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editorial

The British have always boasted of their love for and defence of freedom, and the British state has been most successful over the years in maintaining this illusion called democracy. 'Freedom of the press' is one of its most cherished slogans, and the fact that people believe it shows just how fooled they are. Well trained by the papers both to trivialise the important and to think the important trivial, they can be weaned away from any dangerous information that might somehow surface from the gutters of our national press, and be gently eased back into pages of 'shock-horror' gossip, half-naked women and the latest football scores.

The biggest newspapers are owned by millionaires and multinationals, and the television channels are controlled by the state and advertising revenue. Overt censorship need not even be applied, for these bodies of the media know who their masters are, and masters are to be obeyed. The editors and producers cautiously decide what we should be allowed to see and read and how and when it should be presented to us. Their 'freedom of the press' is, like all their 'freedoms', but a shallow pretence that most people are unwilling to see through. For this is how it must be, there is no alternative, we must be happy with our lot — I know, I read it in the papers.

Not only do they shout their slogans at us from billboards and television screens, but every word they write and say merely serves to underpin the state. They have a stranglehold on the information we can receive, and unless we want to choke on their lies we must try to break it. Not by the empty mimicry of the left, with their daily papers, daily slogans and football results. Nor by crawling to the media for five minutes on television or radio where we can let off steam and be their safety valves, but by trying to find out what is really happening, by trying to get people to listen, by taking anarchist propaganda beyond just the anarchist movement. Whatever the political slant you give to a piece of news, it makes no difference if it wasn't true in the first place, and it's that which is not reported at all that is the most important.

A revolution cannot be won by words alone, but it cannot be won without them.

Open Season for Elections

In the spring a ruling man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of elections. As our General Election approaches, we are already being bombarded with news of elections here, there and everywhere. More than a year before the American Presidential Election, the candidates are already lining up on both sides, and the incumbent is being told that he isn't wanted by the public opinion surveys. Indeed the public opinion surveys are becoming so important that they could almost replace the actual elections, which would save much trouble and expense.

Meanwhile, several actual elections are reflecting the definite shift of opinion towards the right, despite the continuing depression, almost everywhere in the world. Australia, being on the opposite side of the world, is the exception to this rule, and Bob Hawke has led the Labor Party to victory over Malcolm Fraser. Hawke is not unlike Gough Whitlam, who achieved a similar result a decade ago, and he seems no more likely to be able to make much of his personal triumph. Australia is so dependent on the world economy that no government can do much on its own there, any more than anywhere else.

West Germany has confirmed the rule, the Conservative alliance of the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union easily winning the general election precipitated by the new Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, though their majority will depend on the Liberals of the Free Democratic Party, whose decision to leave the Social Democratic government of Helmut Schmidt began the political crisis last autumn. There is little difference between the moderate right and left, and Kohl will continue along the lines followed by Schmidt and their respective predecessors for more than 30 years. The only difference is that the right is more favourable towards the Western nuclear alliance, and, although it was the Social Democrats who first accepted the proposal to install Cruise missiles in West Germany in 1979, the Christian Democrats will be firmer in resisting the pressure of the peace movement.

The one interesting feature of the German election is that the ecological party, the Greens, has achieved a vote of 5 per cent and therefore will for the first time have a couple

of dozen seats in parliament. However, far from being a trigger for revolt, as they imagine, this will be a safety valve for dissent. They will be able to say anything and do nothing, rather like the Labour left in Britain; and if the establishment lets them do anything, they will be absorbed and corrupted by the system, rather like the Labour left again. The danger is that the extra-parliamentary opposition, which has a long and strong tradition in Germany, will be diverted by the presence of a handful of Greens in parliament and will relax its increasing pressure against the economic and military power of the State. But this danger should be less in the current climate of increasing opposition to the Cruise policy. There will be huge disarmament demonstrations at the beginning of April, as part of the international Easter action, and there will be a European Nuclear Disarmament convention in Berlin in May; great efforts are being made to establish links with comrades in East Germany. Germany is likely to be the focus for anti-militarist activity this year, and in this context Kohl's victory will do more good than harm.

Back in Britain, we have had a rather misleading rehearsal for the General Election in the Bermondsey by-election. As anarchists, we didn't do as well as we had hoped and could have expected, since by-elections normally involve only a small proportion of the electorate, and the enormous media interest in this particular election actually meant that a majority of the voters voted. Even so, a non-spokesperson of the non-voters could have pointed out that we still came top of the poll and that only the built-in bias of the parliamentary system deprived us of the fruits of victory and sent a minority candidate to the House of Commons.

Here are the percentages for the voting and non-voting behaviour of all the people on the electoral register at Bermondsey (with the comparable figures for the 1979 General Election in brackets):

Non-voters	42.3	(40.7)
Liberal/SDP Alliance	33.3	(4.0)
New Labour	15.0	(37.7)
Old Labour	4.4	
Conservative	3.2	(14.8)
Others	1.8	(2.8)

Following the murder of Carl Harp, we have received news of another anarchist prisoner under threat. Shane Greene, also in Walla Walla State Penitentiary, is in immediate danger of being murdered by the same guards who killed Carl. He was a close comrade of Carl's and worked with him in the Anarchist Black Dragon Collective. Together with Clive Washburn, the two took part in the hostage-taking at Walla Walla in May 1979 to protest against the conditions inside the prison. After getting an hour-long interview broadcast live on TV the hostage guards were released un-

SHANE GREENE



What happened was that the Labour Party, which is facing a collapse similar to that of the Liberal Party 60 years ago, split in this depressed working-class inner-city constituency between the old gang and the young gang — the traditional right-wing mafia dominated by trade-unionists and Irish Catholics (as in many of the large cities of England), and the brave new left-wing mafia dominated by less acceptable marginal groups (claimants, Marxists, blacks, gays, singles, students, and so on). As a coalition of such groups, however uneasy it has been since the First World War, the Labour Party can gather enough votes to win frequent majorities in local councils and occasional majorities in the House of Commons (though its total vote has fallen steadily for more than 30 years). But as separate rival groups they don't stand a chance.

In this situation an identikit middle-class Liberal, helped on by repeated public opinion surveys, obsessive media coverage and an incompetent Labour Party campaign (whose press officer was a former anarchist), drew one-third of the voters — enough to get him elected with a huge majority. The approaching Darlington by-election will be very different in detail, but it may well show once again the

desperate fragility of the Labour Party and the volatile strength of the Liberal/SDP Alliance.

But much more significant is the not only continuing but actually rising popularity of the Conservative Government, whose only real achievements are the temporary reduction of the inflation rate and the decisive victory in the Falklands War, but whose equally decisive victory in the approaching General Election seems almost certain. No doubt a national election campaign will partly revive the Labour Party, with the support of the trade union movement and the return of ancient loyalties, and it may also restore some sanity to the Liberals and Social Democrats, but between them all they still have little hope of beating Mrs Thatcher.

In this situation it is up to us to provide some serious arguments about the irrelevance of such events in the growing economic and social and political crisis. While we prepare ourselves, it would be useful to have as many examples as possible of material which our readers are planning to use locally. There are probably more anarchist groups and individuals in active existence now than for longer than we care to remember, and there should be plenty of anti-election items of all kinds ready for the coming Westminster farce.

harmful. Again working closely together they managed to get a Federal Court pronouncement made that the prison was 'cruel and unusual punishment' and the prison was threatened with closure unless things improved.

The guards retaliated by raping Carl with a nightstick (a long truncheon) and Shane was savagely beaten. The warden who led these revenge squads is Captain Don Talbot. He has been promoted to No 3 in the prison warders hierarchy and is more powerful than ever. Shane has written, 'These pigs have starved me, froze me, chained

me spreadeagled against the bars for 6 days, beat me, blinded me with teargas and MACE which put me into hospital, paid to have me beat, stabbed and now paid to have me killed.' As happened with Carl, he has seen a warders' 'hitlist' with his name on it. He has called for protests and demands a transfer to another prison. At present he is being held on the same tier of cells where Carl was murdered with the same warders 'guarding' him. No doubt the same end is planned for Shane as that meted out to Carl.

see back page

The contorted logic of FREEDOM

Over the years many items published by FREEDOM have caused the hackles to rise, but usually the temptation to reply has been miraculously resisted. However, the contorted logic exhibited in one of your letters in the issue of January 15th proved to be just too galling, and thus broke the dam of self-restraint.

Your correspondent 'Heff' refers to a previous writer in FREEDOM who implied that the campaign against nuclear weapons is not specifically a women's issue. Heff asserts that from this argument it therefore follows that the writer believes in revolution first, women's rights afterwards. Yet to anyone with just a little rationality, this is an absurd connection. The first statement indicates that nuclear weapons affect everyone; men, women and children. Cruise missiles and their ilk will not discriminate among the human beings with whom they come into contact. Therefore everyone should become involved with preventing their launch. How this can be related to the notion of separating women's liberation from revolution is beyond me. For anarchists, revolution incorporates a total transformation of human relationships. There can be no revolution which precludes freedom and equality for women. Incidentally, exactly who is repeating this 'same old story'? Maybe, 15 or so years ago this attitude

was prevalent, but now I think few anarchists would espouse it.

Heff also informs us that feminism is not anti-men, but, rather pro-women. This is akin to the National Front protesting that racialism isn't anti-black but pro-white. If there is a distinct difference as Heff alludes, she ought really to elaborate on it. Perhaps the racist analogy is inaccurate, but the virulently anti-male approach of much of the feminist press would seem to suggest otherwise.

Predictably, nuclear weapons are considered to be the most horrific example of male violence. I suppose for the seekers after simple truths the Freudian symbolism is too much to resist. Violence in our society is a complex phenomenon. To blame it all on men is a crass simplification. There isn't room here to write a sociological dissertation on the subject, but let's at least try to avoid easy sloganizing and meaningless jargon, likewise the supposition that as bearers of children women are more closely involved with life; let's not forget that women and men still create children together, though modern technology may be doing its best to alter this process. Obviously the woman gives birth to the child and suckles it in its early life. But both women and men raise children and are involved in their development.

So who is close to life — women, men? Perhaps the much reviled

farmer is closer to life (and death) than the cosseted town dweller of either sex. Or maybe the American Indian, native Australian or Kalahari bushman (and bushwoman) if we are looking for a more profound and esoteric meaning of 'life'. Surely, in essence, we are all part of life, and that is why we should all be intent on defending this precious commodity.

I have nothing against women acting separately if they so desire, it might indeed attract women who otherwise would have been too inhibited to participate. But I do object to the declaration of some feminists that women somehow possess a morally superior right to shape the anti-nuclear campaign. Moreover, it seems to me that a section of the feminist movement has seized upon the anti-nuclear movement, not just to mount an effective opposition to the Cruise missile etc, but also as a tactical manoeuvre to prove the worthiness of their ideology. A few years ago the authoritarian left attempted much the same with the Anti-Nazi League. (Whatever happened to the ANL? Is it no longer trendy, especially as the purveyors of package deal politics have now leapt upon the CND? Might not the same fate lie ahead of the anti-nuclear movement itself?)

As anarchists we ought to put forward our own specifically anarchist ideas about nuclear weapons. We should not follow meekly behind

other groups because they are employing some libertarian tactics now and then. Alan Albon writes in the same issue of FREEDOM that most active pacifists now are anarchists. I would sharply disagree with this; most pacifists in my experience are still liberals or libertarians in a very vague way. Furthermore, most pacifists who have filtered into the anarchist movement tend to be dogmatic and condemn anyone who does not share their views. It's probably a mistake for anarchists to be caught up in the violence v non-violence argument. For it's an interminable debate — when does non-violence become violence, how do you define one or the other etc — and in the end leads nowhere. Rather we must use those tactics which are most effective as long as they are in accordance with anarchist principles. If we are accused of aggressive male violence by feminists or liberal pacifists, well it's their right to criticise, but ours to accept or refute their criticism. Clearly we must be adaptable rather than adhere to static tactics. The crunch might well come later this year when the government attempts to install its missiles. The State will use all its power to carry out this plan and crush any opposition. It's time for all anarchists to consider how to respond to this.

Mark T
Plymouth Anarchist group

Going through changes

As a person who has come into anarchism through animal liberation I would like to answer a few points Joanne Smith raises in her letter (FREEDOM 11th Feb). She tells us what we must do and the things which are causing deviations. She says 'WE MUST BE ACTIVE AND WE MUST CONVINCe', yet she says nothing about how this is to be achieved except for the reference at the end about nuclear weapons, which she sees as the thing which perpetuates capitalism. Anarchism and capitalism are about people and just removing one of their toys is not going to change the system. But it is part of the struggle towards anarchy as is the abolition of animal abuse which has an international multi-million pound industry built around it: 1.5 million animals are murdered for meat each working day, 4.8 million animals are tortured in laboratories every year in Britain to provide money for the cosmetics, household products and drug industries (the biggest unseen cost going on in this country).

Through animal liberation,

feminism, anti-war, anti-nuke and anti-racist action WE ARE changing consciousnesses and people in these areas are turning towards anarchism. Anarchism is about now and I doubt that we will be able to convince the great majority of the public that it is their liberation because of the most closely held indoctrination that we must have a government. Yet through the changes of consciousness through the above areas of liberation and others, people will be closer to anarchist thought and action than through a direct attempt to convince any non-anarchist that anarchism is right. It is in all these areas of liberation that we should convince people about anarchism and at the same time bring more people into these issues; after all once people realise the connections between all of the above they are anarchists in practice.

I certainly do not think animals superior to humans and as a vegan I argue for that diet because of its minimal use of land which would release large amounts of grain etc for starving people; if the Western

world became vegetarian (not vegan) there would be 4 tons of grain for each third world man, woman and child. We have to fight the oppression now and convince people as part of that struggle. No-one can fight capitalism without fighting the issues involved.

Non-violent resistance is not answer in itself but a training which does not perpetuate the use of physical force to control other peoples lives. Non-violent resistance on a large scale eliminates any supposed need for specialist people to defend their lives by involving the people as a whole; all of them resisting the force of the oppressor. Any person in non-violence would agree that it is up to them to prevent physical (or mental) injury so they would intervene and physically try to prevent someone who was attacking someone else.

The letter of Z in per (a term used in *Woman on the Edge of Time* by Marge Piercy to mean a person instead of the ever present his or him) shows a lack of understanding of non-violent resistance or pacifism. Non-violent resistance

as far as I understand it is resistance against force or control which does not resort to violence as the means to resolve the conflict. It does not mean that people passively accept the attackers' will but that they stand against them with the use of persuasion and self-defence if an attacker persists in a violent manner. Non-violent resistance is not only about resistance in the face of attack but about not escalating situations so as to provoke a violent response from another person.

Non-violence is an attitude and training *beforehand* to prevent violence as much as it is a method to resolve conflicts without the use of violence. It does not rely on a victor or a loser nor a hateful enemy but contacts people and sometimes liberates them from violence. That is far better than an enemy who loses and seeks revenge with greater physical force and a victor who gloats at his superiority and who will use violence again and again.

Love, peace and freedom,
Born

On 'On Terrorism'

I would like to say a few words about the review of *On Terrorism and the State* in FREEDOM (Feb 25th 83). The reviewer who signs with L plates, makes a mistake when he/she says: 'All the terrorist groups that indulge in such actions — IRA, PLO, ETA, Red Brigades etc — are just alternative governments fighting for control with the existing governments.' But reality is a bit more complicated than that. The leaders of the IRA, the PLO, ETA, would like to hold the keys of their respective States. Whereas the 'Red Brigade' is nothing more than an armed appendage of the Italian State. No one who has read *carefully* this book or Guy Debord's *Preface* to the 4th Italian translation of 'The Society of the Spectacle' could ever lump all these organisations in the same bag.

Of course the 'Red Brigade' started as a marxist-leninist outfit, Renato Curcio, one of its historical leaders once said: 'It took Stalin 20 years to put a pick-axe in Trotsky's head, we are quicker'. Then Curcio

was ambushed thanks to the priest Brother 'Machine-gun' Giroto (never trust a priest even in radical clothing or with a CND badge!), and from then on the 'RB' was gradually decapitated of its so-called historical leaders and they were replaced by the Italian State's home grown Murder Inc. But Curcio who is still in prison and still a raving Stalinist, has not yet understood that the 'RB' is the State. Militants never learn.

I hope all this will be of use to your reviewer and your readers. As for the cat and the mouse on the frontpiece of *On Terrorism*, the bishop of Ely in the 16th century once said:

'Whenever you see a book with a cat and mouse in the frontpiece, seize upon it: for the chances are as three to four that it will be found both curious and valuable'

Michel Prigent
(one of the translators of the above mentioned works)

Anarchism and education

I enjoyed the article 'Anarchism and Education' by Farquhar McLay and, to a point, agreed with it.

The granting of the vote to the skilled elite of the working class in 1867, and the 1870 Education Act which directly resulted from it, were key milestones in what McLay describes as 'turning the great masses into the great masses'. The process continued with little real liberalisation until the end of world war two. From this point I increasingly reject the blanket dismissals of education which McLay makes. I don't agree that it is *only* the young blacks who seem capable of fighting back; doesn't he remember the events of Summer '81 in Liverpool 8 and Manchester (Rusholme and Moss Side)? I also take exception to his generalisations about teachers as 'successive generations of dupes' and 'teaching as we know it, has only been one thing, instilling an ideology to support a system of exploitation'.

Perhaps this was the case and for the majority of teachers probably

still is. What he fails to acknowledge is that things have changed, if not as spectacularly as he would desire. The liberalisation of education since 1944 has brought increasing numbers of working class children into higher education and many of these into teaching with a determination not to continue the indoctrination of the past. Has the writer failed to notice the shift of the one-time middle-class professional associations into something resembling trade unions? Finally, if the education system is still uniformly 'instilling an ideology' why are politicians like Keith Joseph, Rhodes Boyson and Mrs Thatcher, herself, increasingly obsessed with the desire to purge the education system of its increasing 'subversive' elements?

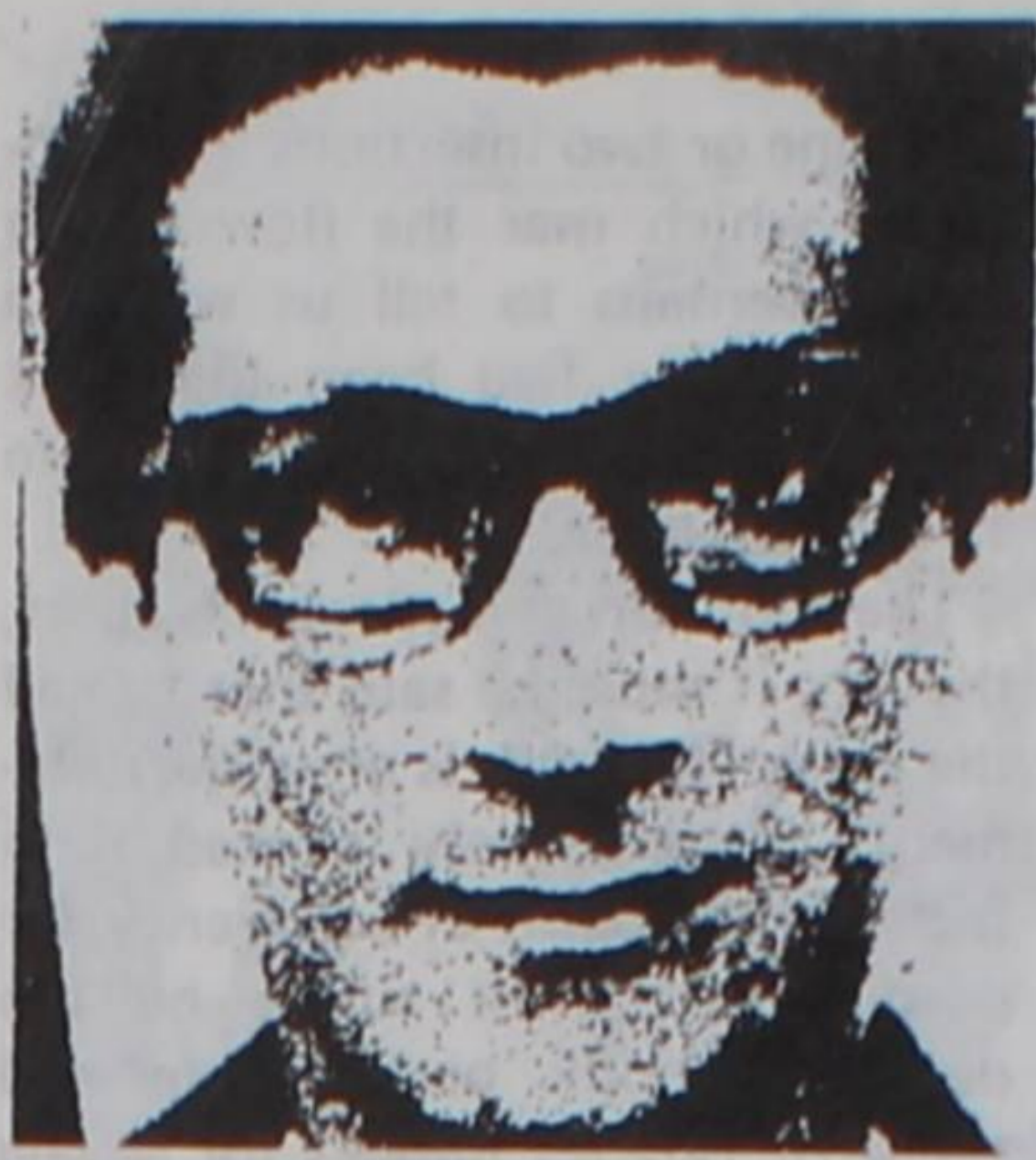
I don't think such dismissive negative approaches like Farquhar McLay's are of value unless they produce some *positive alternatives*.

Grayson Holden

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The show trial of the April 7th defendants illustrates the strategy of the Italian State in the attempted criminalisation of the Workers' Autonomy Movement in Italy.

AUTONOMIA TRIAL

It's almost four years now since the original arrests took place in the 'April 7th' case and the defendants are finally to come to trial. The proceedings are scheduled to take place on the 10th March in Rome. In successive waves of arrests directed against the Autonomia Operaia (Workers' Autonomy) Movement in Italy — especially April 7th 1979 and December 21st 1979 — the state has involved more than 250 people in the case. Of these, 71 now stand accused of 'association' with a centralised organisation which allegedly provided both a public facade for the armed groups (in particular the Red Brigades) and the leadership in planning an 'armed insurrection against the state. The alleged nucleus of this organisation, the strategic leadership of the Red Brigades (RB), includes the 'star' theoreticians and ideologists of the autonomy movement in particular Toni Negri, a professor of political theory in the Political Science Department of the revolutionary theory and practice on the extreme left during the mid 70's. 20 of these academics are still being held four years after their arrests and almost two years since their committal for trial.

The initial arrest warrants were issued by the Veneto public prosecuting judge Calogero (famous for his prosecution of fascists in the early 70's and closely associated with the Communist Party [PCI]). The PCI has been instrumental, indeed enthusiastic in its condemnation of the Autonomy Movement: both because of its antagonism to and criticism of the institutional left in Italy (considering the PCI and Trade Unions to be its class enemies), and because the PCI had to impress the Christian Democrats with whom they created the 'historic compromise' that they could be a responsible party of government. It was necessary for the PCI to show itself capable of 'disciplining' and 'controlling' the left.

The original arrests in 1979 initiated by the Communist Calogero charged the defendants with involvement in the kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro. These charges were soon dropped when no evidence at all was adduced to press home the accusations. Indeed Negri was absolved by one of the repentant terrorists (often the main prosecution witnesses), Peci, of having any connection with the RB. Instead a vaguer and more general charge: that of planning an 'armed insurrection' since the early 1970's. Most of the evidence for this constructed after the arrests, rests primarily on the writings and opinions of the accused. In 1981 the appeals judge in Padova, Palombarini released more than 60 of those implicated after investigating the evidence and claiming that no 'centralised organisation' ever existed, but Calogero had them re-arrested under the same evidence, indicating that the state's case is schizophrenic. Despite the fact that the Moro charges had been officially dropped, the recent trial of the RB's accused of the Moro killing is being used in a manner prejudicial to the 'April 7th' defendants: the state has proceeded to set the trial to take place in the same court and with the same jury as the Moro trial. It is because of this that their trial has been delayed

for so long. The establishment needs to prepare its ground well.

State repression in Italy has extended far beyond the armed organisations as such, it seeks to close off space for any independent opposition to the system by labelling all its diverse elements as part of a single unified 'terrorist' conspiracy. Tracing the 'common ancestry' of Autonomia Operaia and the Red Brigades from the early 70's is the organisation Potere Operaio which arose out of the broad political movement of the 60's (and which broke up in the early 70's) the strategy is to impose the mosaic of Autonomia onto the matrix of the RB. This is a fantasy which glosses over the differences in theory and practice and re-creates the history of the independent left in Italy in order to justify general repression: it is an attempt to criminalise 20 years of political experience developed independently of the institutions of hierarchy. Since the arrests first began, roughly 3000 political prisoners at any one time, (this population is constantly changing) are imprisoned in Italy. Most are held under 'preventive detention' (ie in advance of any act) and given the imprecise nature of the accusations, many have no specific charges substantiated against them. Only a small minority have ever been tried. Most still awaiting trial and under the Cossiga Decree of December 1979 political 'suspects' can be held for up to 12 years. Much further than this 'preventive justice' has been extended to a wider dragnet of criminalisation and marginalisation, thousands apart from these in detention have been subject to intimidation and isolation. Specific legal measures to do this include 'judicial communication' (restricting one's movement pending investigation) and 'diffida' (denying rights of association).

Under cover of a 'state of emergency' escalated since 1975 with the support of all the major political parties including the PCI 'special laws' have undermined the legal notion that the suspect is either guilty or innocent of particular acts. Instead he/she is charged with 'association' or 'intention'. The burden of proof lies now with the suspect to demonstrate he/she did not have these associations or intentions. The entire procedure has been described as an inquisition, inverting the burden of proof of guilt that democratic states claim to respect.

Against the Red Brigades who speak the same language and reflect

the same hierarchical structure and ambition as the state, the solution is simply one of military strategy, solution that has proved very successful.

Against the Autonomia, however, the state has learned a new method, that of simulating its fluid characteristics. The Autonomia is the 'body without organs of politics, anti-hierarchical, anti-dialectic, anti-representative. It is not only a political project, it is a project for existence.' An indefinable mixture of groups and varied tendencies, of circles and collectives without any central organisations, the Autonomia could only be combated by the state by developing a new response. The logic displayed in the prosecution against the 'April 7th' defendants, its inquisitorial nature, has leapt out of the Aristotelian logic of conventional argument used in just these circumstances. Gilles Deleuze has described this as a violation of the principle of identity (A is always A, never B) and of the principle of the excluded middle (either A is A or not A). Thus, innumerable pieces of information isolated from context and re-pieced together, the use of the similarities inherent in all leftist writings, the vagueness and elusiveness of the accusations, create an 'orgy of identifications', of coincidences and similarities in an attempt to link the Autonomia with the RB. This simulation is an attempt to mould a unified image which because of this very unity and its insistent proposition by the media of information appears to be real.

So far this has proved to be clumsy and schizophrenic, but the fight is for the unitary control of history. If the state succeeds, then the only reality will become that of authority, in which for the state 'everything is permitted!'

There is a campaign to help and publicise the plight of the 3000 + political prisoners in Italy, the Italy '79 Committee publishes a bulletin and is organising pickets, fund raising social events and meetings to cover the trials.

The address is:-
Italy '79 Committee
c/o John Merrington
Middx Poly
White Hart Lane
London N17
801-3434

They produce a pamphlet on the case against the April 7th defendants called 'The Italian Inquisition?'



Blind as a Bobby?

Recent events have set me worrying about the marksmanship of our police officers; on the evidence I am not sure whether it would be in the public interest for them to be worse or better shots.

For many years I advocated the view that we should employ severely short-sighted or even colour blind police, purely because I suspected this might reduce racism in the constabulary, and diminish the chance of them shooting their victims.

My theory is in ruins, and I now see it to have been a gross error all along. Though our myopic police force are no longer hitting their proposed targets, the Martin and Pagett cases suggest they are more than capable of hitting anyone else within range.

Back in the 1970's, when our policemen had good vision, the police were able to swat Blair Peach without anyone having the faintest suspicion they may have hit the wrong man. In those days all the indications were that the police knew, and more important, could see what they were doing.

The police were winning then, to such an extent that Henry Root was provoked to declare that they had polished off '46' in police custody, while the General Public had killed '7' policemen in the same period. Mr James Jardine of the Police Federation claimed this score was 'inconclusive', and concluded that 'we are not in the business of revenge.'

All the same policemen are only human and would never want to be on the losing side. Any over enthusiasm on their part must be seen in this light and if a colleague is hit in the groin it is only natural they would want to even things up.

None of this would matter much if our officers had 20-20 vision, and a steady aim. Then they would get the right man and no one would worry very much. But an armed force of myopic hysterics produces endless headaches for the judiciary, who are going to have to build loopholes in the law to allow for our police being such bad shots.

In the case of R v Pagett in early February, it was established in the Court of Appeal, that police can shoot innocent bystanders and human shields. In this case, you may recall when in 1981, Mr Pagett used his girlfriend as a shield in an armed dispute with the police — the police shot and killed the girl. But Pagett was convicted of her manslaughter.

According to the Court of Appeal, Pagett was guilty, because of his '... act of holding Gail as a shield in front of him when the police might well fire shots in his direction in self defence'. Their Lordships found that using the girl as a shield in these circumstances 'were acts which all sober and reasonable people would inevitably recognise would subject Gail to the risk of some harm...'. Clearly their Lordships are right, only a fool would come within a mile of an armed policeman.

All this goes to show that at least our senior judges are not daft, they do not need to bend the law to let off their own people or even one of their flunkies. What is required is intelligence and a fertile imagination on the part of our judges. The law need only be carried

out as it was intended to protect the powerful.

Their Lordships for example could well extend the principle in R v Pagett to include not only human shields, but all persons remotely connected with the offender — friends and friends of friends ad infinitum. Thus the offender by committing an offence automatically subjects all his acquaintances however, remote 'to the risk, of some harm' and therefore, by applying this logic to the Kensington shoot-out; Martin, not the police, would have been guilty of the manslaughter of Waldorf, had he died from his wounds.

Some doubt exists as to whether you could legally resist the police in any circumstances.

In their book 'Criminal Law', Smith and Hogan ask: 'If D, an innocent person, is mistaken, even reasonably by police for a notorious gunman and is so attacked that he can preserve his life only by killing or wounding... does the law deny him the right to resist?'. The position is not clear, but the safest bet seems to be to let the police shoot the stuffings out of you, rather than risk breaking the law.

In despair I turned to the New Law Journal, which asked of the Kensington incident 'is this sort of incident the inevitable result of a policy of training a large percentage of the police force in the use of firearms?'. According to this eminent journal the criminals in our capital may have cottoned-on quicker than the rest of us to the risks, and being prudently '... aware that they are more likely to come up against an armed police force are increasingly going to carry arms themselves — it has all the hallmarks of a vicious circle'. The writer is clearly a conservative who wants to control the use of firearms before '... we all become used to the type of gun law prevalent in America.' Someone of more socialist inclinations may well have suggested we all get guns on prescription through the National Health.

The Times editorial 25th January, 1983, 'Policing for The People' is more realistic, while admitting that 'The Metropolitan Police is less than efficient, public confidence in it has diminished' and it is not formally accountable to the community it serves', does not consider London's police force could attract the kind of supervision and scrutiny to which all other forces are subject. Quite apart from their obvious congenital blindness, it seems that the London police have '... problems on a scale that no police outside the metropolis is ever faced with.' We are told 'London is the seat of government, the main residence of members of the royal family and the centre of diplomatic and financial activity.'

In other words the Metropolitan Police are the front line flunkies of the Boss Class, and as such no Minister, least of all Mr Whitelaw, will ever do anything more radical than issuing them all with a new set of contact lenses or even white sticks.

Nothing it seems must be done to upset the City Police, and left to their own devices they may yet solve the population explosion and the unemployment crisis at a stroke.

A Law Student



MINGUS — *A Critical Biography*, by Brian Priestley, Quartet Books, £13.95. Available from FREEDOM Bookshop plus £1.00 p & p. See also: *Beneath the Underdog*, by Charles Mingus, Penguin, £1.95 plus 50p p & p.

CHARLIE MINGUS

Jazz lovers are lucky in that the beginnings of the music almost coincided with the development of recording techniques. We may never know if Buddy Bolden really could make himself heard over 14 miles on a clear night, but by the time the 21-year-old Charles Mingus made his first recording in 1943, with the Louis Armstrong Orchestra, electrical recording techniques had taken over from the early crude acoustic methods and the world was ready to hear every instrument in the orchestra doing its own thing.

Whether the world was ready for Charles Mingus is another matter. Learning piano, then trombone and then taking up the cello, Mingus finally settled for the double bass — by which time he matched the giant instrument with his own massive frame, and his own out-sized temperament as well.

Son of an authoritarian ex-sergeant in the US Army, who was light-skinned enough to 'pass for white', and a mother with Chinese and English antecedents, he was brought up in Watts (remember Watts — just outside Los Angeles?)

to hold contempt for those darker than himself, while at the same time not being accepted by the whites. Rejecting his father's attitudes, from an early age and long before the coining of 'black is beautiful', Mingus joined those who could use the word 'nigger' among themselves but would smack in the mouth any white kid using it.

Small surprise, then, that as far as the 'life' part of this critical autobiography is concerned, it is quite literally a blow-by-blow account of a man who lived on a very short fuse — an irascible genius if you like — among fellow musicians working in a highly competitive, exploited and uncertain profession, forever travelling from one side of America (and, later, the world) to the other and hyping themselves up on drink or drugs, always seeking to push the frontiers of their music farther and farther ... far out.

For Mingus grew into his musical maturity during the post-war musical revolution of be-bop, avant-garde, 'cool', 'modern', 'angry' — all of which were coinciding with the black revolutionary on the streets — on the one hand the Black Power people and on the other, the struggles for integration in the schools, the struggles against discriminations on buses or in lunch parlours, the days of Martin Luther King.

Mingus himself, however, had little in common with King's non-violent philosophy. Related in this book is the now famous story of how he knocked out one of trombonist Kenny Knepper's teeth because he refused to make alterations in the band parts just minutes before a concert began. Just hinted at is the hilarious incident that ended Mingus's brief two-week stay in the Ellington Orchestra. This could not, as is so often the case, have seemed so funny at the time, for what happened is that Mingus and the light-skinned Puerto Rican trombonist Juan Tizol (who in early days would have to black-up if the orchestra was playing too near to the Mason-Dixon line!) had started sneering at each other just at the beginning of a performance on stage. It led to their both rushing off stage, then rushing back, Tizol with a bolo knife and Mingus behind him, double bass in one hand and a fire axe in the other. Details vary, but it seems that the worst that happened was that Tizol's chair was sliced in two.

The Duke's elegant and patient request for Mingus's resignation makes lovely reading, but for that you have to read Mingus's own autobiography, *Beneath the Underdog* — an unholy mixture of fact and wild sexual fantasy often belied by Mingus's own statements.

Mingus — A Critical Biography is the first full-length book to consider his musical development as a brilliant composer and master of his instrument against the background of the ever-changing personnel of his sidemen and associates. This latter fact provides a stark contrast with Duke Ellington and his men, for whom a year's stay was brief — some staying for ten, and in one case over forty, years!

Brian Priestley, however, is continually trying to find parallels between the two men — mainly coincidental similarities in timing and age differences which really have no significance and are somewhat irritating. Listeners to Priestley's Radio London (every Saturday, 10 am) programme of jazz records and venues, will however recognise that he has a fixation on time, topicalities, anniversaries and coincidences — for instance telling us something like 'just to be topical, I should point out that record was made exactly 27 years ago next Wednesday'.

Similarly in the book, there is hardly a paragraph that does not

have one or two insertions in parentheses which mar the flow of the prose, perhaps to tell us where a certain player had been the week before and what happened to him 15 months later.

These minor, stylistic, beefs apart, though, it must be said that to call the book 'factual' is an understatement. It is densely packed with facts, to the point of being encyclopaedic, and must surely be the definitive book on the life and times of Charles Mingus for a long while to come. Brian Priestley is himself a musician (even playing bass for a time!) and is able to discuss authoritatively what Mingus was up to in almost every major composition, with chord changes, patterns, etc.

Indeed, for all you bass players out there, there are nine examples of bass parts from Mingus's compositions plus one score of a piano improvisation (!), an Appendix on non-standard chorus structures and an analysis of a major work, *The Black Saint and the Sinner Lady*, a 35 page discography which I'll bet is complete, PLUS its own index, 12 pages of references and a 19 page general index! Altogether 226 pages of text with 82 pages of references and appendices, etc. Phew!

For those of us who are not musicians but try to appreciate the music, now that Mingus is dead we are fortunate to have a large body of work on record — and very varied it is too. From pastiches of old popular songs, old gospels and blues, up to very heavy original compositions and extended works, Mingus rarely fails to catch our attention.

For sociological connections, listen to *Fables of Faubus* (recorded in varying lengths at different times) composed to send up and put down Governor Faubus of Little Rock, Arkansas, who brought in his own state troopers in a last ditch attempt to prevent integration in schools in the Deep South. Hear also *Pithecanthropus Erectus*, ostensibly describing the first attempts of homo sapiens to walk upright — but, I would say, in its heavy menacing rhythms and pulsating bass serving notice on the white man that it was the American blacks who were getting up off their knees.

A more obvious protest is (literally) voiced, also in different versions, in *Cumbria and Jazz Fusion* (chorus in parentheses):

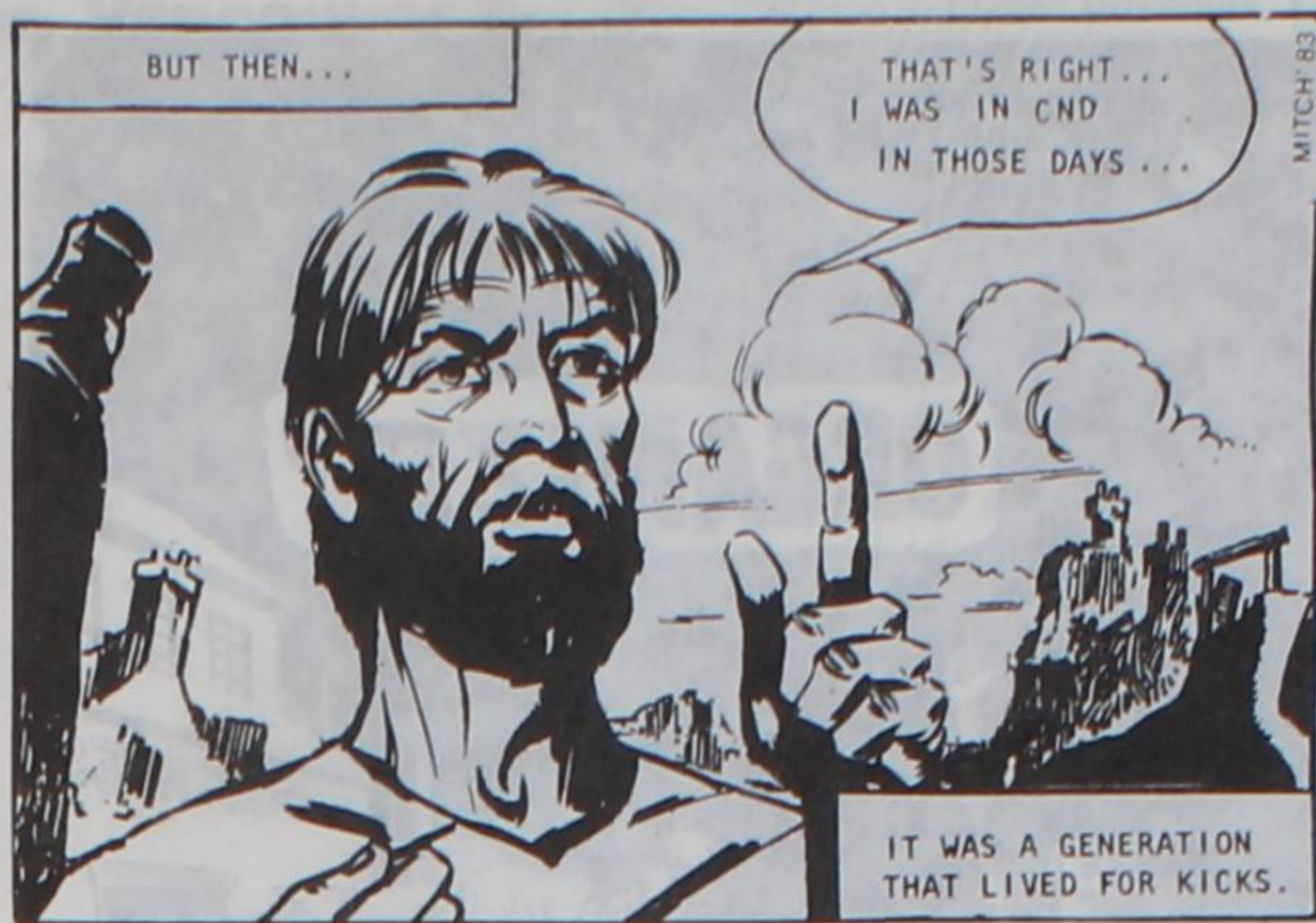
Who said Momma's li'l baby
likes shortnin' bread?
Who said Momma's li'l baby
likes shortnin' bread?
That's just some lie some white
man upped 'n' said!
Momma's li'l baby don't want
no shortnin' bread!

Momma's li'l baby likes truffies!
Momma's li'l baby likes cavali!
Momma's li'l baby likes all the
good things of life —
All the good things a real good
person should have!

Momma's li'l baby likes gold
mines — African gold mines.
(African gold mines?)
Yeah, Momma's li'l baby likes
African gold mines — African
diamond mines!
(African diamond mines?)
Yeah, diamonds 'n' gold!
Diamonds in the gold!
(Diamonds in the gold?)
Yeah, diamonds in the gold!

Momma's li'l baby like inte-
grated schools.
So our kids can be educated to
act like no fools!
(No fools, that's right!)
Right, no fools, no fools!
Momma's li'l baby wants
freedom!
(Yeah, yeah, freedom NOW!)

Philip Sansom



Jim Huggon reviews *Or shall we die?* by Ian McEwan, Cape £4.95. Available from FREEDOM Bookshop plus 36p postage.

HORROR(TORIO)

It is a rare occasion indeed these days when a world premiere of a newly composed piece of music strikes an instant chord of appreciation in the mind of the listener.

Both 'serious' music, and such as 'new wave' seem, to me at least, to have diverged — sadly, to extreme paths of impenetrability or vulgarity to a point where such values as beauty seem to get left behind or derided as 'bourgeois'.

Or Shall we Die? — an oratorio with music by Michael Berkeley to a text by Ian McEwan was recently

given its world premiere at the Festival Hall — the music was striking and capable of touching and moving one's emotions even at a first hearing. Few composers today are capable of that while writing in very much a contemporary idiom; Aulis Sallinen and John Tavener perhaps — few others — for my taste at least.

The text has just been published on its own (Ian McEwan: *Or Shall We Die*, Cape £4.95 cloth). Along with a fascinating introductory essay by the author.

The subject matter of the oratorio

has to do with Nuclear Weapons — their stockpiling, proliferation and the possibility and perhaps inevitability of their use — given the immensity of the time span of the nuclear age stretching out before us.

The text — appropriately enough for this time of Greenham Common — contrasts the 'feminine' virtues of peace and love as against the 'masculine' vices of macho and aggression — whilst acknowledging that the masculine and the feminine are present in *all* of us.

'Shall there be womanly times, or shall we die?

Are there men unafraid of gentleness?'

It is the yin and yang, the Newtonian as opposed to the Einsteinian universe; the libertarian as opposed to the authoritarian strand in human nature.

The humanistic as opposed to religious aspect of the text is explicit,

'The aircrew kneels before the priest

With God's blessing we deliver this bomb.'

nor is it merely a humanism that is opposed to the church as it has corrupted itself — but God itself.

'Our God is manly! In War he refuses us nothing!'

The fourth section explicitly recognises the militaristic role of the state, as the third section did of the church. The irony of this section is obvious.

'Our minds are clear of all emotion.

Pure thought alone describes the universe

Freely elected, chosen by the people,

We are the makers of laws.

Diligent, logical, disciplined men. In our sure hands the security of the state.

The defence of order, freedom, property,

Sovereignty, the aspirations of the people.

Whom we serve

— Whom we lead.

Secrecy is essential when decisions weigh heavy on the men of State.

The weak-hearted, the effeminate, the disloyal must know nothing.'

Sections five, six and seven graphically describe the aftermath of a nuclear attack; interspersed with McEwan's text are verses from William Blake.

'Here one nation stands jailer to its nation's minds

here the other ransacks the globe, a freedom

sustained by greed. The names of Lenin and Jefferson are mouthed, the visions are forgotten.

The State appoints its enemies, bureaucracies propound its simple lies.

The allies, fawning or coerced, take sides.

The cult of weaponry taints every mind,

The text and the work itself stands firmly in a tradition — Tippett's

Child of our Time and Britten's *War Requiem* spring to mind. McEwan and Berkeley take that tradition on into the nuclear age.

To those who would ask, what has all this to do with anarchism? I would answer that art and beauty are always in rebellion against authority — because they are supremely the creations of the individual, the products of our uniqueness.

No great art has ever emerged from a totalitarian regime — if you would cite eg Shostakovich, much of his greatest music brought him the severest censure from the Soviet authorities.

Little great art — at least in the twentieth century — has survived the deadening effect of 'official' patronage. Of previous centuries only genius of the gigantic proportions of such as Bach and Mozart was able fully to transcend the severe limits of patronage; totalitarianism (as opposed to paternalism) being a twentieth century phenomenon.

As regards the volume under review — I would only urge a paperback edition upon its cautious publishers in order that this text, together with its finely written introduction, be given the circulation it deserves.

'My subject is war and the pity of war

The Poetry is the pity.

All a poet can do today is warn.'

Wilfred Owen
killed in action 1918.



Community, Anarchy and Liberty, by Michael Taylor, Cambridge University Press, £14 hardback, £4.95 paperback.

People Without Government by Howard Barclay, Kahn & Averill/Cienfuegos Press, £3.75 paperback.

THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING

The familiar way of expounding anarchism is through the prescriptive methods of propaganda, whether by word or deed, or of action, whether indirect or direct, and this has been the usual procedure of the classic anarchist writers and the historical anarchist movement. But there is also what may be called 'academic anarchism', which proceeds through the descriptive methods of examining how groups possibly could or actually do function in accordance with anarchist principles, whether consciously or unconsciously, and of exploring how such behaviour may be generalised in society. This kind of approach has been taken by some anarchist writers, from Peter Kropotkin to Colin Ward, and it may be seen in two recent books by academic writers.

Michael Taylor, a reader in government at Essex University, has already produced *Anarchy and Co-operation* (1976), applying games theory to politics and arguing that

group decisions are likely to be better without the institutionalised authority of government and with the voluntary cooperation of anarchism. The treatment was highly abstract and heavily technical, but still interesting. He has now produced *Community, Anarchy and Liberty*, some of which began as papers at academic conferences in 1979 and 1980, and which simplifies and amplifies his argument.

Taylor says that he has tried 'to discover whether anarchism — doing without the state — is viable and, if so, what sort of anarchism that would be and whether it was compatible with certain fundamental ideals of communitarian anarchists and other socialists, notably those of liberty and equality'. The book consists mainly of dense discussion of theoretical issues — especially the problems of reconciling liberty with community, equality and order — but it also contains some description of practical instances of 'anarchic communities' — informal groups and primitive societies

which do seem to do without government.

The result is intriguing and often impressive, though lay readers will be annoyed by the ritualistic references to and debates with other academic writers, and may be amused by the almost total omission of anarchist writers. Taylor concludes that 'anarchy is viable to the extent that relations between people are those which are characteristic of community', and that 'in a community, social order can be maintained without the state; so too can the approximate economic equality which community requires'. But he isn't very hopeful about the development of anarchic communities or about the maintenance of anarchism within or between them.

Harold Barclay, a lecturer in anthropology at Alberta University, has produced *People Without Government*, a more accessible treatment of the same subject, being concerned with practical rather than theoretical issues. He

argues 'that anarchy is by no means unusual; that it is a perfectly common form of polity or political organisation. Not only is it common, but it is probably the oldest type of polity and one which has characterised most of human history.' After distinguishing between anarchism (the ideology of society without institutionalised authority) and anarchy (the mere absence of government), and between 'intentional' and 'unintentional' anarchies, he summarises the many known examples of anarchy — especially as recorded by anthropologists among hunter-gatherer, gardener, herder, and agricultural societies, but also in religious and utopian communities, in revolutionary collectives and cooperatives and so on. The result, as expressed by the book's subtitle, is 'An Anthropology of Anarchy'.

Barclay's discussion is more concrete than Taylor's. He takes his examples on their own terms rather than as illustrations of a thesis, and he not only recognises but emphasises the non-anarchist elements of many anarchies — the prevalence of patriarchy and tyranny of conformity in most primitive societies, the instability and ambiguity of most libertarian experiments. He concludes that 'the kind of free society which might be more durable and resistant to corruption ... would be one in which each person and group was involved in a complex web of mutual relations so that each bond within the web would act as a counter-balancing force to every other', but he adds that such anarchy is 'unlikely to be achieved' and that 'we are left with a politics of permanent protest'.

Barclay is closer than Taylor to the anarchist movement. An essay summarising the argument of his book appeared in FREEDOM a year ago (Review, 6 March 1982); he acknowledges his debt to the pioneering works by Kropotkin (*The State: Its Historic Role and Mutual Aid*, both still available from the Freedom Bookshop); he refers to consciously anarchist attempts to establish anarchies, especially in the Russian and Spanish Revolutions and in the liber-

tarian communities of Britain and the United States; and the book has a short preface by Alex Comfort, once a leading anarchist writer in Britain, though not since he went to the United States ten years ago and made a fortune out of sex books: he marks his return by saying that 'anarchism is an attitude, not a programme', and that its success is to be seen not through revolution but through its effect on existing society, which may be true but doesn't fit the rest of the book.

Both these books dissent from traditional political science in taking seriously the viability of society without government. But both books conform with traditional political science in tending to consider static rather than dynamic models. It is surely relevant that, while most examples of primitive anarchy tend to be stable, most examples of modern anarchy have appeared in the unstable circumstances of religious reformation, social reform, or political revolution; that most anarchist writers (and other socialists) have assumed that anarchism would be established only during or following revolutionary developments; and that most anarchists (and other libertarians) see a dialectical relationship between the experience of liberty and the withering away of the state. Here academic anarchism must get out of the study into the street, and here Comfort in his sixties could learn some lessons from Comfort in his twenties. But meanwhile all anarchists can learn much from both books.

Two closing reflections. One is that both books are relatively short, contrary to normal academic practice, and that while this makes them more readable it also makes the supporting material rather thin. The other is that while Taylor's book, published by a leading university publisher, has been badly edited and is often unnecessarily obscure, Barclay's book, published by a small general publisher and a smaller anarchist publisher on the verge of collapse, has been excellently edited and despite beginning as a clumsy and confused manuscript now reads clearly and elegantly.



DWELLER CONTROL

Housing — An Anarchist Approach
Colin Ward. Published by FREEDOM Press — new edition with post-script. £2.25 plus postage.

The above house has a typical history, it is situated opposite the house in which I live, which we occupied in July 1981. Our own house was in too bad a state to be made habitable within the money available. We therefore did a lot of the work necessary to bring the house into use. The house opposite was occupied by squatters who were evicted in July 1981. In the following December the premises caught fire, as a result the windows in the top two floors were smashed to let out the smoke and steam. The house has now been empty for more than a year, since the fire. This saga is repeated endlessly all over the country. The house is owned by the local authority, who find that the cost of repair is beyond what they are allowed in grants. Most of the empty property, however, is in private hands. (see chart on empty houses in cities)

There was a scheme in which co-operatives could bring shortlife property into use funded by the Housing Corporation. Money has been allocated for this purpose but the restrictions recently placed on using the best source of empty houses, those owned by the local authority, has brought this to an end, so the money allocated is unlikely to be taken up.

The worst thing that can happen to a house is for it to be left empty, for apart from its attraction as a playground and a source of revenue to scrap dealers, once the woodwork is exposed to more than 15% damp, attack by timber fungus is certain. In the interests of saving money which cannot feed or shelter a person, real capital is steadily rotting away.

As Ward succinctly observes the first principle of Anarchist housing is dweller control, not government or local authority or private landlord control. This is achieved by owner occupation today, but this leaves out those whose circumstances as poorly paid workers, single families or unemployed in a very disadvantaged state. Single young people particularly are without provision.

The growth of co-ops and squatting has been the answer to this problem by many young people and living communally has great

advantages over grotty bedsits. The pressure to provide traditional family apartments is still great. Difficulties are still put in the way of organisations which provide communal accommodation for young people.

The cost of public housing has been astronomical as with every other government-provided service. The mistakes have been on the practical, the environmental and the cost level. The provision has been paternalistic in the extreme. There has been little consultation with residents and maintenance services have been getting worse and worse and often below the standard demanded of other organisations.

What artificially increases the cost of building is the exorbitant price of land, high interest repayments and large bureaucratic costs. It was possible some thirty years ago, after one had overcome the bureaucracy, for relatively poorly paid people to self build, but now this can mostly be done through cooperatives. The cost of other local government services are so high, however, that the rates are a rent in themselves.

Building defects in postwar building are themselves a major factor in postwar housing costs.

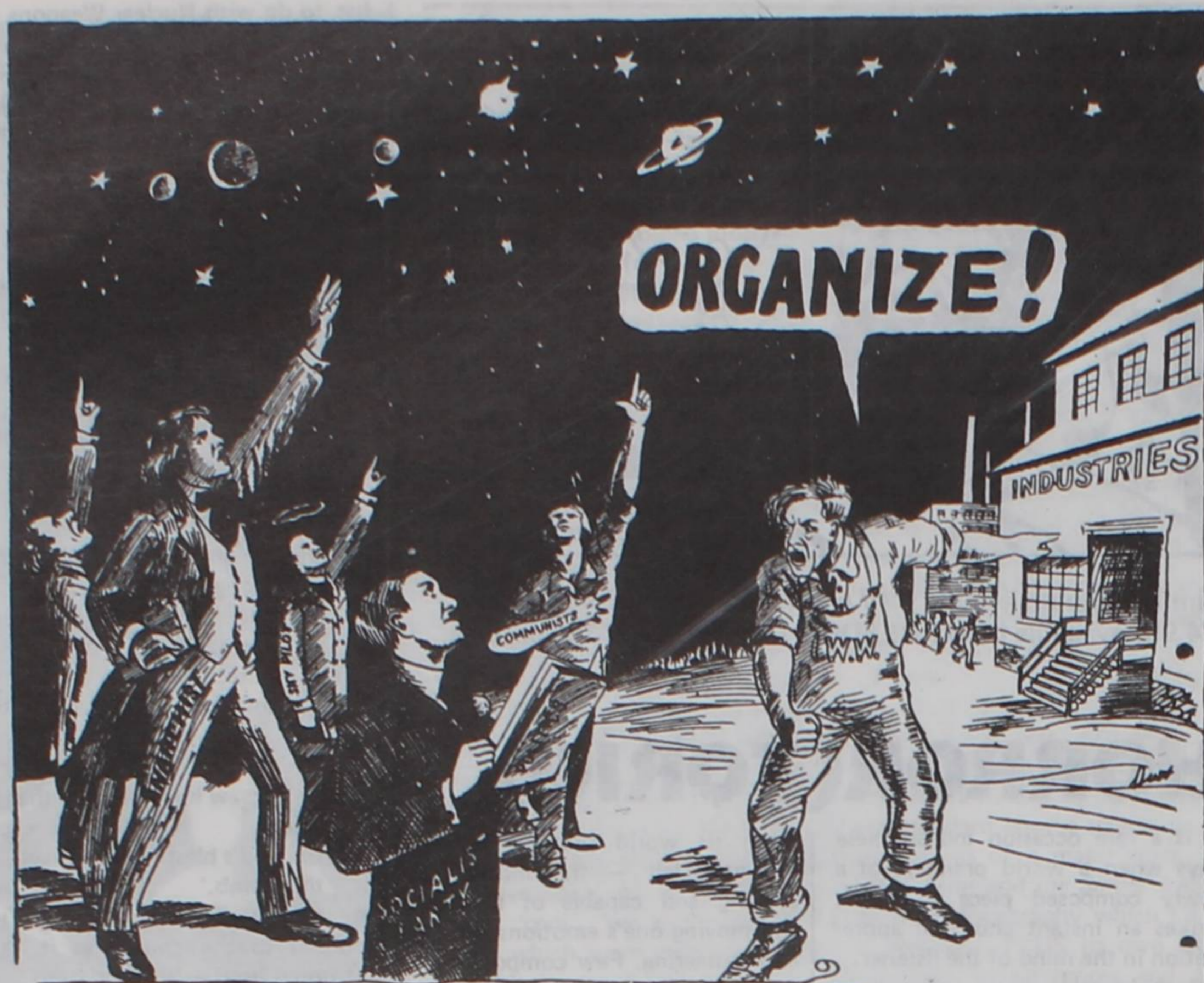
It has to be accepted that although the prospects for cooperative building have improved, the gentrification of large areas has pushed prices up for the less fortunate members of society. Collective building and living is one way of combatting rising prices in an increasingly jungle like society.

As Ward says in the two ultimate chapters:-

'Hemmed in as they are by the usual top-heavy absurdities of the way in which housing finance is managed, the first of the new Liverpool co-ops at Weller Street, demanded a great deal from its members. But their experience represents an enormous step forward from the kind of housing provision which the political left is so anxious to defend.'

Dweller satisfaction, as anyone outside public provision knows, relates not to officially measured housing standards, but to the degree of dweller control. This is the message of my own accumulation of comments on whatever happened to be current housing issues, just as it is that of the various guidebooks to alternatives in housing.'

Alan Albon



AGAINST ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM

From time to time in the libertarian press one hears the view that what is needed to put anarchism into practice on a large scale is the creation of a strong Anarcho-Syndicalist movement. This is a viewpoint I would disagree with. What I would like to do is express my views against Anarcho-Syndicalism and try to indicate what I think anarchists should be attempting to do.

The first thing to do is to look at Trade Unionism in the context of late twentieth century capitalist society. Trade Unionism is based upon piecemeal reforms, such as better working conditions, better health and safety at work and, of course, better rates of pay. These things are obviously desirable, but some libertarians seem to confuse 'militant trade unionism' with libertarian organisation. I think it is not and could never be in the type of society we live in now. An obvious point would be the support of pay differentials. The effect of this is to turn people against each other, not something that I think many anarchists would consider desirable! Most union activity is firmly under the leadership's control and often of a very token nature. Such rank and file activity as there is is often disapproved of! Trade Unionism has to accept the logic of the factory system and bargaining with the employers. In this day, I feel the basic point is that any form of unionism, whatever ideas it was based on, would have a strong movement to become reformist and so reach the situation we have got to today.

Sixty years ago there were many revolutionary syndicalist organisations whose intent was to do away with capitalism one way or another. For a variety of reasons, it seems to me people became accustomed to a factory environment, in a way they came to accept it. Another thing is of course that living standards (although they are probably falling now) have improved a lot since sixty years ago. In those days for some people it seemed a question of social revolution for survival. Nowadays many people would find that viewpoint very strange.

The main point behind Anarcho-Syndicalist organisation is to create an anarchist society by the control of the means of production by the syndicates. On the surface this view appears very reasonable. Where I feel they go wrong is that

they do not look deeply enough at the reasons for the development of factories in a capitalist society. The main reason was to do with hierarchy and coercion. If I can put it quite simply, the employers wanted to have their employees under centralised control. With the centralised resources of much of modern capitalist society factory production is on the whole essential. There is no good reason why factory production should continue to exist in a libertarian society, if one also questions technology.

A problem with the Anarcho-Syndicalist view is that even if the factories were taken over by the syndicates, the individual worker would still understand only a part of the process of production — the part that person worked on. The whole factory system is very much structured to ensure a bureaucracy would spring up to coordinate the process of production. In a factory based industrial society I find it difficult to see what could be done to prevent this.

In a libertarian society I feel it would be important that people should understand as much of the technology used as possible. If they do not understand the use of a particular technology there is always the danger of people dominating other people by their superior knowledge of a particular process. Where and when such cases which require expertise arise, only if the experts are accountable to the community will it help to prevent the formation of elite groups.

From an ecological point of view much damage is done by pollutants being released in large quantities from factories. Much of this can be seen as a relationship between social and technological factors.

I feel that Anarcho-Syndicalism is rooted in a nineteenth century viewpoint of the beneficial value of endless technological 'advances'. I think there is a serious underestimation of the problem of technology and human liberation. There is the point that much of modern technology can mould people's behaviour in various ways to conform with it. (Nuclear power and the motor car industry would be two cases in point.)

Another criticism I have of Anarcho-Syndicalism is that, like Marxism, it seems to see the problem of human liberation in economic terms. This is a viewpoint that is too simple. An example

would be that of fighting the profit system as a means to fight pollution. It is very similar to the writings of Marx, where he seems to see 'nature' as an inert background for the class struggle to take place in. I think this also is rooted in nineteenth century beliefs in progress. What it fails to do is examine in a deeper, more thorough, way the problem of human beings dominating each other and the ecosystem.

In practice I think the syndicalist system would have a strong tendency to achieve a hierarchical structure. This would occur as it went from factory to region and to nation, however confederal the rhetoric that went with it. From this it would seem that forms of the state's administrative organs would still be kept to keep things under control. To me it would seem likely that this could end in some type of dictatorship.

I think the type of society anarchists should be trying to achieve would be a federation of small communities organised on a face to face democracy basis. The type of technology would be both ecologically sound and understandable to the individual. Of course I realise the danger of laying too rigid a blueprint down of what a future society would resemble as this itself could hinder further progress.

Having criticised Anarcho-Syndicalism, what form of organisation can I suggest in its place? I think it is possible to get reformist demands realised by libertarian methods rather than reformist methods. Part of the function of direct action autonomous groups, if created, would be for this as well as to try and break down the factory system and create communities of face to face democracy. I think anarchists should be involved in this type of activity rather than trying to create a large Anarcho-Syndicalist organisation. Much work has been done on alternative and ecological technology (and much has yet to be done). This I think is also of much importance to anarchists.

I hope by what I have written to help stimulate ideas about new forms of libertarian organisation. Obviously what I have written will contain much other people will disagree with or wish to elaborate further. Perhaps it will bring new ideas into the open!

D Dane

The Vancouver 5

Five comrades in British Columbia, Canada, have been arrested for the May 1982 bombing and total destruction of a power station on Vancouver Island. The opposition to the construction of the £500,000 power substation had been widespread, due to the environmental dangers and the destruction it would bring to native people's lands and residents' homes.

Due to this widespread solidarity the police were unable to turn up any scraps of evidence after 8 months of intensive investigation.

The five — Brent Taylor, Gerald Hannah, Ann Hanson, Juliet Belmas and Douglas Steward — have been 'tried, judged and convicted with-

out the benefit of a jury' through the police directed media campaign. The media have labelled the 5 as terrorists without any evidence whilst omitting that the police themselves have a history of criminal convictions. The media has also omitted that the 5 are all active in struggles for human dignity — native people's rights, women's rights, anti-pornographic, welfare and wage demands, prisoner support groups etc. The terrorist tactics of the state and the media have tried the five on their effectiveness in human struggles.

What is on trial here is the State's effectiveness in restricting people's rights to political dissent and its

ability to use sensationalist presentations to manipulate the public.

SUPPORT THE VANCOUVER FIVE.

Niemand Stercus

For more information contact:

Montreal Citizens for Survival

C P no 2

Succ La Cite

Montreal, Quebec

Canada H2W 2M9

or write to the five themselves at:

Lower Mainland Regional Correction Centre

Drawer 0

Burnaby, British Columbia

Canada V5H 3N4

Turks in Germany

Turkish solidarity groups Hockç' Der and Der-Sol Colerimci Sol, are being banned in the interests of national security. The Turkish government has pressured the German Minister of the Interior, Zimmerman, to deport anyone involved with these groups. The German government which pro-

posed this law on the 9th of January has marked for a long time Turkey's fascist regime giving £200,000 for weapons and tools of suppression to the secret service. The deportation to Turkey will mean death to those who have been involved in the resistance. Lists of those involved in

anti-fascist organisations in Germany have been published in Ankarra. Protests are now being carried out. There have been demonstrations and the occupation of the Turkish Consulate in Cologne. Please write letters of protest against this law to the Turkish and German Consulates.

In Brief

Communist Party officials in Manchuria have been ordered not to splash rain water on pedestrians as they drive by in their limousines.

The proportion of Britain's income given to military expenditure will soon be back to the levels of the 1960's according to an analysis by the Bradford School of Peace Studies. It has been growing at an annual rate of 4.3%. The official NATO target is 3%. Including the costs of the Falklands garrison, formally covered by a 'contingency fund', the budget will be more than 6% of the gross national product. This is expected to fall by 1.2%. Over the five years to 1984 defence spending will have risen by 23.3%. The only comparable areas of government spending are law and order (30.1%) and social security (all that dole money, 21%). There are cuts of 6.4% on education, 54.8% on housing and 15.5% on foreign aid.

Dissident intellectuals have published a report claiming that people have little chance of surviving a nuclear attack. Even if they do manage this, they have absolutely no hope of finding any medical

help for any minor cuts and bruises they may have suffered. The report contrasts this with the official government line on the subject. The authors go under the sinister sounding title of the British Medical Association.

Nick Cowan is director and secretary of the London Clearing Banks Employers. It may be assumed that he has a clear understanding of what is best for the capitalist system. He has written an article in *Personnel Management*. He is in favour of union officials. They have a restraining influence on their members, sometimes taking a line which is 'unpopular'. He thinks that secret ballots could 'play into the hands of militants'.

The idea of National Service for the young unemployed has appeared again. The Ministry of Defence is said to be considering taking on school leavers under the Youth Training Scheme. This lasts a year, including 13 weeks 'training'. This could be in the services 'if they so wish'.

Survey shocks (An Occasional Series), from *The Tablet* (Roman

Catholic weekly. Most Britons still believe in Sin and nearly a third believe in Hell and the Devil. This includes the 15% of atheists who believe in sin and 4% in the Devil.

Two new books examine the evidence around the massacre at the prison at Paracuellos during the Spanish Civil War. This was the most significant atrocity attributed to the Republican side and was much exploited by the Franco regime. The books disagree. One attributes blame to Santiago Carillo, who was in charge of security in Madrid. The other pinpoints the Communist Party, under direct control from Moscow. As Carillo ended up as leader of the CP, it seems a rather pointless argument.

Controversy has been raised by proposals to give the police power to search body orifices, presumably looking for seat belt fasteners or devices to give your motor bike more than 12 horse power. However, the argument has, at a stroke, become academic. The police themselves have become squeamish and an editorial in *Police Review* rejects 'powers that few police officers want, none of them need and hardly any of them will exercise.'

LOOK... I ALWAYS SWIM WITH THE TIDE... ON THE CREST OF THE WAVES. I MIGHT GET A JOB AS A CLERK...



Sheffield - Peace City?

Sheffield Peace Centre has now been open since January 10th (see FREEDOM 29/1/83) and in this time a number of important lessons have been learnt that apply to the whole anarcho-pacifist movement in this country.

The centre was initiated by a group of around 30 people, individuals who wished to become involved in NVDA against the Warfare State in the year of Cruise and Trident and who felt alienated by the structures and leadership of the local 'official' peace groups. It is run on a non-hierarchical basis and was intended to provide a focus for activists in the area as a place where 'the public' could come for information and a cup of tea in a welcoming atmosphere. We have a library and bookshop stocking a wide range of pacifist, ecological, feminist, libertarian and animal rights literature, posters, badges etc; a creche and vegan/vegetarian cafe as well as rooms where we can hold meetings and workshops and put on films and music.

The centre has been well supported by 'the public' and grass roots members of local peace groups as well as organisations such as WRI, PPU and NPC. Also many individuals have come to Sheffield from other parts of the country to help us, some subsequently deciding to stay in Sheffield.

We have run coaches to the last blockade at Molesworth and for the demo outside the trial of the

women from Greenham Common and we are also planning actions in Yorkshire, possibly to coincide with the Easter actions organised by CND.

The centre has generated a lot of positive energy, being a microcosm of an anarchist society; it has brought together like-minded people from Sheffield and elsewhere, many of whom have gained experience of communal living for the first time.

The reaction from the Council and CND has been predictable. At a well-orchestrated 'emergency' CND meeting the city group condemned our action and subsequent attempts to win over the Peace Liaison Committee (an umbrella group for Sheffield's 30 odd Peace Groups) have met with only partial success. After Roger Boron, Chairman [sic] of the Council's 'Nuclear Free Zone Advisory Committee' had turned off our electricity supply within 24 hours of our moving in and without any consultation relations with the Council improved briefly when we negotiated directly with David Blunkett, leader of the Council. We obtained an agreement which was intended to provide continuity between our Centre and a new building provided by the Council. Now the Council has provided the PLC with a tiny shop to be run by a Committee of prominent hacks and which will probably only stock literature of the official peace

groups eg CND, ANC. We, having speeded up the provision of this Peace Shop, are now being evicted by the Council (Sheffield City Council v 'Persons Unknown' at Leeds High Court on March 14th — supporters welcome) — so much for Peace City. Whether we gain another building or not the spirit will be carried forward.

Anyone who had any illusions about the 'good intentions' of the council or working through the hierarchical structures of CND has had them completely shattered, as a result a lot of people have been drawn into the Sheffield Anarchist Group which is now healthier than it has been for many years. In addition Sheffield now has an active University group (Black Rat) and the old Sheffield Anarchist paper has been revived.

The main lessons from our experience are firstly that it is possible to work for peace in an anarchist way. Secondly, we have learnt the dangers inherent in trusting Councilors and in working within the structure of CND. Meanwhile the Centre still needs support and more than anything funds to help clear our debts.

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