

FREEDOM ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

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U.S. POLLUTION pg 4-6

MENTAL HEALTH pg9

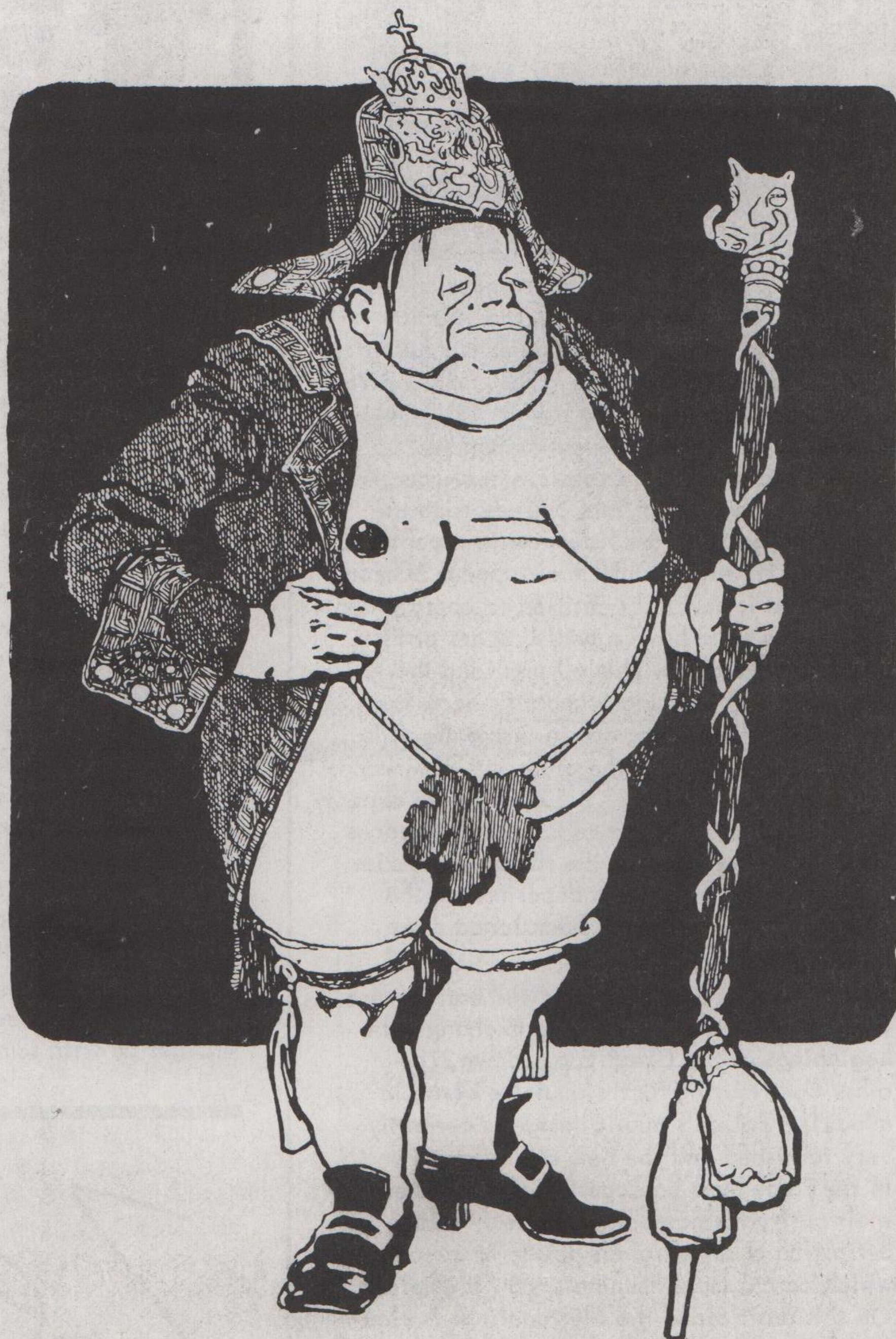
KEYSTONE KOPS STAR IN GREAT SEXFLIC RAID

THE METROPOLITAN Police, under their new commissioner "Hammer" McNee, are undergoing a bout of diligence. This may be part of the long awaited backlash against the permissive society (whatever that means) but is probably largely a desperate attempt to refurbish their public image, which has been getting somewhat tarnished lately. (see for example the book Fall of Scotland Yard reviewed in this issue). The Sunday Mirror has been busily crowing, as it claims to have made a vast contribution to clearing the streets, first of prostitutes from Park Lane and later of child prostitutes from Piccadilly.

The new broom tactics began on September 26, when the GLC (with its recent Tory majority) launched an attack on the "merchants of porn". They voted to close down "sex films and strip clubs, nude posing parlours, topless bars, massage parlours, sex shops and hostess clubs". As a first step three leading members of council appeared in court to defend a decision to refuse a licence to Cinema X in Great Windmill Street, Soho. The GLC's officers had refused to give evidence. The campaign is being led by Bryan Cassidy, GLC member for Hendon North and vice-chairman of the Public Services and Safety Committee. Councillor Cassidy is upset because he cannot go to the "good restaurants in Soho" without running a gauntlet of "sordid" shops and cinemas carrying "lurid" street displays. His first plan is to get rid of this advertising, as he is worried by the imminent display of "full frontal genitals". He anticipates using fire regulations to "tighten up on" (i.e. close) film and strip clubs. The GLC also asked Scotland Yard to investigate a peep show in Coventry Street, where for fifty pence one can peer through a spy-hole at a "live nude stage show". One gets all of one minute and ten seconds.

Another aspect of the campaign concerns massage parlours. One, Roy Bradley, having helped to ban topless massage in Kensington and Chelsea, is now installed as public control inspector in Camden and hopes to repeat his success. He is faced with the daunting prospect of visiting all of the borough's massage establishments. We must hope that this tireless defender of the public good is not put under undue strain and that his superiors are understanding with respect to his expenses. Bradley's initiative has ruffled some of his colleagues. Roy Shaw, leader of Camden council, said huffily; "The politicians here would certainly want to be consulted before any discretionary changes are made." However, do not fear, Councillor Shaw is also on the side of Light. It is just that he is conscious of the dignity of his office. He feels that "there are grounds for distinguishing proper massage places and masturbating shops" Mr. Bradley has heard "lots of rumours" about girls giving "hand relief" "boob massage" and (wait for it) "oral massage" at from £ 10 to £ 25 extra.

(cont overpage)



THE GUARDIAN OF MORALS

This drawing is reproduced from the
Revolutionary Almanac of 1918, edited by
Hippolyte Havel.

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Linking with these, Commissioner McNee has announced a "new war against the criminal jackpot" especially in time for the Christmas rush. A large publicity campaign is to be launched (again), this time under the slogan "Beat Crime '78" (not much good for Christmas I'd have thought). The Thames Valley police have similar ideas and they point out "If we, the police, are to carry out our function to protect life and property and detect crime the law-abiding people who care about our community must play their part." We've heard that before, the poor bobby can't cope on his own. Those who have been to Reading pop festivals may have somewhat differing views on the capabilities of the Thames Valley Police, but of course they represent part of the problem. There is also an appeal for children to keep their eyes open, etc., a la "Junior Police 5". There are also proposals for an actual organisation of junior narks.

All this culminates in the swoops of last Wednesday (5 Oct.). Fourteen cinemas around Soho were raided, about fifty films and equipment removed, lists of 'guests' taken, etc. However, as yet no prosecutions have been announced. But nine of the clubs have been reported to the Director of Public Prosecutions for "keeping a disorderly house". The Special Patrol Group were amongst the police taking part. Chief Superintendent Diver, in his first starring role, said that the raids were in no way connected with the Tory council's clean-up Soho campaign. Some excessive zeal was shown e.g. films were taken into custody from the Pigalle cinema, whose licence was recently not renewed. However, until their appeal is heard the cinema is perfectly entitled to operate and anyway the films have a British Board of Film Censors certificate. This all provided the chance for the Evening Standard's headline writer: "Keystone Kops star in Great Sexflik Raid". The owners of the clubs are now wondering what will follow. £ 500 fines are expected but there are rumours of £ 10,000 licences being introduced (a bit like the proposed rise in Parliamentary election deposits). In the meantime the shows have been toned down.

Is this, together with examples such as the prosecution of Gay News and the harassment of the Paedophile Information Exchange, the beginnings of the Great Clampdown? The other contributing factors must be borne in mind. The police's public image is certainly very tarnished and the new replacements in the force must be eager to demonstrate their purity (for how long?) There's a nice definition of an efficient police force—one which catches more criminals than it employs. On this basis alone the Metropolitan Police must be counted a failure. I have heard a rumour, originating with a member of the "Met" that the current activity is due to a courageous judge in Wales, whose heavy sentencing, upheld after appeal, has set an encouraging precedent. That sounds to me as about on the same level as Chief Supt. Diver's non-relationship with the Tory GLC's campaign. This new Tory dominated Council

must also be taken into account, they need something to offset the image given by hospital closures etc. Richard Neville of Oz used to say that there was only an inch between Tory and Labour, but it was in that inch in which he survived. As anarchists we would consider this a naive view in general but it does seem to have validity in these fringe areas. With these provisos, I think that we can still recognise a general tightening up. The Criminal Trespass law is now well on its way, and it was reported last week that the revival of the Official Secrets Act is being postponed.



In the specific case of prosecution of porn we are, as with so much else, seen in a distorted light. We believe in a free sexuality, and in the society which will allow it to be expressed. This bears no relationship to the commercial exploitation of pornography, yet in many repressed minds the two are synonymous. I think that this is the way in which we should see this police activity, after all if previous records are anything to go on the porn itself will still be available, to those who have the money. A period of public punitivism with all its Victorian hypocrisy may be coming. And liberals may be forced to recognise that "permissiveness" is the correct term, they will take it back as soon as they feel like it. Only when we have removed the repressions which apply in this field as in all others, will these matters become irrelevant, and we can enjoy sex and art derived from it, freely. In the meantime to quote Jill Tweedie, with a sentence which seems to have lost the Guardian a reader, judging by the indignant letter a few days later, "we badly need to stop fucking around and get on with some really loving sex"

D.P.

Zero

The new issue of "Zero" is now out, as well produced as ever. The major pieces this time are on Feminism and the Italian Left, Gays Under Attack and a look at the resurgence of Anarchism (by George Woodcock)

Mastermind ?

The following questions were asked on the "Mastermind" TV programme last week,

- 1) Who denounced the Canalejas ministry of 1910 as "a democratic flag being used to cover reactionary merchandise"?
- 2) What event on the 26th. July sparked off the so-called "Tragic Week" of 1909?
- 3) Who said to the firing squad "Aim well, my friends, You are not responsible. I am innocent"?
- 4) What was the "Mano Negra" or "Black Hand"?
- 5) What do the initials CNT stand for?
- 6) Which Spanish anarchist changed his name to Cordonjev because of his admiration for the Russian Revolution?
- 7) The Iberian Anarchist Federation was founded in July 1927. Where was this federation, represented by the initials FAI, founded?
- 8) Name the anarchist who murdered the Archbishop of Zaragoza.
- 9) With what episode in 1933, during the Second Spanish Republic, do you associate the man known as "Six Fingers"?
- 10) Who described his experiences in the Spanish Civil War in a book entitled "Homage to Catalonia"?
- 11) Which woman anarchist, much against her convictions, became Minister of Health during the Second Spanish Republic?
- 12) Can you name the novel, written by the Basque author, Pio Baroja, in which anarchists are the principal characters?
- 13) In which city did the posters exhorting the republic to "organised indiscipline" first appear?
- 14) When anarchist communes were set up during the Spanish Civil War where the use of money was forbidden, how were the members paid?
- 15) What was known as the "Paseo" during the Spanish Civil War?

A

- 1) Moret.
- 2) General strike in Barcelona
- 3) Ferrer
- 4) An anarchist organisation in Andalusia
- 5) Confederation Nacional del Trabajo
- 6) Cordaron
- 7) Valencia
- 8) Ascaso
- 9) The rising of Casas Viejas
- 10) Orwell
- 11) Montseny
- 12) "Aurora Roja" ("Red Dawn")
- 13) Barcelona
- 14) So much on the size of the workers family
- 15) The "little walk" to the firing squad

In addition "Zero" are to hold more benefit bops, on the third Fridays in Oct. and Nov. To start with on Oct. 21st. with Ova & Dire Tribe, Seven Dials Club, Shelton St. Covent Garden tube.

THE ALL~PARTY CONFERENCE

...BY THIS TIME the energy crisis had got so bad that the shortage of petrol and electricity made it necessary to conserve energy. It was also felt that over-exertion had made for over-consumption of food and drink and any steps taken to conserve human energy were worthwhile. Therefore the Government had no hesitation in agreeing to the almost-voluntary combined Party Conference. The Labour, Liberal and Conservative parties agreed to the proposal and the Euro-Communist Party of Great Britain was also asked to join in on a promise of good democratic behaviour. The other parties were either not asked or ostentatiously (as the only way to make anything out of it) declined.

§

There was a translation service available through headphones (when speeches were translated into Labour, Liberal and Conservative terms) but this was rarely used or necessary.

The party symbols were combined into a tasteful red background to a blue cross onto which were superimposed two yellow crosses, diagonal and horizontal-vertical, which gave an impression of a Union Jack with a slight yellow tinge. All parties could point out their particular contribution to the flag and stress the democratic symbolism of it all.

The Unions were appealed to by all present to show restraint. Those members of the Unions present promised to be of good behaviour. It was deplored that the Unions were in danger of being dominated by extremist elements. The delegate from the Communist Party deplored Trotskyist influence in the Unions.

Demand was made for control of the economy. A Conservative delegate thought that deflation was a menace to the business-man since he needed an expanding market. A Labour delegate pointed out that inflation led to an increase in the cost of living. A Liberal delegate was in favour of stagflation, an alternation of economic policies round the middle way, which would benefit from time to time all members of the Community. It was generally agreed that control of the economy, including to a judicious extent wages and prices, was a good thing. The resolution was passed nem con.

A Conservative delegate brought forward the point that his constituents were taking advantage of the democratic machinery by trying to get votes cast to unseat him as prospective MP. A Labour MP followed this with a similar experience which reminded him of nothing more than a general election: did his constituents think they had the right to change their minds about their MP? He was applauded vigorously and a resolution for the power of electors to change MPs was defeated. An amendment allowing MPs to change their minds and parties was passed.

Another delegate brought forward the point that MPs and candidates with somewhat unorthodox sexual tastes had been discriminated against. A Liberal delegate pointed out that such behaviour whilst not strictly affecting parliamentary behaviour was not conducive to a good public image and all candidates and MPs must, in their sexual conduct at least, be pure and without reproach.

All delegates joined together in speeches against extremism (whether of labour or capitalism) and in favour of moderation: against, as one Liberal put it, "class antagonism and crude Marxism supplanting parties of liberty and brotherhood; weak-kneed capitalism giving way to intolerant demands of labour". The Communist deplored the introduction of crude pseudo-Marxism with its promises of workers' control and utopian and adventurist theories. Delegates from all parties present claimed that

they had restrained all other parties from the excesses of extremism and set the national course for moderation in all things.

All present signified themselves as against racial discrimination, in favour of controlled immigration, in favour of law and order and good pay for the police. Nuclear disarmament was given a fairly sympathetic hearing but no vote was taken. A progressive viewpoint was taken on the Common Market, compulsory seat belts, dogs fouling the pavement and breast-feeding.

The chairperson (an ex-member of the SPGB—a sentimental touch, this!) congratulated everybody for their co-operation in maintaining a co-operative and peaceful conference.

JACK SPRATT.

AGAINST T.U. CLOSED SHOPS

HAVING LIVED twenty years of my life under a fascist regime I wonder if my past experience 'qualifies' me to speak frankly on the subject of Trade Union closed shops in Britain and its totalitarian implications for all of us fighting capitalist exploitation.

In totalitarian regimes Trades Unions are an appendix of the State, whether this is Fascist or Bolshevik, and all aspects of Trade Unionism are regulated by law, binding together workers, employers and the Government. These binding labour agreements are, in reality, closed shops in which workers and employers must accept the existence of Trades Unions as dictated by the State. Union subscriptions are directly deducted from wages by the employers and paid to bank accounts held by the Unions. Once every 2 - 4 years new wages and conditions of work agreements are negotiated and signed by representatives of the Ministry of Labour, the Unions and the Employers; these agreements are then enforced by law. Trade Unions have no autonomy and are not FREE to defend the real interests of the workers, for this legal intrusion into the internal affairs of the unions has had a castrating effect on their ability to protect workers' interests. This type of corporative union has existed in Argentina under Peron's rule, in Portugal under Salazar's and Caetano's rule, in Italy under Mussolini's dictatorship and in Spain under Franco. It is by now a well known fact that Trades Unions in so-called socialist countries are industrial conveyor belts for the ruling communist parties. Whether or not these Unions can negotiate good salaries and cheap holidays for their members is irrelevant, as Trades Unions should be independent bodies, responsible only to their members and must be free from any type of legal interference in their democratic life. It is my opinion that those in Britain who support closed shop agreements are playing into the hands of the State and monopolistic employers, who ultimately prefer legally controlled unions to free militant ones. Closed shops are in reality an easy way to recruit workers into controlled unions, i.e., the unions of the State and the bureaucracy. These bureaucrats and union barons have failed in the task of unionising the vast majority of British workers (out of 27 million workers only 10 millions are union members. They are being assisted in their closed shop campaign by 'politicos' of

the left, particularly Communists and Trotskyists, who are believers (as dictated by Lenin) in political unions, that is State controlled unions.

Let it be said that closed shops are an enemy of the independence and integrity of unions and further deflect them from their origins as expressions of workers' power. Only the militancy of radical workers, and not bureaucratic closed shops, will force reluctant employers (like Grunwick) to negotiate with a Trade Union of the workers' choice. To recruit by the use of capitalist laws, as the closed shop pushers are trying to do, will 'demobilise' the British workers still further and will increase the power of the bureaucrats within the unions. Trades Unions established by law are susceptible to political manipulation (i.e. the Social Contract between the TUC, the Labour Party and the Government). What would happen if the TUC and the Trades Unions were controlled by Fascists or Bolsheviks? As libertarians we would have to fight to FREE OUR TRADES UNIONS from state control. Anarchist workers who are members of Trades Unions should be opposed to the enforcement of closed shops and struggle instead for more union independence from bureaucrats, political parties and political commissars of the Left and Right, and from the all mighty State. We should remember that closed shops coerce individuals to join and deprive them of the right to join the union of their choice. No union bureaucrat, employer or minister should have the POWER to legally force workers into Trades Unions, to discipline them if they protest and finally SACK them if they refuse to go along with tyranny.

Trades Union membership must be voluntary and the result of free choice and conscious understanding of the necessity for working class solidarity and of the collective implications of this solidarity. Free Trades Unionism should be a way of life for workers and their families, a free forum for socialist education and militancy and not a necessary evil for many workers and a pain in the arse for others. Is there then any revolutionary alternative to today's reformist and bureaucratic unions? What about popularising anarcho-syndicalist ideas in Trade Union circles for a change? It seems to me a better idea than to plug into the minds of workers the neo-fascist concept of Trades Union closed shop.

CLAUDE

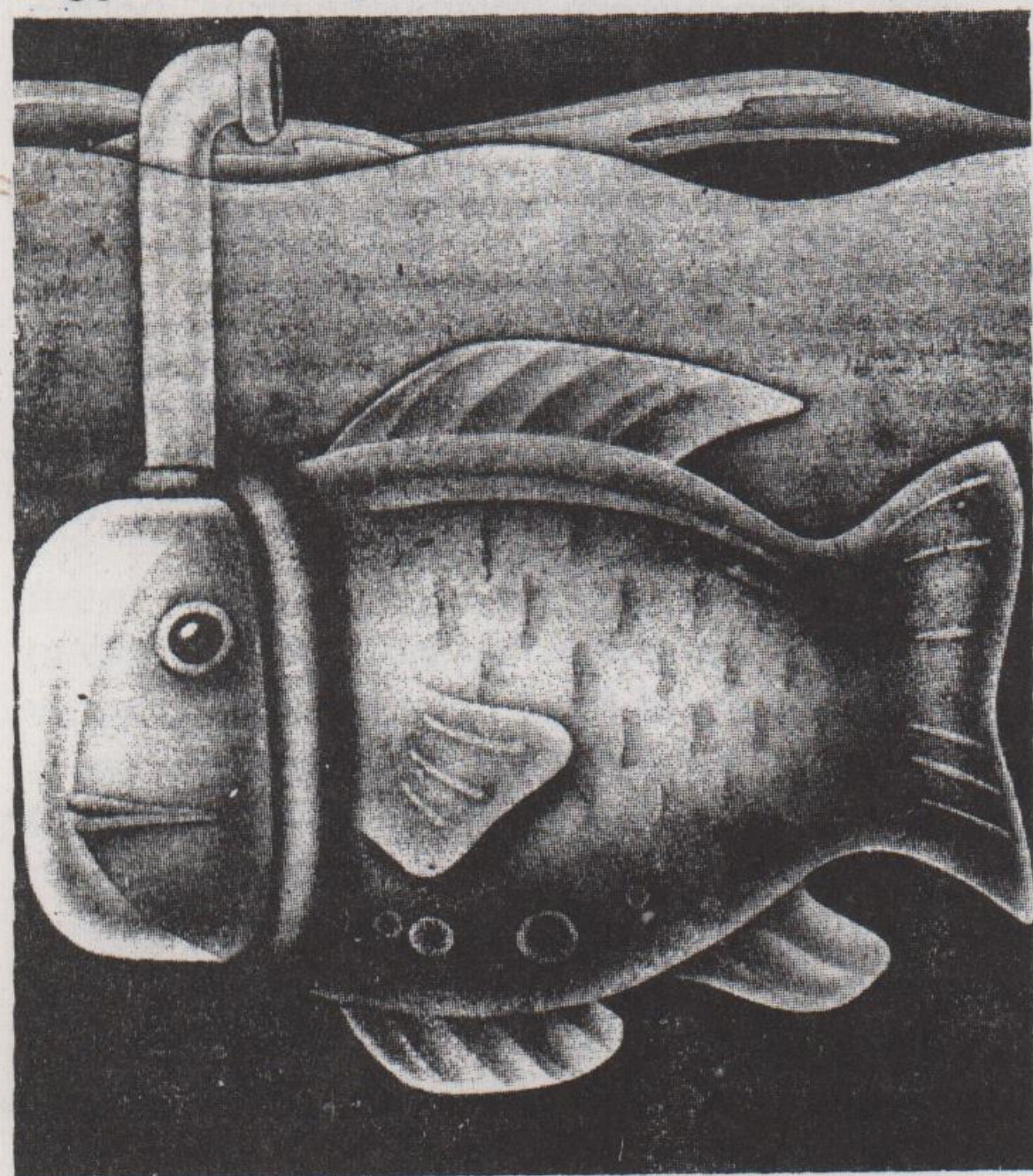
THE DESTRUCTION OF

LAKE SUPERIOR is the largest fresh-water sea in the world. The destruction of Lake Superior is a question of world concern. Until recently, the towns and cities around the lake, involving hundreds of thousands of people, took their drinking-water untreated from the lake. The Reserve Mining Company dumps 70,000 tons of waste asbestos particles into the lake per day. This asbestos is a cause of cancer. The resulting situation has been described as the largest question of ecological destruction (. . . qualitatively, and quantitatively) that any government anywhere in the world has thus far been forced to consider.

In 1968, that year of world revolt, the Save Lake Superior Association (SLSA) was founded. One of its principle organizers is the daughter of a man who was the editor of the Finnish language IWW newspaper in the 'Thirties. Knowing that my grandfather had been in the IWW, a Wobbly Irish lumberjack, and knowing that I was active in the anti-war movement, she sought me out and made a point of telling me that her SLSA activities were very much connected to the IWW perspectives of her family. The stalinist-trotskyist Milieu has never understood that the mainstream SLSA is faithful (yet, in the Present) to the old tradition of the IWW, and anti-Steel Corporations activity.

In 1968 and 1969 I participated in a number of SLSA street-demonstrations, pickets, protests, etc. SLSA organized the Seminar at which medical authorities for the first time revealed the danger to mass health caused by Reserve's pollution. It was SLSA's continuing actions in the street (etc.) which forced public knowledge and forced the government to take the company into the courts. This is important to point out. Liberals like to suggest that integration was brought to southern schools not by mass actions by Blacks but by intervention of the central government. In like manner, Liberals suggest to the world that Reserve was brought to court not because of protests and embarrassment actions but by a benevolent Elite, or by the federal government. Not so!

The taconite amendment was added to the state constitution to free the steel companies from taxation. Reserve was the first of the new (technological) taconite iron mining companies to set up operations. Reserve has been discharging cancer-causing asbestos directly into Lake Superior for twenty-two years. Yet, in the first permits and documents, Reserve voluntarily stated that it would suspend the dumpings at the first suggestion of pollution. Yes, this was in writing! In five



years, numbers of fishermen, who were the first to protest against Reserve, objected to the green-grey metallic sludge clogging their nets. Reserve rode roughshod over the fishermen, and denied their own written promises. . . to this day. The fishing industry in Lake Superior was destroyed. Reserve's asbestos dumpings also wrecked the spawning-grounds and

destroyed the principal species of fish in the lake. Hundreds of fishing towns on the lake are now poverty-stricken.

The Reserve Mining Company, in the wake of the protests of the late 'Sixties, was brought to trial. Judge Lord, of Federal District Court, was assigned as trial judge in the Reserve case. The trial went on and on for years. Reserve, and mon-

ey, obstructed every detail. Judge Lord is no friend of the people. . . during the war he had an established reputation of sentencing war-resisters (etc.) far beyond the demands of the law. Yet, faced with the full horror of the evidence, Lord recognized immediate and mass danger to health and safety for masses of people; he ordered Reserve shut down.

The company, and money, went to Federal Appeals Court. Judge Lord's decision was overturned and he himself was impeached by his superiors. We later discovered that two of the Appeals Court justices owned mining stock (not in Reserve but nevertheless having an interest in the outcome). The new trial judge arrived at the same conclusion as Judge Lord. . . the danger to health and safety for masses of people! But he was prudent—or paid or coerced—and gave Reserve a year to change its methodology. Reserve has never yet made any substantial moves to change. But, with money, and wealthy lawyers, proceeded through the courts a second time to impose its own choice for an on-land dumping site. Unprecedented in the history of American law, a major adjudged criminal is selecting the adjudged punishment!

Nixon's tapes shed some light on this matter, and the early endless trial. The Republic Steel Corporation and Armco Steel Corporation (the parent bodies of Reserve) made enormous illegal contributions to Nixon's re-election campaign. In return, the Justice Department instructed its own lawyers to be somewhat less than zealous in the progress of Reserve's trial. The prosecution, during that trial, could be described as indolent at best.

Documents show that Reserve knew, right from the beginning of its operations, that it would have to alter its disposal methods at some point in time. In fact, right at the beginning, Reserve knew of another possible disposal method. . . of newer technology, not dangerous, and actually less expensive. Why did Reserve choose an expensive dangerous technologically backward process? The answer is simple. Reserve planned to do just what it is doing. Reserve hoped to coerce public and government into subsidizing its economic future continuity. The burueacrats of Reserve are ghouls, vampires! They scheme for guaranteed bigger profits. . . while cancer waits for masses of their victims. In the recent Steelworkers Union elections, the region of northeastern Minnesota (with many big locals in the mines) voted solidly for class-struggle candidates. These lost nationwide only because of sweetheart-contract locals in other parts of the country, these company-unions not even being in heavy industry. Benzoni, district director for the union here, and a primary apologist for Reserve, was voted out in a wipe-out; the new man had openly criticized Reserve. I might also mention that two years ago (reported in FREEDOM 16 Aug. 1975) the miners across the Iron Range gave us the biggest and most vigorous wildcat strike that Minnesota had ever experienced, and the most vigorous strike in Minnesota since the 'Thirties.

Northeastern Minnesota is one of two places in America where the Communist Party has maintained its membership-base through the years. The Communist Party has done nothing against Reserve. In fact, the CP youth leader in Duluth, on two occasions, writing in "underground" publications, exhorted people to do nothing against Reserve, accepting without criticism the arguments of the company-union. In the last year, though, two CPers, openly identifying themselves as CPers, have been attacking Reserve aberrationally—so as to discredit the opposition to Reserve I think. The Trotskyists have done nothing to oppose Reserve; they sit on the fringe and watch for cues from the CP. All locomotion in the fight against Reserve has come from the Libertarian Left.

Special filters, water filters, were installed in the fire stations in Duluth. These sites alone were places to obtain somewhat pure water. For five years, Duluth has appeared like a city in war, a city under siege, always with massive queues of people, grey people, angry people. These queues have been endless, even in cold winter, winter Duluth. . . massive

LAKE SUPERIOR

queues of angry grey people looking like black-and-white film-footage from World War Two or the Spanish Civil War. The panic and anger frightened the authorities of Duluth. But then, Duluth is a city under siege, a siege-horror, a city in war, and that war is class war.

The town of Silver Bay, where the Reserve plant is located, sixty miles up the lakeshore from Duluth, is a company town, and I mean this in the full Nineteenth Century sense. Everything in the town is controlled by the one company. It is even illegal for anyone to take a photograph in the town without the permission of the police!

Several months ago, a woman who was elected to the state legislature because of her continuity in opposing Reserve called to public memory, as commemoration, the fact that Finnish and Irish workers joined together in 1916 in the IWW and the great Mesaba general strike, to stand by their own humanity, and against the dehumanization wrought by their steel companies. This woman is herself within the old tradition in northeastern Minnesota of socialist-populists being thrown into local government because of the anti-Steel Companies disposition of the people.

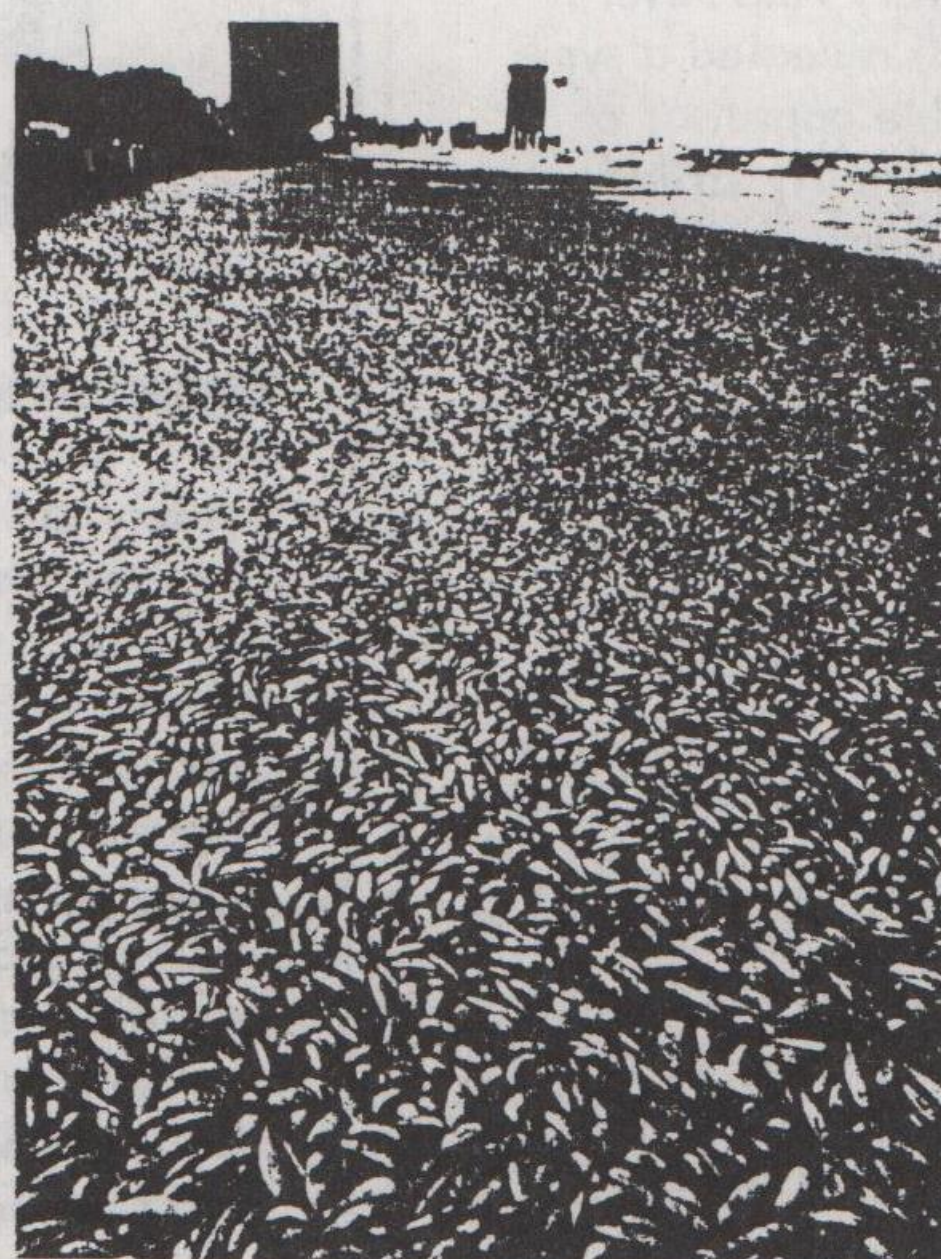
During the endless agitation before courts and commissions (which is not over yet!) there have been a number of militant protests against Reserve. The most important action was a march-demonstration from Duluth to Silver Bay along the shore road, organized by Skip Porter, a young seaman and Wobbly. There were a number of protests and demonstrations planned by the young scientists of the National Water-Quality Laboratory in Duluth. And, about a year ago, a campaign of civil disobedience began, projected by the Libertarian Left, initiated by Arno Kahn. Scores of people refused to pay their water bills, etc. There was then much coercion by civil bureaucrats, intimidation by police, destruction of property by police, public outrage to defend the victims and direct-actionists.

Reserve pleaded 'poverty' to the courts, despite the fact that it produces 15 per cent of U.S. iron ore. The 'poverty' which is really a monster of Money was able to purchase scores of wealthy lawyers, delays, obstructions, and ultimate legal victory. Despite the continuation of litigation before courts and commissions, the courts have (in finality) granted Reserve its own choice of a dumping site. Reserve will be allowed to build a dump only four miles from the lake, into which the cumingtonite asbestos fibres will now be blown. Scientists insist the danger by air is worse than by water. The Establishment, however, cannot hear for the deafening sound of money.

The liberals, government, and the courts have all now exposed their ultimate powerlessness and passivity before the monster of Reserve. The real fight against Reserve begins now! At the very moment that I write, 19,000 iron miners have gone on illegal strike; there are two thousand local grievances in the strike, but all grievances revolve round a centre core of the health and safety question. Rebel strikers have publicly and vigorously stated to the media that one primary objective of the strike is to destroy the no-strike commitments of the national Steelworkers Union bureaucrats. Workers have also struck the Cleveland Cliffs Iron Company in Upper Michigan. 4,000 workers have struck the White Pine Copper Mine. Workers in Duluth are on wildcat against American Hoist and Derrick; bombs have been thrown in provocation at their strike-line. All concrete companies in the region have been struck. Workers have struck at the National Iron Company in Duluth and the Boise-Cascade paper mill in Big Falls. Workers have also struck the Conwed Corporation, one of the big wood-fibre factories in Cloquet; this is the first strike in the history of the Corporation and a number of socialist revolutionaries are involved. The situation in Northeastern Minnesota verges on general strike.

The 'anarcho'-futurists in America, who reject the working

class, and who once proclaimed that rock bands (!!) were the seed of the new libertarian revolutionary society, are now at a loss to explain the emergence of a clear proletarian dimension in the ecology movement. After all, if the environment is polluted, polluted by Industrial Capital, and what is human becomes destroyed, then the environment at the workplace (the environment of the worker) becomes the most extreme form of this condition, not just as space but also as time (cf. speed-up). It may be true, as the 'anarcho'-futurists say, that many working-class Anarchists have an aged conception of the class-struggle, but it is equally true that the futurists have an aged conception of workers and class-struggle. Anarchist-Communism has always projected a unique combination of 'utopian' or futurist dimension and Historical Materialist and class-struggle dimension. Whenever Anarchism has forgotten or debased one or the other dimension, it has always become quasi-Elitist. We, as Anarchists, must not centre around a one-dimensional vision of 'worker', but must experience workers as multifaceted and human in struggle. I have no antipathy to End-of-Work concepts; however, I see workers as not just Muscle but also Reason. Workers can think for themselves—they do not need the Vanguard Party, the International Situationists, or 'libertarian' futurist Elitism.



Dead alewives floating on Lake Michigan. Vast fish kills like this one are the result of artificially accelerated eutrophication through the discharge of organic wastes.

The 'anarcho'-futurists describe revolts and revolution as 'moments arising unpredictably, spontaneously, without guidance'. I vigorously oppose all Vanguardism, but futurist 'spontaneity' becomes mere spontaneity (which becomes. . . whatever happens!). I saw enough of the almost-Revolution in the 'Sixties. The anti-workingclass 'anarcho'-futurists cannot see revolution as Reason but only as 'unpredictable'. They, from a different direction, but nonetheless like the Leninists, suffer from an Administrative mentality. They see rebellion not as living and human and dimensional, but as structuralism (. . . decentralized structuralism, but still structuralism). They become the other side of the same coin of the Bolsheviks. They perceive rebellion only as 'unpredictable' mechanism.

But decentralism by itself is not enough. The anti-working-class Milieu ends as a type of substitute Vanguardism, creating a spectacle of mutual justification and complimentary deceptions. We alienate ourselves when we identify merely with the Future. We will achieve the dimensional free classless society of the Future only through action and people that are dimensional in the Present. We must criticize within the libertarian Movement, as we would criticize our own selves, and not incidentally. Workers are, first of all, existential and thinking beings. . . not Leninist slogans and Abstracts made flesh, nor the stereotypes and disembodied phantasy of the anti-workingclass Milieu. Workers, as individuals, formulate desires and needs, define enemies and friends, then find solidarity with others of like perceptions. The Leninists and the anti-workingclass Anarchists both view revolts and

(cont next page)

referenda

Dear Editors,

Jack Robinson ("Vote for Sunshine!" *FREE-DOM* 1.10.77) writes, "wisdom cannot be arrived at by counting heads". That is certainly true, and few anarchists, I imagine, regard referenda as an ideal means of arriving at collective decisions. In an anarchist community, I would say, collective decisions would emerge naturally from soundly based human relationships.

Nevertheless, I think that in a non-anarchist society, on certain issues, anarchists might well vote in referenda.

Suppose there was a referendum in the UK on the question, "Do you think capital pun-

ishment should be restored?" Public opinion might be very evenly divided on this issue, so that the result depended on the anarchists: if they voted "No" there would be no capital punishment, but if they abstained it would be restored. If, in such circumstances, the anarchists abstained, they would then be partly responsible for any subsequent executions. Now, I hardly think anarchists would want to share such responsibility, so surely, in any referendum on this issue, they would use their votes?

There are two questions, not to be confused. First: are referenda an ideal means of arriving at collective decisions? Answer: No. Second: If a referendum is being held, and the result could have important consequences for human beings, must anarchists always abstain? Answer: Not necessarily.

Bristol.

Best wishes,
FRANCIS ELLINGHAM.

We ain't gonna get it by firing guns, planting bombs, throwing grenades or wielding clubs after the manner of our masters' and persecutors' uniformed zombies.

I wonder why Gaia did not explore the idea of lampooning and ridiculing - a most potent weapon as she recognises - rather than returning to that sterile stamping ground of puling youth - urban guerilla warfare.

Perhaps more to the point would be - "Who Are The Anarchists?" As with most things corruption infiltrates so that terms once easily identifiable are no longer recognized - except within the context of one's natural opponents' vocabulary. Is Anarchy really "anarchy"?

Yours faithfully,
Cardiff. B. J. CLIFTON.

SCIENTOLOGY

Dear Comrades,

I sympathise with Geoffrey Barfoot's regret that the literature of valuable groups like the Mental Patients' Union should be alienating (see our Review section this issue). This is presumably because of MPU's assertion that mental illness is caused by class repression - hardly borne out by the widely differing social circumstances of the people one sees in any great mental hospital. It is the more the pity because MPU is a real self-help group with no axe to grind (save the political stance mentioned) and no advantage to gain. Scientology's campaign against ECT, while obviously being against a practice which libertarians combat, cannot so surely be recognised as being liberatory and disinterested. Scientology began life as a form of psychoanalysis invented by Ron Hubbard, which I first came across in a science fiction magazine. It was then called Dianetics. One does not know what are the Church of Scientology's religious or political or social creeds. But from the way they try to rope people in on the Tottenham Court Road for "Free Personality Analysis" one suspects high pressure sales of something.

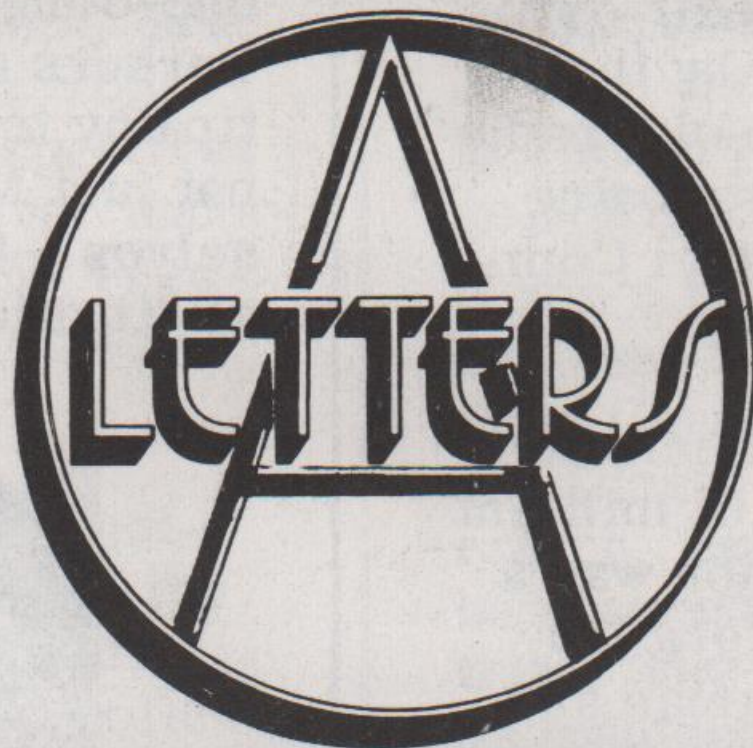
M.C.

germany

Dear Editors,

The lead article "Schleyer, And After?" by Gaia (Vol. 38 No. 18) revealed a sympathetic, even appreciative appraisal of those in West Germany currently striking fear amongst that state's functionaries. It seems too that Black Flag justifies the violence of such terrorist gangs. One of Gaia's quibbles is with that paper - a semantic one merely, "Assassination is not execution"; nonetheless "anarchists might justifiably assassinate at times".

Anarchists who do so are, to my mind, as odious and as execrable as those who wreak physical and mental mayhem in the name of their State, Ruler or Party. Those anarchists who find it possible to support or work alongside terrorist gangs, be they RAF, IRA or PLO are as muddle-headed as those anarchists prepared to associate with Left Statists are short-sighted. It may be asked of such peo-



ple "How do you intend to achieve a sane society devoid of fuhrers and sheep, laws and law-enforcers, steeped in blood?" Do these fasci-chists and commu-chists not understand (perhaps with the prerogative of adolescence they'll screech abusive and derisive negatives) that ordinary men and women in every country are repulsed by violent actions and methods? The deep and widespread yearning is to be let alone (by all manipulators) to live in a peaceful, equitable society realizing one's true self in accord with one's natural talents, raising a family and pursuing cultural activities of every kind.

immediate situations not as moments in real time, nor as Reason, but excuses, points of mobilization for organizational or idiosyncratic growth. Statism (and this is the definition and groundwork for all Statism) supposes that it knows and acts for the desires and interests of other people. Besides implicitly denying the priority of their own desires. . . they thus make themselves a separate, special class.

There is a barrier, a barrier in Thought, which Anarchists must make explicit as barrier. . . the Vanguard Parties of the Left perpetuate and photocopy the same contradictions and the same divisions as are bone and tissue of the commodity form of production. The Anarchist battle against this barrier of Thought must be made clear as our method of working out new form as organization. The Libertarian Left is the only movement in the Lake Superior region that does not excerpt from mere Pragmatism intact the same form of organization reproduced by the usual Vanguard Parties. We participate in revolt as living Process, working out a way of always arguing on personalist and revolutionary grounds, and not abstractly on the economy like the Trotskyists. We have presented ourselves in rebellion and organization, in method, which must necessitously involve our perspectives. We have not allowed the Communist Party or the Maoists to define the ground. As a consequence, in the controversy with Reserve Mining Company, though small in numbers, we have had historic impact. Now is the time to take ourselves seriously. We must project the need for new forms of organization and new forms of directactionism, directactionism as revolt, directactionism as

human self-development, and directactionism as individual self-development.

Lake Superior is the largest fresh-water sea in the world. The destruction of Lake Superior is a question of world concern. There is a fear of slowmotion Holocaust throughout the Lake Superior region. This fear cannot be allowed to drive us to despair. It must drive us instead to totally uproot Statism and Capitalism. It must drive us instead to creative self-confidence about working-class and our own still small numbers. Is there a city in America that is not preparing itself for war and class war? Is there a country today whose people are not under siege by their own government? We must come to a sense of urgency, freedom philosophy, and selected thoughtful actions, historic actions.

There are two Worlds in each and every country. We must never forget it. And we must understand the importance of method and living Process in trying to work out a new form that does not repeat the divisions of capitalism. We must always argue on personalist and revolutionary grounds. We must be detailed, and basic. Let us leave the liberals to long debates about abstract "rights", and merely structuralistic infringements, and paper "freedoms". We must step into History. realize the times in real time, and demand new answers, new creativity.

SEAMAS CAIN.

SAME DIFFERENCE

A STRIKE in any part of the Communist world is greeted as a marvel by the lovers of democratic capitalist freedom who deplore strikes by their own serfs. A thousand coal miners struck this August in Rumania; the President, called in person to face their anger, was booed. The miners were protesting at food shortages since the earthquake disaster, but the strike was occasioned by a new pensions law which reduced the differential between the miners' and lower grade workers' benefits. What did the people's government do? Swiftly withdrew the new pensions law and substituted one more favourable to the miners, without putting it through the people's parliament. The miners returned to work.

AMNESTY TOTAL

A MAJOR advance for freedom has been made in Spain. The ruling Centre Democratic Union has submitted (3 Oct.) a bill to Parliament granting amnesty for political crimes committed before last June's general election. But wait, what is this proviso? An exclusion of 'crimes of violence deliberately aimed at destabilising the democratic process'. That should be wide enough. However, in case we get the impression that the Government is uncharitable, certain deserving groups are singled out for pardon. For example, all members of the armed forces and the police. And for all offences committed in the investigation of political crimes.

CONFORMITY

Australian psychologist Leon Mann has discovered that a queue must contain at least six people. Apparently, he placed numbers of 'stooges' at bus stops and observed the behaviour of arrivals. With five or less people waiting, newcomers tended to stand near the stop, and indulge in a melée to board. However, with above six waiting, newcomers tended to wait meekly in line and wait their turn. There must be a moral there somewhere.

(from Sunday Times)

L. T.

London Transport has recently put forward plans to 'rationalise' their 'services'. They feel that commuting habits have altered so a drastic reshuffle is called for. Bus routes and tube lines will be pruned and totally new pat-

In Brief

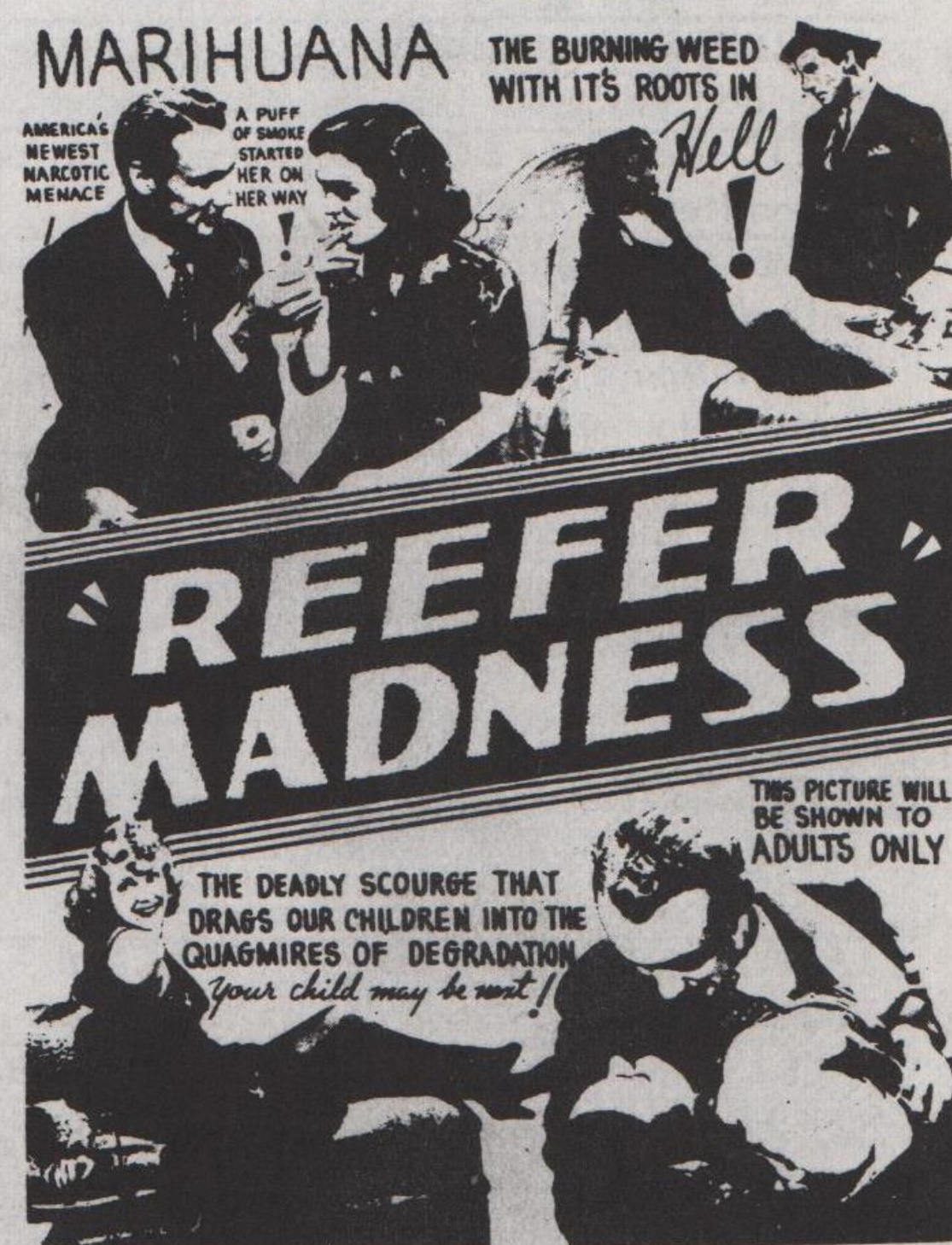
terns of transport will be introduced. Users will be educated to appreciate this. (Isn't there a contradiction here? It's our habits that have brought it on.) Included amongst the suggestions are season tickets with photographs. (And finger prints and blood groups?) There is one cheery note. The new Fleet tube line is to be renamed the Jubilee Line. The cost of the changeover is estimated at £ 50,000. The first parts of the new line will be open in 1978. Perhaps it should be called Jubilee Plus, S. S.

The Public Accounts Committee has issued figures relating to Social Security payments in 1975. The staggering sum of £ 10.8 millions has been 'overpaid'. About a quarter of this is estimated to be deliberate fraud, representing about 19,000 cases. The opportunity for trumpeting about scroungers has not been missed. A couple more facts induce some perspective. This figure represents all of 0.12 per cent of total payments. In contrast, over £ 175 millions has not been claimed by a million people who are entitled to it. The average fraud was £ 32. Any accountant could find a way of saving much more than that on income tax. And I'm sure that one case of fiddled tax represents far less need than the several people getting £ 32 each from Supplementary Benefits.

GRUNWICK
BE THERE !

As the TUC are obviously going to provide nothing to back up their fine resolutions, the Grunwick Strike Committee are calling for a resumption of mass picketing, before the winter slump. The first day, Monday 17th. October, will be particularly important.

As further demonstration that those in power are not to be trusted with important decisions, it would appear that Democratic Senator Birch Bayh spends his time smashed out of his mind. Senator Bayh is a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which is deciding whether to recommend decriminalising marijuana. The proposed change is part of a Bill put forward by Senator Kennedy, who feels that people should be allowed to possess up to 10 grams (about one-third of an ounce), representing 'according to his information' about 20 joints. But this is not good enough for Birch. An ounce is "the kind of supply the average user would have". And no wonder. Birch only gets 30 joints from his whole ounce. Senator Bayh must be congratulated for standing up for the people. But is it fair that public figures are put under such pressure that they need such strong joints to relax . . .



EXTRA MEETING.

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club Lectures:

November 10: Professor Otis E. Fellows on Diderot.

7.30 p.m. at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 8th Avenue, 29th Street, New York City.

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Press Fund

22 September - 5 October 1977

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N.B. The entry in Press Fund 8-21 September 'CHICAGO: I.S.A. £ 14.28' should read: CHICAGO: Alexander Berkman Fund £ 14.28

Literature

ANARCHIST-FEMINIST NEWSLETTER No.3 now out & available to women only, for 15p from Mandy Vere, 100 Whitechapel, Liverpool 1. Women's Liberation and The State; Feminism as Anarchism; Women's Liberation in N.Ireland/Spain; Working With Men; &c. PEACE NEWS for nonviolent revolution—Reports, analysis, news of nonviolent action for social change, building alternatives, resisting the megamachine. Antimilitarism, sexual politics, ecology, decentralisation &c. 15p fortnightly, £ 5.50 per year from 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham.

GERMANY 'Graswurzelrevolution' (Grass Roots Revolution) bi-monthly paper, associated with War Resisters' International. Available from W. Hertle, Gr. Schippsee 28, 2100 Hamburg 90. (Also local groups 'Gewaltfreie Aktion' (non-violent action), contact via the paper.) INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST No.5. Send four 7p stamps to IWW (Midlands), 226 Emscote Road, Warwick

FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

WE WELCOME news, reviews, articles, letters. Latest date for receipt of copy for next issue (No. 21) is MONDAY 24 OCTOBER.

No charge is made for use of the Contact Column. All items for insertion, must, however, arrive by the above date—and if possible earlier. Frequently valuable publicity for events is lost by comrades not taking our fortnightly schedule into account.

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE is THURSDAY 27 OCTOBER. Come and help from 2 pm onwards. (You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to 8 pm for informal get together while folding FREEDOM or despatching.)

Groups

ABERYSTWYTH: Mike Sheehan, Neuadd Caerlaan, Victoria Terrace, Aberystwyth.
BOLTON contact 6 Stockley Ave., Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516).
CAMBRIDGE contact Raphael Salkie, Queens College, Cambridge
CORBY Anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.
COVENTRY write John England, 48 Spencer Avenue, Earlsdon, Coventry.
DORKING Libertarian Group, Howard Fuller, 6 Oak Ridge, Goodwyn, Dorking, Surrey (tel. 87814)
EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians, Martyn Everett 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.
EXETER Anarchist Society, Devonshire House, Stocker Road, University of Essex
LEAMINGTON & Warwick, c/o 42 Bath St., Leamington Spa.
LEEDS, Tony Kearney, 4 Ingle Row, Leeds 7
LEICESTER, c/o Blackthorn Books, 74 High-cross Street, Leicester.
MANCHESTER contact Al on 061 224 3028
NEWCASTLE anarchist group, 91 Beaconsfield St., Arthur's Hill, Newcastle NE4 5JN.
OXFORD, Martin Harper, Keble College.
PORTSMOUTH, Carolyne Cahm, 2 Chadder-ton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old Portsmouth.
READING University Anarchists, c/o Students Union, University of Reading.
SHEFFIELD (1) Tikka, 4 Havelock Square, (2) Anarchists-Situationists, Flat 1, 1 Victoria Road, Sheffield S10.
STOKE anarchists, 52 Campbell Road, Stoke-on-Trent.
THAMES VALLEY, Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress Rd., Maidenhead (tel. 062 2974).
WESTON-SUPER-MARE. Anyone interested in forming group contact Martyn Redman, Flat 5, 23 Milton Road, Weston-s.-Mare, Somerset.

LONDON FEDERATION of Anarchist groups. Anarchist Black Cross, 123 Upper Tollington Park, N.4. (tel. 691 6533).
Anarchy Collective, 29 Grosvenor Ave., N.5. (tel. 359 4794—before 8 pm).
Brixton Anarcho-Situationists, 8 Heywood House, 3 Belmont Rd. SW4. (tel. 674 6402).
Clapham, 3 Belmont Rd. SW4 (tel. 622 8961).
East London Libertarians, 123 Lathom Rd., E.6. (tel. 552 3985).
Freedom, 84B Whitechapel High St., Angel Alley, E.1. (tel. 247 9249).
Hackney Anarchists—contact Dave 249 7042.
Kingston Libertarians, 13 Denmark Rd., Kingston-upon-Thames (tel. 549 2564).
London Workers Group, Box W, 182 Upper St., N.1. (tel. 249 7042).

Love V Power (write only) Desmond Hunter, 4 Swinton Street, WC1.
South London College, Knights Hill, West Norwood (tel. 674 7886).
Zero, tel. 555 6287.

KENT Anarchist Federation

Canterbury, Steve Dawe, Canterbury Anarchist Group, 12 Claremont Place, Wincheap, Canterbury.
University: Dave Norman, Univ. of Kent Anarchist Group, Keynes College, University of Kent, Canterbury.
Sevenoaks: Jim Enderby, 70 Bradbourne Road, Sevenoaks.

MIDLANDS Anarchist Federation, Secretary Louise Crane, 13 Arden Terrace, Braunstone, Leicester (tel. c/o Sid & Pat: Leicester 864511)

NORTH WEST Anarchist Federation, 6 Stockley Ave., Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516) (Monthly newsletter, meetings.)

ANARCHIST STUDENTS Network. For contacts & information on conference write to Exeter University anarchists (see Exeter group)

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN Federation:

Aberdeen: Blake, c/o APP, 167 King Street.
Dundee: Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place.
Edinburgh: Gibson, 7 Union St. (557 1522)
Glasgow: C. Baird, 122 Benneray St. Glasgow G22 (tel. 226 7895)
Stirling: D. Tymes, 99 Rosebank, Sauchie, Clacks.

International

AUSTRALIA:

Note Change of Address: New South Wales-Warrawong entry no longer there (see Sydney)
Canberra: Alternative Canberra Group, 10 Beltana R., Pialligo, ACT 2809.
Victoria: La Trobe Libertarian Socialists c/o SRC La Trobe Univ., Bundoora, Vic. 3083.
Libertarian Soc. Fed of Aust. c/o 4 Roosevelt St., Reservoir, Vic. 3073.
Sydney: New entry: Jura Books/Sydney Anarcho Syndicalists, 417 King St. Newtown, NSW.
Sydney Libertarians, P.O. Box 54, Darlinghurst 2010.
Sydney Fed. of Aust. Anarchists, Box 97, Broadway, 2007 Australia.

NEW ZEALAND

The anarchist movement can be contacted via P.O. Box 2052 Auckland.
P.O. Box 22-607 Christchurch.
International Books, 128 Willis St. Wellington
Daybreak Bookshop, P.O. Box 5424 Dunedin.

U.S.A.

New York: Libertarian Book Club, Box 842 G.P.O., New York City, NY 10012.
S.R.A.F./Freospace, 339 Lafayette Street, New York City, N.Y. 10012.
MISSOURI: Columbia Anarchist League, P.O. Box 370, Columbia, MO. 65201.

EUROPE

Denmark, Anarkist-Synd. Bogcafe, Studiestraede 18, DK 1455 Copenhagen.
Germany (Anarchist Federation of Baden).
ABF Info-Büro, Postfach 161, 717 Schwabisch Hall, Germany.

Meetings

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST Conference (SWF) in Manchester Weekend 22/23 October. Creche & possible transport from London. Details from SWF, 109 Oxford Rd. Manchester.

Manchester—Sunday 23 Oct. "WILLIAM TYNDALE—History of a Struggle" related by headmaster Terry Ellis; 30 Oct. Jill Norris

on the Working-class Women's Suffrage movement in Lancashire 1895-1905. Both meetings of the 68 Club in the West Indian Social Club, Weswood, St., Moss Side, Manchester 14, 8 30 pm sharp (open 8 pm) 35p.

NEWCASTLE u. Tyne October 15-18 conference of British Withdrawal from N. Ireland Campaign, at Cradlewell Books, 235 Jesmond Rd., Newcastle 2.

LEFT WITHOUT MARX? Part of the cause why libertarians have failed to create a coherent alternative to Marxism is that they have failed to understand it. Libertarians interested in a study group on Marx contact Left Without Marx, 15 Marcham Rd. London E11 3LE.

LAND for the PEOPLE every Tuesday at 8a Leighton Cres., London NW3 (Kentish Town) upstairs No. 8 (tel. 267 1184 or 485 3572).

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

ZERO Benefit Bop with OVA (ex Lupin Sisters) and DIRETRIBE, disco, food, bar, at Covent Garden Community Centre, Seven Dials Club, Shelton St. WCI (tube Covt. Gdn) Saturday 21 Oct 7-11 pm. Adm. 80p (claimants 60p)

AT EASE—Counselling service for military personnel needs new counsellors in London for Thursday evening sessions. A training session will take place for new counsellors on Saturday 29 October. Anybody interested contact At Ease, c/o 1 Elgin Ave., London W9 or phone (0-1) 870 5996 for further details.

Desires

I'm looking for a room in a shared house, in South London. Man, aged 25. Please contact Freedom Box M.

Anarchist Gay Lib Group—to put anarchist ideas across within the gay movement. Anyone interested in forming such a group contact Alan Bray, Flat D, 23 Great James St. London WC1 (tel. 405 8850 Fri. evngs./weekends).

PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES Libertarian group. Enquiries c/o Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 90X.

BELFAST, For a Belfast Anarchist contact B.A.C, c/o 52 Broadway, Belfast 12 (correspondence only).

Literature

NEW from Kropotkin's Lighthouse Publications c/o Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 90X: *The Tay Bridge Disaster*: 3 Poems by Wm. McGonagall. Profusely illustrated. 50p (10p post). Usual terms to the trade. Read the Awful Truth!

Cont page 7.

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FREEDOM'S *Anarchist Review*

15 OCT 77

MORE ON MENTAL HEALTH

SINCE WRITING my last article on Mental Health (FREEDOM Supplement Vol. 38 No. 9) I have received some publications which tend to support the observations I made. Those observations came out of my own limited experience and I thought it might be of some interest to supplement them with a wider view. I don't intend to write a full review of all these documents. I have listed them at the end of this article, together with the names of other organisations in the field, so that those who want more information can get it at the source.

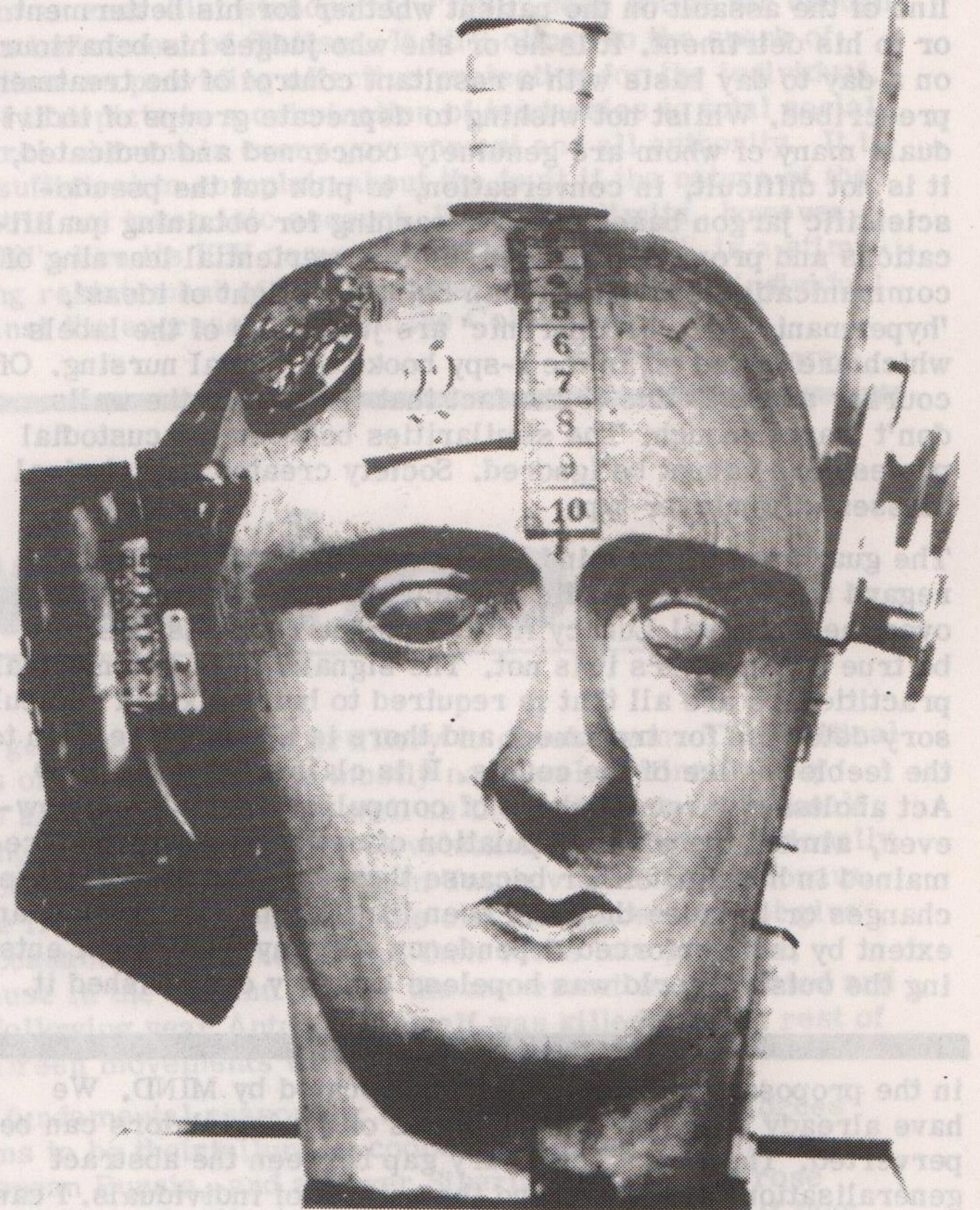
What was a central theme of mine, the ambiguity of the concept of Mental Illness, is illustrated by a point made in two widely different publications, those of MIND and of the EPOC Collective. That is, that the constitutional lawyers who drew up the 1959 Mental Health Act were themselves unable to define Mental Illness and in fact no legal definition exists.

The MIND publication also relates the story (which received some publicity at the time but which I had forgotten) of the study by Dr. Rosenhan. He sent eight 'normal' volunteers to different mental hospitals without the knowledge of the hospital staff. Each person was admitted after complaining that he had been hearing voices. They fabricated no other symptoms and after admission stopped simulating any symptoms at all. None of them was detected and each was labelled schizophrenic. On discharge they had the diagnosis, schizophrenia in remission. But this wasn't the end of the affair. After publication of the results, the staff of one teaching hospital doubted that the findings could be repeated in their establishment. They were told that one or more pseudo-patients would be admitted within the following three months. 193 patients were admitted during that period. 41 of them were identified as pseudo-patients by at least one member of the staff. In fact, there were no pseudo-patients who presented themselves during that time. One is defined as mentally ill by entering mental hospital or otherwise receiving mental treatment.

On the question of compulsory admission (the so-called Formal patients) MIND makes the point that the possible 'dangerous behaviour' needed as a criterion is notoriously difficult to predict. Several studies that have been made show that, at best, psychiatrists predict correctly only one in five cases, that is, a success rate of twenty per cent. In practice the 'dangerous behaviour' turns out mostly to be behaviour that has a nuisance value. In a study by Professor Dershowitz, he concludes that mental patients are no more likely, and probably even less likely, to be dangerous to others than the population at large. This is certainly confirmed by my own experience. If one may make any distinction between the 'normal' and the 'mentally ill', one could say that the 'normal' tend to be more violent.

ECT has apparently been in the news again recently. MIND cautiously defines this treatment as 'suspect'. The Citizens Commission on Human Rights regards it as positively harmful, claims that reports of its efficiency are spurious and

calls for its abolition. They quote a case, reported in World Medicine, of a London mental hospital which operated a dud ECT machine for two years without knowing it. Patients had been getting an anaesthetic and a muscle relaxant, but no shock. The psychiatric staff however proceeded to assess the results as if a shock had been given and apparently didn't notice any difference in the effect on patients. CCHR also quote the case of Ernest Hemingway, who is reported to have said to his biographer, A.E. Hotchner, after having ECT, "They are taking away my memory. They are destroying my livelihood. I have nothing to live for if I cannot write. It was a brilliant cure but they lost the patient. Its a bum turn, Hotch, terrible."



Thirty days after the treatment, Hemingway took his own life. There is, of course, no evidence of a causal connection between the two events. There is, on the other hand, mounting evidence that ECT, at the least, can cause brain damage. Most of the evidence from the U.S.A. has been summarised in the paper by John Friedberg. I have myself recently spoken to a university graduate in French literature who no longer feels any confidence in his knowledge of the French language. As always, it is possible to say that there is no link between the 'treatment' and subsequent condition, but with evidence of case after case of this type, we must at least be suspicious.

"O.K.," as our friends on the radical left may say, 'we know all that, but where's the ACTION.'

Well, action by the groups listed varies from pressure for legal reform, to the formation of alternative ways of coping with those who need help and have opted out of the state services. One of the most valuable functions of MIND is the advice and aid they give in cases of individual injustice. They have recently taken some cases to the European Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg and such action should not be underestimated. Nevertheless, anarchists can have no faith



Bars in the Mind

These comments, arising from Review supplement No. 9 on Health (14.5.77) are impressions gained after working during 1973 and 1974 in a 1,500-bed psychiatric hospital a few miles north of Leeds.

CONSULTANT PSYCHIATRISTS responsible for the 'care' of patients spend remarkably little time with them. They have vast numbers of patients on their lists, often in more than one hospital, for each of which, presumably, they receive payment. New patients and those causing administrative problems may have one interview per week, the rest are lucky to be bid good day. The hierarchical structure, therefore, places the nurse, and often the student nurse, in the front line of the assault on the patient whether for his betterment or to his detriment. It is he or she who judges his behaviour on a day to day basis with a resultant control of the treatment prescribed. Whilst not wishing to deprecate groups of individuals many of whom are genuinely concerned and dedicated, it is not difficult, in conversation, to pick out the pseudo-scientific jargon based on rote learning for obtaining qualifications and promotion as opposed to experiential learning of communication amongst human beings. 'Flight of ideas', 'hypermanic' and 'hebephrenic' are just a few of the labels which are ticked off in the I-spy books of mental nursing. Of course, added to this is the fact that we outside the walls don't 'care' enough. The similarities between the custodial professions cannot be ignored. Society creates its criminal classes of whatever type.

The guardians of the mind within our psychiatric hospitals regard the 1959 Mental Health Act as a considerable advance over the Criminal Lunacy Acts. In some respects this may be true but in others it is not. The signatures of two medical practitioners are all that is required to bring about a compulsory detention for treatment and there is no recourse even to the feeble justice of the courts. It is claimed that the 1959 Act abolished large numbers of compulsory detentions; however, almost the whole population of newly freed patients remained in hospital either because they were not aware of the changes or because they had been institutionalised to such an extent by their enforced dependency that any question of entering the outside world was hopeless had they even wished it.

in the proposals for legal reform advocated by MIND. We have already seen how the intentions of the legislators can be perverted. There is a necessary gap between the abstract generalisations of the law and the actions of individuals. I can remember long after the 1959 Act was put into operation, a candidate for the post of Charge Nurse was asked, 'If you saw an informal patient from your ward, whom you considered to be disturbed, making off down the drive, what would you do? The expected answer was that the patient should be detained and taken back to the ward. As a Police Superintendent once said to me, 'It doesn't matter what the law says, it's what we say that matters.'

In a brief chapter called "Outro" in *Castles in the Air*, published by the EPOC Collective, it is suggested that the only long term answer to the problem of 'Mental Health' is a better society. I certainly agree with this and think that most anarchists must. I find it a pity that the style of this group (and others like them) is so alienating. As an example of this, I can reveal that when the Mental Patients Union was first formed, I tried to get a branch started in the hospital where I work. I contacted one or two patients and had a paragraph in the hospital magazine. There was some interest and we sent for the MPU literature. When the patients saw it, they withdrew and that was the end of any MPU branch.

What happens within the Mental Health Service depends, at root, not on the law, but on the attitudes of the doctors, nurses and other staff who operate them and most of all on the patients themselves. Without the willing, often eager, co-operation of most patients the abuses we have been consider-

Geoffrey Barfoot raises the tantalising question of how voluntary is voluntary under the terms of the Act. In many cases the answer must be 'not very'. Powers exist whereby emergency detentions of up to 72 hours can be made at the drop of a hat, 'for observation'. By which time an order for treatment can be made. Appeal is allowed against compulsory detentions but again this is to a tribunal advised by psychiatrists whose opinions they almost invariably accept. This assumes that the patient has been made aware of this right and that he is persistent and wily enough to exercise it.

At first sight the 1959 Act appears as a generous relaxation of archaic legislation but this belies its true nature. The correlation between the adoption of this Act and the beginning of the widespread use of the major tranquilisers such as chlorpromazine and haloperidol cannot be dismissed. Locked doors and barred windows become merely inconvenient if the bulk of the population no longer desire their freedom. Bars in the mind are less obtrusive than the steel kind.

*

Whilst chemotherapy is a form of control rather than a treatment, ECT is in many cases a form of punishment and in the remainder an ignorant form of 'shake-the-box and see what happens'. Such methods would be unlikely to correct malfunctions in an instrument as complex as the human brain. The mythology surrounding the origin of this treatment is interesting in itself. Geoffrey Barfoot's version seems more convincing than mine although we are both agreed on placing it in Italy. I understood that a small proportion of pigs following electrifying experiences in the abattoir in fact recovered and became serene and contented as a result. (Who wouldn't?) However that may be, the use of this treatment has its insidious aspects. On admission to hospital patients have to sign many forms, most of which are of a mundane nature but in many cases it is (or was) almost routine practice to present the patient with the ECT consent form to sign without the patient being informed of its nature and regardless of whether he has yet been prescribed it. ECT is always referred to as 'treatment' in conversation with new patients in an attempt to disguise its real nature since patients obviously enter hospital for 'treatment'. Whilst its use is said to be confined to depressive patients it is often used as a form of punishment for recalcitrant patients. Its disturbing and disorienting ef-

(cont next page)

ing couldn't happen. In order to change the situation it is necessary to change the attitudes of these people and to do that one must communicate with them. This is, of course, a difficult problem. One has to avoid the hypocrisy of a style tailored like the soft sell of the adman. What is really needed is a determined effort to put oneself in the position of the people one is talking to. It represents a long, frustrating and up hill struggle. To limit oneself to a small esoteric minority seems to me rather like giving up that struggle.

GEOFFREY BARFOOT

PUBLICATIONS

- "A Human Condition Vols. 1 & 2. MIND (National Association for Mental Health) 22 Harley St. London W1N 2ED.
- "Castles in the Air" EPOC Collective, 111 Tavistock Crescent, London, W.11.
- "How to cope with the Mental Health Act 1959" The Citizens Commission on Human Rights (sponsored by the Church of Scientology), Saint Hill Manor, East Grinstead, Sussex.
- "Electro-convulsive Treatment and Psychosurgery"
- "Electro-convulsive Therapy" John Friedberg

OTHER GROUPS

- COPE. Basement, 11 Acklam Road, London, W.10.
- Mental Patients Union, 16 Clifton Gardens, St. Georges Road, Hull, HU3 3QB
- Philadelphia Association, 74a Portland Road, London, W.11.
- Arbours Association, 55 Dartmouth Park Road, London, NW5.

BBC 2 TELEVISION is currently screening a dramatic series called "1990". This is a practical but realistic portrayal of what life could be like in Britain thirteen years from now. Eschewing the overall grimness of Orwell's 1984, it shows this country as physically little different from today, but subject to a creeping totalitarianism exercised by a bureaucracy intent on snuffing out the limited amount of civil liberties now allowed to us. It is, in fact, a picture of the kind of oligarchical collectivism forecast by Orwell, blended with some elements of Huxley's *Brave New World*, but still in a stage of 'primitive accumulation'. Opposition has not been completely eliminated and can score a success from time to time. Individuals may have their backs against the wall, but they have yet to become bloodstains upon it.

The TV critic of *The Times*, a Mr. Alan Coren, however, finds this all too much for him. In the issue dated September 20th, he proclaims the series 'historically unsupported rubbish' and 'pseudo-socio-scientific junk'. Why? Well, it seems that far from being threatened with enslavement to such a monstrous bureaucratic régime "man" (that handy abstraction) after 'a history of burgeoning individualism and self-expression... presently stands closer to personal freedom than ever before'. 'It is,' he announces, 'still better to be a ghetto black than a slave, better to be a collectivised people than a serf, better to be a Maoist Tool than a coolie, and because it is not much fun being any of these, it will get even better when the blundering and morbid systems responsible fall to their inevitable bits.'

Bars in the Mind (cont)

fects often have the desired result, that of breaking the patient's will. The final resort for the treatment of these patients is leukotomy which, fortunately, is going out of fashion. Ultimately, of course, such methods of treatment necessitate the re-training of social skills in institutionalised patients.

ASYLUM OR BATTERY HOUSE?

Geoffrey Barfoot believes that no-one in our mental hospitals at present is there as a result of political repression but this begs the question of defining political repression. If political repression results from a conscious and vociferous dissent from the ideology of the ruling class then he may, possibly, be right. If however it results from a natural expression of difference in perception and life style from the social automations which we have all become, then he is almost certainly wrong. His analysis of the classes involved in psychiatric internment is also only half of the truth. We must not forget the vast numbers of old and indigent in our psychiatric institutions, mostly suffering from various forms of senile decay. This, of course, raises an interesting question regarding the article on Economic Policy and Health. Possibly preventive medicine is simply medical care put off until much later.

This question and the one raised by Geoffrey Barfoot regarding those whom society can legitimately regard as abnormal and insane are perhaps connected. I would question whether there are any 'insane' people who could not exist within a 'sane' society. However, both groups, the geriatric and the insane, owe their existence as groups to the tendency to transform human daily life into the productive process of the assembly line. This is the origin of the need to keep our infirm and insane in human battery farms.

On a less ideological level, perhaps, it is necessary to question whether the current rôle of psychiatric provision is one of asylum or of rehabilitation centre. In fact the days of the asylum are, for the moment at least, over, since none of the older hospitals have retained their hospital farms. The farms may have been a source of varied if unpaid labour but at any rate effectively precluded the intrusion of life on the outside. Today these have been replaced with the so-called 'therapies' of arts and crafts which accept only ambulant, clean and well behaved patients and the industrial and occupational 'therapies' which demonstrate to similar patients the virtues of clocking on and clocking off, the wonders of the repetitive task and the lasting edification of the wage system.

JON HUDDLESTON.

1990

It is interesting to note that the 'onwards-and-upwards-to-a-better-future' theory of history is still with us. Of course there is no more proof that it is valid now than when it was first promulgated as an alternative to the damnation theory of Christianity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but it no doubt still serves to console those who prefer to view life through rose-coloured glasses when confronted with ugly facts.

Mr. Coren seeks to buttress his thesis with a tearful reference to children being shoved up chimneys and speculating that the author of the series, Wilfred Greatorex, was motivated to write it by 'visits from the VAT man' and having 'to wait for his road fund disc to come back from Swansea'.

It is not surprising that our penetrating critic, after such a heavy contribution to motivational psychology, and having accused such 'futurology' as "1990" of being 'historically unsupportable', forgets to provide any cogent support for his own views. He can hardly be ignorant of the fact that not a day passes without the State acquiring greater and greater control over the individual. Nor can he be ignorant of the fact that this control is gained at the expense of the power of the individual to determine his/her own life. Nor that this extension is justified as being in the 'interests of the community' is virtually the same language used by the bureaucrats of "1990".

In fact, "1990" is not concerned with the benefits of ghetto
(cont pg 15)

THE MURDER OF MENTAL MEDICINE

ONE OF the first objects on being admitted into a psychiatric hospital is to have one's medicine prescribed. Combinations of drugs are administered as if they are the "in" thing of that particular moment.

Much incompetence exists amongst junior doctors as to what particular combination should be applied to which patient. For example, one junior doctor placed an epileptic, an alcoholic and an endogenously depressed patient on the same medication at the same time!

Many forms of medication have been used for several decades, and thought not only to be effective but also to be harmless. This is not the case: many drugs have been found to be harmful both physically and mentally. Practically every day a drug comes under suspicion. Many of the drugs that produce side effects have detrimental effects on vital organs of the body, i.e., kidneys, liver, brain, etc. Certain types of drugs can induce tachycardia, hypotension, dizziness, tremors, &c. &c.

Nevertheless these experts persist in their belief that it is preferable to put a patients in danger than to admit that there is no harmless therapy for certain types of patient! (In fact I know of a lot of cases where individuals feel far worse on drugs than they did prior to them being prescribed.)

The awkward predicament of the patient is that no matter how much he complains a doctor will not change his/her medication. Subsequently patients simulate (where possible) a condition of normality, get their discharge, and then immediately refrain from taking their medication.

The only other method of treating psychiatric patients is with ECT. It is now common knowledge that this can be disastrous.

I can remember many years ago reading of Kropotkin's theory that mentally sick people should be placed back in society and given communal support rather than incarcerate them. Having had over 13 years of psychiatric medicine I have come to the conclusion that Kropotkin is correct.

CHRISTOPHER WILKINS.

THE CUCUMBER QUOTIENT

... whereby it is possible to determine to what extent you have become a vegetable through Work, Study, Politics and Sacrifice—

A FEW YEARS ago on my last job I kept waking up in the morning with big bubbles in my head, eat a bowl of corn chips and go to work, checking out the storm sewers for leaks and patching them with quick-dry when I found one. I was very good and could hold my breath under sludge for seven minutes with my eyes open, but I had these bubbles in my head and that bothered me.

I talked it over with the steward and he said everybody had the bubbles and I should go back to work. I went to the Militant Labor Forum and there was this couple there who said the bubbles would disappear when we all got together to run our own lives collectively and manage our work in councils. They were also real impressed that I was a sewer checker and could hold my breath under sludge for seven minutes. They said it would be great if I came to work with them and invited me to live in their commune. It was great, I could feel the bubbles begin to shrink.

At the commune, life was really great for a while. We had long conversations about working in the sewers and I'd tell 'em stories about storm drains and they'd tell me how horrible it was to work in the sewers with someone yelling at you all the time. I told them no one yelled at me, I just held my breath, looked for leaks and got my paycheck.

I told them what was horrible was the shit and the bubbles but none of them would believe me. One guy even showed me a leaflet he'd written that proved that the shit was organic and necessary and that the bubbles would disappear with the bosses and shit would be beautiful with the councils.

We had a long talk and he even showed me a book in French that proved that shit can be beautiful without bosses and that people in France actually fought battles for shit without bosses. None of it made too much sense but I could feel my bubble getting bigger so we quit talking, got stoned, and I decided to think about it for a while, maybe I was just gimpy and shit was beautiful; but every time I started to think about it the bubble got bigger so I quit and just hung out.

Then one morning a friend of theirs came by to say that the sewer in their house was backed up and they wanted to know when I could get by to clean it out. I laughed and said I was through with shit for ever and that all he had to do was get a shovel, hold his breath and heave.

But he said he wasn't in very good shape and he had no experience with shit and how I knew about stuff like that and was good at it and besides he had to prepare for his study group on workers councils. But I told him no. I was through with shit. Then everybody there got real mad at me and started telling me it was very un-hip not to clean this guy's sewer because we all had our contribution to make to the community and mine was shovelling shit.

The bubble in my head was getting so big that I was in severe pain and when I refused again everyone got real quiet and looked real sad. One of the women looked at me and said she was really shocked that I could refuse to shovel shit for my brother. Everyone nodded and finally the first guy says, 'Well, listen, if you won't do it for free, how 'bout I give you a few bucks and a six-pack.'

The bubble in my head blew up and my third eye opened and my glasses fogged up (they always fog up when I get excited) and all I could see were cucumbers...no acid and all these cucumbers. I split the house and still I could see all these cucumbers occasionally a real person, but mostly cucumbers. Then I noticed that if I watched closely, some cucumbers would change back into people and some people would change into cucumbers.

I rushed back to the house and watched for a long time; cucumbers came and cucumbers went; sometimes people would come, be a cucumber for a while and then go back to being a person. I thought all this was very strange and I had to know why it happened. I learned very quickly that you can't just walk up to someone and say, why are you a vegetable, much less why are you a cucumber.

So, I would just go and rap with them; that was easy, most cucumbers like to talk and talk and talk. Sometimes I would catch them in transi-

tion and they would be grouchy, irritable and depressed. Sometimes I would feel my bubble coming back, and I'd go find a real person and do something with them until it went away. After a few weeks of work I developed what I am proud to call the

CUCUMBER QUOTIENT

The cucumber quotient is an easily derived number by which you can tell how much of a vegetable you or anyone else is. The cucumber quotient is not necessarily static; it can become larger or smaller and can be of such size that the person who bears it seems for all the world to be a terminal vegetable. I recommend putting the big ones in a salad and the little ones in jars. Anyway, what is the Cucumber Quotient

The Quotient itself is based on the rate of hours available to live to hours spent vegetating. The base figure for the quotient is 16 (24 hours a day less 8 hours for sleep leaves 16)—that figure goes on the bottom of the ratio : underneath the line like this

/16

then on top you put the number of hours you vegetate. You vegetate every time you do something for someone else that you don't want to do. A simple one: you have a job that lasts 8 hours, it takes 1 hour to go back and forth, that makes 9 hours, but you get 1 hour for lunch, so that brings you back to 8. Assuming for now that you really live all the rest of the day, your Cucumber Quotient would look like this

8/16

which quickly becomes

1/2

Just going to work makes you half a cucumber. But alas, and alack, it doesn't stop there. No! There is also the adjuster to be applied to the base quotient. The adjuster is a figure which indicates to what extent you cause other people to vegetate. Suppose that you have a job that lasts 8 hours with 1 hour travel and one hour lunch and you live all the rest of the day

but

During your 8 hour job you supervise one other person, then your adjuster is 2 because you are vegetating and also making someone else do it. But can you just throw that figure in with the rest of the vegetation? Nay! A thousand times nay! For when you fuck with someone else's life, you must multiply the vegetating destruction you wreak and your Quotient now becomes

2 x 8/16 or 16/16 or 1

You are now the complete vegetable, but it doesn't stop there, oh, no. Suppose in addition to the job during which you supervise one other person, you run a marxist study group, or an anarchist study group, or a consciousness-raising session for TEN people for 2 hours, then your Cucumber Quotient becomes

10 x 2/16 + 2 x 8/16 or 22/16 + 16/16 or 2-3/8

Needless to say there is no end to size of vegetable you can become. I have only covered the simpler aspects of the Cucumber Quotient in this article. It is a device of great subtlety and to really determine the kind of vegetable you are takes a great deal of interest and effort. And if you have the interest and the effort, why be a vegetable?

After telling one graduate student how big a vegetable she really was, she was so fascinated by vegetation that she is now doing her dissertation on human vegetation. For that I got an adjuster of 2 and hers stabilized in the ozone at five figures (one typist, one typesetter, one cameraperson, one printer, one folder, one binder and several hundred woebegone readers times all those ruined days).

If you would like to learn more about the Cucumber Quotient, write to Arnold Washover in care of this paper*. Then give yourself an adjuster of 10 for the time it took to write the letter. You will not receive a reply.

ARNOLD WASHOVER.

*FIFTH ESTATE, 4403 SECOND AVENUE, DETROIT, MI. 48201, USA
Overseas subscription \$6 for 12 issues (or single copy 20p + 7p post from Freedom Bookshop). This article is reprinted from the July 1977 issue.

THE FALL OF SCOTLAND YARD, Cox, Shirley & Short (Penguin Special, 80p.)

LATE IN 1968 the Rolling Stones were singing a line which went 'Every cop is a criminal'. In November 1969 *The Times* ran a front page story exposing three London CID officers as crooks. It produced taped incriminating conversations as proof.

This was the beginning of 'The Fall of Scotland Yard', the first case of many over the next five years that were to entertain some, alarm others but enlighten us all.

This book gathers together the threads of corruption running through London's 'bent' force. Five years of shattering exposure smashed the myth of our 'wonderful' police beyond recall.

Theoretically the police exist to catch criminals. Without criminals, we are told, there would be no police force. But in London, and most likely elsewhere, they operated a system that nearly reversed this. It was known as the 'licence'.

You can buy a dog licence, a television licence, even a marriage licence. If you pay the fee you can walk your dog, watch 'Match of the Day' and play at being a husband or wife with a clear conscience.

What *The Times* case revealed was that the CID were willing to sell you a criminal licence. It wasn't in writing but pay the price and you could thief all the hours God sent with hardly any fear of getting caught.

It was the same with dope. 'London's drug dealers were effectively divided into two classes,' say the writers. 'Those who operated with the blessing of the Drug Squad, and those who did not.'

If the Squad arrested anyone it was more often than not an unlucky drug user who had been set up by a licensed dealer. The dealer was often rewarded with dope which he then proceeded to sell. He repaid the police in cash—and more information.



'EVENIN' ALL'

The most impressive corruption, or the most alarming (it depends on your sense of humour), involved the Obscene Publications Squad, the 'Dirty Squad' as it is endearingly known.

The Soho porn empires were built by the Dirty Squad. It sold licences. Competitors intruding into the cosy relationship were persecuted, prosecuted and hounded out of business—by the police.

'This kind of licensing system was deeping ingrained in the philosophy of the Yard as a whole,' say the writers, in case we miss the point.

It was a neat arrangement, cemented by what was known as 'a firm with-in a firm'. Not all coppers were bent. The rest, the book suggests, must have been either blind or acquiescent. But there were enough to make corruption a lucrative and smoothly running business throughout London.

One CID sergeant was caught offering a crook a direct partnership. 'If you are nicked anywhere in London...I can get on the blower to someone in my firm who will know someone somewhere who can get something done.' He added, 'It can work, well, it's worked for years, hasn't it?'

One copper, new to the Dirty Squad, didn't know which way to turn when he was offered a bribe. He took it. Why didn't he report it?

—'There was no senior officer to go to at the time and confide in.'

'Why not?'

—'I was under the opinion that they were getting the same money, or other sums of money, that I was getting.'

And they were. Kenneth Drury, Commander of the elite Flying Squad—the Sweeney—received weekly payments of £ 100, as well as entertainment, gifts and an expenses paid holiday in Cyprus that was to be his downfall.

WEREN'T THEY WONDERFUL?

The top men were reputed to be sharing a minimum of £ 100,000 a year. It reached the stage where officers who wanted to break free of the system—who couldn't quite handle the schizophrenia that had destroyed Challenor in the end—had to buy exit tickets from their superiors. One plain clothes man paid £ 100 for a transfer.

§

Why did it all come to an end? (Assuming, that is, it did)? Why did the Government feel impelled to 'do something'? This is what should interest anarchists more than actual details of the corruption itself.

There is sometimes a danger in taking the state at its own estimate. Anarchists can imagine it to be such an impenetrable monolith that its destruction, let alone its self-destruction, is hardly to be envisaged. But behind the details of this book is the implication that the State is always confused and divided, reluctant—often unwilling—to straighten itself out for fear that temporary exposure might reveal the whole sham. Only when dangerous anomalies in its component parts, which up to then have been operating autonomously, pose a greater threat than exposure does it dare to unite to rectify the malfunctioning.

Throughout the 1960s the Government and many of its enforcement agencies clearly knew what was happening at the Yard. Challenor was the first inkling—but he was written off as 'mad' and everything went quiet.

But provincial police forces were reluctant to co-operate with the London police because they sensed that corruption ran deep. The Yard, in its turn, despised them as 'swades'.

The Customs authorities refused to work with the Drugs Squad because they knew the Squad was responsible for more dope entering the country and going onto the streets than it stopped.

The Times refused to hand early evidence of corruption over to the Yard for investigation. Its editor knew he might as well forget any hope of prosecution if he did.

But as the decade ended the State as a whole was facing greater threats to its stability. Heightened industrial struggle, the spectre of revolution over the capitalist world generally, the promise of urban violence presaged in their different ways by the Angry Brigade and the IRA. Now, more than ever, it needed a clean, reliable police force. It needed to convince the 'public' that it could be trusted and it needed to trust itself.

So the Government accepted that the time had come for exposure and reform: even if it meant a struggle against an entrenched 'old guard' at Scotland Yard. It didn't fall. It was pushed.

Robert Mark was drafted in, a provincial copper with a reputation as a 'liberal intellectual'. We can't deny that his reforms—well documented in this book—were drastic. He did break the power of the old guard. Though whether this will work to the advantage of the State generally it's hard to say.

The most blatant of the 'bent' coppers were gaoled. Hundreds of others resigned.

But perhaps the State has created an even greater threat to itself. Someone once suggested that we paid coppers to beat criminals up in the hope that they would leave us alone.

It isn't hard to envisage men of this type forming the core of a New Right. Can't you imagine them brooding as they while away the time as security officers?

The National Front, hardline bosses who would rather smash the unions than negotiate with them, dispossessed coppers, dreading of revenge against a society that rejected them. Add to this an Army withdrawn from Ulster, bruised but undefeated, nursing its grievances against 'communists' and its political masters. It is a devastating scenario for the 1980s but not an unlikely one.

HARRY HARMER.

MAKHNO

THE UNKNOWN CIVIL WAR IN SOVIET RUSSIA: A Study of the Green Movement in the Tambov Region 1920-21 by Oliver H. Radkey, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford 1976, 457 pp., US \$ 12.95

AFTER THE OCTOBER 1917 revolution in Russia there began a civil war in which the Red - the Bolshevik - fought the White, that is the monarchists, who were supported by the foreign interventionists. As this war was drawing to a close in 1920 and the defeat of the White was near, the Bolsheviks had to face a new enemy: the Green movement, which owed its name to the fact that it mainly consisted of peasants and that it operated from the woods and the steppes. One of the more well known Green movements was led by the anarchist Nestor Makhno in the Ukraine (see also *FREEDOM* April 12 1975 and July 9 1977). Another was led by A. S. Antonov in the province of Tambov in European Russia, and this latter movement is the subject of a new book by Oliver H. Radkey from the University of Texas, already author of two important books on the Social-Revolutionary Party, *The Agrarian Foes of Bolshevism*, 1958, and *The Sickle under the Hammer*, 1963.

A study of any of the Green movements is hampered by a lack of adequate sources. From the Green themselves there is hardly anything, since they were men of action who did not stop to write what happened, and only very few of them survived to tell of their experiences. The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, certainly have a lot of material in their archives but this is accessible neither to western scholars nor to most Soviet ones, and their published source-collections are care-

fully sifted so as not to reveal anything unpleasant to the Communist Party. In spite of this problem Radkey has produced a book that is both impressive and disappointing. Impressive because he has assembled and used, with meticulous care, all the relevant material available to the west (very important are the secret reports written for Lenin by Antonov-Ovseenko and Tukhachevski who led the forces sent to crush Antonov - these reports can be found in the Trotsky Archive). Besides, he has drawn upon primary sources published in the Soviet Union and secondary accounts by Soviet historians. On the basis of this material he gives a clear and well-written - if somewhat long - analysis of the background of the movement, its social composition, its tactics and organisation, its geographical expansion and its political aims.

However, the book is also somewhat disappointing, because all too often the author has to end his discussion of a problem or episode with the conclusion that we cannot say anything definite because the sources do not permit us to do so. Therefore it necessarily contains many conjectures and many problems are left open and undecided; this is unsatisfactory but inevitable considering the lack of material to go on.

What Radkey does establish is that Antonov headed one of the best organised Green movements with an army of 21.000 and a corresponding civilian organisation that took care of provisions etc. The Bolsheviks called them "bandits" and "kulaks" but they had to admit that these "bandits" had an extraordinarily solid support among the population, and they had to employ

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Sacco & Vanzetti

WHERE I WAS THE DAY SACCO & VANZETTI WERE EXECUTED

by Sarah Taback as told to Patricia McDonald, CSW.

THE DAY on which Sacco and Vanzetti were executed was during the summer of 1927. That summer I was taking part in a program sponsored by Barnard College. The teachers were interested in getting information about the trade union movement in order to write their PH.D. theses. They invited about 50 girls were active in the unions. I stayed near the College and attended classes every day. We were able to attend regular classes and lectures in the sciences and the humanities. It was very interesting and a wonderful opportunity for all of us, both the faculty and the students. All of us were comrades and sincere.

That summer there was a lot of turmoil about Sacco and Vanzetti. There was strong public opinion that these men were innocent and that their conviction had been unjust. I, as an anarchist, can say honestly that we do not believe in violence or hurting others. I was among many who felt that Sacco and Vanzetti, who were two peaceful men, were incapable of the crime of which they were accused. In any case, on the day of their execution, great crowds of people gathered in New York City to rally to save Sacco and Vanzetti. With my fellow students from Barnard, I went down to Union Square to protest. All faculty members came too. When we got off the bus there was a sea of people who were just listening to the speakers.

While we were getting off the bus at Union Square, I saw that Miss Friedman who was the Principal of Barnard College was carrying a small American flag. I said to her, "Don't open the flag, because if they see you with it, they will break it." She dismissed what I was saying and told me "Sarah, this is a free country!" But as soon as she stepped

off the bus a policeman took the flag from her and broke the pole, handing her back the flag.

Suddenly the police on horses came rushing in to disperse the crowd. The people began running for fear of being trampled by the horses. My friends and I managed to escape into the Automat on 14th St., but the police even rode into the Automat on the horses and scared the people out.

I left with my friends from Barnard and we went back to school on the bus. When the faculty and students returned to the College, we found the radio already on. We listened to the radio and an announcement was made that Sacco and Vanzetti had been executed.

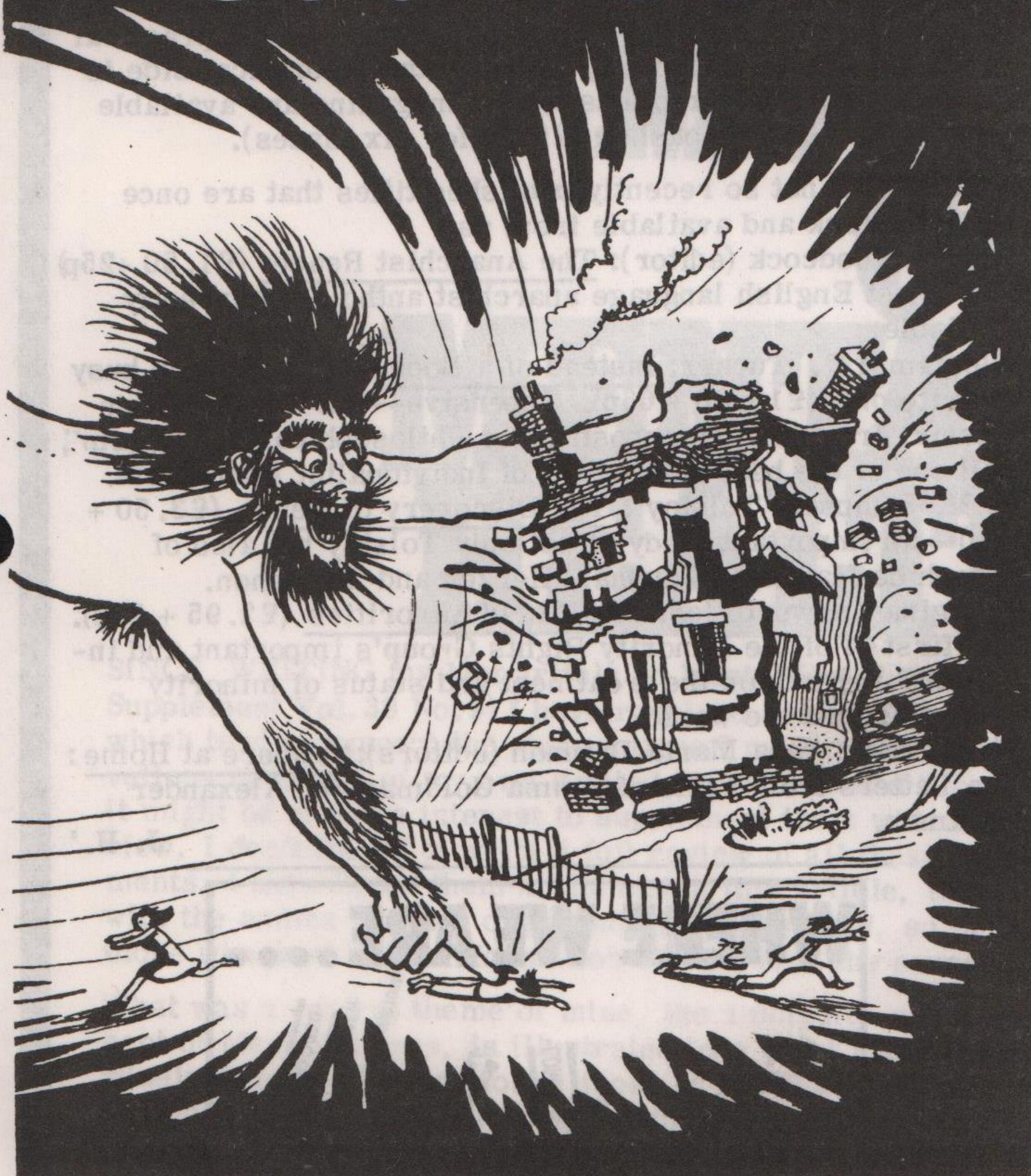
I screamed out and fainted. The Principal came over to me and revived me and when I was all right again, she said to me, "My God, they were not even Jewish!" I tried to explain my feelings to her, that I was so distressed because I held the same principles as they did.

My sadness over the death of Sacco and Vanzetti was over two fine men who died. However, the ideal that they held did not die. This spring, 50 years after their death, Governor Dukakis of Massachusetts delivered a speech with the pictures of Sacco and Vanzetti on either side of him. He declared that they were innocent of the murder they had been charged with. The only "crime" that they were guilty of was of being anarchists. I personally pity the Governor for carrying the unjust death of the two men in his heart for 50 years. But I appreciate that now he has finally spoken out the truth.

I can tell you now that that day that Sacco and Vanzetti died, is a day I will never forget.

Sarah Taback has remained active in the anarchist movement until the present day. She was, jointly with her companion Bill Taback, secretary of the Libertarian Book Club in New York until his death comparatively recently.

GOOD GOD!



This pamphlet contains "a string of verses to tie up the deity", to be precise 93 of them, with accompanying drawings by Joyce Harpur. The writer, Barbara Smoker, having given up her intention to be a nun, has gone on to success with the opposition and is currently President of the National Secular Society. A couple of examples:-

(4) You ask: if not from godhead, whence
could human values-moral sense-
conceivably derive?

Co-operation for defence
evolved through its advantage; hence
we're social-and survive.

(47) Now, just suppose we had to cope
without this grace divine,
without the guidance of the Pope,
with never a heavenly sign,
Without the blessed Virgin's prayer,
without the Saviours aid,
without our guardian angels' care-
what errors we'd have made!



GOOD GOD by BARBARA SMOKER

B & T PUBLISHERS:
156 Hoe Street,
London,
E17 4QH
95p.

1990

proletarian collectivism or Maoism compared with slavery, serfdom and the coolie-system. It is concerned with the erosion of those areas of partial autonomy we still have. If Alan Coren would take the trouble to read a work such as Thompson's *Big Brother Over Britain* he would see that the projections of "1990", far from being 'historically unsupportable', are well on their way—and Thompson's study was published in 1970, seven years ago . . .

Whose side would Mr. Coren be on if "1990" turned out to be true? And would he find it 'fun' to be confined to a nationwide concentration camp in order to prevent children being sent up chimneys? The idiocies of idealism are well known. The idiocies of his form of idealism are dangerous in the extreme to the very individualism and self-expression he purports to champion.

From an anarchist standpoint, "1990" does not go far enough in its indictment of Statism. It still clings to the spark of legalism as providing effective protection for the individual. What it depicts is a culmination of tendencies to total social control inherent in every government and all authority. It is not sufficient to complain about the fruit if the nature of the plant is not taken into account. Within its limits, however, "1990", like its ITV companion "The Prisoner", is a stimulating restatement of the perennial struggle of the individual against the encroachments of the Collective.

S. E. PARKER.

Makhno

a large army and heavy artillery to crush them. The political aims of the Greens were mostly negatively defined. They were against the White as well as the Red. Antonov himself belonged to the Left Social-Revolutionaries, and traditionally the SRs had a large following in Tambov (Maria Spiridonova came from there). Anyway, the circumstances did not give the peasants any chance to put their ideas into practice, because in the autumn of 1921 the movement was defeated and the following year Antonov himself was killed and the rest of the Green movements were finally annihilated.

The fundamental reason for the defeat of the Green forces seems to be their failure to cooperate. In the Ukraine, in European Russia, and all over Siberia the peasants rose against the authoritarian policies of the Bolsheviks; if they had come together the Bolshevik regime might have crumbled and there is every probability that the result would have been a better and a freer society than that which was created by Lenin and his successors. As it was, the Bolsheviks could crush them one by one and thus consolidate their monopoly of power.

An interesting aspect of this book is the circumstances in which it was written. The single most informative source on the movement - *Put Borby* (The Path of the Struggle), published in two volumes in Tambov in 1922-23 - could not be located outside the Soviet Union. In 1965 Radkey was allowed to visit the country to inspect this publication together with a few other old and rare articles. But later his car was broken into while parked in front of the main entrance of a Moscow hotel (?) and his notes were stolen. Apparently, the authorities had changed their minds and wanted their material back again. Admittedly, it sounds incredible that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should want to steal the notes on a book which they themselves have published more than 50 years ago, but maybe it was not so absurd after all. The Communists have many things to hide, and the story of the Antonov movement is certainly one of them.

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IN THE WAKE of the fiftieth anniversary of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti last month a number of magazines have produced special issues in their memory and in order to re-examine the circumstances leading to their murder by the state.

In addition to FREEDOM's special Sacco and Vanzetti issue of August 20th (still available if you missed it), *Win devoted their issue of 4th August to Sacco and Vanzetti, including an interesting article by the Rev. Philip Zwerling (20p + 7p post) and *Catholic Worker in July-August issue carries two extensive lead articles on the case as well as extracts from their speeches and writings (5p + 7p). Both are available from Freedom Bookshop. Details of any other material that has appeared would be much appreciated at Freedom Bookshop.

Also in stock is John Dos Passos' fine account *Facing the Chair: Sacco & Vanzetti, The Story of the Americanization of two foreign born Workmen (£1.20 (15p)). Kropotkin's Light-house Publications have reprinted their Sacco & Vanzetti Post cards and these are available from Freedom Bookshop price 45p (+7p) for a packet of ten—assorted colours.

John Clark, author of Freedom Press's Max Stirner's Egoism (still available from us, of course, at £1.50 (19p)), has recently had published The Philosophical Anarchism of William Godwin (£12.50 plus 54p postage)—a penetrating analysis of Godwin's thought and of his importance as one of the fathers of modern anarchism. (This will be reviewed in a future issue)

With Woodcock's book on Godwin long out of print, this is the only available full length study of Godwin, and certainly the only one written from a committed anarchist standpoint. Expensive but Indispensable.

After last year's centenary of Bakunin's death, Edizioni Antistato have produced (in Italian, of course), Bakunin Cent'anni Dopo: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Bakuniniani (£3.50 (54p)); a report of the Convention held in Venice in September 1976 dedicated to the study and reassessment of Bakunin's life and work. Among those whose contributions to that convention are reproduced here are Marianne Enckell, Sam Dolgoff, Jean Maitron, Domenico Settembrini, Arthur Lehning, Daniel Guérin, Nico Berti.

Back in print !



BOOKSHOP NOTES

An interesting magazine recently received from America is *Alternative Sources of Energy (£1. + 15p), Nos. 26 and 27 are at present in stock, each jam-packed full of self-sufficiency info. about the uses of solar energy, wind power, alternative technology, with the emphasis always on the practical ways you can do it yourself, although the theoretical side is not neglected. Subscriptions to this magazine are available through Freedom Bookshop (£6.75 for six issues).

Lastly some not so recently published titles that are once again in stock and available from us;

George Woodcock (editor): The Anarchist Reader (£1.50 +25p) The finest English language anarchist anthology currently available.

*Benjamin R. Tucker: Instead of a Book—by a man too busy to write one (£15.00 + 66p). Expensive—but Tucker's own classic "fragmentary exposition of Philosophical Anarchism", still one of the best statements of Individualist Anarchism.

R. V. Sampson: Tolstoy: The Discovery of Peace (£3.50 + 54p)—an important study of not only Tolstoy but also of Joseph de Maistre, Stendhal, Herzen and Proudhon.

Georgina Ashworth (editor): World Minorities (£2.95 + 25p).

The first 44 of the Minority Rights Group's important and influential reports on the treatment and status of minority groups around the world.

Richard and Anna Maria Drinnon (editors): Nowhere at Home: The Letters from Exile of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.

J. H. '



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