

FREEDOM ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

JULY 23 '77

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FIFTEEN PENCE

Blasphemy P3



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DEATH OF THE SOCIAL CONTRICK ?

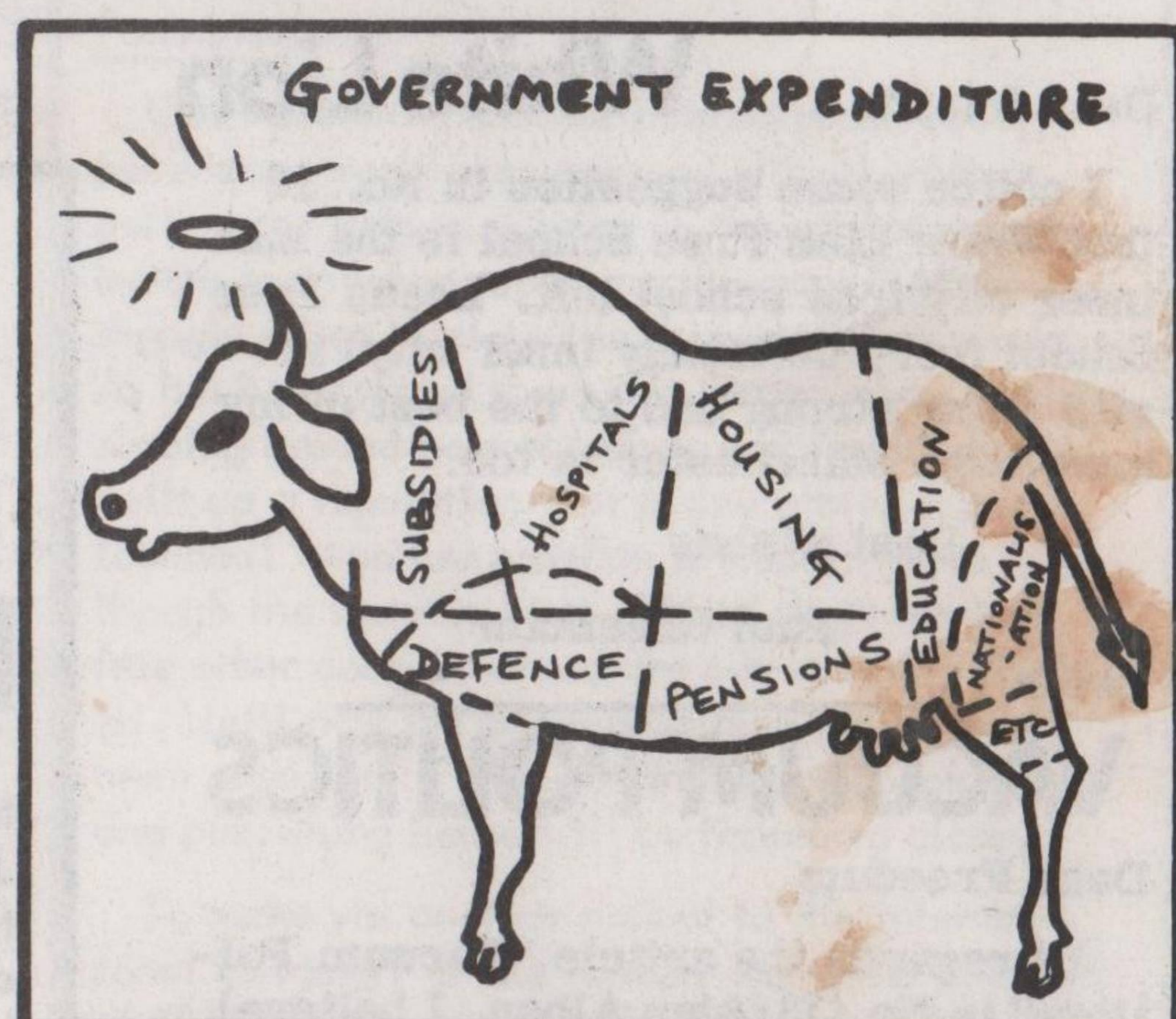
WITH THE decisions of the miners' and the TGWU union conferences, refusing to continue the Social Contract, it would appear that the collaboration between the TUC and the Government is at an end. Only in its present form, of course, because it is sure they will come to some agreement that will maintain their own privileged positions.

Following these decisions other trade unions have offered pronouncements concerning their future wage claims. In the light of the Chancellor's announcement that pay rises are to be limited, if possible, to single figures. While the miners are pushing for a minimum £135 (56% increase) the NUR at their conference voted against abolition of the social contract and in favour of an orderly and gradual return to free collective bargaining. To do otherwise, said Mr Russell Tuck (acting general secretary) would lead to a premature downfall of the Labour government! To keep pace with the miners' claim the basic rate for a railwayman would have to be increased by 80% to £74.30 a week. A train driver would need an increase of 101% to maintain his differential. However, two days after the conference they decided to put in a claim for 63.5%. The production workers at Fords have put in a claim for over 25%. The National Union of Bank Employees said it was prepared to observe the rules (i.e. maintain the social contract) if everyone else did, and they are going to submit a claim for 5%. (However, they can receive fringe benefits of up to £170 a year and want the banks to restore their differentials at a suitable time). Policemen said they would be making "very substantial" pay claims that would certainly be outside the 10%. Representatives of the BMA and the British Dental Association have said their standards have fallen by 20% in two years while the fall for the average worker is only 6%! So obviously they will be putting in a large claim. The Merchant Navy officers are to submit a claim for 17% which they want from 1 August.

These are two sides of the same demands - one from workers who are basically manual and "working class" in origin, the other from workers who are professional and "middle class" in outlook.

It is noteworthy that the rejection of the Social Contract and all it implies has been judged purely in materialist terms (more money, a bigger share of the cake, etc). Nowhere have the unions shown any initiative. For example, have miners seriously considered future power and energy supplies apart from the coal industry? Have the transport unions (rail, road and seaway) ever considered moves to coordinate a transport policy - together with workers in the motor industry - based on needs, not wants?

One of the most unfortunate aspects of this wage revolt is the demand for differentials. Now it is the turn of the skilled working class, such as the tool-makers of British Leyland, who threaten to destroy any semblance of unity that still exists among the working class. Not only does the demand for differentials set workers in one industry against another, but also worker against worker within the same industry. How many times have we seen workers going on strike in an industry (eg the motor industry) only to be criticised by their fellow workers who have been laid off as a result? The fault here is the unions' which seek to maintain craft differentials in trade unions instead of organising on industrial lines. For if one thing is clear it is that when the present Social Contract has been buried (because the workers will surely realise that no longer can they tolerate a further decline in living standards) then we shall have a situation where those workers who are in the strongest position to bring pressure to bear on the Government and the rest of society (for instance, the miners or the railwaymen) will get their demands. (And who will deny the miners £135 a week when the Queen gets £475,000 a year - plus her own private income - and some heads of private industry get £1000 a week?)



Those workers who are poorly organised or even totally unorganised* will have to wait for the scraps that are thrown from the Chancellor's table. As on previous occasions the "stick and carrot" approach has worked well; you know, 1p off the tax, more welfare benefits, more for fags, beer etc. Even the direct attacks on living standards such as cutbacks on health, social services, education, have had to be tolerated as part and parcel of the Social Contract, which has been dubbed the Social Con Trick because the workers have been made to suffer in all ways to help bale out the capitalist system.

The problem has now become a double-bind because in order to fight (a) in the short term for better pay and conditions and (b) in the long term for a more equitable and rational society the workers' energies are channelled into working within the trade unions. However, the unions have become part of the problem, not a means to solving the problem.

The power that workers have managed to wrest from the employers over the years has been consolidated in a bureaucratic body that has become equal in power and authority to the Government. As shown by its emphasis in favour of the closed shop it now seeks to mould workers in one block to isolate and cut off in-



SOCIALIST CHALLENGE

Dear comrades

We read with annoyance the editorial on Socialist Challenge in the June 25th issue (vol. 38 no. 12). While not being over-fond of Trotskyists we feel that this editorial, itself a dubious practice, is rather negative. We take particular exception to the suggestion that we should shun working with Trotskyists. It cannot be denied that we share some views on some issues with Trotskyist groups, even though their motivations and aims may be abhorrent to us. Effective campaigning on an issue may mean that we co-operate with a wide variety of statist political groups. While we are against co-operation in the Socialist Challenge venture, which we'd never be allowed to participate in anyway, we affirm our belief in the value of uniting with Trotskyists on matters of common concern.

Libertarian greetings

Steve Dawe/Dave Norman

Canterbury

White Lion

Dear friends

I notice some suggestion in No. 13 that White Lion Free School is the last inner city free school left. Leeds Free School (very definitely inner city) is still going strong and to the best of my knowledge Manchester is too.

Best wishes

Paul Cheetham

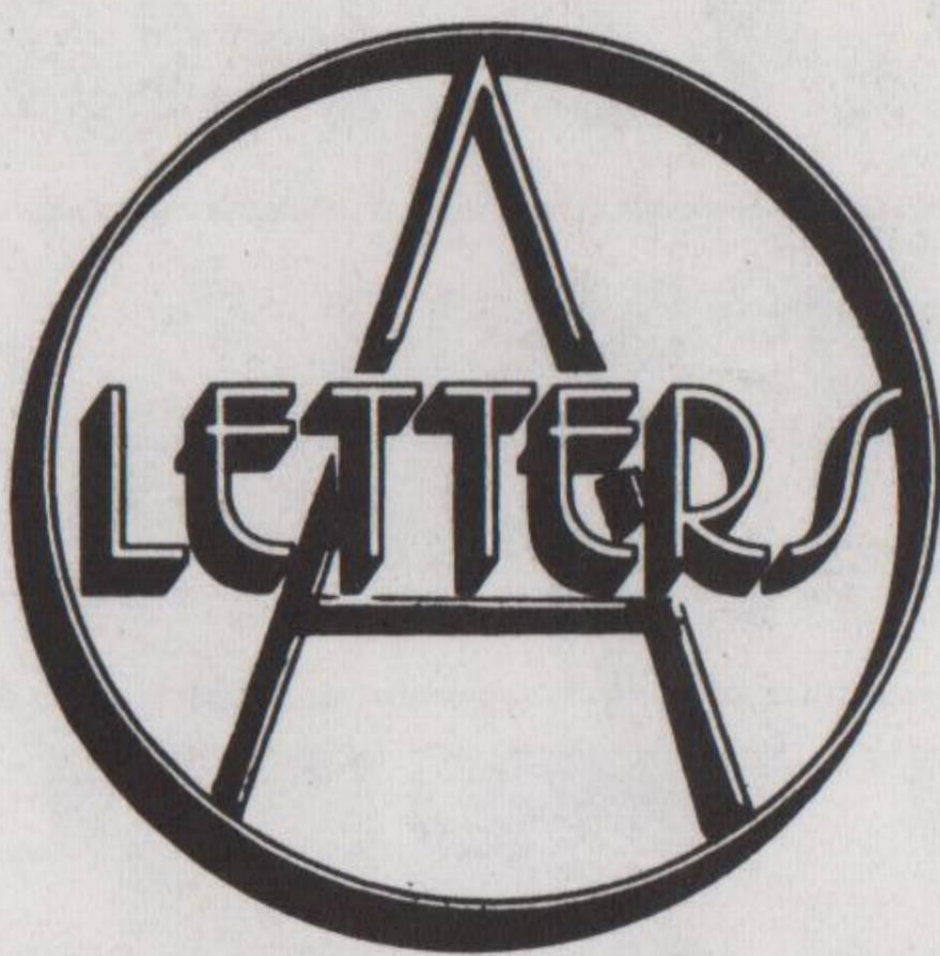
Leeds

VACUUM POLITICS

Dear Freedom

As regards the article "Vacuum Politics" in No. 13 (Alan Albon, I believe), it is true that the capitalist system does not rule by force alone and that ideology and conditioning perform a great role. To me this ideological conditioning is the primary force of coercion and oppression; force both overt and covert is merely a back-up (at least in the freer areas of the world). But the ideology and conditioning used is far wider than

dividuals and assume responsibility for all workers. It is no use arguing about the question of leadership; the leadership has increasingly been bought off by both employers and Government alike. Trade union leaders now serve on the boards of nationalised as well as private industries and, as befits their role as a new power block they have become part of society's elite, far removed from their roots. Such trade unionism is placed in an embarrassing position by disputes like Grunwicks, in which we find cheap and unorganised labour as part of everyday life. The solidarity shown by other sections of workers such as miners, postmen and others is cynically used by the TUC to reaffirm its basic principles of trade unionism, and has tried to play down the mass support in order to achieve a "peaceful" outcome. A typical situation in which "decent and rational" men can find a "just" solution.



those areas mentioned in the article. The mythologies and images of the commodity are the content of property relations; further content is to be found in the social (or anti-social) organisation of commodity production. The creation of a commodity out of everything possible is the western trend of the industrialisation of everyday life and with it the mechanisation of reality, both subjective (human in all its forms) and objective (material).

Salud,

MR

Sheffield

IN BRIEF

ROTH

KARL-HEINZ ROTH (subject of an article in the last issue of FREEDOM) was freed on 12 July after the judge said that the evidence from the prosecution was not sufficient to prove the charge of murder against him. The prosecution had said that although Phillip Werner Sauber had opened fire on the police, Karl-Heinz Roth and Roland Otto were also guilty of murder because they had sympathised with Sauber's action and intended to use their guns!

Roland Otto remains in prison to serve out a previous sentence for bank robbery, which he had not completed. The trial lasted for seven months.

As always part of the same game. Can you imagine yourself as a Grunwick worker fighting to organise your own life, facing the prospect of a union like APEX representing you? The future offers little hope unless things begin to take shape now, and change for the better.

Mr Jack Jones, as ever trying to portray his basic socialism (when he gave his last speech to the TGWU conference) was given the two fingers after a lifetime's work! Not out of jealousy, mind you, but because he was responsible more than any other trade union leader for the working of the Social Contract, and two and a half years of bitter frustration on the part of the workers had expressed itself in a rejection of all his hopes. The trade union leaders have had to sell the Social Contract to a working class that was most reluctant, especially after the battles with the Heath

MOVEMENT AGAINST A MONARCHY

MOVEMENT Against A Monarchy (MAAM) report that the response to their stickers has been tremendous and that they can hardly keep pace with demand. They are now producing a 15p badge with the slogan "We won't stand for the National Anthem!" to be followed shortly by a broadsheet providing a few facts and figures about the monarchy. Those wishing for more details of materials, ideas, actions should contact: Box M, c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

Schools Out

SCHOOLS OUT! is a paper produced free for "school students and unemployed youth" (20p for adults) by two unemployed people in Leeds. Its two aims are to provide useful information not often available to working class youth and to get across some ideas about the nature of capitalist society and the alternative of self-management. The summer 77 issue has articles on school strikes, young people and sex, fascism, the army and what to do if you're arrested. The emphasis is on getting young people to meet together "to decide how we can control our own areas here in Leeds." It also gives some good advice on what to do when you leave school and can't find a job.

Schools Out! has already clashed with the political establishment, with Denis Healey saying "I'm going to see if it is possible to stop this magazine. I am shocked and disgusted by the contents." This looks as if it has been a success. The editors say that it has been distributed to almost 3000 teenagers at over a dozen Leeds schools in June and July and received very enthusiastically.

Earlier this year, in April, two people had been arrested and brought before the magistrates for distributing leaflets questioning rules at the City of Leeds High School and pointing out the existence of the National Union of School Students. The case was dismissed.

Contact address: Schools Out, c/o 153 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2.

Government. It is surprising it has lasted so long.

The struggle will take on a new face; the same compromises and sham deals, etc., but a new face. Unless the trade union can expand beyond the mere "bread and butter" issues, which will always be channelled into solutions like the Social Contract, it faces the prospect of little better under an ailing capitalist system.

The social democrats have proved themselves unable to make capitalism work while remaining faithful to socialism. The Conservative solution under Mrs Thatcher doesn't bear thinking about.

FRANCIS A. WRIGHT

* Out of a total workforce (including jobless) of 26, 168, 000 only 11 million belong to trade unions affiliated to the TUC.

Blasphemy in 1977

WE don't normally publish poetry and, even if we did, we wouldn't normally publish this poem by James Kirkup or this drawing by Tony Reeves. But they were the subject of the recent prosecution of Gay News for blasphemous libel, and, much as we dislike the poem, we dislike the attempt to suppress it even more. So we are joining several other anarchist, pacifist and socialist papers in protesting against this ridiculous attack on the freedom of the press by reprinting the offending item.

- EDITORS

"THE LOVE That Dares To Speak Its Name" was published in the homosexual fortnightly Gay News 96 in June 1976. The title comes from Oscar Wilde's line about "the love that dares not speak its name" and it expresses the commitment to both Christianity and homosexuality of its author, a distinguished writer and critic. Three months after its publication a Bedford probation officer called Kenneth Kavanagh complained about it to the so-called Responsible Society, and three months after that Mary Whitehouse began a private prosecution of Gay News for blasphemous libel.

The trial was held at the Central Criminal Court in London from 4 to 12 July, more than a year after the poem appeared. The counsel for the prosecution was John Smyth, a young reactionary barrister with a military manner. The counsel for Gay News was Geoff Robertson, a young socialist barrister (and journalist); the counsel for Denis Lemon, the editor of Gay News, was John Mortimer, a middle-aged liberal barrister (and dramatist). The judge was Mr Justice King-Hamilton, an elderly Jew, who was strongly biased in favour of the prosecution from beginning to end.

The whole trial was a tragic farce. Half the proceedings consisted of legal arguments about the law of blasphemy, which had not been successfully used for more than half a century. All the obsolete statutes covering blasphemy have been repealed during the past decade, and all that is left is the common law which was developed by judges between 1676 and 1922. The judge rejected every single defence submission - that the law of blasphemy no longer existed, that the poem should have been prosecuted as obscene rather than blasphemous, that the proceedings should be tape-recorded, that the jury should hear defence speeches before seeing the poem, that there should be expert witnesses to give evidence on religious and literary matters, that the prosecution must prove an intention to attack Christianity and to cause offence, and also a definite tendency to cause a breach of the peace.

The judge decided that the prosecution need prove only that the poem was offensive to members of or sympathisers with the Christian church, and that there was a possible tendency to cause a breach of the peace. The only defence witnesses allowed were the journalist Bernard Levin and the novelist Margaret Drabble, who gave evidence about the good character of Gay News.

The result was inevitable. The jury took five hours to find the defendants guilty (by a majority verdict of 10-2), and the judge sentenced Denis Lemon and Gay News to a total of £1,500 plus all the prosecution costs. Gay News has raised £20,000 for the case, but although it has not been killed by the prosecution it has been severely wounded. There is a good chance of the verdict being reversed on appeal, because the judge made so many perverse decisions against the defence, but the wider problem of the significance of the trial remains.

Humanist organisations have been arguing for a century that the law of blasphemy is as repressive as this, and that it should be abolished precisely because of the danger of this kind of case. Christian and legal organisations have replied that there is no need to do so, either because the law would never be used, or because it might still need to be used! Now other religious organisations are arguing that the law should be extended to protect them as well.

Whatever happens to the theory of the law, there will be no change in the practice of blasphemy in general, and there will be an increase in the circulation of this poem in particular. A "Free Speech Movement" began distributing copies in December 1976, and the retiring general secretary of the National Secular Society, William McIlroy, is being prosecuted for sending indecent material through the post. The poem has been reprinted in several left-wing papers. Further developments may be expected.

The Love That Dares To Speak Its Name

As they took him from the cross
I, the centurion, took him in my arms—
the tough, lean body
of a man no longer young,
beardless, breathless,
but well hung.

He was still warm.
While they prepared the tomb
I kept guard over him.
His mother and the Magdalen
had gone to fetch clean linen
to shroud his nakedness.

I was alone with him.
For the last time
I kissed his mouth. My tongue
found his, bitter with death.
I licked his wounds
the blood was harsh.

For the last time
I laid my lips around the tip
of that great cock, the instrument
of our salvation, our eternal joy.
The shaft still throbbed, anointed
with death's final ejaculation.

I knew he'd had it off with other men
with Herod's guards, with Pontius Pilate,
with John the Baptist, with Paul of Tarsus,
with foxy Judas, a great kisser, with
the rest of the Twelve, together and apart.
He loved all men, body, soul and spirit. — even me.

So now I took off my uniform, and, naked,
lay together with him in his desolation,
caressing every shadow of his cooling flesh,
hugging him and trying to warm him back to life.
Slowly the fire in his thighs went out,
while I grew hotter with unearthly love.

It was the only way I knew to speak our love's proud name,
to tell him of my long devotion, my desire, my dread —
something we had never talked about. My spear, wet with blood,
his dear, broken body all open wounds,
and in each wound — his side, his back,
his mouth — I came and came and came

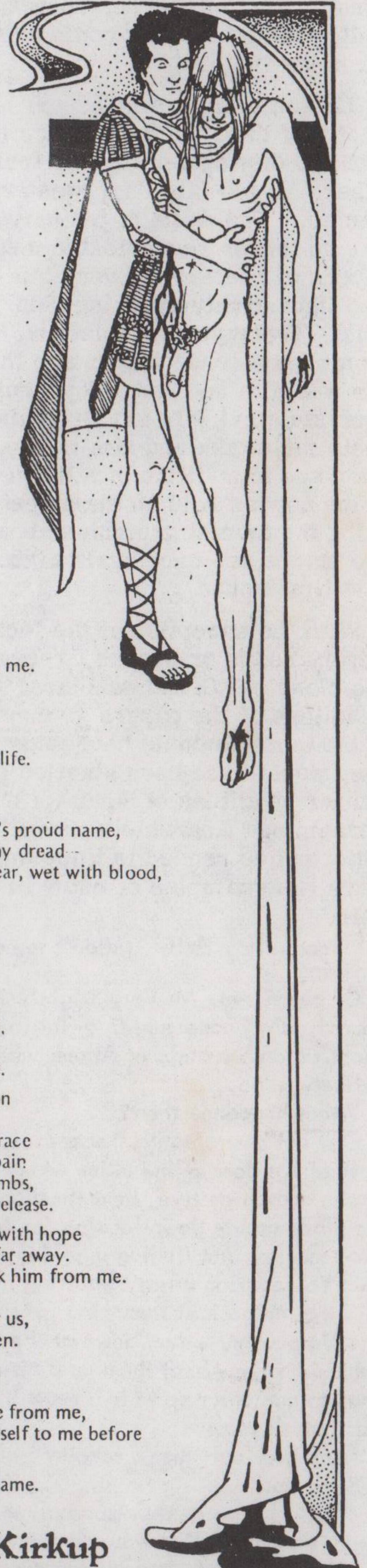
as if each coming was my last.
And then the miracle possessed us.
I felt him enter into me, and fiercely spend
his spirit's final seed within my hole, my soul,
pulse upon pulse, unto the ends of earth —
he crucified me with him into kingdom come.

This is the passionate and blissful crucifixion
same-sex lovers suffer, patiently and gladly.
They inflict these loving injuries of joy and grace
one upon the other, till they die of lust and pain
within the horny paradise of one another's limbs,
with one voice cry to heaven in a last divine release.

Then lie long together, peacefully entwined, with hope
of resurrection, as we did, on that green hill far away.
But before we rose again, they came and took him from me.
They knew what we had done, but felt
no shame or anger. Rather they were glad for us,
and blessed us, as would he, who loved all men.

And after three long, lonely days, like years,
in which I roamed the gardens of my grief
seeking for him, my one friend who had gone from me,
he rose from sleep, at dawn, and showed himself to me before
all others. And took me to him with
the love that now forever dares to speak its name.

James Kirkup



Prosecutions for blasphemy - as for obscenity or sedition - have never succeeded in suppressing objectionable material, only in making martyrs and arousing resistance. What freedom of the press we have is based on breaking the law, and this case may at least teach that lesson once more.

N.W.

GREECE: a taste of democracy



A POPULAR assumption is that Greece today is a democratic country - whatever that may mean. Once a country has rid itself of the extravagant trappings of totalitarianism, people tend to relax or, at least, are told to relax by the mass media. "Franco is dead", "The Colonels have been forced to resign" or "Peron is again in control" are supposed to mean that the respective countries have once again returned to the fold of the "just". We, of course, know that this is shit - mostly nothing could be further from the truth.

Greece is an example - perhaps the best - of this. On the surface there is little to distinguish Greece from the other, all too familiar, western democracies. The walls of the universities are no longer recognisable under the layers of posters of every hue - literally and figuratively speaking. Marxist-Leninist, Trotskyist, Maoist and "ordinary" Communist trade marks are there for the world to see and enjoy. Police direct tourists, trying to say that this is now their main task and aim in life. One can even see four-fifths of a tit on the magazine covers sold on the street. The only thing the tourist grumbles about is that the prices are once again higher than last time round.

With the exception of the locals, hardly anyone reads or speaks Greek - not even the classical Greek scholars! - so the headlines of the papers go unnoticed. If the tourists could have understood they would have been startled by the banner headlines of Sunday, 22 May screaming "Anarchists Revolt" and "Riot police needed to tame anarchists" were two examples of many in the same vein.

"Good grief, Emily. I didn't see or hear anything!"

Of course not, Mr Very Brightly Burned Tourist, it all happened in a flat in one of the countless drab suburbs of Athens where you're unlikely to go,

"What happened then?"

Oh, not much really. Some police kicked in the front door of the place where some well-known anarchists live, beat them up, turned the place upside down looking for drugs and weapons and, not finding anything, arrested them for resisting arrest, insulting the police, injuring the police, damaging public property and blasphemy. Later, down at the station, some riot police beat them up a bit more. The charges can carry up to two years in jail. Not much at all really.

"And they call that a revolt?"

Some do.

"Well, I suppose they can call themselves lucky that the police weren't clever enough to bring their own weapons and suchlike to 'find'? Hey?"

Our Greek comrades weren't surprised that this sort of thing could happen, but nor did they find it exactly funny. One of them was laid up in hospital for three

days after the raid. Similar events had occurred before and would almost certainly happen again. The police weren't too happy either. Among the eight arrested there happened to be four foreigners - two Dutchmen (one of whom was immediately released) and two Frenchmen. Unwelcome publicity. They didn't have much to worry about really as the "news" didn't rouse any foreign journalists from their Sunday morning hangovers. One Dutch freelancer later complained to me that she didn't have much to do as "very little happens down here nowadays."

That's just it, madame, very little has happened! Papadopoulos and a few of his torturing and murdering friends have been sent off somewhere because they were damaging the economy, especially the tourist trade. Most of the rest have continued to sit right where they were. Government officials of both the higher and lower sort, judges, policemen, trade union big-shits and military tyrants all trembled awhile until some brilliant guy thought up the perfect election slogan: "Karamanlis or Tanks!" Of course Karamanlis had to win even after that oh-so-popular-ballad singer Theodorakis (Mikis) began to chant to the same tune. After that the old guard felt a little easier. The rest tightened their trouser buckles and prepared to start struggling all over again.

According to the papers there were "disturbances" in Athens during the demonstrations marking the first anniversary of the revolt of the Athens Polytechnic. Students were once again held responsible. The same papers didn't mention that most of the demonstrating and "rioting" took place outside the school, nor that most of the participants just "happened" to be normal people - workers, for example. Nor that two workers died during the subsequent street battles. "Students barricade the Polytech" again, they obstinately continued to inform us.

The workers have a lot to riot for. They have seen prices rise without even a promise of any form of social security in compensation. The right to strike is theirs - if they can beat the "official", still powerful trade unions and stand up to the harassment, including direct violence and strike-breaking by the armed forces. The right to form independent unions is also theirs - if they can find a venue to hold a meeting!

The only difference for most Greeks is that the "new" government has to maintain the appearance of being a democratic institution. If it doesn't it will be more difficult to get those foreign loans and investments needed to pave the way into the Common Market. A "democratic institution" is now understood to be the best way to maintain a semblance of stability and we all know that stability (any kind of stability) is what the big money-boys want.

The army is always there to guarantee stability if needed. The Turks conveniently provided them with the opportunity to give their NATO-supplied hardware an extra polish, to continue the 34-month conscription and to raise the Greek flag an inch or two higher so that everyone could see it. That the Aegean Sea might or might not have oil is not a primary concern of theirs.

And the police are still there of course. We didn't see them putting in any overtime when some journalists were beaten up by fascists at the burial of an avenged torturer. They do everything to prove their existence and that they haven't forgotten the old tricks when picking on people who show any inclination to think and act for themselves. Anarchists for example.

"Those anarchists have been getting a little too cocksure lately. That bookshop of theirs, the International Library, is getting very popular and they have managed to publish more than twenty titles since Papa Total Loss had to leave. What's more, they almost stopped us delivering Rolf Pohle (you remember, that Baader-Meinhof guy we caught not long ago) to our German friends through the campaign they started ... What's even worse they didn't run when we told them to last May Day. All the others did - the Trots, the Maoists, the Commies, the lot - but they had to fight back. And there were more than 500 of them! If they continue this way they're bound to get a lot more dangerous than they already are. Their ideas are very inflammatory; if we don't start cooling them now we could have a lot of problems later. May we try out a few things we've got up our sleeve? It will do the men's morale a lot of good as well as being a test to see how far we can go without damaging our lovely little democracy. What do you say, Sir?"

"Carry on."

"Thank you, Sir."

The court was packed for the opening of the trial on 31 May. The case had become broadly political instead of just internally political. Seven lawyers who had suffered at the untender hands of the colonels had offered their services free. The police were so confident that they didn't even bother to make sure their stories fitted. Their lies were so fragrant the defence had an easy time of it and tore them to pieces. For once the pretence of a free country helped the accused; the judge didn't have any alternative but to quash the charges. The prosecutor didn't even blush. As if his three quarters of an hour closing speech had not been enough he announced the next day that he would appeal.

Meantime accused, lawyers, witnesses, friendly journalists and friends had a celebration meal under a Greek night sky such as all tourists dream of. All present knew that the victory was only a small one, that their struggle was anything but over. And the moon rose over the roofs of the sleeping flats ...

FRANCOIS EVERSON

(cont pg 7)

THE FAULT OF THE PEOPLE!

FEELING that the authorities responsible in the Seveso affair have not until now had a fair chance to put over their views, we present them below with what we hope they will agree is scrupulous objectivity ...

¶ ¶ ¶

Q: Dr Revolta, you are the official responsible for health in the regional council of Lombardy. Since July last year, when four tons of dioxin blasted through that vent pipe at the speed of sound, there has been much criticism of the regional authorities for their handling of the business. For instance, it took several weeks to decide to evacuate the people from Zone A. Furthermore, it has been argued that the official map divided the contamination area into zones A and B on the basis of sheer political expediency. It took three months to decide to remove the earth from the area. Since then women have been forced into the back street abortion clinics where they must pay huge sums for womb-scraping operations without anaesthetic and are then insulted for their pains. Many of the inhabitants of Seveso have been taken ill yet are not being regarded as victims of TCDD poisoning. Tomorrow when the evacuees return, what assurance do they have that Zone A is really clear of the poison? And how about the dioxin that has already escaped into the river system?

Dr Revolta: Please, one thing at a time. Your statements are highly questionable! First of all, let me make it clear that, as I frankly declared on 24 August to the regional council, "At Seveso the situation is tragic." Now, I have never disputed this. However, the situation is different now; in other words, it is no different from usual... You see, you have to take account of the political capital that has been made of the whole affair by a few vociferous left-wing extremists who see in Seveso all their pet causes - Vietnam, abortion, ecology, the machinations of big capital, etc. The so-called delay in taking action, the... mmmm... illegal abortions, the people undergoing medical treatment - all this is nonsense, a fabrication of political mischief makers trying to destroy our democratic society, or of the overheated imagination of ordinary, rather simple people.

Q: But don't they have reason to be angry?

Dr R: Of course not! You know, this is an industrial age. Accidents of this sort have already occurred in the United States, in Germany, Holland and Britain and they will happen again. Tragic as they are at the time - who will deny it? - they are the inevitable price of human progress and prosperity. After all, don't forget that this area is the richest in the country, symbol of the industrial miracle as well as centre of the most productive and modern agriculture in Europe ...

Seveso 1976. Notice that the policeman and fireman are masked, the "ordinary people" no. But as long as the State is safe, what does it matter?



Q: But sir, what makes you think the situation at Seveso is no longer tragic?

Dr R: Look, the criticism that nothing was done for several weeks just doesn't stand up to the facts. By 23 July, only 13 days after the release of the dioxin cloud from the ICMESSA plant, we had all broken our holidays to hold an important meeting with the best scientific brains around. It was followed by several more. The decision to evacuate was not an easy one. But despite its political unpopularity it was done (so what is all this about party politics coming into it?). Besides the evacuation we had 20 NATO experts take soil samples. Full time schooling was introduced to keep the children away from the contaminated ground. Pregnant women were paid to go away. Since then the army has been carrying out a thorough decontamination operation.

Q: But by 11 August, I believe, this had still not taken place. Who knows what damage must have already been done?

Dr R: Look, we're a democratic country, I believe, and a great deal of preliminary discussion is the price we pay for freedom... Yes, in Geneva and Rome they argued that everything should be destroyed. But they are far away and in the meantime the regional council is here to take realistic and pragmatic decisions. This we have done.

Q: But according to the NATO report there is no security margin. How can you be sure it is safe for the people to come back? How can you be sure that the whole place should not be destroyed?

Dr R: I can only repeat. The TCDD Tolerance Level was established last July on the basis of the best scientific expertise. There is no more danger.

Q: And what do you say to the people already suffering from the poison?

Dr R: You have to be pragmatic about

these things. The problems of these people are problems of the mind - entirely subjective, entirely self-suggested, entirely their business. As people in positions of responsibility, as scientists, we simply can't rely on information arising out of the subjective interpretation of illness... As for those who are ill, how do we know they wouldn't have been anyway? And as for the few cases where chloracne has been diagnosed, it is usually very mild and ends in recovery. No blood abnormalities, no menstrual irregularities, only a mild enlargement of the liver. At all events we shall wait and see in a few years' time.

Q: And how about the people who don't want to come back, or those in the apparently less polluted zones who wish to leave?

Dr R: Ha! Anyone could ask to be evacuated for their own subjective reasons! I repeat, there is no danger and those who wish to leave or stay away can get no compensation from us. That is their affair.

Q: Thank you sir.

Dr R:

Q: Signora dottoressa Calca: you are a doctor, a spokeswoman of the Communist Party in Lombardy and a member of the 'Health and Ecology' Commission. Why did you accept the decisions taken by the regional authorities?

Dr Calca: It was a question of establishing and acting upon the socially acceptable Tolerance Threshold based on current American norms for agricultural work: one part of dioxin to 10 milliards of parts of earth... Anyway, were we right or wrong? It's difficult to tell. But let me say first to whoever criticises us that had we chosen a different path - for instance, that of acting as if any concentration of dioxin at all was socially un-

(Cont pg 7)

LAND NOTES

ACT SIX

ON WEDNESDAY 27 July a British ship - the Act Six - is due to dock at Seaforth Container terminal, Merseyside, carrying the first shipment of 200 tons of Australian uranium oxide to Britain.

The shipment's departure from Australia was opposed by environmentalists and trade unionists there, who would prefer that Australia's large deposits of uranium were left in the ground where they can neither be used for nuclear power production, nor for nuclear weapons ... There was also opposition from aborigines and their supporters - any large development of uranium mining would encroach upon their land.

Both because we oppose the existence of the nuclear industry in Britain, and in solidarity with those opposing it in Australia, the London Greenpeace group will be active in London on the day the shipment arrives.

There will be a picket of Australia House in the Strand from 11.30 a.m. to 12.30 a.m. on July 27, followed by ...

a march from there to the offices of Port Line, the owners of the Act Six, followed by ...

a picket of the Port Line offices at Marble Arch House, 36 Edgware Road, W2 from 1.30 p.m. to 2.30 p.m.

GREENPEACE

For more information about actions in London and Liverpool, phone 01-837-9794.

PARADISE LOST?

AMONG all the campaigns, demonstrations, lobbies and pressure groups of the last two decades, and in particular with the emphasis on the Third World and support for national liberation movements in colonial countries, there is one cause that has recruited no legions of the left and libertarian movements. And it is one of the clearest and most blatant examples of colonial exploitation we have.

The Ocean Island home of the Banaban people (a British dependency) was rich in phosphates. It has been mined (mainly by British capital) till the earth was removed and the land could no longer give life to the 3000 Banabans. They were then moved to the Gilbertian Islands to live among (and under the administration of) a people of different culture and language. They want to go home.

For some years the Banaban chiefs have been suing in the British courts for the return of their homeland, for its rehabilitation, forestation, etc., and compensation. At length the British

government has offered them six and a half million pounds sterling as royalties for the phosphates they have mined over the years.

This will not satisfy the Banaban people. While their chiefs say they want royalties for any future phosphates mined, the real wish and claim of the people is to return to their homeland, made fertile, and to grow food, graze animals and raise trees for their own sustenance and shelter.

Phosphates are used for fertilisers, and in that sense could be said to be producing food for the hungry nations. (The insurgence of the multinationals, who produce fertilisers, into poor nations with the concomitant industrialising of farming, gets increased yields until pests and diseases catch up. But the mechanisation and enlarging of farms in fact creates unemployment and maintains hunger). Fertilisers are undoubtedly the main use of phosphates, but they are also used in Coca Cola and the other brand names of fizzy drinks, and in explosives.

This is one instance of exploitation which lies on our own doorstep. Unless I've got my facts wrong or misinterpreted them, shouldn't we be as vociferous in demanding justice from "our" government for these people as we are in so many other situations?

M. C.

The Guardian of June 25 published a long article about conditions of famine in Ghana. Nkrumah, first head of state when

Ghana was decolonised, left the country full of his statues when he was superseded while out of the country.

The present military regime is trying to hide the fact of famine:

Many families are reduced to one meal every two days, and, according to Western aid officials, the number of deaths among the aged and the young from malnutrition-related disease is rising.

In one of those curious diplomatic paradoxes, where pride and prejudice take precedence over necessity, Ghana's touchy strongman, General Acheampong, refuses to declare national emergency or to undertake a number of drastic economic reforms—prerequisites set by Western donor nations who do not want extra relief aid to go to waste.

How many times have we heard variations on this theme as internal and external political forces pull strings while the people starve!

After two decades of control by local politicians nothing has changed for the



people. The economy is still dominated by cocoa production. When prices boom, the rulers, orientated to Western culture and western values, purchase the trappings of power: weaponry, consumer good for the rich and machinery inappropriate to the conditions.

Although there was an 'Operation Feed Yourself' programme, bad weather in the north affected cassava and yam crops, which are basic foods.

For the people, as rival factions struggle for power there is no change from the old colonial days when colonies were used as a source of cheap raw materials. In African countries, with a few notable exceptions (e.g. Tanzania where a sensible agricultural policy has been adopted) the average black worker is no better off, particularly where the rival factions are generously supplied with arms from one source or another.

This is not surprising, as most of the leaders have absorbed western attitudes and western values. The probability is that much in their own culture is superior and that had emphasis been placed on self-sufficiency in food and on low energy technology, they could have achieved real independence. With expensive agricultural machinery rotting for lack of diesel fuel, foreign aid has only benefited the industrial and armaments interests of the West. The Guardian reports that Producers and dealers sidestep the Ghana Cocoa Board's fixed cedi [Ghanaian currency] prices for the crop, and foreign earnings from the Ivory Coast smuggling racket end up in private European banking accounts.

Corruption in power-structured society is universal. The people's problems are also universal, their colour is immaterial.

The inhabitants of Robbin Island must not be succeeded by multicoloured dissidents, a white Vorster by a black Vorster or a white Smith by a black Smith. A police state is just as vile no matter the colour of those operating it.

ALAN ALBON.

Seveso

acceptable, we should have been faced with the problem of evacuating 12000 people. Now I ask you, where should we have put them? If after three months it was evident that the people lodged in luxurious residences close to Zone A were suffering from homesickness what would it be like for the 12000 people from Zone B living in tents miles away? Think of the problems of adaptation, of child education and so forth. Now, we Euro-communists believe in democratic socialism with a human face - how can we go against the Will of the People? So we accepted the Tolerance Threshold of 10 milliards and personally I'd do so again. But don't imagine it wasn't a painful decision! Ah, the anguish I have suffered, my comrades and I in the CP! But I repeat, it was a question of having to choose between the 12000 people from Zone B and the remote possibility that one child one day will get leukaemia. Even then, believe me I shall suffer for the rest of my life! Yes, I shall be in anguish, believe me!

Q: I take it you're not exactly satisfied with the situation then?

Dr C: How can I, a Communist, be satisfied with a situation dominated by the Christian Democrats and their lenient attitude towards monopoly capitalism? But on the other hand, what can you do when the rain starts to fall and washes the poison away into the big industrial areas and towards the sea, when the Superior Institute of Health uses pulverised olive oil to wash the leaves of the trees, when Rome prevaricates, when, moreover, the People won't listen to you, when they persist in picking the fruit from the trees, when they break back into their contaminated houses, when they are constantly allowing themselves to be reassured by the Christian Democrats, when they use water to wash down their polluted cars which then spreads across the ground, when they persist in looting polluted possessions, when ...

Q: So what do you propose now?

Dr C: We must educate the People. We must then reform capitalism by strengthening the law of the State. From now on capitalists who pollute, especially with dioxin, must be put in prison. Yes, the real answer lies in the penal system.

Q: Dr Windvogel, I must first thank you for taking time off from your holiday on the lakes to speak to us about this sad business. You are president of Givaudan of which Hoffmann-La-Roche is the parent company. What do you say about the criticisms that have been made about this multinational and its subsidiary?

Dr Waldvogel: First of all, let me correct you. My name is Waldvogel, which means Bird of the Forest, or Wood. Now this is, I always think, an apposite name since La Roche, and indeed Givaudan, is a company which has always taken the environment seriously. Let me tell you a little of its history. The founder, Fritz Hoffmann, began by discovering a new

preparation for blood circulation and a new cough syrup. This basically altruistic activity was continued through a series of judicious marriages which, on a personal level, not only involved the humanist Jacob Burckardt, but brought solid Swiss banking finance to the task of curing illness all over the world. The three main shareholders today are, like Burckardt, great humanists who patronise classical music, the arts and ornithology. Lukas Hoffmann is the vice president of no less than the World Wildlife Fund whose president, Prince Bernhard, is a competent elephant hunter and ...

Q: Excuse me for a moment, I meant to say there has been much criticism of the activities of La Roche, especially -

Dr B. o. F: Oh, you mean the regrettable case of the talcum powder in France, the export of Librium to South America and the Mahgreb, the ecological - er - accident at the marine pharmacology centre in Sydney, the low wages it is supposed to pay its workers in the Third World, all those old chestnuts. You know, because the Left has never forgiven us for being such a successful multinational they try to make out we are the wicked stepmother of the pharmaceutical business! Nothing of course is further from the truth. Through our massive animal research we have brought indescribable benefits to the world, especially in the field of tropical diseases. As for those low wages, such criticism simply doesn't hold water, when you're bringing employment and prosperity to areas that so desperately need it.

Q: La Roche and Givaudan were perfectly well aware of the acute toxic and teratogenic effects of dioxin, yet they seemed happy to let it be produced in a highly populated industrial zone serviced with roads and railways, and thus highly vulnerable to any sort of disaster.

Dr Bof: You can't get away from it. These things do happen. Ask the workers why we're here. It is they who want us, you know. They know that progress must go on, and that progress must go on, and that one has to measure occasional risks against the benefit to Society as a whole.

Q: But doesn't it disturb you that there seems to be so little communication of knowledge between the scientists and the People?

Dr Bof: That is a political question. We are merely in the unpopular but necessary business of making money, and thus prosperity. Do we deny it?

Q: And what do you think about bringing the people back?

Dr Bof: Be assured we have done all we can, working through the established democratic channels. For, in the final analysis, it is a decision for the People themselves. In a free and democratic society one cannot make them do what they don't want to, can you?

Q: But if they don't know enough to decide?

Dr Bof: Really, don't let's enter into the realms of political philosophy! That's not my subject and besides, I have a plane to catch.

Q: Yes indeed. Thank you.

GF

greece

Postscript

Our comrades from the International Library have more troubles to contend with than mere police and judges. Owing to the climate created by the press when reporting the case it was thought wiser to close the shop for a few weeks. As has been stated there are just as many fascists running around now as before and fascists have built up a reputation that is everything but unfounded! Another problem is money. Even though the lawyers have offered their services free other costs involved are not so easily avoided. Until now the publishing reserves have been used, but if this continues both bookshop and publishing house will be forced to close.

To make yet another appeal to the international solidarity of the readers and other friends of FREEDOM is not my prime intention, but if you can spare some thing it will be used in a very worthwhile fashion. Make any donations over to Post Office giro number 482400, penningmeester van het Fis in Oosterwolde, Holland (treasurer of the International Solidarity Fund). We will make sure that it goes to the right place.

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NEXT DESPATCHING date is **THURSDAY 4th AUGUST**. Come and help from 4 pm onwards. You are welcome each Thursday 4 - 8 pm for informal get together while folding **FREEDOM**

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ABERYSTWYTH. Mike Sheehan, Neuadd Caerleon, Victoria Terr., Aberystwyth, Dafyd.

BOLTON contact 6 Stockley Ave., Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516).

CAMBRIDGE, Ron Stephan 41 York Street, Cambridge.

CANTERBURY. Dave Norman 12 Claremont Place, Wincheap, Canterbury, Individuals/Groups wishing to form Kent Libertarian Fed. please also contact.

CORBY anarchist write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

COVENTRY, Peter Come c/o Students Union, University of Warwick, Coventry, CV4 7AL

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

EXETER Change of Address: Anarchist Society Devonshire House, Stocker Road, University of Exeter.

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

LEEDS, Tony Kearney, 4 Ingle Row, Leeds 7

LEICESTER c/o Blackthorn Books, 74 High-cross Street, Leicester.

MANCHESTER contact Al on 061 224 3028

NEWCASTLE anarchist group, 91 Beaconsfield St., Arthur's Hill, Newcastle NE4 5JN

OXFORD. Martin Harper, Keble College

PORTSMOUTH, Caroline Cahm, 2 Chadder-ton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old Portsmouth.

ST. ALBANS, John Morton, 21 St. Peter's Road, St. Albans, Herts.

SHEFFIELD. Tikka, 4 Havelock Square

and another group: Anarchists, Libertarians, Situationists etc. syndicate of initiative, Flat 1, 1 Victoria Road, Sheffield S10 2AD

STOKE Anarchists, 52 Campbell Road, Stoke-on-Trent.

Thames Valley, Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress Rd. Maidenhead (tel. 062 2974)

LONDON FEDERATION of Anarchist Groups Anarchist Black Cross, 123 Upper Tollington Park, N.4. (tel. 691 6533)

Anarchy Collective, 29 Grosvenor Ave., N5 (tel. 359 5795—before 8p.m.)

Brixton Anarcho-Situationists, 8 Heywood House, Tylose Hill SW2 (tel. 674 6402)

Clapham: 3 Belmont Rd. SW1 (tel. 622 8961)

East London Libertarians, 123 Lathom Rd. E.6 (tel. 552 3985)

Freedom, 84B Whitechapel High St., Angel Alley, E.1. (tel. 247 9249)

Hackney Black & Red, 64 Brougham Rd. E.8. (tel. 247 7042)

Kingston Libertarians, 13 Denmark Rd., Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey (tel. 549 2564)

South London College An. Gp. c/o Students' Union, S. London Coll., Knights Hill, West Norwood, Se 27 (tel. 674 788 6)

Zero, phone 555 6287)

SCOTTISH Libertarian Federation

Aberdeen: Blake, c/o APP, 163 King Street.

Dundee: Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place.

Edinburgh: Gibson, 7 Union St. (tel. 557 1532)

Glasgow: Baird, 122 Benneray St. Glasgow G22 (tel 336 7895)

Stirling: D. Tymes, 99 Rosebank, Sauchie, Clacks.

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA

Canberra Alternative Canberra Group, 10 Beltana Rd. Pialligo, ACT 2809

Victoria La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o SRC, La Trobe Univ. Bundoora, Vic. 3083.

Libertarian Soc. Fed. of Aust. c/o 4 Roosevelt St., Reservoir, Vic. 3073 (branches other areas)

New South Wales: P. Stones, P.O. Box 26, Warrawong, N.S.W.

Sydney Fed. of Australian Anarchists, Box 92, Broadway, 2007 Australia.

Sydney Libertarians, P.O. Box 54, Darlinghurst 2010.

NEW ZEALAND

The anarchist movement can be contacted via P.O. Box 2052 Auckland.

P.O. Box 22-607 Christchurch

International Books, 123 Willis St. Wellington

Daybreak Bookshop, P.O. Box 5424, Dunedin.

U. S. A.

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club, Box 842, G.P.O. New York, 10001.

S.R.A.F. Freespace Alternate U., 339 Lafayette St. New York City, NY 10012

MISSOURI: Columbia Anarchist League, P.O. Box 380, Columbia Mo. 65201.

GERMANY

Anarchist Federation of Baden: ABF Info:Buro, Postfach 161, 717 Schwabish Hall, Germany.

MEETINGS

WEDNESDAY 27 JULY LONDON &

MERSEYSIDE § Action Against landing of uranium from Australia.

London Picket at AUSTRALIA HOUSE, Strand 11.30 am - 12.30. March to shipping line offices Marble Arch (Edgware Rd) 1.30-2.30. Further information from LONDON GREEN-PEACE 01-837 9794.

TUESDAY 26 JULY. Discussion "How Do We Relate to the Unions?" (How do we get ideas of self-management across?) 8 pm at Rising Free, 182 Upper St. N.1. (Contact Dave at 249 7042).

CAMBRIDGE JULY 29-31. Anarchist Presence at Cambridge Folk Festival. Look for book-stall, black flags!

BIRMINGHAM Lib. Socs. meet Suns. 8pm at "Fox & Grapes" Freeman St. (Moor St. stn.)

FARE FIGHT. Every Thurs. 8pm at Squatters Action Council offices, 5 Huntley St. WC1.

LAND for the PEOPLE every Tues. at 8A Leighton Cres., London NW5, upstairs No.8 (telephone 267 1184 or 485 3572)

KIDS

KIRKDALE is a Neill-inspired parent co-operative dayschool in Sydenham, South London, Parents interested in libertarian education should ring 778 0149. We have room for children aged 3 - 11 years. 186 Kirkdale, S.E.25.

PRISONERS

Mike Murphy (C01039) HM Prison, Ashwell, Oakham, Leics.

John Nightingale (336645) HM Prison, Parkhurst, nr. Newport, Isle of Wight.

DUBLIN anarchists Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore. Military Detention Centre Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

MARIE MURRAY and NOEL MURRAY (life sentences. Defence Groups: London c/o 29 Grosvenor Ave., N.5. Dublin: 155 Church Road, Celbridge, Co. Kildare, Eire.

PUBLICATIONS

Since January 1977 the "Anarchistische Bund" (Anarchist Association) Berlin have published a monthly magazine *Anarchistische Texte* (Libertad Verlag, Postlagend, 1000 Berlin 44)

MURRAY Defence Group new postcards and stickers now available from London Defence Group, 29 Grosvenor Ave., N.5 (donation).

DESIRES

ANARCHIST French girl would like to meet other anarchists in Bloomsbury area. Please write to: Patricia Lemaire, Raglan Hotel, 33-34 Bedford Way, London WC1

ANARCHIST BAND. Electric bassist and drummer wanted for amateur anarchist band. Phone 555 6287.

PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES Liberation group. Enquiries c/o 5 Caledonian Rd. London N.1.

IF LAURA SEES THIS, PLEASE SEND ADDRESS TO FREEDOM

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EVENTS

NEW PLAY by anarchist author: **STORM-TROOPERS**, by Larry Law, at "The Printers' Devil" (pub theatre upstairs), Fetter Lane (off Fleet Street. 21-30 July nightly except Sundays, 6.30 p.m. Admission 75p.

1977 ANARCHIST SUMMER CAMP

UNTIL AUGUST 15 in Belgium at Schaepeenberg Straat nr.1. RONSE(Renaix)-Hootond.

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FREEDOM'S Anarchist Review

23 July 77

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF BEING POWERLESS

PAUL GOODMAN

Goodman once said he wrote his social criticism because he thought there was some chance it might make a difference among the people in power, they might be moved to. . . To what? I don't believe Goodman really thought any such thing, not because he considered such men corrupt or shameless, but because he knew that they had no real power to change things anyway—at least not in the way he wanted them changed.

And he wrote his criticism simply because he couldn't help it. He was a writer and a citizen, outraged at what had been done to his country (and to others, by his country); he lashed back, and he suggested reasonable alternatives, sometimes mildly, always seriously.

Here is an essay he wrote more than ten years ago (can it be so long?) that shows just why the people in power have no real power, and why the slogan "Power to the People" must be used carefully, not as a mindless battlecry for merely changing the personnel at the controls of Doomship U.S.A. It is still just what we need to hear; and though no one says it as well as Goodman did, there are many now convinced and trying to find ways of exercising real power in the world. These are the survivors of the 60s who are still working at the heart of the matter—whether in rural areas or in cities, doing food co-ops, ecological farming, women's groups, or neighborhood organizing and restoration. These are anarchist notions that satisfy the criterion for real power that Goodman laid down in *The May Pamphlet in 1945*: "Our action must be aimed not, as utopians, at a future establishment; but (as millenarians, so to speak) at fraternal arrangements today, progressively incorporating more and more of the social functions into our free society."

—Taylor Stoehr

People believe that the great background conditions of modern life are beyond our power to influence. The proliferation of technology is autonomous and cannot be checked. The galloping urbanization is going to gallop on. Our overcentralized administration, both of things and men, is impossibly cumbersome and costly, but we cannot cut it down to size. These are inevitable tendencies of history. More dramatic inevitabilities are the explosions, the scientific explosion and the population explosion. And there are more literal explosions, the dynamite accumulating in the slums of a thousand cities and the accumulating stockpiles of nuclear bombs in nations great and small. Our psychology, in brief, is that history is out of control. It is no longer something that we make but something that happens to us. Politics is not prudent steering in difficult terrain, but it is—and this is the subject of current political science—how to get power and keep power, even though the sphere of effective power is extremely limited and it makes little difference who is in power. The psychology of historical powerlessness is evident in the reporting in and the reading of newspapers: there is little analysis of how events are building up, but we read—with excitement, spite, or fatalism, depending on our characters—the headlines of crises for which we are un-

... it is a strange thing for a society to be proud of its standard of living, rather than taking it for granted as background for worthwhile action.

prepared. Statesmen cope with emergencies, and the climate of emergency is chronic.

Some of these historical conditions are not inevitable at all but are the working-out of willful policies that aggrandize certain interests and exclude others, that subsidize certain styles and prohibit others. But of course historically, if almost everybody believes the conditions are inevitable, including the policymakers who produce them, then they are inevitable. For to cope with emergencies does not mean, then, to support alternative conditions, but further to support and institutionalize the

same conditions. Thus, if there are too many cars, we build new highways; if administration is too cumbersome, we build in new levels of administration; if there is a nuclear threat, we develop anti-missile missiles; if there is urban crowding and anomie, we step up urban renewal and social work; if there are ecological disasters because of imprudent use of technology, we subsidize research and development by the same scientific corporations working for the same ecologically irrelevant motives; if there is youth alienation, we extend and intensify processing in schools; if the nation-state is outmoded as a political form, we make ourselves into a mightier nation.

In this self-proving round the otherwise innocent style of input-output economies, games-theory strategy, and computerized social science becomes a trap. For the style dumbly accepts the self-proving program and cannot compute what is not mentioned. Then the solutions that emerge ride even more roughshod over what has been left out. Indeed, at least in the social sciences, the more variables one can technically compute, the less likely it is that there will be prior thinking about their relevance rather than interpretation of their combination. Our classic example—assuming that there will be a future period for which we provide classic examples—is Herman Kahn on Thermonuclear War.

In this article, therefore, I will no longer talk about the error of believing that our evils are necessary, but stick to the more interesting historical fact of that belief. What is the psychology of feeling that one is powerless to alter basic conditions? What is it as a way of being in the world? Let me list half a dozen kinds of responses to being in a chronic emergency, which, unfortunately, in America are exhibited in rather pure form. I say unfortunately, because a pure response to a chronic emergency is a neurotic one; healthy human beings are more experimental or at least muddling. Instead of politics, we now have to talk psychotherapy.

By definition, governors cannot forfeit the thesis that everything is under control, though they may not think so. During President Kennedy's Administration, Arthur Schlesinger expressed the problem poignantly by saying, "One simply must govern." The theme of that Administration was to be "pragmatic"; but by this they did not mean a philosophical pragmatism, going toward an end in view from where one in fact is and with the means one has; they meant turning busily to each crisis as it arose, so that it was clear that one was not inactive. The criticism of Eisenhower's Administration was that it was stagnant. The new slogan was "get America moving."

This was rather pathetic; but as the crises have become deeper, the response of those in power is not pathetic but, frankly, delusional and dangerous. It is to will to be in control, without adjusting to the realities. They seem to imagine that they will in fact buy up every economy, police the world, social engineer the cities, school the young. In this fantasy they employ a rhetoric of astonishing dissociation between idea and reality, far beyond customary campaign oratory. For example, they proclaim that they are depolluting streams, but they allot no money; forty "demonstration cities" are to be made livable and show the way, but the total sum available is \$1.5 billion; the depressed area of Appalachia has been reclaimed, but the method is an old highway bill under another name; poor people will run their own programs, but any administrator is fired if he tries to let them. This seems to be just lying, but to my ear it is nearer to magic thinking. The magic buoys up the self-image; the activity is either nothing at all or brute force to make the problem vanish.

In between the ideality and the brutality there occurs a lot of obsessional warding off of confusion by methodical calculations that solve problems in the abstract, in high modern style. A precise decimal is set, beyond which the economy will be inflationary, but nobody pays it any mind. We know at what average annual income how many peoples cause what percentage of disturbances. Polls are consulted for the consensus, like the liver of sheep, without notice of signs of unrest and even though the Administration keeps committing itself to an irreversible course that allows for no choice. And they are everlastingly righteous.

In more insane moments, however, they manufacture history out of the whole cloth, so there is no way of checking up at all. They create incidents in order to exact reprisals; they invent (and legislate about) agitators for demonstrations and riots that are spontaneous; they project bogeymen in order to arm to the teeth. Some of this, to be sure, is cynical, but that does not make it less mad; for, clever or not, they still avoid the glaring realities of world poverty, American isolation, mounting urban costs, increasing anomie, and so forth.

Perhaps the epitome of will operating in panic—like a case from a textbook in abnormal psychology—has been the government's handling of the assassination of John Kennedy. The Warren Commission attempted to "close" the case, to make it not exist in the public mind.

Thus it hastily drew firm conclusions from dubious evidence, disregarded counter-evidence, defied physical probabilities, and perhaps even accepted manufactured evidence. For a temporary lull it has run the risk of a total collapse of public trust that may end up in a Dreyfus case.

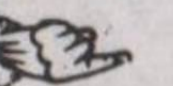
Common people, who do not have to govern, can let themselves feel powerless and resign themselves. They respond with the familiar combination of not caring and, as a substitute, identifying with those whom they fancy to be powerful. This occurs differently, however, among the poor and the middle class.

The poor simply stop trying, become dependent, drop out of school, drop out of sight, become addicts, become lawless. It seems to be a matter of temperature or a small incident whether or not they riot. As I have said before, in anomic circumstances it is hard to tell when riot or other lawlessness is a political act toward a new setup and when it is a social pathology. Being powerless as citizens, poor people have little meaningful structure in which to express, or know, what they are after. The concrete objects of their anger make no political sense: they are angry at themselves or their own neighborhoods, at white people passing by, at Jewish landlords and shopkeepers. More symbolic scapegoats, like either "the capitalist system" or "communism," do not evoke much interest. One has to feel part of a system to share its bogeymen or have a counter-ideology, and by and large the present-day poor are not so much exploited as excluded.

But to fill the void, they admire, and identify with, what is strong and successful, even if—perhaps especially—it is strong and successful at their own expense. Poor Spanish youth are enthusiastic about our mighty bombs and bombers, though of course they have no interest in the foreign policy that uses them. (If anything, poor people tend to be for de-escalation and peace rather than war.) Readers of the *Daily News* are excited by the dramatic confrontation of statesmen wagging fingers at each other. Negroes in Harlem admire the Cadillacs of their own corrupt politicians and racketeers.

The anomie of middle-class people, on the other hand, appears rather as their privatism; they retreat to their families and to the consumer goods—areas in which they still have some power and choice. It is always necessary to explain to non-Americans that middle-class Americans are not so foolish and piggish about their standard of living as it seems; it is that the standard of living has to provide all the achievement and value that are open to them. But it is a strange thing for a society to be proud of its standard of living, rather than taking it for granted as a background for worthwhile action.

Privacy is purchased at a terrible price of anxiety, excluding, and pettiness, the need to delete anything different from oneself and to protect things that are not worth protecting. Nor can they be protected; few of the suburban homes down the road, that look so trim, do not have cases of alcoholism, ulcers, insanity, youngsters on drugs or in jail for good or bad reasons, and so forth. In my opinion, middle-class squeamishness and anxiety, a kind of obsessional neurosis, are a much more important cause of segregation than classical race prejudice which is a kind of paranoia that shows up most among failing classes, bankrupt small-property owners, and proletarians under competitive pressure. The squeamishness is worse, for it takes people out of humanity, whereas



prejudice is at least passionate. Squeamishness finally undercuts even the fairness and decency that we expect from the middle class. Paranoiac prejudice has resulted

To expect disaster and desert the sinking ship is not a political act, but it is often a profoundly creative one, both personally and socially.

in hot murder and setting on police dogs, but squeamishness has resulted in the cold murder of disregard and proposals to put poor people away in Vietnam.

The identification with power of the powerless middle class is also characteristic. They identify not with brutality, big men, or wealth, but with the efficient system itself, which is what renders them powerless. And here again we can see the sharp polarity between those who are not politically resigned and those who are. Take the different effects of what is called education. On the one hand, the universities, excellent students and distinguished professors, are the nucleus of opposition to our war policy. On the other hand, in general polls there is always a dismaying correlation between years of schooling and the "hard line" of bombing China during the Korean War or bombing Hanoi. But this is not because the educated middle class is rabidly anti-communist, and certainly it is not because it is ferocious; rather, it is precisely because it is rational that it approves the technically efficient solution that does not notice flesh-and-blood suffering. In this style the middle class feels it has status, though no more power than anybody else. No doubt these middle-class people are influenced by the magazines they read, which explain what is efficient; but they are influenced because they are "thinking" types, for whom reality is what they read.

The bathos of the irresponsible middle class is the nightly TV newscast on our national networks. This combines commercials for the high standard of living, scenes of war and riot, and judicious pro-and-con commentary on what it all means. The scenes arouse feeling, the commentary provokes thought, the commercials lead to action. It is a total experience.

Let me illustrate the anomic psychology with another example, for it has come to be accepted as the normal state of feeling rather than as pathological. During the hearings on Vietnam before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Thomas Dodd of Connecticut was asked what he thought of the sharp criticism of the government. "It is the price that we pay," he said, "for living in a free country." This answer was routine and nobody questioned it. Yet what an astonishing evaluation of the democratic process it is, that free discussion is a weakness we must put up with in order to avoid the evils of another system! To Milton, Spinoza, or Jefferson free discussion was the strength of a society. Their theory was that truth had power, often weak at first but steady and cumulative, and in free debate the right course would emerge and prevail. Nor was there any other method to arrive at truth, since there was no other authority to pronounce it than all the people. Thus, to arrive at wise policy, it was essential that everybody say his say, and the more disparate the views and searching the criticism, the better.

Instead, Senator Dodd seems to have the following epistemology of democracy. We elect an administration and it, through the Intelligence service, secret diplomacy, briefings by the Department of Defense and other agencies, comes into inside information that enables it alone to understand the situation. In principle we can repudiate its decisions at the next election, but usually they have led to commitments and actions that are hard to repudiate. Implicit is that there is a permanent group of selfless and wise public servants, experts, and impartial reporters who understand the technology, strategy, and diplomacy that we cannot understand; therefore we must perforce do what they advise. To be sure, they continually make bad predictions and, on the evidence, they are not selfish but partial or at least narrow in their commercial interests and political outlook. Yet this does not alter the picture, for if the President goes along with them, outside criticism is irrelevant anyway and no doubt misses the point, which, it happens, cannot be disclosed for reasons of national security. And surely irrelevant discussion is harmful because it is divisive. But it is the price we pay for living in a free country.

What can be the attraction of such a diluted faith in democracy? It is what is appropriate in a chronic low-grade emergency. In an emergency it is rational, and indeed natural, to concentrate temporary power in a small center, as the ancient Romans appointed dictators, to decide and act, and for the rest of us to support the *faits accomplis* for better or worse. But since we face a low-grade emergency—nobody is about to invade San Francisco—we like to go on as usual, including sound-ing-off and criticizing, so long as it does not affect policy.

Unfortunately, this psychology keeps the low-grade emergency chronic. There is no way to get back to normal, no check on *faits accomplis*, no accountability of the decision-makers till so much damage has been done that there is a public revulsion (as after a few years of Korea), or, as seems inevitable, one day a catastrophe. Worst of all, there is no way for a philosophic view to emerge that might become effectual. Who would present such a view? In the classical theory of democracy, the electorate is educated by the clashing debate, and the best men come forward and gain a following. But in Senator Dodd's free country acute men are likely to fall silent, for what is the use of talk that is irrelevant and divisive?

The discussion in the Foreign Relations Committee, excellent as it was, was itself typical of a timid democracy. Not a single Senator was able to insist on basic realities that could put the Vietnam war in a philosophic light and perhaps work out of its dilemmas. In this context, here are some of the basic realities. In a period of worldwide communications and spread of technology, and therefore of "rising aspirations," nevertheless a majority of mankind is fast becoming poorer. For our own country, is it really in our national interest to come on as a Great Power, touchy about saving face and telling other peoples how to act or else? In the era of One World and the atom bomb, is there not something baroque in the sovereignty of nation-states and legalisms about who aggressed on whom?

It will be objected that such anti-national issues can hardly be raised by Senators, even in a free debate. But the same limitation exists outside of government. In the scores of pretentious TV debates and panel discussions on Vietnam, I doubt that there were half a dozen—and these not on national networks—in which a speaker was invited who might conceivably go outside the official parameters and raise the real questions. Almost always the extreme opposition is himself a proponent of power politics, like Hans Morgenthau (it usually is Hans Morgenthau). Why not A.J. Muste, for instance? Naturally the big networks would say that there is no use in presenting quixotic opinions that are irrelevant. (The word "quixotic" was used by David Sarnoff of the National Broadcasting Company in his successful bid to Congress to deny to third-party candidates equal free time.) By this response, the broadcasters guarantee that the opinions will remain irrelevant, until history, "out of control," makes them relevant because they were true.

This brings me back to my subject—how people are in the world when history is "out of control." So far I have noticed those who unhistorically will be in control and those who accept their powerlessness and withdraw. But there is another possibility, apocalypse, not only to accept being powerless but to expect, or perhaps wish and hasten, the inevitable historical explosion. Again there are two variants, for it is usually a different psychology, entailing different behavior to expect a catastrophe and beat around for what to do for oneself, or to wish for the catastrophe and identify with it.

To expect disaster and desert the sinking ship is not a political act, but it is often a profoundly creative one, both personally and socially. To do it, one must have vitality of one's own that is not entirely structured and warped by the suicidal system. Going it alone may allow for new development. For instance, when the youth of the Beat movement cut loose from the organized system, opted for voluntary poverty, and invented a morals and culture out of their own guts and some confused literary memories, they exerted a big, and on the whole, good influence. Also, the disposition of the powers-that-be to treat gross realities as irrelevant has driven many intellectual and spirited persons into deviant paths just to make sense of their own experience; thus, at present, perhaps most of the best artists and writers in America are unusually far out of line, even for creative people. They hardly seem to share the common culture, yet they are what culture we have.

We must remember that with the atom bombs there is a literal meaning to deserting the ship. This factor is always present in the background of the young. Those who disregard it will never understand their skepticism or their courage. For instance, during the Cuban missile crisis I kept getting phone calls from college students asking if they should fly at once to New Zealand. I tried to calm their anxiety by opining that the crisis was only diplomatic maneuvering, but I now think that I was wrong, for eyewitnesses to behavior in Washington at the time tell me that there was a danger of nuclear war.

The practice of civil disobedience also must often be interpreted in terms of the psychology of apocalypse, but even sympathetic legal analysts of civil disobedience fail to take this into account. It is one thing to disobey a law because the authorities are in moral error on some point, in order to force a test case and to rally opposition and change the law. It is another thing to disobey authorities who are the Whore of Babylon and the Devil's thrones and dominions. In such a case the conscientious attitude may be not respect but disregard and disgust, and it may be more moral for God's creatures to go underground rather than to confront, especially if their theology does not include an article on paradise for martyrs. As a citizen of the uncorrupted polity in exile, it

might be one's civic duty to be apparently lawless. There is a fairly clear-cut distinction between civil disobedience in a legitimate order and revolution that may or may not prove its own legitimacy; but the politics and morality of apocalypse fall in between and are ambiguous.

Quite different, finally, is the psychology of those who unconsciously or consciously wish for catastrophe and work to bring it about. (Of course, for the best youth to desert the sinking ship also brings about disaster, by default.) The wish for a blow-up occurs in people who are so enmeshed in a frustrating system that they have no vitality apart from it; and their vitality in it is explosive rage.

Very poor people, who have "the culture of poverty," as Oscar Lewis calls it, are rarely so psychologically committed to a dominant social system that they need its total destruction. They have dreams of heaven but not of hellfire. A few exemplary burnings and beheadings mollify their vengeance. Their intellectual leaders, however, who are verbal and willy-nilly psychologically enmeshed in the hated system, might be more apocalyptic. For instance, Malcolm X once told me—it was before his last period which was more rational and political—that he would welcome the atom bombing of New York to vindicate Allah, even though it would destroy his own community. James Baldwin is full of hellfire, but I have never heard much of it in popular religion.

On the whole, at present in the United States the psychology of explosive apocalypse is not to be found among rioting Negroes crying "Burn, baby, burn," nor among utopian Beatniks on hallucinogens; it is to be found among people who believe in the system but cannot tolerate the anxiety of its not working out for them. Unfortunately, it is a pretty empty system and anxiety is widespread.

Most obviously there is the large group of people who have been demoted or are threatened with demotion: businessmen and small-property owners who feel they have been pushed around; victims of inflation; displaced farmers; dissatisfied ex-soldiers; proletarians who have become petty bourgeois but are now threatened by automation or by Negroes invading their neighborhoods. Consciously these people do not want a blow-up but power to restore the good old days; but when they keep losing out, they manifest an astounding violence and vigilantism and could become the usual mass base for fascism. In foreign policy, where imagination has freer rein, they are for preemptive first strikes, bombing China, and so forth. I do not think this group is dangerous in itself—I do not think there is an important Radical Right in the United States—but it is a sounding board to propagate catastrophic ideas to more important groups.

My guess is that, under our bad urban conditions, a more dangerous group is the uncountable number of the mentally ill and psychopathic hoodlums from all kinds of backgrounds. Given the rate of mental disease and the arming and training in violence of hundreds of thousands of young men, there is sure to be an increase of berserk acts that might sometimes amount to a reign of terror and could create a climate for political enormities. Not to speak of organized Storm Trooping.

The most dangerous group of all, however, is the established but anomic middle class that I described previously. Exclusive, conformist, squeamish, and methodical, it is terribly vulnerable to anxiety. When none of its rational solutions work out at home or abroad, its patience will wear thin, and then it could coldly support a policy of doom, just to have the problems over with, the way a man counts to three and blows his brains out. But this coldly conscious acceptance of a "rational solution" would not be possible if unconsciously there were not a lust for destruction of the constraining system, as sober citizens excitedly watch a house burn down.

The conditions of middle-class life are exquisitely calculated to increase tension and heighten anxiety. It is not so much that the pace is fast—often it consists of waiting around and is slow and boring—but that it is somebody else's pace or schedule. One is continually interrupted. And the tension cannot be normally discharged by decisive action and doing things one's own way. There is competitive pressure to act a role, yet paradoxically one is rarely allowed to do one's best or use one's best judgment. Proofs of success or failure are not tangibly given in the task, but always in some superior's judgment. Spontaneity and instinct are likely to be gravely penalized, yet one is supposed to be creative and sexual on demand. All this is what Freud called civilization and its discontents. Wilhelm Reich showed that this kind of anxiety led to dreams of destruction, self-destruction, and explosion, in order to release tension, feel something, and feel free.

A chronic low-grade emergency is not psychologically static. It builds up to and invites a critical emergency.

But just as we are able to overlook glaring economic and ecological realities, so in our social engineering and system of education glaring psychological realities like anomie and anxiety are regarded almost as if they did not exist. □



3 IN A CELL

OF THE WRITING of books, and making of reports on prison there is no end; nor will ever be until prison, that 'black flower of civilization' wilts and dies. Three of the recent crop provide a useful cross-section of current opinion on prison, prisoners and prison reform.

Prisoners in Revolt, Mike Fitzgerald (Penguin Original, 1977. £ 1).
 The American Prison Business, Jessica Mitford (Penguin repr., 1977, £ 1).
 (Published in U.S.A. as "Kind and Usual Punishment")
 The Prison: Policy and Practice, Gordon Hawkins (University of Chicago Press, 1976, \$10.95).

There are broadly two types of books about prison; those by people who have been 'in' and those by people who haven't. Despite Jessica Mitford's week in prison as part of a penological seminar none of the three authors has seriously been in prison, and this makes for detachment and a certain insincerity of approach. On the other hand the snobbish aristocracy of those who have been 'in' can be accused of exaggeration, emotionalism and sensationalism.

But basically the differences in approach to prison rest upon one's attitude to crime and punishment; and whether prison is a crime or a punishment.

The three authors are sociological in their approach. Mike Fitzgerald has a degree and lectures in Social Science; Jessica Mitford is a writer and originally worked on the subject of prisons for the American Civil Liberties Union (on prisoners' rights), and Gordon Hawkins is an associate professor of criminology in Sydney and was formerly principal of the United Kingdom Prison Staff College. All betray their natural human prejudices. Fitzgerald is the most directly political of the three, whilst Jessica Mitford's political interest is in the Black Power prisoners. Hawkins is the most detached on the whole subject—with a slight bias towards prison officers.

To answer the question 'Why Prison?' one must first ask the question 'What is Crime?' Jessica Mitford criticises the distortion of crime statistics by the authorities who have a vested interest in presenting a distorted picture, she quotes Hawkins who jointly with Norval Morris states (in *The Honest Politician's Guide to Crime Control*) "Looking back to the 1870s and the late 1890s it seems clear that rates of murder, non-negligent homicide, rape and assault have all appreciably declined with the passage of time. Among factors making for increased statistics Jessica Mitford lists population increases, inflation, increase of possessions plus increased expectations (the motor car notably being highly mobile); —the motor-car itself, one could add; and increasing urbanization with the tendency to report incidents to the police rather than deal with them on a neighbourly level. Jessica Mitford, and her authorities, are mainly American but her conclusion that "crimes may have remained relatively stable over the past several decades" could be applied to Britain.

She adds, "Absent from the Uniform Crime Reports are crimes committed by the rich and powerful against the rest of the population: murder, assault and theft via violation of health and safety codes by slum landlords, mine-owners, construction companies, robbery by the food industry through deceptive packaging and organized crime that depends on corruption of public officials, to name a few. That these crimes cause infinitely more death, injury and imprisonment than those listed in the Index, is documented in official government reports and in the annals of criminology."

Jessica Mitford goes on to review the history of crimes and comes to the conclusion that "Criminal law is essentially a reflection of the values, and a codification of the self-interest, and a method of control of the dominant class in any given society." She touches on the belief of a primitive tribe that murder (being a quarrel between two individuals) was a trivial matter but the polluting of a river, affecting the whole community, was nearly high treason. She lists witchcraft in Europe between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries as being an obsolete and imaginary offence for which a quarter of a million people were executed. The growth of industrial capitalism, she notes, was responsible for the over-

"The Psychology of Being Powerless" is an excerpt from "Nature Heals: The Psychological Essays of Paul Goodman" (1977) that have been edited by Taylor Stoehr for Free Life Editions, New York. Appearing here for the first time in this country, this article has been reproduced from the June issue of *Liberation*, by permission of Free Life Editions.

whelming increase in laws which ipso facto made for an increase in crime.

Fitzgerald pursues a similar train of thought on the class nature of crime and specifies the class differences exemplified by two entries in the *Guinness Book of Records*—the Great Train Robbery netting £ 2,595,998 and sentences of up to thirty years, and two City gents who netted £ 12,707,726 over twelve years and received four and five years respectively. He lists the prevalence of income tax and death duty evasion cases compared with social security frauds. As a footnote to this, Jessica Mitford has gathered statistics about the crimes committed by policemen (American of course!): "One out of five [of knowingly observed policemen] was 'observed in criminal violation of the law'." It is also added that between 1963 and 1968 American police killed 1,805 men and twenty-one women about half of whom were black. In the same period, Professor Tagaki found out, 362 policemen were killed by civilians.

Another collection of myths about crime centres on the concept of a criminal type, and what makes the criminal. Lombroso (as quoted by Mitford) believed that the criminal was "not a variation from the norm but practically a special species, a sub-species, having distinct physical and mental characteristics. In general all criminals have long, large projecting ears, abundant hair, thin beard, prominent frontal sinuses, protruding chin, large cheekbones". Lombroso went on to differentiate: "Thieves have mobile hands and face, small mobile, restless, frequently oblique eyes; thick and closely set eyebrows, flat or twisted nose; thin beard; hair frequently thin" and so on.

In Wormwood Scrubs prison, London during the war, the morning line-up included the calling out of new arrivals for interview by the governor. It was a habit of some conscientious objectors (of whom there were 150 in the prison) to try and identify the conscientious objectors. On a Lombrosian thesis one picked out the most degenerate looking of the new catch and was frequently quite correct. (The C.O.s were mainly Jehovah's Witnesses so this is probably a criticism of J.W.s rather than C.O.s.)

Lombroso was chosen as a 'scientific' alternative to the Devil theory of crime. His theory was exploded by Goring who related an experiment in comparing physiologically convicted prisoners and the general population. "From these comparisons no evidence has emerged of the existence of the physical criminal type."

The theory of heredity as a factor in crime still occasionally recurs, for example the famous Jukes family (in America of course!) who had criminals nesting in every branch of the family tree, apparently! The secondary factor of environment gets a more prominent airing these days; since people inherit environments this puts new interpretations on the 'heredity' theme. Environment could include today, among the causes of crime, affluence, inflation and urbanization as pointed out above. The emphasis on poverty as a cause of crime appears to have taken a bashing. Hawkins in his first 'put-down' chapter on "The Prison and its Critics" quotes Clarence Darrow at his most euphoric and rhetorical. "I will tell you how to do away with crime," says Darrow, "it can be done by giving the people a chance to live—by destroying special privileges. . . Make fair conditions of life. Give men a chance to live. Abolish the right of private ownership of land, abolish monopoly, make the world partners in the good things of life. Nobody would steal if he could get something of his own some easier way. Nobody will commit burglary when he has a house full. No girl will go out on the streets when she has a comfortable place at home." Hawkins leaves out pieces like "The only way in the world to abolish crime and criminals is to abolish the big ones and the little ones together", and "There should be no jails. They do not accomplish what they pretend to accomplish. If you would wipe them out there would be no more criminals than now. They are a blot upon any civilization, and a jail is an evidence of the lack of charity of the people on the outside who make the jails and fill them with the victims of their greed."

Jessica Mitford, who repeats with some additions and omissions the remarks quoted by Hawkins, tactfully leaves out the three last sentences, which are so conspicuously lacking in any psychological depth, but Darrow was right in the sense that material poverty must be abolished before we can even start thinking of the other kinds of poverty which lead to anti-social behaviour. Darrow's sweeping criticisms of prison are still valid.

Mitford summarises all this thinking as "Thus it seems safe to assert that there is indeed a criminal type—but he is not a biological, anatomical, phrenological or anthropological type, rather, he is a social creation, etched by the dominant class and ethnic prejudices of a given society." In other words, society gets the criminals it deserves.

*From an address by Clarence Darrow to the prisoners in the Cook County jail, Chicago, in 1902 (currently available in a pamphlet reprinted by Black Mountain Press, 8p + 7p post from Freedom Bookshop.)

(cont page 13)

ANARCHISM AND ARMED STRUGGLE

BEARING in mind the events of the last few months, particularly in Italy and Germany, political violence is a widespread theme in the anarchist press. While in this country *Black Flag* appears to remain somewhat un-discriminating in its approach to this issue, several anarchist papers have made serious attempts to analyse the strategy and effects of urban guerilla warfare. The June/July issue - last before the summer break - of the Italian monthly *A-rivista anarchica* expresses the magazine's intention to give more space to debate on the "main themes of topical interest" and accordingly contains three contributions on the theme of armed struggle. L.L., in the first and editorial article, seems to have changed his mind since writing last year in connection with the Red Army Fraction and Red Brigades (see translation in *FREEDOM* vol. 37, no. 16) that it was not a question of agreeing with them - which "A" did not - but of "recognising the right, of whoever it may be, to 'say no' to power in a violent manner according to the methods and forms which they themselves have chosen."

The writer agrees with her in a rejection of terrorism understood as the use of systematic and indiscriminate violence, and repudiates any comparison of anarchists with "the savage warriors of Christ the King, the fanatic fratricides of Ireland" or the kidnapers and hijackers "who use the bomb or the machine gun in the name of a decrepit political idea, an incomprehensible religion or an equivocal nationalism." Federica Montseny is right, but equally, says the writer, "we are not dogmatists." If blind violence cannot bring a better society of the kind anarchists are fighting for, an "anarchist dogmatism would, within a short time, become a dead anarchism", admitting of no change.

The matter of political violence is one indeed in which dogmatism would be fatal, and it would be good to see more space being given in the anarchist press to intelligent thought on "guerilla" strategy. What exactly is guerilla warfare? (For instance, the phrase "new kind of urban guerilla" was recently used by the *Sunday Times* to describe the Animal Liberation Front); where does it help, and where hinder the development of the anarchist movement in a given country? What variations could one

THROUGH THE ANARCHIST PRESS

This statement which, to my mind, is to take philosophical liberalism to an absurd extreme did not answer the question that then naturally arises - what if that right to use any method proves detrimental to the achievements of the anarchist movement - as well as the question, do they say no to power? Today, regarding the street warfare of the "autonomists", L.L. gives a partial answer to the first of these points in commenting that "it is an extremely dangerous process, especially for those who wish to create an effective alternative, and tends to put a brake on the momentum of the workers' opposition that is slowly building up in many factories." The mistake of the "autonomists" is to believe that the present is an insurrectionary period, well-timed to set off a wide social conflict, and points to the way the political establishment is using some "autonomists" to their own ends. Similar points are made in the two articles that follow. The first proposes that, rather than armed warfare, the priority in the revolutionary struggle is the "widening, consolidation and clarification" of the "revolutionary area" (this in Italy being largely confined to Rome, Bologna and Milan and, to a lesser extent, Turin and Naples). The other choice, that of armed struggle now, "risks destroying more than it can at the same time create", and impedes contact with - especially - the working class. The second, a particularly good and lively article, looks through the rich history of terrorism and assassination in Italy and notes that in general the spiral of assassination-repression-assassination-fiercer repression has ended by being to the detriment of the revolutionaries and to the advantage of such monstrous regimes as those of modern Argentina and Uruguay.

With this in mind - and it is a view shared in a recent issue of the weekly *Umanità Nova* - it is interesting to note the article in the latest issue of *Open Road* (see below) on the guerilla strategy of the former CNT militant and present "anarcho-Marxist" Abraham Guillen. Guillen, one learns, "worked directly with emerging guerilla groups in Latin America, including Chile's Mir, Argentina's ERP, the various Brazilian formations and in particular Uruguay's early Tupamaros", and was a consistent advocate of the transfer of armed struggle from the countryside to the towns. He emphasised, however, that this could not succeed unless it was assured of the support of "as much as 80 per cent of a given population ... If this (majority) support is not implicit in their project the guerillas will inevitably lose the war strategically, regardless of tactical success, because they will not be able to mobilize all the popular sectors." This point, it seems, was not taken by the later Tupamaros, nor by the (Marxist-Leninist) New World Liberation Front, subject of another interesting article in the paper, which, while critically noting its authoritarian structure and attitudes, comments that "No other North American guerilla group has attained the technical proficiency or the tactical genius of the NWLF, and the organization's commitment to direct action, respect for human life and uncompromising militance have earned it the deserved respect of revolutionaries and its corporate enemies alike."

In the meantime the June no. 6 of the Madrid-based CNT, organ of the Confederation, also enters into discussion of the issue. An article entitled "The Anarchists: neither Dogmatists nor Terrorists" comments on a recent declaration to the Spanish news magazine *Cambio-16* by Federica Montseny, who is quoted as saying "we are not terrorists, far from it."

resourcefully and imaginatively use?

SPAIN

STILL on Spain, the front page editorial (no. 14) of the paper of the Catalanian CNT, *Solidaridad Obrera*, gives a description of the occupation by members of the Catalanian CNT of the "soli" printing works as a symbolic act in the battle for the "recovery of our heritage." An important part of this is the presses on which *Solidaridad Obrera*, original organ of the CNT, was printed in the civil war. The editorial states that the occupation "is only the beginning of a general campaign in which we shall demand from the Administration the immediate restitution of all the possessions that were seized from us by fascism."

During the 1935/6 period *Solidaridad Obrera* was under the direction of Josep Peirats - whose book *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution* has recently been published in English by Solidarity Books, Toronto (£ 2.35), and who figures in a long interview with the Catalanian-language CNT paper *Catalunya* (May 77, no. 4). This covers the role of Spanish syndicalism in the anarchist movement at the time of the civil war, and includes discussion of criticism of the CNT that has been made by Vernon Richards and Carlos Semprun-Maura. Interestingly, a preceding article explaining the attitude of the CNT to the elections and to universal suffrage is by Lluís Andres Edo, who reappears in the latest *Black Flag*, in an article translated from "A"s excellent Spanish issue of February 1977. Here, and it is worth quoting at some length, Edo expresses the belief that the CNT "must become more anarchist in content - not through any imposition of anarchist ideas but through a continuing dialectic, a continuing confrontation between its various tendencies, as it was for the CNT in 1936, because it is precisely this characteristic which is the strength of the Confederation. Without this quality things like the collectives would not have happened and nothing new would succeed today. Without this confrontation between the various anarchist tendencies, the CNT would have no influence on the labour movement or alternatively it would fall into reformist trade unionism and the CNT, with its strategy, with its content and with its history is essentially opposed to reformist trade unionism. Today there are new anarchists, who are not syndicalists, who are active in the ANT and their presence is vital to the CNT. Many anarchists understand the importance of this internal dialectic and are working with us, others do not understand it and they do not join the Confederation. It must be added that there is a solely syndicalist current within the CNT; this I consider to be mistaken because it is precisely the confrontation and the synthesis between anarchism and syndicalism that gave birth to the new anarcho-syndicalist militant."

INDIVIDUALISM

"The Storm, a Journal for Free Spirits" (8½ x 6½) is a quarterly published and edited by Mark A Sullivan (227 Columbus Avenue, Apt. 2E, New York, N.Y. 10023). Available at \$2 for six in North America and at \$2.75 for six elsewhere, this is a small 12-page magazine very

3 in a Cell

A secondary answer to the question 'What makes a criminal?' is obvious to any layman, although it is played down by Hawkins. The secondary answer is that prison itself makes criminals. In the words of Kropotkin, prisons are "universities of crime, maintained by the state". Not only do they breed a criminal atmosphere, a desire for revenge and inculcate no lasting social virtues but they ensure by the affixing of a stigma that very few useful means of livelihood are open to prisoners on discharge; ultimately we have the incurable recidivist who has been thoroughly institutionalised by prison and cannot live anywhere else.

It is hard to find an acceptable and agreed cause of crime, even among our three authors, so it is equally controversial to lay down the purpose of prison and punishment. This is, of course, because of the differences of interpretation of the cause of crime. The three admitted reasons for punishment are firstly deterrence, secondly reform, thirdly withdrawal from society for the protection of society. A fourth reason, rarely admitted but often foreshadowed in judicial, press and public comments, is 'Vengeance', which is completely primitive and atavistic. These four strands which make up the prison system's ethos intertwine and make a complex pattern which has no meaning whatsoever. To try to reduce this pattern to some meaning—at least as far as anarchist thought and the authors under review are concerned—it is necessary to ask the right questions.

Following the generally accepted ideas of the purpose of prison we may ask the following questions :

- Is prison a deterrent?
- Does prison reform?
- Does withdrawal from society work?
- Is Vengeance a motive?
- Do prisons create crime?
- Should prisons be abolished?
- Can prisons be reformed and is this advisable?
- Are prisons improving?
- What shall we do with the anti-social?
- Will there be anti-social types in the free society?

TO BE CONCLUDED IN NEXT ISSUE

much within the individualist tradition, despite the editor's claim that its position is difficult to locate. As with most individualist papers it has little new to offer those with only a little knowledge of individualism, for not only does one see the same writers continually disagreeing with one another but also quoting the same authorities in support, e.g. Tucker, Stirner, Spooner. In the latest edition of *The Storm* (no. 2) there are small news items, a letter from and a reply to, our very own S E Parker, and in what appears to be a statement of position there is a long article entitled "Neither Capitalist nor Communist Anarchism." In the final analysis the editor rejects both of these because he sees in them the surrender of the sovereignty of an external aspect of society, be it the corporation, the commune, the union or the capitalist. In the anarchist society (as seen by the individualist) the legal title, with regard to property, would give way before tangible possession, occupancy and use. In the communist view it is the commune that should be proprietor. For the individualist "I am proprietor, and I only come to an understanding with others about my property." I am proprietor, but property is not sacred.

I should think that for anarchists running a commune property is not "sacred" either, but to be used on a collective basis as the result of free and collective decisions. Not on the lines of some begrudging individualist attitude of "I own the property but you may use it", etc.

Much of the new magazine *Dandelion* is taken up with the same theme. A quarterly published in Minnesota (USA) by Michael E. Coughlin, 1985 Selby Avenue, St. Paul, Minn. 55104, (sub. \$3.50 a year in the USA and elsewhere \$4.50), its no. 1 issue has an article called "A Question of Property: 2 Opinions", based on the writings of the individualists Tucker and Spooner. The first part deals with their views on copyright property titles. The second section, which will appear in the next issue of the *Dandelion*, will consider their opinions on property rights in land and children.

Both these magazines are within the American tradition of the "one-man-editor". Perhaps the best example of individualist intransigence is Tucker's statement about his journal *Liberty*. "This journal will be edited to suit its editor, not its readers ... *Liberty* is published for the very definite purpose of spreading certain ideas and no claim will be admitted on any pretext of freedom of speech to waste its limited space in hindering the attainment of that object. We are not afraid of discussion, and we shall do what we can to make room for short, serious and well-considered objections to our views."

SWEET GHERKINS

Sweet Gherkins is "an erratic newsletter of sweet and sour opinion, some fact and a little unconscious humour." Published by Edward R Johnson of the Dill Pickle Press (P.O. Box 822, Muscatine, Iowa 52761, sub: \$1.00 for 10 issues within USA, \$2.00 at least elsewhere) this is a small and delightful magazine of 16 pages on brightly coloured paper. The current issue (April) has a hotchpotch of articles on fascism, the British Railway Strike of 1911, De Gaulle, How Governments Perpetuate Themselves and French functionalism. To quote from the last:

"...functional organisations cannot solve political problems. The most they can do is to help to develop conditions in which political problems can be solved elsewhere, by statesmen whose task it is to grapple with questions of power. It is a dangerous illusion to believe that functionalism by itself can bring about world peace, however fully it is developed. No conceivable multiplication of professional or workers' organisations can do away with the world's need for political organizations, for it is only when men meet as citizens, taking responsibility for all the separate needs and interests in their community - whether on the local, national or world wide level - that they are really facing the issues of peace and war which, as has just been said, are issues of power."

OPEN ROAD

From Canada comes the latest edition of *Open Road* (no. 3), an excellent paper that gets better all the time. The third issue is thinner than the previous two "in order to conserve our human and financial resources, and also to see whether we can produce the paper on a more rigorous time-schedule" as a quarterly. It includes a main article on the "Summer of Resistance", based on the activities planned by the Pacific Life Community in Bangor, western Washington State on which peace activists from all over North America will be converging in an attempt to stall construction of the Trident nuclear submarine project.

As with the rest of the anarchist press over the last couple of months, no. 3 of *Open Road* has a prominent article on Spain that roughly concentrates on three areas, the relationship of the FAI to the CNT, the strike at the Roca Radiadores, S.A., an electronics factory near Barcelona and a first hand report of the rally in Madrid on March 27 (see also *FREEDOM* vol. 38, no. 9).

Another article features the above-mentioned Abraham Guillen's book *Strategy of the Urban Guerilla* (1966) and his ideas on urban guerilla warfare as also found in *Philosophy of the Urban Guerilla*, an anthology in English edited by Donald C. Hodges and published by William Morrow and Co. (New York, 1973). Suffice it to add that it is too important a subject to gloss over in the short space left for this review. Guillen dubs his theory (most unsatisfactorily) "anarcho-Marxism" - unsatisfactorily because anarchism and Marxism are surely incompatible. We hope to publish a fuller debate on this subject in a later issue.

Besides such topics there are abundant news items, and reviews of books and films, including "Rebellion in Patagonia", a full length feature about anarchism as a revolutionary movement, set in the twenties among the anarcho-syndicalist influenced rural proletariat of southern Argentina.

Open Road's address is Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver B.C., Canada, V6R 465. There's no sub rate, it relies on donations.

DUM & DEE

J.W. FLEMING

IS THERE no-one among the readers of FREEDOM who remembers J.W. Fleming - "Chummy" Fleming as he was known to his friends? Emma Goldman called him "our most active comrade" in Australia, yet efforts on my part to obtain biographical information have brought not a single response.

Judging from his letters in the anarchist press, written over a thirty-year period, Fleming was a man of strong character and militant temper, the kind of dedicated spirit without which no social movement can prosper. Born in 1864 he lived for most of his life in Carlton, Victoria, not far from Melbourne (his address in 1933 was 8 Argyle Square, Carlton). Fleming was one of the many young idealists throughout the world attracted to anarchism by the Haymarket tragedy of the 1880s. In 1886 he addressed a meeting in Melbourne to protest the conviction of the Chicago anarchists and afterwards, with a group of like-minded workers, sent a petition to President Cleveland against the impending executions. These efforts were unavailing, but for the rest of his life Fleming cleaved to the ideal for which Parsons, Spies, Lingg, Engel and Fischer went to the grave. He himself survived until the 1950s, the "last of the Mohicans" of Australian anarchism, as Stuart Christie has called him, carrying on a weekly forum at Yarra Bank, Melbourne, and holding a one-man anarchist demonstration every May Day - activities that landed him in jail on more than one occasion. He died, still active, in his nineties, just before the libertarian revival in Australia, for which he, more than any of his countrymen, was responsible.

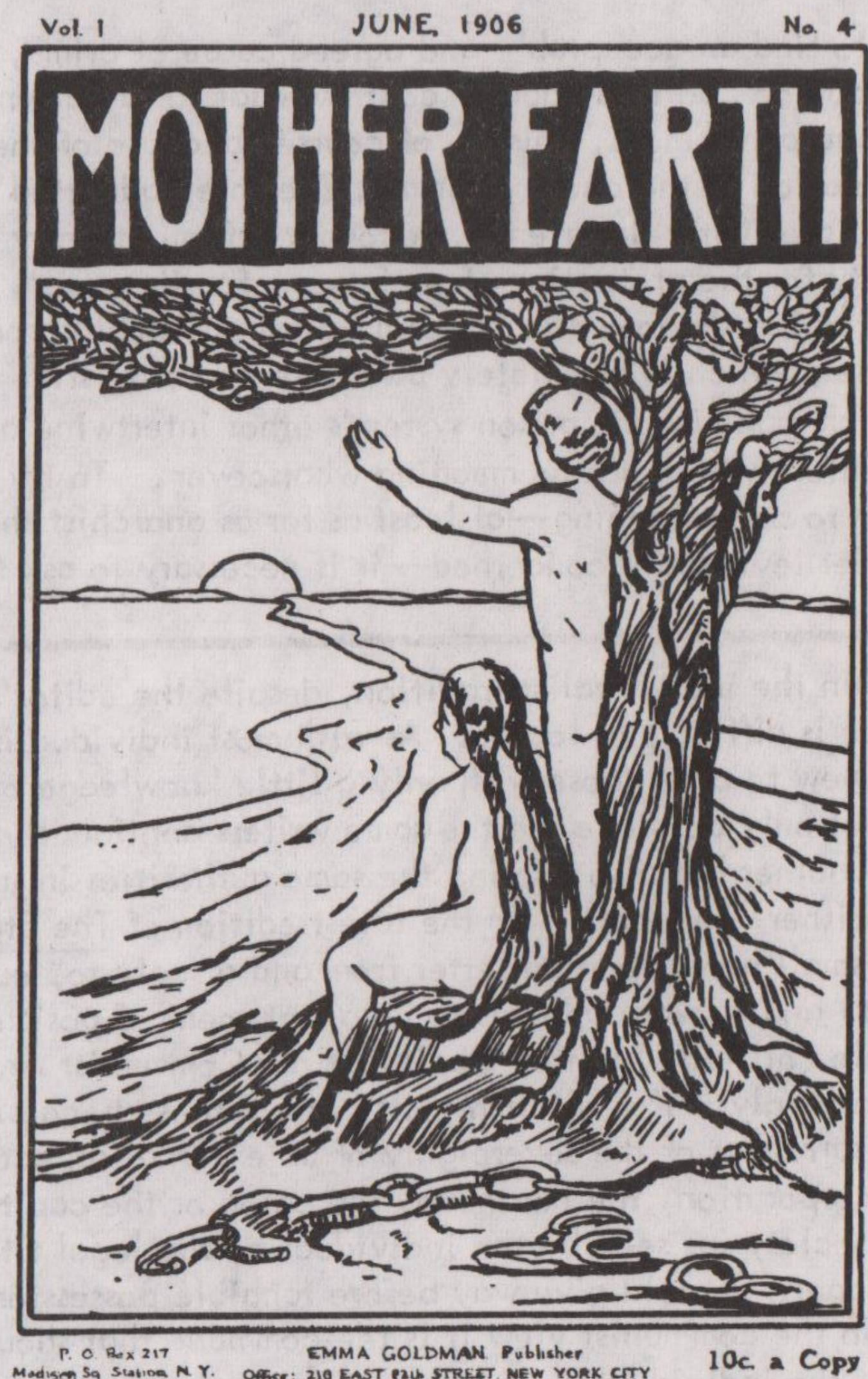
Such are the main facts of Fleming's career as gleaned from our scanty sources. It might be added that he was a founding member of the Boat Operators' Union, with whom he marched, in his middle seventies, carrying a red flag on which the word "Anarchy" was embroidered. He was also a devoted supporter of *Mother Earth*, which he distributed in Victoria from 1906 to 1917, when it fell victim to government suppression. In 1908 he invited Emma Goldman, the publisher of *Mother Earth*, to make a lecture tour of Australia. Excited at the prospect, she shipped 1500 pounds of literature to Victoria in preparation for her visit. But on the eve of her departure she was stripped of her American citizenship and had to cancel the trip lest she be forbidden to re-enter the country. The tour was abandoned at great financial loss to *Mother Earth* and to Fleming and his associates, who had completed all the necessary arrangements.

In addition to *Mother Earth* Fleming also distributed other anarchist periodicals, including *Freedom* and *The Herald of Revolt*, published in London by Guy Aldred before the First World War. The response he received, however, was disappointing. "You may be sure, dear comrade, I will do my best to push your paper," he wrote to Aldred in 1912, "but Australians don't read revolutionary literature. Tom Mann described them as mutton heads, which I think about correct." That year every city in Australia was holding unemployment meetings, but there were not strikes, Fleming lamented. "The capitalist need only threaten and obedience immediately comes forth. Conscription, the cherished weapon of the oppressors, is firmly rooted. Children fourteen years of age are imprisoned in a military fort over a hundred miles from Melbourne. That is what labor government has brought Australia to. Oh, hell, can these human weeds ever become virile? I am shouting anarchy."

For the Australian Labour Party Fleming had the utmost contempt. Its leaders ("political poltroons masquerading as labour champions") were feasting on the vitals of Australia, "the workers' paradise and mecca of that foolish fetish the Labour Party Swindle." Nor did things get better as time elapsed. "Australia is down and out, with no sign of improvement," he wrote in 1933 during the Great Depression. "The workers will submit to any injustice, compulsory arbitration is their only outlook. Voltaire once stated the world was full of fools, and he would leave the world as wicked and foolish as he found it."

Voltaire, said Fleming, was right. 500,000 men were unemployed and 30,000 children were leaving school every year

with no prospect of work, all "the result of trusting to political prostitutes." Nor were the Communists any better. "The Communists go one further than the Labour men, endeavouring to get on the workers' backs. I sometimes think that life is a farce and all things show it. I used to believe it but now I know it." As for his fellow anarchists, some had joined the Communists, others the Labour Party for political jobs.



"Many of the old comrades are dead, and I am the last of that proud race. The young today are duds, who have no wish to be free. Anarchism cries in the wilderness."

Yet Fleming refused to despair. "I continue to keep the Anarchist flag flying," he wrote, for anarchism has been "my all in all." Week after week, year after year, he spoke out against religion and government. On May Day 1938 he carried a small banner which bore the inscription, "The Godless, Long Live Anarchy!" "I always say that I shall die an Anarchist and Atheist because that is based on reason and common sense," he declared. "I have this satisfaction: I have lived my own life and fought for Freedom. Long live Anarchy!"

With the outbreak of the Second World War, however, Fleming was overwhelmed with doubt. Would the "age of reason" never come? he asked in 1940. "Human nature does not change. The painful experience of the last wholesale butchery has been lost. Another flock of sheep are being prepared. Humans have lost their reason, and are tamely submitting to command, marching to death. man is a muff by nature, and has every appearance of remaining a muff. The dawning of Liberty, which was so promising when I was young, has departed... Humans may disappear off the planet without arriving at the age of reason. Destruction is the outcome of organised violence called authority. The proletarian submits willingly to turn imbecile and brute. Obeying - away he goes to kill or be killed. The facts speak for themselves. The world is full of fools. My mark is to attack the hocus-pocus called God and its comrade, authority. After all, authority comes from God. Anarchism exposes the swindle which the swarm of vermin fatten on. Plate wrote that the senate was corrupt; the politicians were bribed; the people were fools. The few thought, but the many never. I am 76. My days are done. I have lived my life. I have kept the flag of anarchism flying. Long live Anarchy!"

PAUL AVRICH

MOTHER GOD?

THERE CAN BE no doubt that the best sign that anarchism is alive and well is the present growth of anarchism in the revolutionary feminist movement. There can also be no doubt that this has badly needed the critical voice of such as Black Rose* declaring that revolutionary acts and policy can be carried out by members of a leaderless affinity group, negating the hierarchical function of power. For although there is some evidence that, without being consciously anarchist, many revolutionary feminists have an inbuilt tendency to despise the male authoritarianism of the social and political power structure; although they have long ceased to want - if want they ever did - to follow the lead of Heliogabalus (or whatever his name was) in turning the men out of the Senate and filling it with women, and has recognised Caligula's example to be an infinitely better one, revolutionary feminist literature is still largely at a Third World stage. A paper like *Hera* ("a Philadelphia women's publication") mingles anarchist/feminist statements like "Blood of the Flower" indiscriminately with others giving uncritical support to the national liberation struggles of the world.

Another, if less obvious sample of 'Third Worldism' in the feminist movement is the booklet *Mama!* subtitled "women artists together" and recently produced by the Mama Collective in Birmingham. The booklet was, write the Collective, "compiled swiftly because of feeling an urgent need for some documentation/communication about what women artists in Britain have done and are doing..." Most of the articles have been taken from Monica Sjo's pamphlets "Towards a Revolutionary Feminist Art" (1972, 3), "Some Thoughts on Feminist Art" (1974) and other material from the Women's Postal Art Event last year.

In an Arts Manifesto dated 1971 Ann Berg and Monica Sjo repudiate the hard technology that has "emerged in a commercialism so obscure and decadent that for artists to embrace such values is beyond our comprehension." They repudiate an abstract art that "now serves the ruling classes because it mystifies reality; it is undangerous, undisturbing..." together with the concept of art for art's sake. They also repudiate the efforts of the Marxist male to put the feminist struggle in the context, and thus the shadow, of the class struggle. "Let's say", says Rosalyn Smythe, "if I do a painting about rape, brothers, are you telling me it is not political?" Instead their aim is to "convey to people to WOMEN - their dignity and strength and beauty - OUR PAST AND FUTURE." And, as the search for the roots of the American black slave descendants brings them back to the African village, so the search for the ancestry of woman brings us back to the matriarcal culture, the "ancient womanculture" which is the past and which, to such as Sjo, should be the key to the future - the impetus for rebirth.

"The Rebirth of the Ancient Womanculture" is the most telling piece in the booklet. Here Sjo describes the development away from early mother-cultures to a patriarchal class society in which woman is reduced to a passive uncreative role - one, moreover, that closes the woman off from her sex - while the men take on the function of producing "sacred" (fine/pure) art to the glory of a male God in their own image. It goes on to describe the liquidation of what survived of female culture and knowledge in the West with the witch hunts of 14-1700 (the smoke of which "we can still feel... in our nostrils"), the consistent neglect and discouragement of female creativity in the years that followed, the continued degradation of women in modern art as illustrated, for example, in John Berger's *Ways of Seeing*.

Among the neglected women painters that Sjo names is the surrealist Argentinian-born Leonor Fini, who "did the strange, wierd paintings of mythical, dream-like women figures." In fact, it seems to me, Fini provides a perfect example of my own discomfort with my fellow feminists. Not that I am not a great admirer of Fini's work (which, to prove Sjo's point, I first came across in the writing of another woman). I admire it precisely, but not only, for the way in which, while remaining a surrealist, she destroys the woman-

object contradiction of so much of that movement's so-called revolutionary adherents. But there are two paintings in my mind as I write which, in destroying that contradiction, seem to me to give rise to another.

It has been said that "Leonor Fini's women are not heads of State, they are women who were burned in the public squares in the Middle Ages." In these paintings they have returned to their former grandeur. Calm, mysterious, monumental, un-touchable they are indeed forms of "the mother-goddess before whom adult men kneel and pray;" before whom they are also diminished, made frail and vulnerable, impotent even like the young man lying asleep before the dark and inscrutable figure of the woman-sphinx, or like the goose in "Capital Punishment" that is presented by the young girl to the naked woman, its neck hanging, ready for sacrifice.

One could see these paintings ironically, but they are probably neither meant nor understood that way, and this is my point. WHY was the womanculture destroyed? Why, in those societies where a matriarcal culture is believed to have existed, did the men take over those millenia ago? Why were women thenceforward subjected to the tyranny and terrorism of church, state and the male-ego? Why in consequence are we all in the shit now?



Mama! can be obtained, price 50p, from Freedom Bookshop. A series of ten postcards by Monica Sjo, price 10p each, and including this drawing, is also available.

Many social and economic reasons have been advanced in explanation. Among them we should consider that once upon a time, the time to which Monica Sjo looks back, men might have been the oppressed sex. If that is so, women should recognise the possibility that they were at least partly responsible for their own subsequent humiliation and oppression, as they are in danger of continuing to be. That is why the cult of the witch, the mother-goddess, the moon-earth mysticism, the God-giving-birth (this summer, why, even the Jesuits have come round to admitting it's a possibility!) and all the rest of the paraphernalia of female assertion and anti-colonialism, should be seen as an essentially, and very transitory stage in the liberation of the woman, just as anarcho-feminism should be seen as a transitory stage towards total anarchism!

While it is valuable to remember the strength and the dignity that the mother goddess stands for and the female knowledge that is symbolised by the witch, while the great art of women like Fini helps to restore the sense of that lost strength and knowledge and power, all this also serves as a warning. If revolutionary feminism is not itself to become sexist, female chauvinist, it must look to a future that will render it unnecessary. We should not rake up the past unless to learn from our own mistakes. Therefore damn God the Father, but also damn God the Mother!

GIULIA

* See Black Bear Pamphlet no. 1, ANARCHO-FEMINISM from Siren and Black Rose, Two Statements.

