

**Inside: PORTUGAL; POLAND; PRISON UNION. REVIEW: GERMANY**

# CND What have we learnt?

There is no power more satisfying for a politician than the power over life and death. It is a perk of statesmanship and it is what gets you into the history books. How many have heard of, say, Cobden\* compared with those who have heard of Ivan the Terrible?

Stalin killed six million kulaks; Hitler killed six million Jews - a neat equation, almost bearing out what many of us thought at that time - that Hitler learned a lot from Stalin. Whether that be so or not, these two gentlemen have their names written in letters of fire in every history book - even those now being produced in their 'own' countries, who have disowned them ..... but don't want them forgotten.

Those with power of life and death are 'great' men and women. Thus it is that those who allow their ambitions to lead them into the struggle for high office and dedicated responsibility and great power, recognise early on that one responsibility they have to face up to bravely is: having power over life and death.

In our agnostic times it is like being on the hot line to God, come Armageddon. You have got to be prepared to accept that the Holocaust of all Holocausts is a Good Thing. And you have to see clearly that you are the chosen instrument of the Almighty in the eternal battle of Good against Evil, of Truth against Error. The end justifies the means.

Once we realise the essential truth of these concepts, we can understand more easily what went wrong with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in the 60s. Thousands of dear, sweet people, all with their hearts in the right places, thought that they could appeal to the consciences of leaders of governments - to the very politicians we have been telling you about. Well, not necessarily the same ones, but they're all the same anyway.

This was because the agitation against nuclear bombs (nuclear power for 'peaceful' purposes had not yet become an issue) was begun by a few who had no illusions about politicians - but soon attracted thousands who did. The first Aldermarston march, which became the annual focal point of the campaign, was walked by one man, carrying a simple little banner saying 'Ban Atom Bombs', and he walked alone from London to Aldermarston (the Government's atomic research centre, near Reading).

The next year, about 400 people walked all the way and attracted a lot of publicity. The next year the campaign was officially launched and switched the direction of the march from Aldermarston to London - ending in Trafalgar Square, where the media were waiting, and the campaign took off. So well in fact that the Labour Party moved in (they were in opposition then, as now) and were followed by the Communists.

This was the actual sequence of events - yet in the Guardian last week (July 23rd), a political commentator named Peter Jenkins wrote 'It took two years only for CND to capture the Labour Party', when in fact it was the other way round. The Labour Party 'left' (the writer remembers sitting next to Michael Foot in the shadow of the Albert Memorial on the last leg of one of the marches) moved in on a movement which was obviously catching the public imagination, bringing with it radical churchmen like Canon Collins and Methodist trade unionists like Frank Cousins, at the time Gen Sec of the TUC.

The CP moved in afterwards to water down the demand for abolition of all atomic weapons by insisting that the Russian bomb was 'for peace'.

Between them, they swung the emphasis away from popular, unaligned protest, into support for the Labour Party's resolutions for

reductions in armaments, and gradually into acceptance merely of a ban on tests. By the time the Labour Party came to power again, in 1964, Hugh Gaitskell had managed to swing the party's resolution against abolition (and then he died!) and that great leader of the party left, Aneurin Bevan, having been made Shadow Foreign Secretary (great honour for an ex-miner), had declared that he could not 'Go naked into the Conference Chambers of the world', and needed the bomb in order to clothe himself with power, the better to negotiate from strength.

Familiar? Of course it is. And of course CND died, of disillusion. But surely the answer is not to give up the struggle, but to give up illusions! If there is now to be a resurgence of struggle against the monstrosities of the new generation of nuclear weapons - compared with which Hiroshima and Nagasaki were Guy Fawkes night bonfires - then the first step is to reject all ideas of working with politicians of every kind. (It is interesting to note that E. P. Thompson, plugged by the media as the 'leader' of the resurgence of CND, refused to speak at the recent rally by the Labour Party on nuclear weapons. What has he learned, we wonder?)

For we come back to our opening. Politicians of all complexions seek power. State power. And state power means utter ruthlessness in dealing with the enemies of the state - internal or external - and the use of all the wealth of society against the members of society who produce that wealth.

The state will let us all burn if it suits its purposes. Any party or organisation which tries to persuade you that it is necessary to use the state has you in its sights already.

That is why it is necessary to be an enemy of the state.

\*Something to do with Free Trade?



# PORTUGAL:

## The taming of freedom

Six years after the Portuguese Revolution of April 25 1974, the Right is again gaining political ground over the Left-wing forces in Portugal. The Socialist Party was last year removed from power by the A.D. electoral alliance (A.D. stands for the so called Democratic Alliance) and the forthcoming presidential elections will be contested by all the Centre and Left parties in order to stop this drift to the right and ensure that at least the actual President, General Ramalho Eanes is kept in power as the remaining influential figure of what is left of the Armed Forces Movement.

Curiously General Eanes has been accused by the conservative Prime Minister of having Left sympathies, possibly towards the Socialist party on the Revolutionary Council, made up of assorted army officers who are supposed to be the guarantors of the April 25 Revolution. Apparently the Socialist and Communist parties have not yet made up their minds whom to support, but knowing their past opportunistic records, one should not be surprised to see the Communists and Socialists backing General Eanes against a more right-wing Presidential candidate.

The extreme left would like to put forward as their candidate Major Otelo de Carvalho, but its electoral front, the FUP (Popular Unity Front) is already in total disarray, unable to bypass the endemic sectarianism of Portuguese left-wing politics. The extreme left has been viciously attacked by the Communist Party, which fears that votes in favour of the FUP candidates would further undermine General Eanes' chances of re-election.

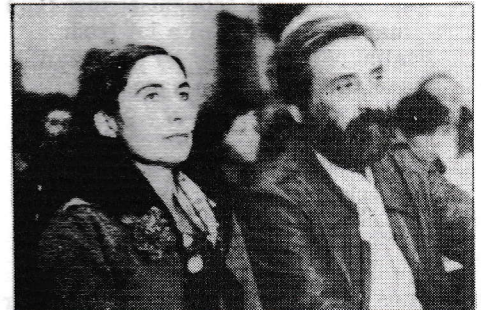
Meanwhile the Government is steadily returning land to Alentejo province landlords, dismantling agrarian cooperatives set up by farm workers during the revolutionary period of 1974/75. Considerable force has been used by the National Republican Guard (GNR) in Alentejo with the result that some workers have already been killed while resisting evictions.

On the trade union front the Communist controlled CGT-Intersindical is not willing to rock the boat and is putting up a symbolic opposition to the constant decline of working class living standards by just calling protest marches against the Government, unemployment, repression in Alentejo, etc.....

As in many other European countries the orthodox political arena is clearly defined by the activities of at least four major tendencies - the right, the centre, the reformist left and the revolutionary left; and as in the rest of western Europe the non-orthodox political scene is also witnessing the mushrooming of various alternative projects (pacifist-ecological-anti-nuke-feminist-anarchist-syndicalist-inspired campaigns), but it should be said that realistically these campaigns are initiated by minority groups of militant people with little influence in working class political life, which is still dominated adroitly by the Portuguese Communist Party, the UDP the CGT-Intersindical and other marxist orientated parties. Some extreme-left groups close to the leftist Major Otelo de Carvalho, namely the OUT and the PRP are at the receiving end of state repression, particularly the PRP (Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat), which has had its most influential leaders - Isabel do Carmo and Carlos Antunes - sent to prison for 11 and 15 years respectively. They were accused of having been the 'Moral Instigators' of several bank raids and of the killing of a policeman, allegedly by other members of the PRP, around Lisbon and Oporto in 1975. The trials of the PRP members (the 7 accused received a total of 74 years in gaol) left many foreign lawyers and observers, including Amnesty International, with the sad impression that justice in Portugal is still done fascist-style. Pity that the Portuguese Communist Party did not find it necessary to comment on the irregularity and on the savagery of these sentences, passed against militant anti-fascists

who began their political careers in the Communist Party itself when it was forced to operate clandestinely under the Salazar dictatorship.

As far as the Portuguese anarchists are concerned, it is difficult to say if their actions and publications have any serious and lasting impact in the radical fringes of Portuguese society. It appears that some personality clashes among Portuguese comrades have affected the possibility of more cohesive and dynamic work, and various attempts to set up an Anarchist Federation of the Portuguese Region as it existed in the 20s and 30s have failed. Groups and publishing collectives have sprung up in various parts of the country, doing their own little thing, rather like in Britain, but it appears that some publications are in serious trouble for lack of funds, namely A Batalha, A Ideia, and A Voz Anarquista.



Isabel do Carmo and Carlos Antunes leaders of the PRP recently sentenced to 11 and 15 years in gaol respectively for the 'moral instigation' of political crimes committed allegedly by other members of their party.

Any FREEDOM readers who would like to contribute with some money (any currency) to help these publications can send it to

A Batalha - Apartado 5085 1702

Lisbon Codex, Portugal

A Ideia - Apartado 3122, 1303

Lisbon Codex, Portugal

A Voz Anarquista, - Apartado 40,

2301 Lisbon Codex, Portugal

Any readers visiting Portugal this summer who would like to meet some Portuguese comrades should write to A Batalha, A Ideia, Avenida Alvares Cabral 27 Lisbon, telephone 65-86-75

A Voz Anarquista, Rua Candido dos Reis 121, First Floor, Alama, near Lisbon.

Comrades from abroad are very welcome to visit these papers.



# Prison Union

NEWS of a significant development within prison has surfaced with 45 prisoners at Parkhurst maximum security prison smuggling out a document signed by them which states: 'We the undersigned wish to form a prisoners' union'. According to People's News Service (18 July) a spokesperson claiming to be associated with the prisoners has called on prisoners elsewhere to take up the demand for the right to organise a union. A list of demands were provided which were: 1) The recognition of the right to form a prisoners' union; 2) An end to all censorship; 3) An end to chronic overcrowding; 4) An end to cellular confinement/isolation; 5) Consultation with prisoners about changes in the penal system.

The idea of a Prisoners' Union was advocated by Radical Alternatives to Prison in its submission to the May Inquiry into the Prison Services which reported late last year. RAP said that "Within prisons, it is desirable that prisoners should be allowed to organise their own union and to be consulted about conditions and proposed changes in penal policy".

In the United States Jessica Mitford, in her book The American Prison Business, describes a meeting of the San Francisco Prisoners' Union when an ex-convict described the elementary necessities of life such as decent food, medical care, educational and training facilities that would be sought together with worthwhile jobs at prevailing union

rates. "But beyond that" he said of the prisoners "they are fighting for human dignity, for empowerment, for self-determination, for political rights - which many believe will lead to the eventual overthrow of the system that enslaves them".

Mitford goes on to describe support for the idea of a prisoners' union in the States coming from the Annual Chief Justice Earl Warren Conference jointly sponsored by the American Trial Lawyers Foundation. Participants, which included judges, lawyers, professors of law, criminology etc. concluded that "prisoners should be permitted to organise, without fear of reprisal, for the purpose of effective expression and negotiation of grievances".

The San Francisco Prisoners' Union who sought, among other things, the right to collectively organise and bargain, argued that to implement their demands the union would "organise convicts into a body which can keep public pressure on the Department of Corrections, work toward the abolition of hand-picked inmate advisory committees and replace them with a democratically elected, unionised body of convicts, demand unrestricted access to the judicial system and the press".

The possibility that British prisons are about to experience attempts to establish a prisoners' union is made more likely by the signed document from Parkhurst. Despite the fact that the British



Graphic taken from BREAKOUT

government is a signatory to the UN document 'Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners' (adopted 30 August 1955) in which 60(1) states: "The regime of the institution should seek to minimise any differences between prison life and life at liberty which tend to lessen the responsibility of the prisoners or the respect due to their dignity as human beings" - despite this, something tells the author of these words that the prison authorities will respond to the prisoners' demands in the only way they are able to - by punishing the 'offenders'.

A similar faith in the justice one can expect leaves me with no alternative but to use a name honoured through the ages but with no particular person seeking attributes.

ANON

**WILDCAT** Thirty-five years ago, we dropped a bomb on Hiroshima...



That isn't the point, Pussycat. None of us were actually involved. We didn't even suspect the bomb existed. But we get beautifully turned on by feelings of collective guilt.





# Torness: keep it green

The sun rose on the communal fires.

The sun that fires the hazy summer afternoon dream.

The sun that revitalises, energises the spirit.

We moved around nibbling food and chewing over the days (plans) for action.

In the near distance the Park dominated attention. Brutally vandalised by wire, cranes, warehouses of sick green. The fence barbed and patrolled by state automatons. Brutes of dogs straining every 100 metres. Blue figures clotted the artificial landscape of tasteless design. Battle wagons cruised the perimeter. Constant cackle of radio communications.

Chopper Chopper in the air  
What the fuck are you doing there?

Buzz Buzz it kept on and on.  
Heavy presence of oppression.

Leaderless organisation as groups moved off on publicity excursions to the picturesque town of Dunbar. Others hovered around the site observing the preparations for the symbolic portable windmill.

Providence had cast upon the beach a black float not at all unlike the cliched Anarchist Bomb.

Like minds pounced on the idea and with a few strokes of red paint it was dubbed BOMB. An eternal Ⓐ, a fuse and an anti-nuclear sticker completed the effect.

The suspect device concealed in leather jacket (the modern cloak) we made our way to the Park's public entrance. On arrival we saw many of our exiled Park Keeper friends being denied entrance to the Peoples Park by hordes of Blue Meanies.

This occupation of our Park by enemy agents meant that only a privileged few can enter. Among the few are McAlpines specialised mechanised vandals.

The Park Keepers with infinite resourcefulness adopted the street theatre method of attack.

"Arrrrr I be thee Ancient Mariner," proclaimed a keeper with an amazing likeness to Viv Stanshall, "and I've come to warn thee!" Points at police.

It should be explained at this point that the Ancient Mariner had a dead decaying gannet hung around his neck which was pretending to be an albatross. It later covered its identity in an interview to the press by claiming to be a seagull.

"You killed the Albatross and I be here to warn thee. Tamper no more, I've warned thee

and you ignore the message. But the prophecy will be fulfilled. I warn thee!" or words to this effect. The Keepers applauded and the cops shuffled their collective feet, putting faith in their chief to ward off evil omens. The boss man was distinctly uncomfortable and he had by now the smell of rotting flesh in his nostrils. He was protecting property he said, carrying out the law he said. But a peoples park is all we want we said. A peoples park cannot kill and lay the land to waste for eons we said. Arguing with computers is pointless, their minds can only reply with the shit fed in.

Time for a symbolic bomb, a BOMB to open the gates to the people, a BOMB that hangs like a death sentence from the day Torness starts operating. The Park keepers hope that day will never come. We believe sheep will graze once more on Torness Point foreshore.

Unfortunately it is impossible to collectively throw a bomb, one individual must perform the action which it did with grace and the BOMB sailed high over the gate and landed at the states feet. For that moment it rocked.

"Get him!" shouted the top cop. The 'militant Anarchist' scurried away but the long arm of the law reached out and due to its belief in violent suppression of people as well as Parks it won

taking many brothers and sisters with it. Their crime? Being Park Keepers.

We found ourselves after much hard "bumping" (well it was really beating), hostages of some body that calls itself maintainers of the law. "Whose law?"

The Park Keepers had cracked it.

"How does a member of the public gain access to Torness Park"

Answer, "Get taken hostage for causing a breach of the peace/police."

We were in the inner compound yet we were rendered impotent due to the large looming presence of Vandals and the thick wall of hostage taking machines.

The truncheon men with their love of order singled out the BOMBER to be processed first. Humiliation is the prime object now. It is hard to smile sometimes.

We all went through the same.

Name! Address! Occupation! shit!

Stripped of all possessions down to earrings and shoelaces, photographed Blahhh! insulted Park Keepers hold their heads high even though all around the organised destruction desolated the scene.

"Occupation"

Silence

"Unemployed"

Pig writes unemployed

"I'm not unemployed I've no intention of finding work."

"Hair colour"

"Yellow and green"

"Natural hair colour"

"Yellow and green"

Pig writes down yellow and green.

Chopper Chopper Chopper Chopper

Have a cup of tea or coffee or whatever now and then read on as to how the Hostages were detained and influenced their own release through using amazing psychological tactics and whole-meal bread with peanut butter.

After the processing it was announced we were off to Edinburgh to languish in cells at the pleasure of her Majesty till Tuesday when we were to be brought before a court which seems to be an organisation that puts away or extracts sums of money from people who challenge the rule of the rich and powerful.

Now isolated from the outside world we put our faith in the free



Park Keepers who we knew would demand our release unconditionally.

The cells were stark and cold, in we piled. Cells 8, 6 and 7 split between 25 men, the two women being further isolated in another part of the building.

So there we sat on the concrete floor benches staring at the white wall and the bog in the corner. We had nothing, so immediately we began our demands. The jolly screw/turnkey/Zookeeper/general bastard was most unhelpful. Just a pawn in the game was his defence. We decided on a no peace for the wicked policy. A cacophony of door banging speeded the arrival of soft bog roll and a drink of water. The bible duly arrived and was a great comfort throughout our stay.

"Here's yer bible lads"

"That'll come in handy if the bog roll runs out."

We constantly demanded our release and a solicitor but apparently we were sold out on the outside. It took 4 hours of thumping and banging to receive mattresses and blankets. The Turnkey was a cocky pratt. We were knackered and after more banging to get the light out we slept.

In the morning the Inspector chappie came in early to make sure we were comfortable and had slept well. For some reason we felt his heart was not in it.

Our demands fell on dumb ears. He assured us the other Park Keepers had deserted us. "Fuck you!" we replied "Give us a Solicitor, a wash, release us, we want food vegetarian, remember no sugar in four teas." Success, our requests were met albeit halfheartedly. The compliments from the staff poured in, we were worse than football hooligans, pigs etc. a breakfast of food apparently refused by down and outs was eaten out of hunger. Back to work more thumping with plastic cups kindly supplied. The washing started soon after. It was well into the afternoon before it was finished. By that time we wanted another one.

Our demands were constant and repetitive, a steady wearing down policy was adopted. The Park Keepers were in excellent spirits. The idea of shitting all over the cell and living in blankets had been voted down 9 to 1.

Late in the afternoon a breakthrough happened. Visitors equipped with food were allowed in. Spirits leapt, fed to overflowing we were in a position to demand our release and nothing else. A duty Solicitor was used and abused, a welcome messenger and not unsympathetic. But he was corrupted and put forward a deal from above! We ask the fellow Park Keepers to leave the camp and we would be released. We issued statements to the effect of No Surrender!

Solicitor "They are quite nice individuals"

Inspector "Maybe, but in a crowd they're terrible."

Food poured in, curry and rice fruit what more could an incarcerated Park Keeper ask for.

We had agreed to start destroying the cells. The Ultimate Sanction. This was postponed by the Solicitors errand or had we been bought out by comfort??

The evening was jubilant toing and froing, jokes, political discussions and improvised 'musical' ensembles. Police and Thieves, Guns of Brixton, Jailhouse rock and many more. For our beloved Turnkey an adaptation of Here comes the Sun.

Here comes the Screw repeat

Little Turnkey its been a long time since we've seen you Little Turnkey it's been years since

you were here

Here comes the Screw Na Na Na Na Na

and it's alright so on

He whistled the fucking tune all night.

The floors and walls were graffitied wittily with things like Arsenal for the Cup. We only wanted to be loved and Conditions for Release. Paper airplanes were sent in vain attempts to reach fellow hostages. The American one crashed and the SW P one went to the left.

Late at night the Inspector was summoned to appear before us, he entered trembling ever so slightly.

"Release us after breakfast or we take these cells apart bit by bit."

He stuck to his you'll be appearing in court tape. He went off to a troubled night of anxious phone calls.

"Hello is that the Secretary of State"

"Yes yawn."

"What are we going to do with the Anarchists in Edinburgh cells?"

"Oh no not the Anarchists in Edinburgh cells!"

Silence.

The Jolly Screw came in for a philosophical chat on such topics as protesting. We tried a taming of the screw. But he was just concerned about his imminent pay rise.

Princess Margaret took a hammering, but the Queen's strictly no go.

"God bless you lads"

"Fuck God"

"Yer startin' on God now!"

"Put the lights out or we will."

The lights went out.

Morning once more and we awaited breakfast. The Inspector was tenser and more nervous. We knew we were getting out. Breakfast came and then two hostages were conned into leaving the cells. They were being released we were assured. We were suspicious, two at a time. Why not all at once?

"All of us or we don't leave"

Inspector "If I had my way no-one would be leaving"

The two released Keepers came back to tell us it was genuine. We still refused to move till the man with no address was released. The pigs tried to drag some hostages out. They couldn't wait to be rid of us. The last demand met we all left with dignity. Cheers welcomed us into the fresh Edinburgh morning.

Our press had been sabotaged except for small columns "a toy bomb" "a sea gull" "militant Anarchists" which means we carry guns or shout a lot.

Complete with spoons and plastic cups handed to every released hostage we waited for our escort back to Torness.

It should have been to the place of our arrest, the heart of the Park where we could have carried out our wish to restore the Park. Alas this did not come about. We were given a fatherly chat by chief vandal who was scared shitless. Hoots of laughter. Ho! Ho! Ho!

Freedom for the hostages all demands met. The Park Keepers live to fight another day. Next time the vandals will find out what militant means. We agreed we were too soft.

Long Live Torness Public Park Department

Keep it Green.



# The Spectre's Eastern Haunts

THE global crisis has given rise to manifestations of proletarian discontent in the state capitalist bloc over the last few months, chiefly in Poland but also in the USSR. Sifting through reports in the bourgeois media here the following picture has emerged.

## POLAND

This month (July) started with the government introducing a new system of meat distribution without prior warning. The system involved more meat being sold at non-subsidised commercial outlets which meant rises in prices of between 40 and 70 per cent. At a time when the official cost of living index had risen 5.4 per cent in the first four months of the year this move was unlikely to be received lightly by a workforce which has shown its violent opposition to similar rises three times since 1956.

In the north the response was immediate with workers at the Warsaw steelworks, a car parts factory in Tczew near Gdansk and the Ursus tractor factory near Warsaw all coming out. (It was the Ursus workers who demolished railway lines in the 1976 strike wave). According to the Self-Defence Committee (KOR) set up to defend victimised workers in 1976, and which is still active, the Ursus workers received an immediate rise of 300 zloty (£5.50) to 'compensate' for the price rises. No doubt this was an attempt to stifle the protest before it spread.

Indeed Gierek, party leader, announced that price rises would have to be accepted; they would not be reversed. No sooner had he stood firm than workers at four factories making cars and radios downed tools. Within a matter of days KOR had documented 30 stoppages in some of Poland's biggest

factories in support of higher wages and the withdrawal of the meat price increases. The scale of the strikes caught the authorities with their clenched fists down and they were forced to seriously negotiate with strikers over wage claims despite Gierek's complaints - he was now reduced to saying that if there had to be wage rises then they must be linked to productivity (sounds familiar). This first ever appearance of 'free collective bargaining' got most strikers a rise of 10-15 per cent.

Encouraged by this, workers outside factories took action in eastern Poland where the railworkers at Lublin (near the Soviet border) came out for higher pay.

Railway lines were blocked with lorries thus cutting off rail links with the Soviet Union. The Politburo then threatened that this was the type of action 'which could awaken fear in Poland's friends'. By way of reply 17 factories and enterprises were shut down as more workers came out - buses, trams, municipal bakeries and dairies, electricity, water all affected. At this point the army and police brought food into the city and surprisingly there was no violence meted out by them. Meanwhile the railway workers' strike committee (the only such committee whose activities have yet been reported) were behaving in a contradictory fashion. They demanded 1300 zloty (£26) a month increase and the right to strike (!) but at the same time turned back a group of railworkers from outside the city who were on their way to give support.

At time of writing most of the monetary demands of the strikers have been met just in time to 'celebrate' the 36th anniversary of the Polish 'People's' Republic. Only the steelworkers of Stalowa Wola continued to spoil the jubilation by staying out. (If/when repression of strikers does occur KOR will, as

usual, get such stuff publicised, so keep eyes peeled. It is very significant that no repression took place during strikes. A sign of government weakness).

Footnote Gierek visits chancellor Schmidt in Bonn next month on a beggar's errand. West German banks are prepared to provide a DM 500 million (£130 million) government-guaranteed loan for Poland, most of which (and this is very neat) is intended to cover imports from West German firms. As yet there is no official backing for a loan of DM 1.5 billion (£420 million) which Gierek has his eyes on.

## USSR

In May there were two stoppages at car plants in the towns of Togliatti (about 500 miles east of Moscow) and Gorky (about 250 miles east of Moscow). The strike at the Togliatti plant (a showplace plant, no less) lasted for one day only and was chiefly over pay. Approximately 170,000 workers are employed there. The strike of the Gorky plant which employs 200,000 and produces military as well as civilian vehicles lasted two days and was part of an organised campaign against milk and meat shortages in the area. Unfortunately these are the only facts to have 'escaped' concerning these episodes so nothing is known about the success of the stoppages or what state repression followed. The brevity and remoteness of the strikes suggest a negative outcome. No doubt the Soviet leadership were very pissed off with such events being reported in the West so close to the Olympics and just before the Comecon meeting in Prague to discuss the failures of the last five-year plans and to plan the next five-year failures (1980-5). TASS has dismissed the reports in the West as 'fables'.

A. PLIER

### APPENDIX.

Just when the Polish strike wave seemed to be on the downturn there is news of more stoppages. 15,000 steelworkers in the south-eastern town of Stalowa Wola went back after receiving a 10% wage rise and this has encouraged other workers to dictate their own terms.

At Ostrow in western Poland, railway repair workers walked out demanding a 20% rise, and at Lubertow near Lublin glass workers are demanding higher pay. All reformist



## LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## EASTERN HAUNTS (CONTINUED)

stuff but given the immediate circumstances - a Soviet satellite dictatorship (in 1956 53 workers at the Stalin engineering works were murdered) and given that it's happening in all parts of the country, it's encouraging stuff. KOR reports that at least 70 factories have ground to a halt since the beginning of the month.

The lack of overt state repression (to date) is surprising and is no doubt one of the factors encouraging more workers to come out on strike. What Gierak (prompted by Brezhnev) is planning is anybody's guess as wage rises such as those being demanded and won will further weaken Poland's ailing economy and play havoc with a decree published in June. This decree amounts to a monetarist-type approach whereby the country's banks monitor wage funds allocated by individual ministries. Factory managers who exceed the wage allocations will have an amount equivalent to this excess deducted from next year's funds.

## Charlotte

To Editors of FREEDOM

I wish to comment on the review of the Cienfuegos Press pamphlet of Charlotte Wilson's Three Essays on Anarchism of which I was the editor (5 July).

The pamphlet contains not 24 but 40 pages; the pagination is confusing. It is odd for a contributor to FREEDOM to say that "the layout is positively sloppy" and that "a little proofreading would also have helped"; I think the layout is not sloppy at all, and I know that the proofreading was very careful, though one extra line and a couple of literals did survive. The essays have been reproduced as closely as possible in the form they first appeared nearly a century ago.

It isn't true that "Charlotte Wilson was addressing herself mainly to her fellow middle-class intellectuals in the Fabian Society". In 1886 the Fabian Society was very new, very small, and very obscure. It addressed itself mainly to educated society at large, and Charlotte Wilson did the same. Her contributions to the Fabian Tract What Socialism Is and to the Fabian paper The Practical Socialist were addressed to the left in general, and her contri-

bution to the secularist paper The Present Day was based on a speech to the Dialectical Society, a leading forum of intellectuals of all kinds. She was addressing intelligent and educated people of every class - a job which needed and still needs to be done if anarchism is to make any progress.

It should be mentioned in FREEDOM above all that Charlotte Wilson was the main founder and first editor and publisher of FREEDOM for nearly a decade.

N.W.

## Lib Ed

FREEDOM,  
I'd like to comment on the article in the last issue, 'Libertarian Education'.

Veronica claims the necessity or at least the desirable situation of anarchist teachers 'compromising their own principles' by working as conventional teachers, that is under the state education system.

Now, my question to you, Veronica is, don't you think your theories are synonymous with the idea of reformism, and aren't they the opposite of the very logical anarchist principle of building up alternatives instead of trying to patch up the old system?

I understand your fear for the children if there were no anarchists within the school system to teach the children how an individual acts in freedom, but tell me, do anarchists take part in parliamentary work to make the oppression 'less human'? Do they choose to take part in a war to be sure that the weapon they use will not kill their 'enemy'? Or do they set up as capitalist exploiters to reduce exploitation inside their business?

The answer is no! The argument is: Anarchism has a basic principle concerning the demands that we (the anarchists) make. We demand everything, because we have experienced that a limited progress is in fact no progress, and this is particularly true when it is a question of 'patching up', making reforms, trying to make the existing system better, being moderate etc., all of these expressions representing reformism. (Is it an anarchist principle to demand higher wages - apart from anarcho-syndicalist practice...? No, because we demand the abolition of wages/money, therefore it makes no sense at all to fight for

'improvement' of the inhuman system. To do so is begging 'Don't choke me, just put out my eyes!')

We refuse to do parliamentary work, as a result of parliamentarism being oppressive towards the impotent people. The State (parliament etc) is the enemy of the people and consequently the enemy of any real anarchist.

As anarchists we categorically refuse to submit to any (as we say in Denmark) war lewd lunatic, because war is oppressive.

Any consistent anarchist will understand the empirical and rational comprehension of refusing to take part in the state education system, because it is oppressive - though you, Veronica, try to introduce libertarianism. Don't try to prop up a withered thistle, but do your best to manure a sprouting sunflower.

I admit that on the short view it might seem better to reform the state education system than to practise sectarianism, but as 'utopists' we unfortunately have to get accustomed to the fact that our ideals will not be realized in the nearest future, therefore it is our duty to think and act on the long view.

If we are not steadfast then we'll end up like pseudo-revolutionaries (just another victim of authoritarian manipulation).

Bakunin said that those who demand the "impossible" will get as much as possible.

Remember: "Utopia" will be a reflection of the way we fight, history shows the validity of this assertion.

A. Kilmæ,  
Denmark.

A reply will appear in the next issue. V.

## BOOKSHOP BOOKSHOP BOOKSHOP

Owing to Summer holidays the bookshop will be closed on Tuesday 19th and Wednesday 20th August. Open Thursday 21st and Friday 22nd as usual. (Thursday 3pm - 8pm. Friday 10am - 5pm)  
The bookshop will also be closed on Friday 29th August.

## DESIRES DESIRES DESIRES

Required from September, accommodation for Alan Albon and friend, near Piccadilly Line Caledonian Rd. to Cockfosters. Write c/o Freedom or phone 485-4585



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### URGENTURGENTURGENTURGENT

\*\*\*\*\*

Freedom needs a builder or very handy type person to repair our roof. It's a very high and very steep slate roof with holes in it. If it doesn't get fixed soon there will also be holes in the walls and floors closely followed by the disappearance of the building.

If you have the appropriate skills and also (preferably) equipment then we'd love to hear from you very soon- like yesterday.

### ANARCHIST PARTY AUGUST 9th

FREEDOM PARTY\*\*\*\*\*  
(no we're not going into politics) we - that is FREEDOM-are having a bash at which all our readers (except the Special Branch) are welcome to come and get pissed, talk to FREEDOM collective people and anything else they do at parties. It's at Centaur 313-315 Caledonian Road London N1 (Caledonian Road Tube or Caledonian and Barnsbury BR North London line.) Starts at about 2.30pm until everyone goes.

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# Gorleben soll Leben

## (Gorleben must live)

The following two articles have both been written by German comrades. The first was sent to us before the Land government of Lower Saxony had given the go-ahead for the nuclear waste dump near Gorleben village. According to a Reuter despatch "Herr Hans Albrecht, State Prime Minister, said last night (4 July) that a depot would be built on 15 acres of land for the interim storage of 1500 tons of uranium waste. It would be stored in cylindrical containers of concrete and a special steel".

Albrecht's announcement follows the break-up by several thousand West German police and border guards of a month-long occupation of Gorleben, on 4 June. The second of the articles is a description of the events.

THE administrative district (Landkreis) of Luechow-Dannenberg, also known as Wendland, is one of the few districts in the Federal Republic of Germany which is ecologically still half intact.

It has many special features, beginning with its position - like a tongue sticking into the German Democratic Republic; to the west there is only a 42 kilometre wide opening into Federal territory. The district is very thinly populated - 41 inhabitants per kilometre in comparison to 274 inhabitants elsewhere in the country. Correspondingly small is the amount of traffic, air pollution and noise. There is not one traffic light in the whole of Wendland!

The landscape has not yet been destroyed by big industry. Instead there are small craft businesses and, for instance, sawmills, gravel works, tinning factories, fruit juice producers, meat processing plants, car and agricultural machine shops. The biggest concerns are a branch of the Swedish ballbearing factory, Schweinfurt (SKF) with 1100 employees in Luechow, and a branch of the Continental - Gummiwerke -AG-Hannover (Conti) in Dannenberg with about 300 workplaces.

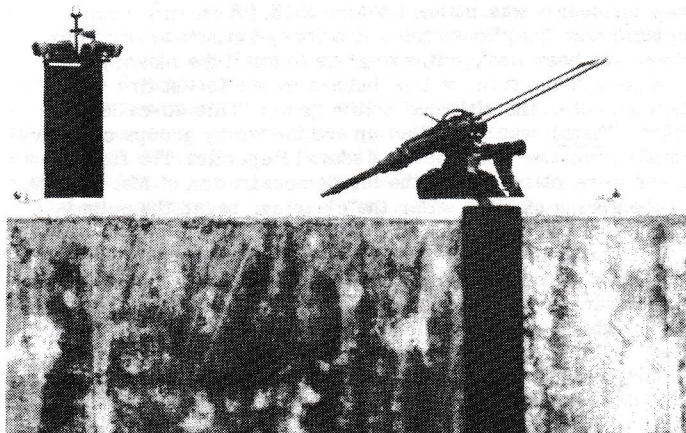
Not all the approximately 50,000 people living in the Landkreis find work there. The unemployment ratio varied between 9 and 11 per cent in 1978. In order to avoid the migration of young people into the towns it is essential to create sufficient work places. The tourist trade has been developing there for some years. But Gorleben, in the Landkreis of Luechow-Dannenberg, has been chosen as the location for the nuclear industry's reprocessing plant.

The plant's reactor core has to be replaced every three years and the old material designated as nuclear waste. The old burnt out elements are highly radioactive. To make fresh use of the radioactive substances the nuclear industry uses a reprocessing plant to which the still usable parts of the core are transferred.

Uranium, and in addition plutonium is extracted from this procedure. From this highly poisonous artificial element a quantity the size of a grapefruit is enough to poison all humanity. Plutonium is urgently needed by the nuclear industry to nourish the next generation of nuclear plants - the fast breeder reactors. Extraction of plutonium is of key significance to the development of nuclear weapons. In the nuclear reprocessing plants large quantities of radioactive waste are produced. For this waste no suitable resting place has yet been found.

By-products of nuclear power production also include long-lasting, no longer useable material such as protective clothing, exchangeable parts, etc. This radioactive waste has to be stashed securely away from the environment. According to the nuclear industry salt deposits are the most suitable geological formation in which to store this waste, having allegedly remained virtually unaltered for 80 million years. In fact, however, salt deposits have shifted considerably and are highly susceptible to disturbance, such as drillings and the creation of shafts.

The region of Gorleben has not been selected by politicians and the German Society for the Reprocessing of Reactor Elements as the biggest industrial complex in Europe for its underground salt deposits alone. Particularly attractive to the operators is, for various reasons, its geographical position. The Landkreis of Luechow-Dannenberg has, as already mentioned, the lowest density of population in the country and is 'secured' on three sides by the frontier





fortifications of the GDR. On the fourth side the Elbe-Seiten canal is well suited as a cut-off line, because it is spanned by so few bridges, preventing the materialisation of support for potential resistance by the local population against construction of the reprocessing plant, and sealing off the whole area effectively in case of a nuclear accident.

### The Pros and Cons

The reprocessing plant will unquestionably provide work places for the local inhabitants. Already jobs have been created, for instance in the private security police. Construction of the plant alone would create thousands of jobs, at least in the medium term. But in the long term there will only be a few jobs for the native population, because the professional qualifications required in such an industry are far too high. A fully operating plant would also, certainly, fill to overflowing the coffers of the local communes.

Set against such advantages, however, the Landkreis would be lacerated by high tension cables, marshalling yards, railway tracks and new roads. The level of the ground water would sink through the dumping of waste in the salt deposits, and this would bring about a shift in the ecological balance. The heat radiated by the waste could also affect the salt deposits. No-one today can with certainty exclude the possibility that one day radioactive substances would penetrate the water supply and cause thereby a catastrophe of unimaginable proportions.

### Attempts to Preserve the Wendland

The Citizens' Action Group (Buergerinitiative) Luechow-Dannenberg has been in existence since 1973 and the first proposals for the building of the Langendorf atom plant in the region. Since February 1977 the focus of its work has been prevention of the construction of the reprocessing plant. There is also a group called the Environment and Nature Protection Group (GUN), a recognised body which has to be consulted on any proposals to change the area.

Many farmers in the district have joined a farmers' mutual aid society. They are both trying to organise protest against the reprocessor and to create viable alternatives, biological cultivation, methane plants etc.

The Gorleben Legal Aid Working Group (Arbeitsgruppe Rechtshilfe Gorleben) holds meetings with members of the environmental citizens' action group of Luechow-Dannenberg and other similar local groups. They collect and allocate money to finance plaintiffs in suits against the Gorleben plant. In addition there are the Greens (Die Gruenen) who are currently identical to the 'Gorleben Women', an offshoot of the citizens' action group.

Resistance to the reprocessor is not total. Everywhere there are people who believe in the promises of the industrialists - more jobs, more money, a higher standard of living. Disagreements often run through families. But to the people who oppose the building of the reprocessing plant it is clear that the forest fire on the road between Gartow and Trebel - the area belongs to the planned construction site of the reprocessor - was planned before 1975. (A fireman has related how 'they' once tried it before, but how at that time there had been enough fire engines to quell the blaze.)

A part of the tract of land burned by the forest fire was farmed out to the citizens' action group. This so-called 'plot' (Platz) was parcelled up and tended by groups or individuals from the whole of the Federal Republic. The first trees were planted after the big demonstration of March 1977. In the spring of 1978, after the clearing, began the actual replanting.

In the meantime working groups have been formed around a number of topics: crafts, forestry, biological horticulture, agriculture, etc. Three irrigation wells have been bored, two of which operate with wind-driven wheels. Roads have been laid and a meeting place built.

The construction of a playground was begun during the 1977 demonstration and the building is still in progress.

It should not go unmentioned that the district government officials are permanently creating difficulties for the people who are active here. The children's playground was threatened with demolition through an official decree. The grounds:

"The natural uniqueness of the forest area will be impaired to a considerable degree by the 'plot'". Mark well: It concerns the same area on which the biggest industrial complex in Europe will soon be built'.

In the neighbourhood of the 'plot' a house has been bought; this will serve as an alternative school to inform the local inhabitants about the dangers of nuclear energy, and need for protection of the environment, to develop alternative technologies and responsible democratic methods of operation.

Since 1979 there have been visible signs of construction of the reprocessing plant; since that time in fact there have been test drillings on the condition of the salt deposits.

Drilling site 1003 resembles a fortress in the middle of the forest - a concrete wall about 5 metres high with holes through which guns can be fired, big lighting plants, water cannon, a trench about 1 metre deep around the walls, and the whole area enclosed with barbed wire to form a 'security strip' of about 6 metres. Here the Federal border guard act as sentinels.

But this is not the only place where the police have been visibly reinforced. Throughout the Landkreis they 'terrorise' the population, hurtling through the region in their cars each hour on the hour, constantly carrying out body searches and continually taking pictures of foreign car numbers. On top of this the German Society for the Reprocessing of Reactor Elements (DWK) has hired security personnel to spy on the indigenous population. Already, day and night, wagons travel through the district delivering materials for the construction of the drilling sites, barbed wire, etc.

The population has opposed the start of the test drillings by 'occupying' trees, raising barricades against the construction machinery, pouring liquid manure on the site. The drill holes were in fact also filled with cement and the machinery destroyed.

In their actions the people have operated from the viewpoint that they should be non-violent. They know nevertheless that the form which their resistance takes is in the last resort determined by others (pressure generates counter-pressure).

In March last year, in the Land capital, Hannover, Land minister Albrecht had a discussion with experts on the security, or danger, of dumping atomic waste in the salt deposits. The reactor accident at Harrisburg had already happened. Hundreds of farmers from Wendland took their tractors onto the Hannover road to demonstrate against the waste dumping plan with others from all over the country. (There were 100,000 people which, by German standards, is a great many). On leaving the district on their way towards Hannover the farmers proclaimed the 'Free Republic of Wendland'.

Throughout the country committees have been formed in support of the citizens' action group of Luechow-Dannenberg. These organise regular meetings, inform people in their own towns about the problem of nuclear reprocessing ('Gorleben is everywhere') and take action against the nuclear programme.

The bourgeois media is trying to set the population against the activists by equating them with terrorists and communists. Adverse publicity accounted for people barricading themselves into their houses at the time of the first big demonstration in 1977. But others have realised only too well that this was an attempt on the part of the state to divide people against each other.

As to the future, perhaps this can be expressed in the words of a very old man who said: "The thing will not come here, but if it does, then it will only be over our dead bodies".

U.D.



# Gorleben : The Eviction

On the 3rd of May about 5000 people occupied the drilling site Nr 1004 between the small towns of Trebel and Gorleben where the Federal Republic of Germany wants to build a recycling plant for uranium and other radioactive materials. The occupiers built wooden houses and towers, installed a 'free transmitter station' and called themselves 'Free Republic of Wendland'. They even issued independent passports. For 33 days, their model of non-violent protest, combined with an alternative life-style, worked so well that even the local rags had been very cautious in their reporting; they would certainly have had difficulties finding the right material for their "usual" reports. Of course, a lot of people who came to the Free Republic had problems with the strict non-violent forms of action that the occupiers had set themselves, but finally everyone agreed to use these methods.

The threat of a violent removal by the German police and frontier guards diminished at Whitsuntide when a big cultural programme was organised. People could listen to music of all kinds from Tchaikovsky to the anarchist songwriter Walter Mossmann. Theatre groups, clowns and mime shows also took part.

On Tuesday 2nd June, large concrete slabs with loopholes were moved by the authorities in the direction of Gorleben, and it became obvious that the troops would arrive.

At 5.00 am the police began to surround the 'village'. Between 2500 and 3000 occupants gathered in the market place and waited. The number of police and frontier guards was estimated at between 3000 and 15000. They brought dogs and horses, helicopters and armoured cars with them.

At 7.00 am they started to fence in the whole village with barbed wire. The right-wing morning newspapers now wrote of weapons inside some huts, and when the helicopters arrived the atmosphere seemed like that of a civil war. Three times the police ordered the demonstrators to leave the village, making it known that they were all guilty of the breach of several laws. The list was endless but ridiculous, speaking of obligatory reporting, building licences, forest law and camping orders.

At 9.45 am the police began to demolish the huts with bulldozers. This and the helicopters could easily have provoked a violent reaction. Resistance, however, remained passive.

At 11.04 am the removal of the people began. The first rows of demonstrators, sitting with linked arms were immediately beaten with truncheons. Despite this nobody struck back, and most of these people were beaten or dragged away, many by the hair. The people in the rows behind were shouting, singing, and weeping tears of powerlessness and anger.



*The lads pause for a breather.*

By 1.30pm the police had removed most of the village except for two towers and the roof of the 'House of Friendship'. One of the towers, occupied by anarchists, was broadcasting what was happening, continuously, over the surrounding area, so that the area affected was well informed at all times. Journalists had been removed. The police beat them up without discriminating between TV, right or left wing reporters, and several were injured. As a result there were now no longer any 'objective' reporters, and the police and frontier troops (who had painted their faces black) became even more brutal.

By 6.00pm the roof of the 'House of Friendship' was conquered and the demonstrators in one of the remaining towers moved voluntarily. There was now only the tower with the transmitter left. The supporting group who had chained themselves under this tower was removed so violently that some of them had to go to hospital.

One of the occupants of this last tower reported the end of the 'day of action' to me. He said that when the group had realised that they couldn't remain in the tower for long they closed all the windows with wooden shutters (so that it was impossible for the police to fire tear gas into the building) and started a banquet, eating and drinking their food supplies, which were estimated to last fourteen days. After a while two special policemen climbed up the outside of the tower and began to dig a hole in the roof in order to get in. They were exhausted by their efforts, and when they had succeeded the occupiers offered them some of their food and wine. The policemen accepted the gift and for some minutes there was an almost normal atmosphere in this abnormal situation.

Finally, a few minutes before 8 pm, the demonstrators left the building voluntarily. However, when they reached the ground they were beaten up in the most brutal way. All were arrested and kept overnight for identification, during which time they had to strip several times and were beaten. Because one of them was injured he called for a doctor while being transferred in a police van and the one I talked to (who was in the opposite cell in the van) saw how three policemen 'hushed' the injured comrade by throwing his head right and left against the walls. This guy had been in hospital with a fractured skull.

Continued on page 12



*Demonstrators being removed by the police.*



The removal of the anti-nuclear demonstrators in Gorleben was still going on when in 80-90 other German towns solidarity actions took place. These were demonstrations and sit-ins, traffic blockades and occupation of churches. 34 churches - all well-known ones - were turned into information centres about the police violence against the non-violent demonstrators for between one and seven days. I took part in the occupation of the main church in Reutlingen, a town in the south of Germany, and I think that there are two different results of these actions.

The first and most positive one is that we achieved our aim to inform - because everyone talked about it - and without organising a party there are now a number of people who know each other and are willing to take part in necessary self-organised actions like this.

The second and negative point is that to occupy a church in Germany is perhaps the best thing to do if you really want to

know what sort of country you are living in. In spite of the obvious reasons it was not easy for these groups to argue with church officials and citizens. This is because for conservatives the church is a symbol not only of their religious feelings but also of holiness and 'order'. They become so angry that they display their real attitudes. It was incredible how often they wanted us 'gassed', 'walled up', or sent to 'labour camps' because it was obvious that we had too much time on our hands and so did such outrageous things as occupy churches.

I dare not estimate the percentage of people - disguised as average bourgeois - with such opinions. But what is certain is that they will vote for Franz Joseph Strauss as Chancellor in October and then perhaps we will know a bit more....

Wolfgang Haug  
Reutlingen.

## Some thoughts on prostitution

Prostitution is the oldest profession inevitably - but not because of the nature of institutionalized patriarchy which has been the feature of all civilization. The key lies in the word 'profession'. The undertaking of tasks for some reward of a token of exchange - the division of labour on a reward basis - was a subtle but enormous, far-reaching step which came with civilization - taking that word in its original meaning of 'citification'. The division of labour on a reward basis made the establishment of cities a much simpler process than if labour had remained pluralized and therefore self-determined. Of course civilization's effects are as keenly felt outside the cities as inside because the process of law-making and government has always gone on in cities or equivalent institutionalized gatherings of people.

Sex is one of the basic primal instincts - the survival of the species. As soon as life became institutionalized and rationalized in cities, all our 'instincts' became diverted. The basic instincts once group security is institutionalized by concentration in cities are food and sex. Both are now 'sold' to us and have been since civilization began.

Now from this point, we can say that the form of prostitution reflects, albeit in a distorted way, the relationships within the society - once the society has established itself. As patriarchy comes into question, as it increasingly is these days, the forms of prostitution will change. Homosexual prostitution is becoming far more common. There always have been male prostitutes serving female customers, but again, because of the nature of patriarchy, that is, in a way, respectable, even romantic. We have the 'gigolo image' etcetera.

Prostitution of food and sex have been - to use a rough sounding metaphor - bedmates throughout civilization. The prostitution of food is 'respectable' and acceptable because eating can be performed easily in the company of others in a detached and impersonal mood. It can be done alone very easily, however it is usually very much a group activity. It is also essential for every individual to eat regularly and frequently. This is not so with sex.

Even when prostitution of sex is carried on in a detached and impersonal manner - it is the 'cheapening' of our most intimate behaviour. It is the detachment and impersonality of the prostitution of sex, in fact, which causes it to be 'unrespectable'. The sex instinct is usually satisfied in an intimate manner. Thus marriage - the intimate prostitution of sex - is respectable. Also the intimate prostitution of a relatively impersonal aspect of our behaviour, eating as the consumption of food in restaurants (and also in marriages etcetera) is respectable.

But not only is sex itself 'sold' to us. Its image is also sold in the form of pornography. For those who cannot experience sex, even for money, there is its image for sale, so that the consumer's fantasies are diverted into a spectacle; for sale of course. Again this spectacle is a distorted reflection of the values of the society.

Throughout civilization various individuals, groups and entire cultures have, for various reasons, frequently religious, rationalized and made respectable (or not as the case may be) different forms of prostitution. Prostitution of one form or another can be seen in all aspects of our lives. Occasionally the forms will be more subtle, but even if there is a little blurring the original division is still there to be seen. Our lives are rationalized, compartmentalized, institutionalized and then sold back to us in one form or another.

The trick is that what we are sold is never the same as what was taken from us, it's never as good and there's less of it.

DSL

RSVP...



ARTHUR MORSEY

"How is the party going Richard?"

"Terrific Fraulien. They're all in agreement on the abortion issue and in complete accord that the labouring working classes are a collection of stupid selfish self-seeking shits."



# Undesirable and Unconstitutional

WHENEVER a lifelong servant suddenly and for no apparent reason turns on his or her master or mistress it is a time of great satisfaction for anarchists but great concern for all others in the household. When the servant is Lord Denning and the master is the state, those around become all the more nervous. So when, in March this year, his eminence declared jury vetting to be both 'unconstitutional and undesirable', some believed this to be the long awaited signal that not all state excesses could automatically command the approval of those who permitted them to develop in the first place. Others, more cynically, saw it as conclusive evidence of the Hampshire horror's senility rather than his conversion to pursuit of the common good.

Whichever the case, any hope that our obscure criminal system might be moving towards the creation of a tenuous link with justice was soon dashed when, less than three months later, Lord Justice Lawton ruled that police were not merely entitled to submit the jury panel list to a search of their files, but should actually be encouraged to do so. In this case, Vincent Mason had been convicted of burglary and handling stolen property and offered an invitation he couldn't refuse of five years' free board. He appealed unsuccessfully against conviction when his lawyers discovered that the names of potential jurors had been vetted.

The failure of Mason's appeal becomes remarkable when the Attorney General's guidelines are studied. According to these, jurors may be vetted in only two classes of cases: first, in serious offences where strong political motives are involved "such as the IRA and other terrorist cases and cases under the Official Secrets Act" and secondly, in serious offences "alleged to have been committed by a person or persons believed to belong to a gang of professional criminals". Although difficult to picture a situation further removed from these cases than that of an unfortunate burglar, it comes as no surprise to learn, once again, that police ignore the guidelines whenever they think they can get away with it. What is incredible is the

acceptance of the prosecution's bland submission that the sole purpose of the vetting was to determine whether any potential jurors were disqualified on account of their previous convictions. In that way, the police were doing no more than to carry out their duty to prevent crime!

The inevitable conclusion to all this is that, in the race to abolish the words 'random selection' from legal parlance, the Attorney General, shackled by parliament, has been rapidly overtaken by the judges, shackled by prejudice alone. It now appears likely that any jury of the future will have been, in effect, selected by the prosecution. Two possibilities will remain: to trust the police to restrict their searching to a 'crime prevention' exercise, or to plead guilty and get it over with. Bearing in mind that police exercise integrity to the extent that Thatcher indulges in self criticism, the latter choice is probably preferable.

To regard such a development as the thin end of the wedge between the jury and defendant would be wrong, because the wedge is already firmly embedded and its movement has passed almost unnoticed. In 1967, the judge in the Angry Brigade trial was criticised for allowing defence lawyers to ask potential jurors questions designed to reveal any bias against the defendants. In 1973, the removal of jurors' occupations from the list was designed solely to make the exercise of challenges by the defence more difficult; and in 1977, the defence right to exercise the challenge itself was reduced from seven challenges to three. So the demise of the jury has been heralded by a diminution of the accused's rights and a corresponding growth in the prosecutor's rights to the extent that, in the Persons Unknown trial, all aspects of the life style of potential jurors were checked, including criminal convictions, political affiliations, type of living accommodation, employment and whether they had ever made complaints against the police.

The weakening of trial by jury should not be dismissed simply as further evidence that the state is alive and well and living just above

us, for it carries far greater significance. The vulgar finery of lawyers and their archaic and ridiculous mode of address, set against the solitude of the accused in the dock, has always conjured up a stark picture of repression and unfettered power. Against this stood the jury, its origins lying within the community rather than the state, composed of citizens from the bottom of the pyramid, chosen at random to study facts dispassionately and apply justice rather than rule of law, the final bulwark against omnipotent authority.

The enormous rate of acquittals in recent years has been a sign of contempt from ordinary people for false statements, planted evidence and consistent malpractice. The consequent and inevitable erosion of this bulwark is more than just a symbol that freedom is diminishing more quickly than we thought: if the accused is no longer to be judged impartially by his or her own people, then the accused's subjugation and alienation are complete. In fact, no-one can be very surprised to learn that what was 'unconstitutional' three months ago has been very much a part of our constitution for some time and is one more component of a machine which is unlikely to seize up of its own accord.

R. T.

## FUNDS

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TOTAL= £23.65

Previously acknowledged =£964.29

TOTAL TO DATE =£987.94



## Literary Corner

Felix Holt's Address to Working Men was written by George Elliot (Mary Ann Evans) in 1867, a year after the publication of the novel Felix Holt, the Radical, and was published in the January 1868 edition of Blackwood's Magazine. It was intended to encourage 'working men' to think seriously about their new rights and responsibilities after the passing of the Second Reform Bill of 1867.

## JUST INDIGNATION?

.... For general prosperity and well-being is a vast crop, that like the corn in Egypt can be come at, not at all by hurried snatching, but only by a well-judged patient process; and whether our political power will be any good to us now we have got it, must depend entirely upon the means and materials - the knowledge, ability and honesty, we have at command. These three things are the only conditions on which we can get any lasting benefit, as every clever workman among us knows: he knows that for an article to be worth much there must be a good invention or plan to go upon, there must be well-prepared material, and there must be skilful and honest work in carrying out the plan. And by this test we may try those who want to be our leaders. Have they anything to offer us besides indignant talk? When they tell us we ought to have this, that, or the other thing, can they explain to us any reasonable, fair, safe way of getting it? Can they argue in favour of a particular change by showing us pretty closely how the change is likely to work? I don't want to decry a just indignation; on the contrary, I should like it to be more thorough and general. A wise man, more than two thousand years ago, when he was asked what would most tend to lessen injustice in the world, said, 'That every bystander should feel as indignant at a wrong as if he himself were the sufferer. Let us cherish such indignation. But the long-growing evils of a great nation are a tangled business, asking for a good deal more than indignation in order to be got rid of. Indignation is a fine war-horse, but the war-horse must be ridden by a man: it must be ridden by rationality, skill, courage, armed with the right weapons, and taking definite aim.'

We have reason to be discontented with many things, and, looking back either through the history of England to much earlier generations or to the legislation and administrations of later times, we are justified in saying that many of the evils under which our country now suffers are the consequences of folly, ignorance, neglect, or self-seeking in those who, at different times have wielded the powers of rank, office, and money. But the more bitterly we feel this, the more loudly we utter it, the stronger is the obligation we lay on ourselves to beware, lest we also, by a too hasty wresting of measures which seem to promise an immediate partial relief, make a worse time of it for our own generation, and leave a bad inheritance to our children. The deepest curse of wrong doing, whether of the foolish, or wicked sort, is that its effects are difficult to be undone. I suppose there is hardly anything more to be shuddered at than that part of the history of disease which shows how, when a man injures his constitution by a life of vicious excess, his children and grandchildren inherit diseased bodies and minds, and how the effects of that unhappy inheritance continue to spread beyond our calculation. This is only one example of the law by which human lives are linked together; another example of what we complain of when we point to our pauperism, to the brutal ignorance of multitudes among our fellow-countrymen, to the weight of taxation laid on us by blamable wars, to the wasteful channels made for public money, to the expense and trouble of getting justice, and call these the effects of bad rule. This is the law that we all bear the yoke of, the

law of no man's making, and which no man can undo. Everybody now sees an example of it in the case of Ireland. We who are living now are sufferers by the wrong-doing of those who lived before us; we are sufferers by each other's wrong doing; and the children who come after us are and will be sufferers from the same causes. Will any man say he does not care for that law - it is nothing to him - what he wants is to better himself? With what face then will he complain of any injury? If he says that in politics or in any sort of social action he will not care to know what are likely to be the consequences to others besides himself, he is defending the very worst doings that have brought about his discontent. He might as well say that there is no better rule needful for men than that each should tug and rive for what will please him, without caring how that tugging will act on the fine widespread network of society in which he is fast neshed. If any man taught that as a doctrine, we should know him for a fool. But there are men who act upon it; every scoundrel, for example, whether he is a rich and religious scoundrel who lies and cheats on a large scale, and will perhaps come and ask you to send him to Parliament, or a poor pocket-picking scoundrel, who will steal your loose pence while you are listening round the platform. None of us are so ignorant as not to know that a society, a nation is held together by just the opposite doctrine and action - by the dependence of men on each other and the sense they have of a common interest in preventing injury. And we working men are, I think, of all classes the last that can afford to forget this; for if we did we should be much like sailors cutting away the timbers of our own ship to warm our grog with. For what else is the meaning of our Trades-unions? What else is the meaning of every flag we carry, every procession we make, every crowd we collect for the sake of making some protest on behalf of our body as receivers of wages, if not this: that it is our interest to stand by each other, and that this being the common interest, no one of us will try to make a good bargain for himself without considering what will be good for his fellows? And every member of a union believes that the wider he can spread his union, the stronger and surer will be the effect of it. So I think I shall be borne out in saying that a worker who can put two and two together, or take three from four and see what will be the remainder, can understand that a society, to be well off, must be made up chiefly of men who consider the general good as well as their own.

Well, but taking the world as it is - and this is one way we must take it when we want to find out how it can be improved - no society is made up of a single class: society stands before us like that wonderful piece of life, the human body, with all its various parts depending on one another, and with a terrible liability to go wrong because of that delicate dependence. We all know how many diseases the human body is apt to suffer from, and how difficult it is even for the doctors to find out exactly where the seat or beginning of the disorder is. That is because the body is made up of so many various parts, all related to each other, or likely all to feel the effect if any of them goes wrong. It is somewhat the same with our old nations or societies. No society ever stood long in the world without getting to be composed of different classes. Now, it is all pretence to say that there is no such thing as Class Interest. It is clear that if any particular number of men get a particular benefit from any existing institution, they are likely to band together, in order to keep up that benefit and increase it, until it is perceived to be unfair and injurious to another large number, who get knowledge and strength enough to set up a resistance. And this, again, has been part of the history of every great society since history began. But the simple reason for this being, that any large body of men is likely to have more of stupidity, narrowness and greed than of farsightedness and generosity, it is plain that the number who resist unfairness and injury are in danger of becoming injurious in their turn. And in this way a justifiable resistance has become a damaging convulsion, making everything worse instead of better. This has been seen so often that we ought to profit a little by the experience. So long as there is selfishness in men; so long as they have not found out for themselves institutions which



express and carry into practice the truth, that the highest interest of mankind must at last be a common and not a divided interest; so long as the gradual operation of steady causes has not made that truth a part of every man's knowledge and feeling, just as we now not only know that it is good for our health to be cleanly, but feel that cleanliness is only another word for comfort, which is the under-side or lining of all pleasure; so long, I say, as men wink at their own knowingness, or hold their heads high, because they have got and advantage over their fellows, so long Class Interest will be in danger of making itself felt injuriously. No set of men will get any sort of power without being in danger of wanting more than their right share. But, on the other hand, it is just as certain that no set of men will get angry at having less than their right share, and set up a claim on that ground, without falling into just the same danger of exacting too much, and exacting it in wrong ways. It's human nature we have got to work with all round, and nothing else. That seems like saying something very commonplace - nay obvious; as if one should say that where there are hands there are mouths. Yet, to hear a good deal of the speechifying and to see a good deal of the action that goes forward, one might suppose it was forgotten.

But I come back to this: that in our old society, there are old institutions, and among them the various distinctions and inherited advantages of classes, which have shaped themselves along with all the wonderful slow-growing system of things made up of our laws, our commerce, and our stores of all sorts, whether in material objects, such as buildings and machinery, or in knowledge, such as scientific thought and professional skill. Just as in that case I spoke of before, the irrigation of a country, which must absolutely have its water

distributed or it will bear no crop, there are the old channels, the old banks, and the old pumps, which must be used as they are until new and better have been prepared, or the structure of the old has been gradually altered. But it would be fool's work to batter down a pump only because a better might be made, when you had no machinery ready for a new one: it would be wicked work, if villages lost their crops by it. Now the only safe way by which society can be steadily improved and our worst evils reduced, is not by any attempt to do away directly with the actually existing class distinctions and advantages, as if everybody could have the same sort of work, or lead the same sort of life..., but by the turning of Class Interests into Class Functions or duties. What I mean is, that each class should be urged by the surrounding conditions to perform its particular work under the strong pressure of responsibility to the nation at large; that our public affairs should be got into a state in which there should be no impunity for foolish or faithless conduct. In this way, the public judgement would sift out incapability and dishonesty from posts of high charge, and even personal ambition would necessarily become of a worthier sort, since the desires of the most selfish men must be a good deal shaped by the opinions of those around them; and for one person to put on a cap and bells, or to go about dishonest or paltry ways of getting rich that he may spend a vast sum of money in having more finery than his neighbours, he must be pretty sure of a crowd who will applaud him. Now changes can only be good in proportion as they help to bring about this sort of result; in proportion as they put knowledge in the place of ignorance, and fellow-feeling in the place of selfishness. In the course of that substitution class distinctions must inevitably change their character; and represent the varying Duties of men, not their varying Interests.....

# A strange confusion

Towards A Citizens' Militia - Anarchist Alternatives to Nato and the Warsaw Pact. (International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement - First of May Group) £1.25 28pp A4 paper.

This book has to have one of the most misleading titles of any book I've seen. It does not give ideas for building a citizens militia, nor does it give any alternatives to Nato and the Warsaw Pact. (The best 'alternative' to Nato and Warsaw I've yet heard is to suggest that the Government give every person in the country £1000 out of their taxes and tell them to defend themselves.)

And the International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement - First of May Group - a rather Trotskyite sounding name if you ask me - writes the introduction in the first person singular. I can understand the authors of this work wishing to remain anonymous for security reasons, however such a lofty title for authors who write in the first person just seems a bit strange. Especially since an early passage of the book recommends avoiding such names for guerrilla groups and using local names instead.

The cover illustration is still more misleading, showing an armed citizen clearly patrolling very openly an area of "Free Sulsted" as defined by a notice signed Sulsted Peoples' Militia.

Yet when we open the book we find details of how to operate a band or bands of guerrillas outside the mass of the 'civilian' i.e. not guerrilla, population during a time of heightened armed revolutionary struggle prior to open insurrection.

Now on that basis we can start to approach this book. I don't think this is the place for a violence versus non-violence debate. This book is about using force to achieve political ends. It is even brave enough to say "armed struggle, that euphemism for physical force" in the introduction. It is a book which is designed to assist people who want to take up "the struggle". It warns very strongly against orienting all revolutionary ideas in that direction and then goes on to give the authors' ideas on what should be done once the step has been taken to form guerrilla bands.

Despite this warning, the book does seem to me to orient itself excessively to one style of guerrilla warfare thus, whether intentionally or not, implying that that is the form the struggle should and will take. And here also I think we come to the most politically dangerous aspect of this book - in that the authors advocate forming guerrilla bands separate from but supported by the 'civilian' population. It assumes a largely passive population who will do virtually anything the guerrillas ask, to the extent of helping in some operations, yet remain passive in their roles as supportive citizens to the bands of roaming illegal guerrillas, who can only be joined by those showing themselves worthy of the office. The population then join "the struggle" at some advanced stage of armed 'open insurrection'.

It's all very romantic but to my way of thinking not very anarchistic. These forms of organization are elitist and vanguardist.

The early part of the book deals in a very general and sketchy way with some basic military principles and even treads into the dangerous ground of libertarian authority (yes, honestly, it actually says that) - the old "from the bottom up" argument which still has a top and a bottom and a chain of command, it's just that you are being told what to do by someone you delegated. Sounds suspiciously like elective dictatorship to me and I would have liked to see more emphasis on horizontal forms of organization.

The next section is on guerrilla tactics and is by far the most imaginative and informative section of the book, giving ideas on what to attack and how. There is a heavy emphasis on the use of fairly sophisticated weaponry and explosives where more ideas on what can be done with simple materials would perhaps be more useful, especially at this stage of the game. It was, amongst other things, excessive sophistication and the resulting separation from the "civilian" population that, according to Bommi Baumann, brought about the decline of the June 2nd Movement in West Berlin.



There are a large number of illustrations showing examples of various situations but these, and the others throughout the book, are usually far too vague and badly labelled to be much use. Also some of the ideas given for guerrilla activity are too complicated to be much use - for instance the suggestion that to destroy aircraft on the ground at an airfield you climb up a 3 metre ladder and place a 1kg explosive charge on the fuselage. You don't need to be a military genius to realize that that requires either a lot of people and a lot of 3 metre ladders or a long time on an airfield unhindered. Both are highly impractical. And the experiences of the LRDG/SAS/SBS and Major Stirling in North Africa during WWII prove that enemy aircraft can be destroyed far more effectively using much simpler methods. Technology may be more sophisticated but a plane is still a plane.

The methods advocated in the book also seem to underestimate the efficiency of enemy military security.

There is a very short and very sketchy section on the tactics of the security forces, followed by a long section with more vague, badly labelled drawings on how the civilian population should act, such as acting as couriers taking messages - no doubt using the trains you are about to derail or the road you are about to block. Again there is the dual level of organization and no ideas given on what to do about your own communications once you've effectively disrupted 'civilian' networks.

Civilian sympathizers are also supposed to act as propagandists reporting the "objectively related truth", whatever that is. By the way, the guerrillas themselves will never deign to be involved in such tasks. The book recommends that - for security reasons - those engaged in guerrilla warfare should not be involved in any way with overt political activity. Somehow I find this dual organization horribly divisive, and elitist in that one supports the other.

Then we have what to do come "the general uprising".

Again there are vague, almost pointless illustrations about taking a small town (don't anybody mention that there are ten million people in London, about fifty power stations, four hundred railway stations, dozens of telephone exchanges, gasworks etcetera, etcetera.); and these side by side with two drawings of anti-tank obstacles. A strange confusion of strategy and tactics.

The final chapter describes enemy tactics while suppressing uprisings, some of which can be seen to be untrue. For instance, the book tells us that to clear a demonstration in an open area the enemy will advance slowly from one side, forcing people out of exits, then seal them to stop people re-entering, whereas virtually anyone knows that what the bastards actually do is seal off all but the narrowest exit, then start a combined teargas attack and baton charge, often from two sides. In extreme cases they simply open fire.

There is also a dubious statement about enemy patrols, and how officers are the really dangerous ones to watch, whereas most military officers, in this country at least, are terminally wet and the real bastards to watch are the NCOs, especially the older ones who know a thing or two.

The book closes with the remark that the authors hope that what they have written will never be needed and then a quote from Durruti, that lovely passage where he says "We are not in the least afraid of ruins. We are going to inherit the earth", which leaves me wanting to offer my services as a guide to the ruins of the Houses of Parliament and Buckingham Palace where children will be dancing and singing. But then they go and spoil it all in the suggested reading by listing Kurt Saxon's 'The Poor Man's James Bond' which delightful tome tells us how to fire-bomb gay bars so we can have lots of burning faggots. Ha ha ha.

All of which leads me to think that the authors of this book don't really know what they're talking about.

DSK

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