures.

The idea of social justice being imposed through taxation and state interference has long been the policy of both the unions and the Labour Party. According to Anthony Giddens in *New Society* this policy has failed "... to produce any profound changes in pre-existing inequalities of wealth and power". (1)

For the most part the shopfloor recognises this. Many in the union hierarchy and in the Marxist parties still cling to their illusions that social justice can be achieved through state action rather than social and industrial action. It is the job of syndicalists and anarchists to show that this infatuation of trade unionists, Marxists and socialists with state control and party political action is a dead end. It is also up to us to build an alternative movement. B. B.

(1) *New Society*, 4.10.79. 'An anatomy of the British ruling class', Anthony Giddens

Dear Comrades,

First of all I would like to point out that this is not a plug on behalf of our group. We understand the editors fears of being used and would like to point out that we view such attempts in a bad light. Cheap plugs never work and we ve no need to resort to that level anyhow as we re doing pretty well.

My reason for writing is to clear up a few misconceptions about DAM which were expressed in the last issue of FREEDOM (6/10/79).

First, B. B. s article which gives DAM some needless stick. I presume that he wrote it before our conference at the end of September because he was there. One of the things we discussed, naturally, was the engineering dispute and the conclusion we came to was more or less the same as B. B. s. As he says it was "... a dictatorial dispute commanded by the union head office." Further on in his article B. B. states "... what we could best do with is an anarchist line advocating shopfloor control of the strike." This is precisely what our members were doing during the strike, as B. B. well knows.

Secondly, Dave from LWG implies that, just because we are impressed by the CNT and indeed would like to see a British CNT that we are trying to replace the TUC by some sort of industrial union (he confuses CNT style syndicalism with Industrial Unionism). We are fully aware of the likely opposition from union bureaucrats and

don't need Dave to tell us-we experience it everyday at work. Consequently, our aim is not to set up industrial unions or even to operate in the same way as the CNT. Britain is not Spain, not least because of the existence of the TUC. The general feeling among DM members is that we should build up a confederation of independent rank and file groups, which of course would have to work within the established trade unions for the time being. Whether these were labled rank and file groups

, syndicalist unions, councils of action or anything else for that matter is irrelevant as far as we are concerned. We're interested in content not academic labels and are consequently attempting to establish a strong, activist, working class organisation.

Dave also seems to imply that there's something immoral in our wanting to expand. He calls DAM a 'recruiting organisation' So what I suppose there's something immoral in it if one likes playing about in small groups where one can make easy moral statements without too much trouble and without any danger of getting one's hands dirty. Anyway, surely he's not trying to tell us that if anybody wanted to join LWG that they'd be turned away. If anarchism is to get anywhere in Britain we need more, a lot more, anarchists and whether Dave likes it or not, this means recruitment.

Dave Thompson  
Manchester DAM

(We'd just like to comment that we don't have "fears" of being "used", when we detect "such attempts" we decide whether the piece has any other value and then choose whether or not to use it.

On another point, "Dave from LWG" is not available for comment at the moment, but our reading of his comments on "recruiting" don't fit with DT's)

REPRESENTATIVES from all groups of the Direct Action Movement met in Leeds on 29/30 September for their three-monthly conference.

The rapidly increasing membership, the interest expressed in their pamphlets and the attention of other groups resulted in a buoyant and rapidly moving agenda. So much so that most business was completed by the end of the first day, leaving the second available for finishing off incidental material in a generally satisfying manner.

Of notable interest was the establishment of an international secretariat, a publishing commission, a youth committee and the facilitating of specific interest groups (e.g. women) to have their own meetings within conference and provision for feedback from such meetings to the general membership.

New pamphlets, posters and badges were proposed and discussed. Plus critical supportive action to engineering workers on strike.

Regional reports indicated lots of DAM initiatives plus active involvement with other groups towards mutual interests. The next DAM conference will be in London on the last weekend in January 80.

All enquiries about the DAM aims and principles and membership applications to the Secretary Treasurer, D. A. M., 28 Lucknow Drive, Sutton in Ashfield, Nottinghamshire. P. Stone, D. A. M.

## FROM PAGE 2

yes.

Q: On a number of days?

A: Yes

Q: Have you read other publicity, put out by the press?

Here reference was made to an article of 11 June 1978 in *Time Out*, and a photograph of it displayed, and again Worsley interrupted: "This is an attempt to get trial by newspaper, instead of by jury!"

The defence insisted that the point was relevant to the indictment, as would be shown, but in vain. The judge would have no more.

It then came to Ronan's turn to cross-examine. Ronan tried to ask Bradbury what he meant when referring, at a remand hearing on behalf of Taff Ladd, to "a group of idealistic persons who would take steps to overthrow society". There was immediate protest from Worsley.

It didn't matter what view the police had, he said, when they opposed bail. "It does matter to me", said Ronan, "to find out how much the police relied on politics as a motive..." On further explanation the judge eventually asked why he didn't put the question to Bradbury. "I just did", said Ronan, "but Mr Worsley objected". (There was subdued laughter). Worsley then objected further, but Ronan was at last allowed to put the question. Bradbury agreed the remark had been made "in those terms" but had been taken out of context by the press. However, he said, in a scarcely audible voice, "It has never been my belief that anarchists are bomb throwers", and he added that the remark about idealists had not been made because "you are anarchists".

From these exchanges on one day alone the problem for the defence can be seen. To anyone who has followed the case, the use by the prosecution and press of political scare-mongering has been so

blatant it goes without saying.

An already mentioned instance of this is Worsley's reference to maps, books (*Anarchist Cookbook*, etc) and a magazine article on the royal family to imply political motivation. In this context, cross-examination of a witness by Ronan brought the admission that a map of nuclear establishments - which is part of the evidence against him - could freely be found in a 'Peacock' children's book, and moreover, that the map in question had been traced from this book and that it was a rather poor thing when compared to the extremely detailed maps available in nuclear trade journals such as *Nuclear Engineering*.

Ronan also managed to extract the admission that nuclear power was a subject of serious public concern, and material was handed around the jury bearing out his point.

The trial, as they say, continues.



# NUCLEAR DEMO

Scotland, it seems is rapidly becoming the energy centre for Britain. What with its North Sea oil, coal, hydroelectric schemes and now its Scottish uranium to operate Scottish nuclear power stations for electricity that the Scots don't need. And to add grave injury to insult the Western Isles are now prime target as Britain's nuclear dustbin.

Seven thousand demonstrators marched down Princes Street in Edinburgh recently to protest against nuclear development in Scotland, particularly at Torness. Leading

the march were such notables as Julie Christie (she's worried about nuclear dumping near her home in Wales), Roy Harper and Scottish M. P. s Robin Cook and Martin O'Neill. Trades Union banners were few on the demonstration as the Scottish TUC does not have an anti-nuclear policy.

There was little evidence of an anarchist presence either, although Solidarity members were handing out a leaflet criticising the anti-nuclear movement's passive and ineffectual approach to stopping nuclear development.

Afterwards, at the rally held in the Meadows, Robin Cook described the nuclear programme as "one of the three worst civil investment decisions in the history of mankind to date." Scottish miners leader Mick McGahey was booed and hissed when he put the basically pro-nuclear stance of the miners. (Why did SCRAM ask him to speak anyway?) demanding "copper bottomed guarantees" from the government about safety in the nuclear industry.

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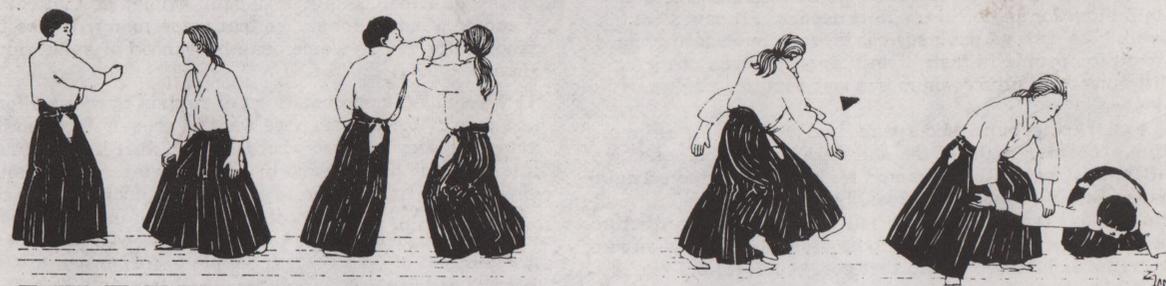
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# Freedom

Anarchist Review

SUPPLEMENT  
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## an open letter to the ANTI-RAPE MOVEMENT



WE, the members of Santa Cruz Women Against Rape, are concerned about the direction the anti-rape movement is taking, in particular in its relationship to the criminal justice system.

When the organised movement against rape started about five years ago in the US, most of the groups were collectives of feminists brought together by their anger at the way the police and the courts treat rape victims. These groups (including ours) were primarily political. We were critical of the police, the courts and the hospitals, the institutions that traditionally deal with rape victims. Their dreadful treatment of women became a topic of interest to the media, largely due to the efforts of the women's movement against rape. As a result many other groups were formed. Many of these, however, did not consider themselves political or even feminists. They consider themselves service groups, who wanted to 'help rape victims'. They felt that the criminal justice system and the anti-rape movement had a common cause "to get the rapists off the street". Therefore these groups tended to encourage or cajole women to report rapes to the police.

The explicitly political groups have been frustrated - both by the ineffectiveness and unresponsiveness of the criminal justice system and by the steadily increasing rate of reported rapes. While many remain critical of the criminal justice system in theory, most groups, in practice, feel it is important to build or improve relationships with the police and other criminal justice agencies; they hope this will lead to increased prosecution and conviction of rapists.

In attempting to build these relations, such anti-rape groups have withheld criticism of these agencies, as opposed to applying outside pressure through the media, demonstrations etc. Consider also that many groups are supported through government funds. As a result, there is an inevitable push, if not outright obligation, to persuade women to report to the police.

Many groups claim that they are neutral about reporting a rape to the police; they say they neither push a woman into it nor tell her she shouldn't report. Yet they create a situation which is not neutral. Their literature and phone counselling

is biased towards giving women information on how to report a rape and what the police and hospital procedures are. Options other than going to the police or doing nothing are not presented. If a woman feels that she'd like to do something about her rape, her probable choice would be to go to the police.

We support the right of an individual rape victim to go through the criminal justice system if she so chooses, because there aren't many other alternatives. But as anti-rape groups, we have the responsibility to expose the function and challenge the process of the criminal justice system. Attempts at 'good relations' with the penal system have served to co-opt our movement and have led to the belief (or hope) that the criminal justice system can solve the problem of rape. Yet the sexist and racist nature of that system only makes the problem worse.

The system has shown itself to be unresponsive and insensitive to the needs of women. The ordeal of reporting a rape and seeing it through trial is made painful and degrading. Even if the individuals involved try to be pleasant and helpful, the process and the structure of the entire system remain hostile and unsupportive to the rape victims. This is largely because the women involved have no power in the process; it is the police who decide if she was 'really raped', the district attorney (DA) who often decide that it isn't a 'good case' so won't prosecute and the juries who hesitate to convict a rapist.

It is true that the conviction rate for rapists is very low. This is largely due to sexism and the sexist myths about rape in our culture. We abhor the reasons for this low conviction rate but that doesn't mean we should work for a high conviction rate. Those convicted of rape are likely to be third world or poor white men, as is true of convictions in nearly all other crimes. In order for a DA to 'win' a rape case he, (or, rarely, she) must use sexist, racist and classist stereotypes and assumptions, thereby supporting the worse aspects of this society. If the goal of this process is to fight and end rape, it is self-defeating to use racist and classist means to

get to that end. It is crucial that anti-rape groups fight the racist myths, stereotypes and institutions that are associated with rape. We cannot turn our backs to the racism of the system when a black man is being prosecuted and expect that racist not to be used against Joanna Little, Yvonne Wanrow, Inez Garcia and many others.\*

No matter what our intentions are, the system is racist through and through, so the first step in this process is to stop supporting the penal system.

The answer to the problem of rape is not just to get the rapists 'off the street'. Prisons themselves are incapable of changing rapists. The pressures inherent in this society's culture are intensified in prison. Male sex roles, violence and power relations which lead to rape in the first place are strongly reinforced. Rapists in prison don't stop raping - they simply use their power over men weaker than themselves. When men leave prison they have not learned new ways of relating to women, nor developed an analysis of why they rape or how to change. It is very likely that they will rape again. Prisons don't deal with the roots of the problem, they only add to the cause.

The push by many anti-rape groups on women to prosecute leads to a very narrow focus on a few specific rape situations. This ignores the totality of the problem. Most women experience varying degrees of violence in their everyday lives - from friends and lovers as well as from strangers. The answer to this situation is not to try to prosecute all cases (which is impossible as well as useless) but to work on creating more alternatives for people in their lives. This involves changing the institutions and culture which support sexism, racism and violence.

Those anti-rape groups who spend time working for reform legislation encounter many of the same problems and obstacles. Sexist attitudes (and actions) cannot be legislated away. Legislation never exists in isolation; even "good" anti-rape legislation (and it isn't clear what that would be) will be ineffective in a sexist society that encourages violence against women, and in a criminal justice system that persecutes Third World and poor White men.

We are a political group that focuses on the issue of rape and violence against women, and works towards the long range goal of radically transforming the very basis of our society. We do not believe that rape can end within the present capitalist, racist and sexist structures that exist. The fight against rape must be waged simultaneously with the fight against all other forms of oppression. We call ourselves socialist feminists, and are working to build a strong revolutionary local movement with good politics about rape. We offer educational services and try to provide alternatives, not in isolation, but to broaden people's awareness of different forms of oppression and the need to change the system. We want to remain in close contact with the developing anti-rape movement which gives support to, and builds ties with, other movements. There is a need for

\*Women imprisoned after defending themselves against rape. Yvonne Wanrow has since been freed (on probation) after a retrial caused largely by feminist agitation.

a strong national (and international) revolutionary movement which will provide support for our anti-rape work.

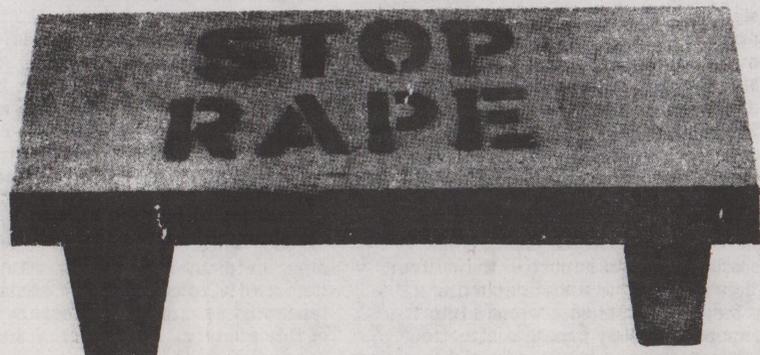
The time and energy that is now used both in developing a working relationship with the criminal justice agencies and on reforming legislation could be much better spent. The anti-rape movement should work on community education and on developing practical alternatives that deal both with the symptoms and the roots of sexism and violence. Since we think that the responsibility for dealing with rape should be in the hands of all community people, we want our focus to be the creation of various community based and supported alternatives. Some of our ideas and alternatives are:

1. We encourage people to get together to discuss ways to watch out for each other. This includes block watching to make neighbourhoods safe, organising at workplaces to get support to deal with hassles from bosses and fellow workers, and organising at schools and educational places to get self-defence classes etc.
2. We try to create the consciousness in people that they should respond to a scream or a call for help, and that they should go to a woman's aid if it looks as if she's being hassled.
3. We print the descriptions and/or car number plates of men who rape, hassle or assault women so that rape will become a public issue, so that these men will lose their anonymity and so women can be warned of some particular men.
4. We support confrontations of rapists by women (or women and men). The message we want to present to them is that we know who they are and what they did, that they are responsible for their actions and that they have the responsibility to change. We try to offer follow-up re-education by anti-sexist men. Although we think that each individual confrontation is important, we hope that each one will have the widespread effect of encouraging people to force men to stop violent and sexist behaviour. This means that people have to deal with men close to them - their family, friends etc, as well as with strangers who hassle women.

A confrontation allows a woman who's been raped or assaulted to be active and powerful in a situation in which it is safe for her to be so. She can make the decision about how a confrontation will take place and what she'd like to say. We help her get together a group of women who will be supportive to her during the process. This is very different from reporting a rape to the police where the woman's role is a passive one (as a witness for the state) and where others make decisions about her case for her.

We realise that rape is not going to end by the creation of these few alternatives, that rape will only end with the development of a new system that provides a context for these changes in people's lives. We want to develop a movement that is working toward these changes. It is crucial for anti-rape groups not to focus on rape as an isolated issue to the exclusion of developing a broader analysis of society as a whole.

Some women's groups paint such signs on sidewalks and walls where rapes have occurred, to bring it to the attention of the neighborhood. Photo from Save Our Sisters.



# THE MANCHURIAN CANDIDATE

The Search for the Manchurian Candidate. John Marks, Allen Lane, pubd. 27 September. (I am using here the extracts from the book published in The Observer in the same month).

THE author has revealed the frightening efforts of the CIA to develop a brainwashing technique in attempting to practice medical manipulations of the psychology of the unfortunate human guinea pigs on whom, completely without the victims' knowledge in many cases, horrifying experiments were foisted. The CIA were convinced that the Chinese, during the Korean war, had successfully been operating a method of mind control on American prisoners and were thus provoked into trying to discover a rival method which would be equally effective. The purpose of this article is not to go over the shocking pseudo-'scientific', ham-handed methods used by the CIA-hired dabblers into the unexplored regions of the human mind but rather to enquire into the shallow and restricted vision of those who presumptuously, with their clumsy machinery, dared to plough through the fertile soils into which only those imbued with brute domination and ignorant ambition would bunglingly venture.

These people are now exposed by their own futility. It would seem that the search for a device to paralyse the mind has returned full circle to indicate a need for an enquiry into the minds of the originators of this diabolical activity. Brainwashed indeed by their own obsessive quackery to the point of dehumanisation it was impossible for them to see beyond the confines of their narrow and subservient tasks. That, however, is only a minor part of their problem. But although they did not and could not succeed, in the words of the author, "the CIA and most of the world's major secret services kept chasing the dream during those Cold War years of finding ways to control human behaviour. That dream is still not dead". And that dream is the major problem. It will not be dead as long as it is possible to point a finger at an opposing power structure, or even invent it or covertly promote it; so long as the threat is maintained will oppressive power flourish with all the necessary agents carrying out their underground activities along with the assistance of the demagogue and the political faith-monger. The Soviet leaders thrive on the threat from the capitalist world. This was Stalin's weapon in his climb to power. The same could be said for Hitler. Where would Ian Paisley be without the IRA? Or the Government without its loyal opposition? One has only to consider the case of Enoch Powell...

There is, however, something oddly naive in the furtive act-

ivities of the CIA in this connection. In the all-pervading atmosphere of this technological age where the human body is similarly regarded as a passive piece of mechanism and where the common practice, if anything goes wrong with its functioning, is to treat it with some external, material application, a drug being the first available choice, it is natural that the CIA should drift into the path of this expedient. How simple it all is. And how easily it can all go awry. I quote John Marks: "One of the ironies is that the farming out of LSD contracts to universities and hospitals during the 1950s spread knowledge of the drug among hundreds and then thousands who used it in this consciousness-expanding way. By the end of the 1950s a black market had grown up. The drug escaped from the almost exclusive control of the intelligence agencies and became an instrument of popular culture".

So that was how it all started. Why, one must ask, do they call themselves 'intelligence' agencies?

Simple minded naivete, however, is one thing and blind ignorance is another. The problem of disvocering means of controlling the mind has been with us a long time. It is as old as civilisation itself. But it has always been carried out in a much more subtle and complicated manner with more grasp of the fact that the mind is something other than a wired-up piece of engineering with connections round the body. One could say that the effort to manage the mind is so natural a corollary of any hierarchically power-structured society that it becomes an acceptable part of life without which whole populations, deprived of dependence on authority and forced to think for themselves, would be totally at a loss. It parades itself in the guises of various religions or under such names as 'law and order' and invents titles and regalia, flags and bunting, and performs flamboyantly at weddings, funerals and any and every state occasion. It is to be found in the theatre, in the schools, in the press and every means where contact with the mind is made. It operates much more powerfully than any drug and provides the excuse to cast aside, in its name, all moral and humanitarian commitments. It has a very basic invested interest in the maintenance of immaturity and the preservation of a state of dependence. Mediocrity, secretiveness and mystification are well spread in the sands of its semi-desert and choke the struggling life that endeavours to reach up to the sky.

There are regions of the mind in which it is difficult to travel and authority finds it preferable if one does not venture too far. It is, therefore, simpler and more practical and requires little knowledge to destroy the mind by tackling it with drugs, the potencies of which are not understood. In this activity the agents of the CIA not only display the primitive para-

## COMING TO TO TERMS WITH GAIA



Gaia. A New Look At Life On Earth. J.E. Lovelock. Oxford University Press. £4.95. 157 pp.

Gaia writes: FIRST of all I must get one thing straight or stand accused of the most colossal pretensions. When a friend of mine came across my name at the end of an article in this paper he was, he confessed later, rather shocked. Was I so irrevocably lost to reality that I saw myself as the Earth Goddess?

The answer, you will be relieved to know, is in the negative! I had simply found the name in a story about ancient Rome and liking, adopted it. But certainly I don't feel the inclination to abandon it because of its current vogue among scientists...

So now I can begin. Gaia. A New Look At Life On Earth is a slim book with a vast theme: no less than the nature of life itself. It is written by Jim Lovelock, inventor of the electron capture detector, now used for environmental analysis. He was also a participant in the NASA space programme, in particular the Martian life-detection experiments designed for the two Viking space probes. His notion of Gaia emerged from this. It emerged from "the view of the Earth from space, revealing the planet as a whole but not in detail". It is not the same thing as the science of ecology which is "rooted in down-to-Earth natural history and the detailed study of habitats and ecosystems without taking into account the whole picture. The one cannot see the trees in the wood. The other cannot see the wood for the trees".

Gaia then, to Jim Lovelock, is the view of the whole wood. It is the view of the biosphere as one great active intricate life-regulating process of checks and balances. According to this view life exists on Earth not because of a passive combination of material conditions which just happened to be right but, as the dust jacket puts it, because "The atmosphere seems to have been designed cooperatively by the totality of living systems to carry out certain necessary control functions".

Lovelock starts off by examining the atmosphere as it was at the beginning of Earth's independent existence, about four and a half aeons (or 4,500 million years) ago. He goes on to look at the atmosphere as it is now, the science of cybernetics, the sea and its significance, the problem of pollution and how to solve it. He is no pessimist like Kit Pedlar of 'Doomwatch' fame, whose book, *The Quest for Gaia*, in no way can be compared with the beauty and importance of this volume. It begins with the refreshingly sanguine point that life on Earth developed in a most improbable assembly of chemical elements and that their very improbability (in contrast to the lifeless steady state conditions on Mars and Venus) shows Gaia in operation. Lovelock reminds us that life probably began in the midst of massive radioactivity - nuclear fission is not a human invention. There was no free oxygen, there was no ozone layer, and so plenty of ultra-violet radiation streaming down to Earth's surface from the sun. The greatest pollution disaster Earth

"It is in these regions of vast disturbance, the dust bowls, that man and his livestock have most markedly lowered the potential for life. These disasters were not caused by the overenthusiastic use of advanced technology; on the contrary, it is now generally acknowledged that they were the fruits of unsound and bad husbandry, supported by a primitive technology" (p. 112)

has known was the emergence in the atmosphere of free oxygen which injected the air and tidal waves with death for the tiny anaerobes. And the modern savannahs were created by the "cruel and lazy technique of fire-drive hunting" in the primeval forests.

Such goings-on are the stuff of environmentalists' nightmares, yet in them life took shape and flourished. Not only this but through the extremes of ice and tropical ages, which have obsessed most scientists, and despite the great fluctuations of energy from the sun, the mean temperature of Earth's surface has in fact fluctuated less than 15 degrees. As for the oceans, made up of that strange chemical substance, hydrogen oxide - or water - it has been a mystery why they have not continually accumulated salt from rain and landfall. Had this been the case, then all life would have perished long ago. Yet the quantity of salt too is regulated by processes which would seem to include the intervention of life in the exquisite form of diatoms and radiolarians. And there are a host of other such examples.

Lovelock could, of course, suffer the fate of Darwin and be taken wildly out of context by those it suits to do so. If the extent of natural pollution surpasses anything to which human beings could aspire, if anaerobes can return after aeons to a spoilt and pampered life in the guts of larger animals, from insects to elephants, if Gaia, in short, is self-regulating, why worry? We can dispense with conservation and continue to rape her in peace\*.

Lovelock certainly has no time for doom-watchers and neo-Luddites. To forsake technology and 'return to nature' is like "jumping off a ship in mid-Atlantic to swim the rest in glorious independence". Those who do so are the human equivalent of the brine shrimp, able to dwell in their eccentric habitat only because of the rest of the life-support systems on which they draw. But Lovelock stresses that even if Gaia's basic systems are able to survive environmental crisis of gigantic proportions, this does not mean that the larger animals, including humankind, would survive with her. On the contrary, as the human race grows increasingly to be the dominant animal species, its technology must be applied consciously, intelligently, in harmony with Gaia, if we are not to find ourselves riding 'spaceship Earth'. By then "Gaia would have retreated into the muds and the ceaseless, intricate task of keeping all of the global cycles in balance could be ours".

If human beings are to live with Gaia, they will sooner or later have to make a choice between a "maximum population of humans living at bare subsistence level in a semi-desert - the ultimate welfare world - or some less costly social system with fewer people". Britain and China provide examples of countries where "high-density living is neither impossible nor always unpleasant". Yet there are inevitable limits, and the optimum number of people is not as large as the maximum the Earth can support. For Lovelock present life systems may well be able to support greater human densities than now, as well as present and possibly greater amounts of urban industrial pollution.

## Beyond the fragments

*Beyond the Fragments*, by Sheila Rowbotham, Hilary Wainwright and Lynne Segal, published by Newcastle & Islington Socialist Centres, 1979. (Soon to be re-issued by Merlin Press).

PEOPLE who read the left press will be aware that a lively debate has been going on for quite a while about a recently published book - *Beyond the Fragments*. Subtitled "Feminism and the making of Socialism", it is written by three socialist-feminists and puts forward a pretty comprehensive critique of much current activity on the left. The reactions of the left papers were interesting: *Big Flame* loved it; *Socialist Challenge* was sympathetic; *Socialist Worker* and *Socialist Review* attacked it; *The Leveller* called it 'Book of the Year'. But anarchists, as far as I know, have so far said nothing, which is disappointing.

The main body of the book consists of a long article by Sheila Rowbotham, an anti-authoritarian tour de force which hits at Leninism in general and the SWP's brand in particular. I must admit that I was expecting most of her arguments would just be the standard libertarian ones, dressed up to look like Bright New Ideas. In fact they aren't. Sheila Rowbotham's experience inside the IS/SWP, and in the women's movement, give her insights which anarchists often lack. Her conclusions are that the women's movement has thrown up new ways of organising, and new priorities, which can't simply be grafted onto the Leninist party. But she doesn't go along with those libertarians who insist (rather smugly) that the women's movement is 'really anarchist', and who seem to think that anarchism is inherently pro-feminist. Instead, she argues that there is a whole range of currents and traditions within socialism, upon which we should draw.

Sheila discusses anarchism and syndicalism quite sympathetically for the most part, while making some cogent criticisms. In particular she points out that the analysis of the libertarian left is often ahistorical, and tends to deal in broad, generalised notions of 'oppression'. It doesn't come to grips with different concrete experiences, and different levels of consciousness. Furthermore, the libertarian horror of becoming 'leaders' can give rise to a political practice based on small-group activity which is, ironically, unaccountable, irresponsible, and ultimately very elitist.

(CONT FROM PAGE 12)

ution. But they may not support so well the ravaging of the tropical rainforests by the long-neglected pollution of bad farming, and even less perhaps, the exploitation of the estuaries and continental shelves and the farming of kelp. Indeed, in Lovelock's view, the gathering of information on the sea, before the gathering of anything else, should come right at the top of our priorities.

This is, then, a book which, while it deals mainly with the whole Gaian wood rather than with the ecology of the trees in it, ends on a distinctly ecological note. Humankind and other animals (and he makes specific references to the possibilities for cooperation between humans and whales) are partners in Gaia, and we cease to be so at our own peril.

Lovelock is surely right to call for an end to the confusion of issues that bedevils the ecological movement, and to urge a clear enumeration of priorities. Yet the task is daunting. We may well be living in a world that was formed in the midst of gigantic nuclear explosions; we may well over-emphasise the effects of industrial pollutants compared to, say those of farming. Yet is the development of (artificial) nuclear fission power, which industry demands, and the consequent problem of waste disposal, unrelated to Lovelock's concern for the sea - especially when, as he points out, we know so little about it?

I have a final point which no anarchist paper can avoid making. Clearly Lovelock's impressive knowledge of scientific ideas does not extend to political ones. He is shrewd enough

In a shorter piece, Lynne Segal recounts her experiences in the women's movement and libertarian left in north London. She points out the similarities between the two - common strengths and weaknesses. The weakness she perceives is the limitation of small, locally-based activity in a time of economic recession. Local initiatives can win all sorts of battles for autonomy, or for State resources, in times of economic growth, but what do they do when the economy is sliding down and cuts are on the way? The fact that we haven't really faced up to this question is a good illustration of the chronic 'ahistoricism' of the libertarian left. Lynne's answer was to turn to a national organisation and join Big Flame. I would say that a better road for libertarians is to start building links, locally and regionally, between groups or organisations engaged in related areas of struggle: women's groups with youth groups, tenants with building workers, anti-nuke groups with workers in the nuclear industry, and so on. In other words, a broadly syndicalist approach rather than a broadly party-political one.

The overall message of the book is that there are many experiences and traditions from which we can learn. The anarchist or libertarian tradition is one of them, but only one. We have to face up to the fact that there has never been a mass, consciously anarchist movement in Britain, and the prospects for one don't look good: those comrades who insist on calling for a 'new national anarchist organisation', or who claim that they have already built one, are condemning themselves to sectarian irrelevance.

What we do have is a growing number of people who define themselves broadly as 'non-aligned socialists', and who don't identify exclusively with any single tradition. There are people who have come from Leninism, from feminism, from the labour movement, from libertarian politics, and from elsewhere, and they all feel dissatisfied. By opening a dialogue between these people, we can start to create not a party, nor even a 'movement' perhaps, but a loose community of socialist thought and action. Of course we should be aware of the continuing differences - we should remember Kronstadt, and we shouldn't have any starry-eyed expectations of some grand libertarian alliance emerging. But at least let's get the dialogue going, and see where it leads.

In the meantime, try to get your hands on a copy of *Beyond the Fragments*.

MARTIN SPENCE

to see the connection between the development of a Gaian consciousness and the necessity for a high degree of democracy. But he spoils it by referring to "the many small fringe groups, mostly anarchist in flavour, who would hasten our doom by dismantling and destroying all technology. It is not clear whether their motivation is primarily misanthropic or Luddite, but either way they seem more concerned with destructive action than with constructive thought".

Lovelock is not more specific, but if his reference is really to anarchists in the environmental movement, it is a massive distortion of the truth which is sad to see in a book of such excellence and one which would have delighted Kropotkin. There are, of course, misanthropes and nihilists in human society. Luddites may sometimes be mistaken or short-sighted about their targets and anarchists may not be sufficiently constructive in their ideas. But I, for one, know of no anarchist group which is interested in ecology without also being interested in the alternative or appropriate technology which Lovelock himself supports. And I can think of no better society for Gaia to prosper in than one which has, as its foundation, the truly anarchist notion of mutual aid and cooperation.

\* Lovelock reassures us that 'Gaia' is no more female than a ship. But perhaps we should take up the new practice, which has been adopted in the States for the naming of hurricanes, and refer to 'Gaius' as well!

THE MANCHURIAN CANDIDATE cont. from p. 11

dox of our modern age, the atavism of the half-baked in a flat material world, but demonstrate the degenerating and homicidal effects of a universally accepted mind-conditioning process of which they themselves, unconsciously, are the compliant and submissive victims.

One might almost take it as a principle (an absolute truth of power intoxicated society) that the very people who are fired with the desire to control other people's minds are themselves the last people who should be let loose in the world. Such an ambition is itself a symptom of a psychological disturbance and should be treated as such. There is an additional sentence which is so often omitted from Lord Acton's famous statement about the tendency of power to corrupt (and absolute power to corrupt absolutely) and it is necessary not to forget his last remark: "Great men are almost always bad men". The CIA however, are not anywhere in the category of 'great' men. They are the paid agents, the expendable hatchet men, the hired thugs, the stuff of which fascism is made, the mindless slaves of a power structure to which they cling for the crumbs that it throws down to them.

It is no wonder, therefore, that they make a mess of things. I must be more specific and must not forget that the purpose of this article is to exert an influence on people's minds. There is, however, a major difference. In this case I am not acting as an agent for the promotion of the power of some authority. My interest is to encourage people to grow up, to make their own decisions and to dispense with any dependence on power structures. Freedom is the escape from dependence but it also imposes the necessity of responsibility. It is easier to keep on running to mummy than to stand upon one's own feet and develop towards maturity. The peculiar contradiction is that it is the very people who are most dependent and most immature who exhibit the deepest hatreds and express the most aggressive desires to thrust their wills upon those who would reject the authority towards which they, in their fear of responsibility, are so subservient. The reason being that the absence of authority, in whatever form it takes, is the end of their world. Any crime, therefore, is permissible. The buck is conveniently passed on. Witness Northern Ireland, Iran etc. etc. And not forgetting, of course, the activities of the CIA.

Now I am aware that there has been some criticism of FREEDOM's insistence on publishing articles on history. I understand that this refers to the history of the anarchist movement. There is no doubt that the names of Kropotkin, Bakunin et al, at least in my experience, are still unknown among people who would consider themselves as progressives and it is also true that anarchist ideas in that context have had no great impact upon the world. But it is impossible to ignore the history that has shaped and moulded all of us. Whatever we are it is our contact with, and our reaction to, the largely man-made environment that has patterned our lives. Either we accept it resignedly in a negative sort of way and remain the inert recording machines of whatever happens to be out there or else we come to life and develop the senses we have and grow and work upon the outside world. What has come to be known as Chomsky's Revolution is a recognition of this reaction. Once upon a time when the world was green (possibly in more ways than one) Marx made his famous statement and put it another way: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world differently. The point is to change it". And it all depends on which side of the fence you happen to be sitting how that statement in itself is interpreted. If, therefore, we are to proceed in our search for the Manchurian Candidate it is necessary to have another look at this matter. For instance the seizure of power by the Communists in the Revolution was one method of interpretation in 1917. This was a bit of history which cannot be ignored. It faced them with the problem of how to control the people over whom they were now to exert their new-found rule. They had to set up another kind of authority and it is interesting in the light of this enquiry to have another look at Lenin's solution. I quote from The State and Revolution:

"For when all have learned to manage and independently are actually managing by themselves social production, keeping accounts, controlling the idlers, the gentlefolk, the swindlers and similar guardians of capitalist traditions then the escape from

this national accounting and control will inevitably become so increasingly difficult, such a rare exception and will probably be accompanied by such swift and severe punishment (for the armed workers are men of practical life, not sentimental intellectuals, and they will scarcely allow any one to trifle with them) that very soon the necessity of observing the simple, fundamental rules of everyday social life in common will have become a habit"

Note the word Habit Lenin's emphasis, not mine. This is a very curious statement. It is almost the recipe for the maintenance of the unchanging paradise of an ant's nest. Here is the practical, professional method of producing the perfectly static, conformist robot, dehumanised, mechanised, predictable, controllable and totally enslaved. Brainwashed, indeed. And, in spite of Lenin's attack on the Utopian ideas of Socialism, here, nevertheless, is Utopia itself, forever frozen. It is a matter of no small wonder and grave concern what happens to the minds of people when the power bug begins to bite them.

And how was this to be achieved? By the age old method of physical force, no less. The Manchurian Candidate was not yet conceived but clearly he was becoming necessary. So it was a return to the Pax Romana. It was only, said Marx, the Bourbons who learnt nothing and forgot nothing. Poor old Marx. It was time to forget that bit about changing things. And one must also ask about these armed workers, these unsentimental anti-intellectuals who have now been promoted. How necessary they are for organisations like the OGPU, the CIA and whatever. Not forgetting the Police forces.

In Lenin's day the drug method had not appeared on the scene. As far as I can say lobotomy had not been tried out. And the experiments in America to reproduce identical clones had not been attempted. But, nevertheless, the germ of the motivation towards the idea is apparent in these remarks of Lenin. The sperm of the Manchurian Candidate was beginning to waggle its tail.

There is a terrible significance in the statements of Lenin. His attacks on Utopian dreamers, his scorn of sentimental intellectuals and his insistence on the practical and material had carried him so far that a fatal flaw in his reasoning becomes evident. How different from his earlier fight in "What is to be done?" in which he strove to restore the force of theory: "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement" he wrote in his youth. Theorists? Intellectuals? Down with them.

The swing from idealism to materialism as achieved by Marx in his philosophical progress from Hegel had petrified into total rigidity on the other side of the fence. Marx's famous statement; "The mode of production in material life determines the social, political and intellectual life processes in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness" could well have become the motto for B.F. Skinner's treatment of psychology, Behaviourism. It fits into Lenin's concept of mind manipulation very well. Experiments on animals produce habits. So the Behaviourists apply this to human beings. The assumption, the fatal flaw, is not only in the belief that human beings are born with a clean slate, (a tabula rasa, as they say) to be written upon by the influence of contacts with the outside world - specifically, the modes of production - but also in the concept that the mind really is a flat slate, immovable, dead and utterly incapable of any self-inspired motivation of its own. Human beings, in this one-sided view, are totally passive, inert and negative. They do not cause things to happen. They are just the receptacles waiting for things to happen to them. And these happenings are to be arranged by the manipulators of the environment, the privileged fixers, their authoritarian rulers. It follows, therefore that these all-powerful rulers have a special interest in the preservation of unchanging habits, in conservatism (which can also parade under labels of the left) and in any device whether it be brute force, drugs or persuasive deception which can produce a stupified and subservient rank and file. The non-Utopian dreamers have now invented a different kind of phantasy, a truly science-fiction phantasy without romance, in which technology and loveless robots dominate an entirely material universe. (One wonders how these egocentric megalomaniacs can explain to themselves how influences which affect everyone else will leave them undefiled. They don't, of course, ask such questions. They are

merely carrying on with the habits of the leisured ruling classes which they wish to ape. Their problem now is that, while in the past the toiling masses worked such long hours they had no time to think, they now have more opportunity and it is absolutely necessary that their brains should be occupied in a more manageable way or else simply drugged into passivity.)

The sperm of the Manchurian Candidate has found its egg. The manufacture of unsentimental non-intellectuals must become an industry. In fact it has. Let me quote the remarks of F.D. Maurice, written about 1839, opposing the idea of State Education: "We have learned therefore to reverence our own function more, because it is the function of proclaiming truths to men; and we have come to think less and less of your state machinery, because it carries with it no such power. (NOTE: i.e. the power to educate people to become members of one great universal family, regardless of time, race or country.) If any persons like to be educated on this (i.e. Maurice's non-state principles) ground, we will educate them; if they do not like it, they must educate themselves in whatever principle they may, for we know of no other. The State rushes in and says 'But we can. We will make you members of one family whether you like it or no. You shall love by Act of Parliament and embrace by Order of Council. You have paid for your protection; of course, therefore, we are bound in honour to make you wise and charitable. This is their scheme. I believe it will work in this way: it will make those who are indifferent more intolerant, and result in the nation becoming more divided and broken'".

When, some forty years later, the commercially minded Victorians successfully imposed compulsory (note the word) education on the populace, it cannot be said that they did so out of altruism. Their interest was their own security and their own profit. The real purpose was the prevention of education and the substitution of an alternative artifice which would masquerade under the name of education. They have contrived it very well. The deception, as far as it is possible in that field, is practically complete.

Political faiths have now begun to take the place of religious faiths and a curious unity of opposites has now taken place between East and West, because each power structure is dependent upon the existence of its opponent, and both, either subconsciously or otherwise accept, in a wooden and mechanical fashion, Marx's materialism; and both are concerned to ensure that the populations over which they rule shall be totally engaged in the sunless chores of their separate regimes. The carrying out of these chores will constitute the whole purpose and final fulfilment of existence. Education will look no further. Indeed, the parrot-learned gospel has laid it down that 'intellectual' life shall be understood as no more than a mirror-reflection of material life, of the mode of production. The orbit of the mind will thus be restricted, willingly, to a prison, the walls of which encompass a static universe. And the light outside will be forgotten.

Two more points arise. One is the tendency of intellectuals to go on arguing about the old and remote philosophical oppositions which have occupied them in different forms from time immemorial such as, for instance, the flesh vs. the spirit, idealism vs. materialism, the mind vs. the body, heredity vs. environment etc. etc. and to look for a resolution in a similarly remote and abstract living reality of the vast mass of the people; and that they are not aware that that reality is largely composed of conditioned creatures of habit, as far as it is possible to make them. The abstract philosophical solution which they seek would still leave us fixed rigidly in the status quo. The real solution is in the practice, the contact with this reality and the conscious effort to change it. But reality is a difficult thing to see. The meaning of whatever one sees before one's eyes depends upon the amount of establishment-imposed fantasy that clutters up the landscape.

I cannot avoid here, as an illustration of the all-embracing tentacles of the mind-controlling monster of our age, the case of Arthur Koestler. In The Ghost In The Machine (1967) he made an excellent and brilliant criticism of the behaviourists and indicated the probable and awful problems that they would produce. His solution, however, to these problems, astonishingly and unbelievably, was to retreat to conformity and recommend the application of drugs.

This brings me to the second point. It would appear that dissidents who have been eulogised and applauded on their successful escapes from the countries of the Soviet bloc believe, as Solzhenitsyn apparently does, that on this side of the Berlin wall or the Iron Curtain, there is freedom. It is not too long ago, as I remember, that it was the other way round. But nowadays I hear very little about the paradise that is being created in the Soviet Union. It would seem that Lenin's programme to create creatures of habit, i.e. submissive and willing servants of a hierarchic state, which, after all, should have been established by this time, has not done the job quite as well as it has been done in the west. A docile working class are not produced by suppression but rather by releasing their energies on false targets (the manufacture of which could provide the subject of an essay in itself) and also, possibly more effectively, by softening them up with material luxuries, bribes and illusions of richness.

It must be seen, therefore, that the role of the CIA and the KGB in their efforts to discover means of controlling human behaviour is a very minor one. That job has already been amply achieved. As agents operating mostly in a closed shop composed of two opposing sides, who use similar methods, their main task is to practice their wickedness on each other. But they have also another and more sinister design. It is to attempt to destroy any thinking process which they cannot understand. A fear of knowledge, a hatred of those who would indicate an escape route towards a brighter vision of the future - these are their motivations. These are the people who burn the books. The fascist Goering provided them with a motto: "When I hear the word culture I reach for my gun". The Manchurian Candidate is not difficult to find.

FRED YATES

# Bisbee

Bisbee 17. Robert Houston. Writers and Readers 1979, £5.95

SET in the attempted general strike of 1917, in the copper canyons of Arizona, Houston's historical novel of the IWW and the powerful hands of the industrial barons stacked against the workers, reads like a stage play in its biographical detail.

Notable 'wobblies' like Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, 'Mother' Jones, Bill Haywood are depicted in this disputive arena.

The local audacity and vengeful intensity of locally bred Bo Whitby stands in savage contrast to the more philosophical urbanity of the 'circuit wobblies'.

The charade of 'law and order' is courageously carried out by the old time lawman Harry Wheeler, whose ultimate acknowledgement of his task of legitimising the amoral manipulations of industrial power is soon absolved in 'human capitivisation' operations.

The foreboding charisma of the copper mine owners evidence an unbeatable, martial foresight, aided by enormous wealth and political support.

Amongst these more prominent human aspects of the industrial battleground - numerous intrigues, philosophic standpoints, emotional involvements, personal interplays are enacted.

Apart from picketing, no general policy is evidenced by the workers in their bid for a better deal.

Thus the weakness of the IWW is displayed in the loss of ground they sustained in not occupying the industrial area and actively confronting the industrial barons rather than the 'scissor bills' and 'scabs' who plagued their attempts to gain solidarity outside the mines.

If one's interest in the zesty period of IWW activity and the people who tried to implement the general strike via the One Big Union requires an introduction, this could well prove an interesting and easily comprehensible introduction.

Certainly recommended as a library fiction purchase which does some service in the comprehension of the class struggle.

P. STONE