

# FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

WE WELCOME news, reviews, letters, articles.  
Latest date for copy for No. 13 (8 July) is  
MONDAY 3 JULY. This date applies also to  
all entries for Contact Column.

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE is THURSDAY  
6 July. Come and help from 5 pm onwards.  
Help also welcomed the previous Thursday (29  
June) for folding the Review section.

## International

Canberra: Alternative Canberra Group, 10  
Beltana Road, Pialligo, ACT 2809.  
New South Wales:  
Black Ram, P.O. Box 238, Darlinghurst,  
NSW 2010.  
Sydney Anarcho-Syndicalists, Jura Books Col-  
lective, 417 King St., Newtown, NSW 2042.  
Sydney Libertarians, P.O. Box 24, Darling-  
hurst, NSW 2010.  
Queensland:  
Libertarian Socialist Organization, P.O.Box  
268, Mt. Gravatt, Central 4122.  
Victoria:  
La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o SRC, La  
Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic. 3083.  
Monash Anarchist Society, c/o Monash Univ-  
ersity, Clayton, 3168 Melbourne.  
South Australia:  
Adelaide Anarchists, P.O. Box 67, North  
Adelaide, 5006.  
Western Australia:  
Freedom Collective, P.O. Box 14, Mount  
Hawthorn, 6018.

### NEW ZEALAND

The anarchist movement can be contacted via:

P.O. Box 2052 Auckland.  
P.O. Box 22-607 Christchurch  
International Books, 123 Willis Street, Wel-  
lington.  
Daybreak Bookshop, P.O. Box 5424 Dunedin.

### CANADA

Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver  
B.C. Write for information of the group's  
activities (besides the paper).

### U. S. A.

Minnesota: Soil of Liberty, Box 7056, Powder-  
horn Station, Minneapolis, Minn. 55407.  
Missouri: Columbia Anarchist League, P.O.  
Box 380, Columbia, MO 65201.  
New York: Libertarian Book Club, Box 842,  
GPO, New York 10012.  
SRAF/Freespace Alternate U, 339 Lafayette  
St., NYC 10012.  
San Francisco: Free Socialist, PO Box 1751,  
San Francisco, CA 94101.  
Texas: Houston S.R.A.F., South Post Oak Sta-  
tion, P.O.Box 35253, Houston, TX. 77035.

### WESTERN EUROPE

#### DENMARK

Aarhus: Regnbuen Anarkist Bogcafe, Meiljgade  
48, 8000 Aarhus.  
Copenhagen: Anarkist-Synd. Bogcafe,  
Studiestraede 18, 1455 Copenhagen,  
Christiana: write Stot Christiana, Dronningens  
gade 14, 1420 Copenhagen.

#### SWEDEN

Frihetlight Forum, Landsvagsgatan 19,  
41304 04 GOTEBORG.

### FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Anarchist Federation of Baden: ABF Infoburo,  
Postfach 161, 761 Schwabisch Hall.

Berlin: Anarkistische Bund. Publishers of  
Anarkistische Texte, c/o Libertad Verlag,  
Postfach 153, 1000 Berlin 44.

'Gewaltfreie Aktion (Non-violent action),  
groups, associated with WRI; Libertarian. For  
further information write Karl-Heinz Song,  
Methfesselstr. 69, 2000 Hamburg 19.

## PORTUGAL

LISBON LIBERTARIAN WEEK - PORTUGAL  
(2 to 8 of July in Lisbon, Almada & Montijo)

Any comrade interested in contacting direc-  
tly the organisers of these events please writ-  
e to:  
SEMANA PRESENÇA LIBERTÁRIA  
Av. Alvares Cabral 27 - LISBON Portugal  
or phone direct the following number:  
\*\*\*\*\* 01035119-65,86,75 \*\*\*\*\*  
for programme of this libertarian week in  
Lisbon, See FREEDOM No 9 - May 13

### UK GROUPS & FEDERATIONS NEXT ISSUE.

## Meetings

LONDON Mon. 26 June. London Workers  
discussion: 'Workers' Participation—a load of  
Bullocks? We want workers' control'. 8 pm  
in 'Earl Russell' pub, 2 Pancras Road, NW1  
(Kings Cross tube). All workers welcome.

LIVERPOOL. Sun. 2 July. 'Experiences of  
Childcare'. Liberty Hall discussion. At the  
Everyman Bistro, Hope Street, Liverpool. 8 pm

MANCHESTER. Wed. 28 June. 'An Anarchist  
Approach to Housing and Planning'. 8 pm in  
the back room of the Castle Pub, Oldham St.,  
Organised by Manchester Anarchist group and  
Syndicalist Workers Federation.

## Group Meetings

London  
Anarchist Women's groups. For contacts tel.  
555 5248.  
Anarchy group meets every Thursday 8 pm at  
29 Grosvenor Ave., N.5. All welcome.  
Brixton Anarchist-Situationists every Sunday  
2 pm. Details from 675 6402.  
Centro Iberico. Saturdays & Sundays 3-11 pm at  
425 Harrow Road, W. 9.  
London Workers' group. Tel. 249 7042 for  
details (& see Meetings column for public mtgs)  
Birmingham: Libertarian Socialists meet Suns.  
8 pm in The Fox & Grapes, Freeman St. (nr.  
Moor St. station).  
Edinburgh: Sit, chat, read or buy anarchist,  
socialist, feminist literature at First of May  
bookshop, 45 Niddry St (off High St.) Edin-  
burgh 1. Open 12-6 pm (tel. 557 1344).  
Huddersfield anarchist group meets fortnight  
in the 'Zetland', Queensgate at 8 pm. For  
further details tel. Polytechnic Students Union  
0484 41288.

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## Press Fund

1 - 14 June 1978

(May ) in Shop: 25.5.78: S.B.; Anons 75p;  
WOLVERHAMPTON: J.K.W. 20p; J.L. £ 2;  
LONDON E4: S & A.G. £ 6; MANCHESTER  
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NEWCASTLE: F.W.K. 50p; LOS ANGELES:  
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of Nicola N. £ 27.22; CHIPPENHAM: B.S. £  
£ 1.66; LONDON NW3: Anon £ 5; MAN-  
CHESTER: W.B. 18p; LONDON SE18: R.A.S.  
£ 1; EXETER: P.J.L. 50p; RYHOPE: D.H. 50p;  
GATESHEAD: G.D. 50p.

TOTAL £ 50.96

Previously acknowledged £ 544.27

TOTAL TO DATE £ 595.23

24 JUNE (today). DEMONSTRATION AGAINST  
URENCO at CAPENHURST plus DEMONST -  
RATIONS outside the BRITISH NUCLEAR  
FUELS Ltd at MARLOW, BUCKS and the  
BRAZILIAN EMBASSY in LONDON.

Urenco is a tripartite consortium - British/  
Dutch/German - which operates two enrichment  
plants using the ultra-centrifuge at Capenhurst  
and competes with French/Canadian/US inter-  
ests. British Nuclear Fuels holds roughly 1/3  
share in Urenco and have their HQ at Marlow.  
Urenco have signed a contract to supply some  
2000 tonnes of enriched uranium to the military  
dictatorship of Brazil and due to the political  
situation in the rest of Europe regarding nuclear  
power, almost all of this seems likely to be  
from Capenhurst. Urenco is also committed to  
supplying 500 tons of enriched uranium to an  
Irish reactor at Camore, despite the fact that  
permission to build the reactor has not yet been  
given. The protest action is timed to coincide  
with the re-occupation of the Seabrook site in  
the USA.

More details from Greenpeace (London),  
01 - 839 2093. Apologies for late announce-  
ment. Readers and others, PLEASE NOTE OUR  
DEADLINES.

anarchist fortnightly

# Freedom 15p

VOL 39 NO 12 JUNE 24

'HEY! WHAT THE  
HELL-A YOU  
THINK YOU-A  
DOING-A  
?'



AS FAR AS the British Press has been concerned, the  
recent law on abortion that has been introduced into  
Italy - heartland of Catholicism - and which has been  
shown to be more 'liberal' than the good old British  
compromise that we have here, has merited very little  
comment.

More important seems the fact that a celibate old  
man who lives in a private estate in the middle of Rome  
has withheld permission for a British Prince to marry  
the gal of his choice because he won't agree that their  
potential children must be brought up Catholic - and  
because their potential (and actually naughty)  
mother has managed to get her previous marriage annulled  
which is not quite the right thing for a Catholic to do,  
and now, horror of horrors, wants to marry 'outside her  
faith'.

The Catholic Church, putting its grip like a vice  
upon the mind, holds that 'once a Catholic, always a

Catholic - unto succeeding generations. But really, the  
only reason why the present case of Prince Michael of Kent  
and his sweetheart Marie-Christine von Reibnitz of  
Austria is causing such a stir is because Michael is  
one of the British Royal family and his auntie is the  
head of the Protestant Church of England.

The significance of which goes back many centuries and  
is now of less concern to us all than the constitution  
of moon dust. Following hard on the 'scandal' of Princess  
Margaret and jolly Roddy and her hasty divorce, it  
seems that the very structure of our morality is crumbling.

Let us then, rejoice! Let us push even harder. Now  
that our blue-blooded betters are shown to be men and  
women of ordinary appetites, let us be magnanimous to them  
and say: 'Go free! Get off the stage of history, if that's  
where you think you are, and behave like human beings  
instead of puppets! And that means all of you, Liz included!

That way, we could all take a small step forward!



# Brief..

A new religious order has been formed within the Church of England to revive medieval chivalry and to 'stem anarchy.' The idea is to create communities of crusaders whose immediate task will be to provide guards for parish churches. Later the order will prevent the nation from being 'rotted by decadence.' All this sounds familiar, but the Grand Master Designate, Patrick Bent, actually uses the term 'military' to describe his vision.

A potential stemmer of anarchy who needs to be taken somewhat more seriously is David McNee, Metropolitan Police Commissioner. In his first annual report he apparently feels that civil libertarians are to blame for increases in crime rates, due to their squeamish insistence on trivialities like bail. Commissioner McNee is in a position to do more than just spout about these things as our comrades Iris, Ronan and Taff could tell you if they were allowed any visitors.

Part of the insidious spread of anarchy which these individuals are concerned to stem is the fact that people will persist in carrying out sexual acts. We have been negligent lately in our 'Startling Surveys Series' so here's one for those who have missed it. A survey in West Germany shows a vast increase in those who will admit to extramarital sex. Since a previous sampling in 1963 the number of the shameless has increased eightfold for men and threefold for women. Then 39 per cent of the single women under 30 who were asked said that they had not had 'intimate relations with a man.' Now the figure is 4 per cent.

One way of stemming the spread etc is to prevent anyone from knowing what goes on. The British state is particularly good at this and has a battery of legislation to help it. Part of the present government's election manifesto back in 1974 was a commitment to scrap section 2 of the Official Secrets Act and to generally reform the rest. (What was that? Scrap the whole thing? Now now, be reasonable, we have to stem ...) Being a tolerant and charitable type I am prepared to believe that the Labour Party is only hanging on to office in order to give it time to fulfill this promise but I must admit that I was getting a little disturbed; there can't be much time left to make a start .. And I worry for Col. Johnstone who has been put to so much inconvenience. But now, my patience is rewarded. As its contribution to open government the Foreign Office is going to publish a list of internal background papers which have previously been secret. The documents have been carefully selected and include such material as analysis of the Mongolian People's Republic. Well, it's a start.

The Tory party is always more flamboyant in its stemming endeavours. The Labour Party, of course, as part of its scheme to reduce everything to bureaucratic greyness, relies on regulations and rules and committees and such which isn't even efficient. We all know what a state the nationalised industries are in (now stop it, this is serious analysis, I wouldn't stoop to puns). And if you'd ever tried to collect FREEDOM from the Red Star (significant name?) offices at Victoria Station you'd know what I mean. But

all this paperwork has nothing on a good hanging. So, ever eager to stem etc, the Tories are dangling a referendum on capital punishment among their election promises. Perhaps fulfillment of this one will not be delayed as long as Labour's on the OSA. And not content with the promise of this spectacle (though as far as I know public hanging hasn't actually been mentioned yet) Horace Cutler, Tory leader of the Greater London Council, wants to stage the 1988 Olympic Games in the remains of London's dockland. That must cheer up all the local unemployed. It will only cost £ 50,000 for a feasibility study and the actual building of an Olympic complex would only need £ 855 million. Of course the locals won't be able to afford tickets themselves, but it will be very heartening for them to know that this great event is happening in their area.

Stemming the spread of anarchy can be a disheartening task. Just when one thinks one is getting a reasonable dam constructed, a trickle breaks through again. At times like that encouragement can be found in the examples set by other countries. There are plenty of them which display a commendable refusal to allow any nonsense. Not, of course, that we would like to see the quiet enjoyment of a traditional English pint of beer met with flogging, and those Saudis are going a bit far doing it to British claps. After all, we all know what they do themselves when they're over here. Still, those two engineers were making the stuff and selling (I almost wrote flogging!) it to the natives. That kind of thing won't do, you only have to watch the westerns on TV to see that. Also in the Middle East, Iran has always set a good example in spread-stemming, helped of course by British arms. However, things have been crumbling a little lately, no doubt because, as the Shah assures us, torture has been dropped. Someone has to be blamed along with the traditional communist/anarchist/foreign etc conspiracy. Accordingly General Nassiri has lost his job as head of SAVAK and been demoted to Ambassador to Pakistan.

DP

## MR. DOOLEY (AN IRISH-AMERICAN) SPEAKS ON IMMIGRATION

As a pilgrim father that missed the first boats, I must raise me clarion voice against the invasion of this fair land by the paupers and anarchists of effete Europe. You bet I must—because I'm here first.

(Finley Peter Dunne, 1867-192-)

**CHEAP FOOD.** A reader on the dole thinks people in like circumstances might like to share his food tips, e.g. : Bacon bits for sandwiches—price varies at different shops but from 19-20p per lb. Meaty bones in on rib 10p per lb. Fish bits 5p per lb, o.k. to fry but watch for bones. A half sheep's head 20p, for broth. Does a meal two or three days. Out of garden: Dock leaves. Fry on low heat till brown, be careful not to burn. O.K. with egg & bacon. Nettles if well washed and dried O.K. for soup.

(Sheep's head would probably be a rare delicacy in the south of England, and a garden might produce veg other than docks & nettles. But this reader would like to have other people's tips. We can pass on.)

## SOUTHGATE

ONCE AGAIN we have another example of the national press perverting ideas in favour of the Establishment and a headmaster enabling himself to get pupils in obedience with the threat of expulsion. This was at Southgate Upper School where over 250 sixth formers were expelled for simply not attending the annual sports day. The papers called it a 'boycott' by militant students who were acting purposefully against the headmaster's orders.

In actual fact the pupils had gone home to revise for the oncoming 'A' levels, the only notice they received being a brief message in assembly. There was no conscious decision to boycott; only a motivation to work. For some reason the headmaster overreacted, and what with the 'pre exam nerves' of the pupils the situation escalated. Resulting in the headmaster refusing to allow 'militant' pupils to attend lessons or take their exams. The headmaster would only allow pupils back after they had seen him individually, through an appointment system, and they had 'satisfied' him that they were ignorant of the implications of their actions and would be good little children. One pupil was not so lucky, though; he spoke out and said what he felt about being told what the priorities should be. For his honesty the headmaster suspended him until further notice or he promised to be good. The sixth formers decided they could not wait, too much time had been wasted, so in an effort to be heard they organised a picket for the next morning to reinstate him and return to study. The press exploited the situation for their titbits and the headmaster as usual came out top.

Things are not so drastic as they sound, though. The headmaster in a fit of generosity decided, on the suggestion of one of the pupils, to have a mass apology of those pupils who had not seen him (they didn't have appointments till the 5th of June, when the exams had already started) which was pretty generous considering that they were at home and could not be reached and probably could not work satisfactorily because of the worry over their heads.

All in all, a waste time was had by pupils and teachers alike due to a headmaster's whims, and any honest moves by the pupils to have any say in the matter were slanted by the press.

SOUTHGATE PUPIL.



"Get them rounded up in a ghetto and you know where to find them when you want to bash 'em."

# THE GRIM INEVITABILITY

I AM ONE with an over-developed social conscience. When my black bitch does her oo-ah onto the public footpath I stand and glare back at the ghastly screaming woman, pointing her quivering finger at my arch-backed hound, with a practised air of suffering dignity and then with the grace of a mediaeval dancing master I toe the reheated leavings of last night's meal into the unoffending gutter and walk on as though I were rich.

To claim ownership to any form of life, animal or vegetable, is to invite persecution for there is always a grim majority who believe and constantly advocate that the human race can only advance by exterminating all and every other form of life from the budgie and the aspidistra to the negro, the white farmer and my relations, and, let us be honest, comrades, in this matter I have erred I have erred. Politicians deny working-class tenants the right to have a dog or cat in their homes but, says Big Brother with a matey friendly wink, we turn a blind eye to Joey the canary tweet tweet peeing in his cage but no dogs in parks and no cats on the estates, and to prove that their concentration camp heart is in the wrong place Big Business and the State combine to slaughter the pigeons fluttering across the office roofs.

Some few years ago there was a published complaint over the leaves that fell from town trees and gosh we laugh-

ed for leaves is leaves and they have got to fall, but I stated—and the barman of Ward's pub will bear me out—that the maniac bureaucrats have time on their side and they will find a way to stop the gold leaves of autumn fluttering onto the clinically clean pavements of the Brave New World, and in Christ's bowels they have, for the working party of the British Standards Institute have come out with draft proposals to prevent trees and shrubs being grown near new houses.

The distance is to be such that no privet hedge, trees or shrubs can be planted within 20 feet of house walls. So comrade send the little woman out into the middle of the road tonight and get her to walk 20 feet to either house wall and you will find that it is literally impossible to plant any living form of tree or vegetation. The National Housing Building Council and the Building Research Establishment have already joined the anti-leaves talks. Professor Arnold Weddle of the Landscape Institute, and if that ain't the shades of Orwell's Newspeak then nothing is, told the waiting world that 'The last draft was not acceptable to the institute and I understand that a revision is being considered. We are not reckless.' This means that none of the London trees or shrubs could or will be planted and comrade if you think that this is some sick twee joke then let me refer



you to Mr. Roy Gazzard, Under-Secretary at the Department of the Environment in charge of the Community Land advisory team, who wants to ERECT PLASTIC TREES. This clown believes that these plastic trees will be vandal proof but the same claim could be made about any prison.

Understand this, comrade, that any free-roaming dog or cat, any free-flying bird, any free-falling leaf is a symbol of your freedom, for when they are destroyed then you are lost. Lost within the clinically clean and silent tomb and you will have turned your own key.

GREENTOES.

# People In Common

PEOPLE IN COMMON is a flexible alternative living/working cooperative. We are a group consisting of about ten adult members and seven children, plus a number of visitors variously committed.

In and around Burnley (Lancashire) there are 8 terraced houses, a workshop, a half-acre allotment, and a mill with 3½ acres, all commonly owned or rented by PIC Housing Coop Ltd., which was set up so that we could all control the houses, etc. equally.

In Leicester there are two adjacent houses which it is hoped will form the starting point of a second housing cooperative. Two of our members are committed in the long term to being part of this venture.

## ACTIVITIES

Our activities include building work, doing training courses, outside working, cooking, looking after children, mending vehicles, cooperating with other groups, helping set up new and alterna-

tive financial structures, developing relationships, local action groups, feminist activities, music, going down to the pub and living the revolution, not necessarily in that order.

We find decision-making difficult—does anyone find it easy? We usually reach consensus though we have voted three or four times. We have a weekly rotating chairperson who decides about the structure of the meeting and gets an agenda together.

## FINANCES

At present we pool all income. Some of us work outside, some make their own work, and some sign on. We all get a personal expenditure allowance and money is set aside into various funds, e.g., van, school, children's clothes. This is all under review.

## HOW WE LIVE

The degree to which people are communal/cooperative varies. In principle,

we all have personal space. We used to eat in one large group but have recently decentralised, which enables us to relate better in small groups. Eating habits range from vegan to omnivore though we do tend to draw the line at cannibalism.

## PRINCIPLES

1. To oppose exploiting others or being exploited in relationships such as boss/worker, landlord/tenant, adult/child, male/female, first world/third world.
2. To live a reproducible alternative to alienation industrial and agricultural slavery, with regard to the environment.
3. To create and live in an environment which enables one to be oneself, and also promotes personal growth.
4. As a mixed group of people we do not like dogma and rigid views of any

(cont page 7)



# PRISON NOTES



AI'S REPORT on 'police maltreatment' in Northern Ireland was published on 13 June, under mounting pressure from left wing groups and prisoners' relatives who feared that AI would keep its findings to itself and the British government, and also, more unexpectedly, from a government leak to the press of the report's contents. Amnesty tends to excessive caution. As it grows in size and - at least establishment-wise, in stature - it becomes less of a missionary movement and more of a narcissistic organisation; as it grows in power it becomes perhaps more vulnerable too, so fears that the report might never surface were possibly justified. On the other hand AI is always very slow to publish anything, the annual report is consistently months out of date by the time it appears, and the present report on the week's mission to Northern Ireland between November and December last year has come out more quickly than several others.

Its main importance lies in the fact that the mission found concrete and precise evidence of police torture (torture is my word); and this only a matter of weeks before the British government and press were not only actually congratulating themselves on the ruling of the European Court of Human Rights that the interrogation practices ('five techniques') used in Northern Ireland in 1971 were not torture - quite neglecting the fact that they were still found to be 'inhuman and degrading' - but were also giving the strong impression that the whole affair was old hat, and that it was really very boring of the Republican Irish to insist on it after so many years.

At the time of the European Court's ruling Amnesty 'expressed disappointment' at its failure to condemn the five techniques as torture. Now AI's own word for present police violence in Northern Ireland is not torture but 'maltreatment.' In its dry and factual language, the report nevertheless gives a very useful picture of the situation in a country whose government has recently climbed up behind the USA on the bandwagon of human rights and is busily expressing its indignation about Cambodia in the United Nations.

The report shows that despite international condemnation and the government's subsequent embarrassment little has changed since 1971. And internment may have ended in 1975, but it is arguable whether the present system of special 'Diplock courts' to which terrorist suspects are brought after spending several days at the mercy of the Royal Ulster Constabulary's Special Branch, is any better.

During the mission a total of 78 cases were examined. All cases alleged similar kinds of torture, eg. physically exhausting procedures like being made to stand in uncomfortable positions for several hours, threats, beatings on the head and body, humiliation, wristbending, choking, sleep deprivation and hooding (note the similarity with 1971), burning with cigarettes, even lifting by the ears. The mental and physical effects of such treatment are well documented by the Danish doctors involved in the mission. Among the cases reported on in detail is that of a woman who said she had been threatened with rape, 'With loss of her child, with

electro-shock treatment, injections and other medicine and with degrading treatment such as lifting of her skirt. In another case a man was beaten and kicked on the testicles, his head was punched, his hair pulled and he was made to pick matches off the floor; another was told his child would be shot and he himself assassinated and so on. In many of these instances the victims suffered from a severe deterioration of health. In several medical examinations carried out by the mission corroborated the allegations 'strongly'.

In a chapter on 'The Law' the report goes on to describe the ways in which the Emergency Provisions Act of 1973 and Prevention of Terrorism Act of 1976 has, in Northern Ireland, enabled the conviction of people on purely self-incriminating grounds without the methods by which their confessions are extracted being cast in doubt. It summarises its findings as follows: "Changes in the law relating to arrest, detention and the admissibility of statements in court have combined to reduce safeguards against

Block in Long Kesh (Maze Prison). Here about 330 IRA prisoners demanding political status have been refusing to wear prison clothes and so been 'on the blanket' (ie. confined in virtual solitary in a 10' x 6' cell, completely naked except for a blanket, with no outdoor exercise and no possibility of going out to the toilet, and thus subjected not only to bread and water punishment diets but to a permanent smell of excrement from accumulating chamber pots and so on.) An article in the June *Leveller* takes AI to task for not finding time to investigate the situation at first hand and is correct. Why should the mission not have extended its time in Northern Ireland to do so? No satisfactory answer has been given because there is none. But at the same time it is unfortunate that a left wing paper like the *Leveller* should give such uncritical support through its columns to the claim for political status. In his article on prisoners of war a British solicitor writes "They are not ordinary criminals, they are and always have been politically motivated and they therefore claim the right to political status."

In his view and in that of the Prisoners' Aid Committee member writing the attack on Amnesty on the facing page, this is a valid claim. There is no consideration, for instance, of the debate going on at the moment among prisoners in Germany, including the RAF, some of whom are fighting to be recognised as prisoners of war under the Geneva Convention, while others disagree. A recent issue of the anarchist paper *Befreiung* published a letter from Norbert Krocher who is in prison in Cologne awaiting trial on a charge of planning to kidnap a Swedish government minister. (She had been involved in the decision to extradite a seriously wounded RAF member from Sweden after the Stockholm embassy of 1974, and he died in Stammheim gaol shortly after his arrival).

Norbert Krocher states that the 'claim to political status is justified, but only if it includes all prisoners. All prisoners are political, just as 'we' (the RAF etc) are as criminal as all other prisoners who have broken the law. The demand to be placed in special prisons or wings of prisons is 'rubbish' and would lead to political isolation. He goes on to say that the splintering of the left into separate areas, the reduction to specific functions such as prison groups, reflects the 'desolate situation of the left.' Prison work should not be the specialty of red and black aid groups but '... every commune, every school group, every local community group should adopt one or more prisoners.' Prison work would thus be decentralised and, through contact with 'their' group the prisoners would be better informed about what was going on, and encouraged to take part in the struggle in the 'big prison' outside. In this way it would also be harder for the authorities to destroy prison work.

... One might add, not only this, but we should not have to rely so much on reports from liberal organisations like Amnesty, and we should certainly not have to spend valuable time and space criticising it for not doing what we ourselves have not done but could if we really had the will.

GAIA



improper police conduct.

"Powers of arrest and detention have been extended and are virtually unchallengeable. The investigation is conducted in an atmosphere of seclusion, aggravated by extended powers of police detention. Access to solicitors is denied as an apparent matter of policy, giving rise to an inference, whether or not justified, that not all statements are made voluntarily.

"The reduction of procedural safeguards regarding the admissibility of statements, the extension of the discretion of the single judge and the absence of a jury enhance the danger that statements obtained by maltreatment of suspects will be used as evidence in court.

"The procedure for handling complaints alleging a breach of the criminal law by the police will not disclose all cases of maltreatment. Complaints alleging maltreatment in police custody may be classified 'unsubstantiated', though the maltreatment alleged may actually have taken place."

Amnesty has called for a full public enquiry into the complaints of maltreatment by the police and to review the rules relating to interrogation and detention, etc. Predictably the government has not complied.

§ ¶ §

The Amnesty report has been attacked for not making any reference to the conditions of H

## LORENZO "KOMBOA" ERVIN

Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, the Black Anarchist and prison organiser, has been placed in the notorious Control Unit Behavior Modification programme at Marion, Illinois Federal Penitentiary, after a protest by prisoners in the Isolation Unit and an earlier food boycott in mid-March.

The Control Unit at Marion is famous for having caused the deaths of ten men in the last five years (there were three alleged suicides in 1977 alone), and the self-mutilation and mental imbalance of hundreds of others. The Unit is used to punish prison organisers, "Jailhouse Lawyers", political prisoners, Muslims, and other "trouble-makers". It is apparent that Komboa is being punished for his anarchist beliefs and his prison activism.

Komboa and three other Black prisoners were placed in the Control Unit on April 3rd, 1978, after a protest in the Isolation Unit when several prisoners were brutally beaten by guards for complaining that glass was in their food. On his second day in the Unit, prison officials tried to set him up by letting two white prisoners out of their cells while he was taking his recreation period and tried to incite them



to attack him, in hope that they would either kill or badly injure him. But the two prisoners refused to swallow the racist bait and do the officials' dirty work. As a result they were called "Nigger-lovers" and threatened with beatings. In the Control Unit there are constant attempts to pit one race against the other by the guards. Komboa asks that his friends, supporters and comrades write to the Warden to

protest about this conspiracy against his life and demand that he be released from the Control Unit immediately.

Write to : George C. Wilkinson,  
Warden,  
U.S. Penitentiary,  
Post Office Box 1000,  
Marion, Illinois 62959.

Also write letters of support to Komboa, prisoner 18759-175 at the same address. For more information and to help this comrade, contact :

Audrey A. Myers, Director,  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO  
SUPPORT THE MARION  
BROTHERS,  
4556A, Oakland,  
St. Louis, Mo. 63110  
(314) 533-2234.

Albert Meltzer  
ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS  
c/o 43 Egremont House  
Lewisham Road  
London SE13, England (UK)

## PERSONS UNKNOWN

### ['Weedkiller To Overthrow Society']



Top security: Ladd, Bennett and Mills arrive at Lambeth last week.

A USEFUL thing, the conspiracy law. By using it people can be dealt with, without any actual crime being involved. "Conspiracy to cause explosions with others unknown" and at unknown times and in unknown places. That's what the charges against Iris Mills, Ronan Bennett and Dafydd (Taff) Ladd are. And the evidence? The police say that they found 'weedkiller' and 'wiring' at a flat borrowed by Iris and Ronan. Vague allusions were also made to 'documentary evidence' and to a group of 'idealists.' Taff's sin seems to be that his fingerprints were in the flat. And on this basis the three are being held in Category A (Maximum security) in Brixton. Metropolitan Police Commissioner McNee gives alarmist reports about the way 'ruthless armed robbers' are released on bail. 'Weedkiller', 'wiring', unseen documents' and 'fingerprints'. These are all that are needed for bail to be refused.

The police are making a meal of the whole thing. At the weekly remand hearings the three appear in handcuffs and are shifted between the court and the prison in a bullet proof van with an armed escort. Comrades all over London have received dawn 'visits', if that's not too much of an understatement. Now the



"Mother, tell the Father that I can't attend the Saint Theodor Day service as we've got a top priority to Watergate a Garden."

police, via front person Detective Inspector Bradbury, have shifted their ground somewhat and references are made to four armed robberies in which Iris and Ronan are 'suspected' of being involved. There is still no mention of any actual crimes supposedly committed by Taff.

Iris, Ronan and Taff are still suffering physical and psychological deprivation. As Iris is a woman she is being kept on a landing to herself. She is the first woman to be held in Brixton since 1975. Taff is ill with enteritis. All three are having access to mail restricted, though a couple of visitors have now got in (after four weeks). Conversations with lawyers have to be held through a small aperture in the presence of police officers.

Anarchists and left wingers are often accused of being paranoid about the police. What do you expect when this sort of nonsense is produced? The entire situation is farcical; no-one would believe it if it were presented as a work of fiction. But it's not, it's all too true, and our comrades face many years in prison.

A support group has been formed and has taken the apposite title 'Persons Unknown':

- \* All those arrested must be freed
- \* Get rid of all conspiracy laws

\* Investigate the activities of the 'Anti-terrorist Squad' and their 'Suppression of Terrorism' laws.

Contact Persons Unknown, Box 123, 182 Upper Street, London N1.

DP



# LETTERS

## TWO VIEWS ON BARBARISM

Dear Freedom,

I find it appalling that we are exhorted to 'spare your tears for the Europeans' in Zaïre and shed them for those who die for European greed ("Legacy of Empire" FREEDOM vol.39 no.10). Whilst I am prepared to shed tears for those who die for European greed, I am not prepared to belie my humanity by sparing them for a white child, not one year old, whose throat was cut and whose body, along with the rest, black and white, was left to rot. I find this implicit distinction barbaric, and would do so, no matter from which 'side' it came.

Sincerely,  
ANN W. GLEAVE

Barnstaple.

Comrades,

At last someone (Autonomous Anarchist Group, FREEDOM no.10) has recognised that although the Brigade Rosse MAY have made a tactical error in the execution of Aldo Moro it showed that direct action by a group of dedicated revolutionaries can paralyse the State and throw its entire system into disarray.

I must point out that I am not an anarchist but the main factor which has drawn me towards anarchism is the willingness of the movement not just to sit in some cosy pub rabbiting about militant action, whilst slowly getting pissed, as the Trots do, but to actually take up arms and confront the State on the same basis as it confronts the workers when the struggle intensifies—with violence.

What amazes me is that if a group of people are fed up with being shit on by the State and actually decide to do something about it they are automatically classed as elitists—unless of course twenty thousand or so other people get the same idea at the same time but how often does that happen nowadays?

Whilst agreeing, to an extent, with Jack Robinson's point that 'the humblest Asian or African peasant has more revolutionary awareness of the real function of the state than all the Marxist theorists', they are not always in a position to carry the struggle to the heart of the enemy whereas we are.

His comments 'Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, Amin...Where were the Red Brigades when we needed them?' border on the ludicrous. As the A.A.G. comrades pointed out, the Brigade Rosse were formed in 1970 quite a while after Hitler and Co. had already left this world. As for Amin, I doubt if even the B.R. has the capacity at the present time to form a cell in Uganda.

One point that all revolutionaries must agree upon is that the State doesn't need revolutionary violence to introduce repressive legislation. It's sitting in some bureaucrat's office just waiting to be used when the workers step out of line and there'll be no shortage of excuses when the need arises.

We cannot allow ourselves to be intimidated by the State. Our morality should be concerned only with our fellow workers. Moro and his type are not deserving of our concern, what sympathy did he and his party show for the people? We represent a threat to the stability of the State. When that threat becomes too great there will be no hesitation on their part in the elimination of militants—remember Stammheim? We too must show no hesitation in the elimination of our enemies.

If the State demands that blood be shed let it be the blood of the bosses.

Yours in struggle,  
JOHN FARRELL

London.



## IS IT?

Dear Freedom,

Has Cambodia become a socialist or anarchist state? They've abolished money, things are provided for free, food is given on completion of a day's work. People are in communes, there are no banks, no shops. All this was shown on a recent TV programme.

There are no crimes being committed so there's no need for prisons.

Is this what we need?

Yours for total Freedom,  
Hector.

24.6.78. 10.00 change. cell 3 meet 2 at sheet 175 75.8 60.5

EDS' NOTE: The Red Brigades are revolutionary Marxists, not anarchists, although at least one anarchist guerrilla group, Azione Rivoluzionaria is operating in Italy at the moment. We hope to report on this in some detail in a later review section of FREEDOM.

## DEMOS

Comrades,

I would like to lament the absence of many London Anarchists at recent demos. There is always only a small nucleus of Anarchists at these demos in London, but, even so, we still managed to cause the 'Blue ...'(illegible) a lot of trouble in their attempts to control the legalise Cannabis march a few weeks ago. We divided the march several times, demonstrated outside Buckingham Palace and Westminster, and generally made it into an enjoyable Saturday afternoon. It could so easily have developed into a violent confrontation with the Police. And this was a march composed largely of Pacifists!

A turnout of fifty Anarchists agitating, causing trouble and exposing Trots for what they are - party builders - could have produced a different effect, and it can be good for you. So why not turn out?

Love and Peace  
Field Marshall Nessie Makhno (Rtd.)

## WHAT IS POLITICAL?

Dear Friends,

As a libertarian FREEDOM reader who would like to see a society of liberty, fraternity and equality as much as the next person I would like to object to the tone and content of the article 'What is Political' in your last issue.

The reference to Labour's 'social fascist' tendencies was especially unfortunate. The term 'social fascist' was invented by the Stalinists in their sectarian 'Third Period' to describe any socialist who did not toe the Communist Party line. Its use did not actually help the cause of left wing unity against the threat of fascism.

There are many socialists within (and without) the ranks of the Labour Party who share the libertarian socialist vision of George Orwell expressed in 'The Road to Wigan Pier' or Bertrand Russell's in 'Roads to Freedom'. It is possible to hold to the libertarian idea without believing in the old idea of 'overthrowing the system' or 'smashing the state' or whatever.

Why do you not advocate a constructive policy of decentralization, workers' cooperatives, community workshops, farms, and the like?

A realistic libertarian policy would have great appeal to rank and file Labour supporters (and even some Liberals and Conservatives, not all of whom are hard-faced capitalists and crypto fascists!).

Fraternally,  
JOHN BRADBROOK.

## PEOPLE IN COMMON

from pg.3

kind but we share a dislike of the way things are and want to provide a better life for ourselves, our children, and as many others as wish to follow our idea or any part of it. We do not call ourselves a commune because we do not insist on communal living.

5. To break down unhealthy divisions of labour. Knowledge and skill are for sharing and not for hoarding. People should have the freedom to choose and to change their work.

6. To keep these principles under review.

### IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVES

We have just bought a derelict corn mill — a listed building with 8000 square feet, 4 storeys, 3½ acres, a stream, a river with fishing rights and gravel. There are electricity pylons, cooling towers and a TV tube factory nearby, but the countryside is pleasant and the views of the surrounding hills impressive.

We are planning to renovate the mill as living accommodation and there are also plans for a work area for some sort of socially useful products, to be run as a workers' coop.

### LONGER-TERM OBJECTIVES

We would like a larger community to grow, which together with other groups and communities inside or outside the umbrella of 'PIC' would begin to constitute an economic base offering a genuine alternative to and independence from capitalism. We would aim to provide locally as much as possible of the goods and services which we decide are necessary.

We envisage growing food, cooking, a children's cooperative, a building cooperative, a light industrial workshop, a whole-food shop, to begin with. The community would live and work on land and in the Mill, in houses and workshops in and around Burnley, Padiham and Altham.

### IF YOU WANT TO VISIT

Contact us first. We ask for £1 a day from 'worker-visitors' who stay at least a week and help with what needs doing (help with the Mill and houses, the children, cooking, your speciality) and £1.75 from 'casual' visitors. We feel this is fair as we pool all our income and work here, and we cannot really afford visitors any other way. Exceptions are as always possible to this rule, particularly where we have arrangements with groups like ourselves. Write to

People in Common,  
87 Waterloo Road,  
BURNLEY, Lancashire.

### IN BRIEF (cont from pg2)

THIS YEAR The Puppet Tree is back again to make sure that Horatio Moneybags remembers his place...

(I am quite aware... Quiet, Horatio!) ...And to assist you in presenting your issue or event to the people on the streets. We have been chasing this man's ample figure around the open spaces of the Northern Hemisphere for several years...

(But you haven't caught me yet, Ho, Ho, Ho) ... In such shows as "The Rag and Bone Chinwag Show", "Roundtheblok", "Transport Circus" and "The Great British Tea Plot".

Now things are different - We offer a performance with Giant Puppets, BUT, now YOU do the show, and we sit and watch.

(And get paid for it! Shurrup!) Take no notice. It works like this: You ring us up, or write us a letter, and we will arrange a meeting. A small group from the Street Operation will visit your organisation, be it a Festival Committee, Hospital, High Street, Caravan Site, Group Office or... (Bank!... Bank! That's enough of you. Out!) ... or Council Chamber.

We will have a preliminary discussion of IDEAS and how to transform them into a Giant Puppet Street Play for your parade, demo, carnival etc. Volunteers from your group will then construct the puppets and prepare and perform the show assisted by Puppet Tree People where necessary. We Will need anything from two days to two weeks of your time, depending on the scale of the show, and if we come to you, a suitable working area. We would prefer a group of teenagers and/or adults, since younger kids often have opportunities elsewhere. COSTS vary according to time worked, numbers involved (both us and you) and the materials used.

So to find out more, please give us a ring at 267 3765.

OR - for the lazier, or for the newly formed groups of overworked people BOOK A PUPPET TREE STREET OPERATION EVENT. Individually tailored to your requirements and environment, with a full range of Giant Puppets.

Street Theatre helps keep Horatio Moneybags in his place.

(May I come too?.. No! - Well, maybe, if you keep your mouth shut.) WRITE TO: Chris Shirley - Smith, 77 Penshurst, Queen's Crescent, London, NW5.

AS WE WERE getting the last issue of FREEDOM ready, one of us noticed through the window a woman leaping about and shouting in a car park that backs onto our building.

A couple of us went down and discovered she'd been locked in and couldn't climb over the gate. Would we call the police?

Now, we're very reluctant to ask favours from the Old Bill but in the circumstances it seemed a reasonable compromise so one of us put in a 999 call and explained what was going on.

Then we returned to the woman to keep her company while she waited to be let out. To pass the time we tried a few back doors to see

if anyone had a ladder to lend—no-one wanted to get involved.

The woman said a lot of passers-by had just carried on passing by when they heard her calling—some just ignored her, others said they couldn't do anything.

After about an hour two coppers arrived in a car. They wandered around, tried the same back doors for a ladder and then called the fire brigade out.

This is when it got interesting. A fire engine turned up and five firemen went over the gate with a set of ladders. They tried to get the woman to climb out. She wouldn't.

We saw her make a couple of attempts but she just wouldn't do it. They reasoned with her, tried to persuade her, threatened her, got a rope and said they'd truss her up and throw her over. But she obviously wanted them to get the gate open so she could walk out.

Eventually, after perhaps 30 or 40 minutes, she decided she might as well use the ladders. It wasn't fair to laugh, but it was a funny sight, and she was milking the situation for as much as she could get out of it.

And it did show us something: it took two coppers and five firemen to make one individual do something she was reluctant to do. Perhaps if we began to struggle a bit more seriously over things that really matter to us the authorities might start to feel how weak they really are.

### DEM BONES, DEM BONES.

DEM DRY BONES rattle down the centuries shaking their old cutlasses, stirring the once-happy children to pick up their rifles and grenades and fight once again their battles never soon enough forgotten. Teach your children no history! Let the sagas and the blood-curdling ballads be forgotten! Let no more children die for the sake of bones, dry bones, brittle but not forgotten, that could not keep their temper.

Ireland... Israel...antediluvian sites of sadly historical, hysterical quarrels fostered down the ages by 'God' and 'Honour', bones of Adam and Eve, dry bones who themselves admit of no fossils.

Why this morbid obsession with the past? Does our race dream of no future in which to create a past we can be proud of? Any evolutionary worth their neurons knows that that which ceases to grow does not merely stagnate,

it slips back into its swamp and dies, along with the Goths and the pterodactyls. It is not the fittest who will survive, but the most adaptable. The human race is doing its best to prove its fitness to survive in its present environment in its present state, that it is perfect, and has no need for change. The lamb must die that the lion may live, but when there are no more lambs, the lion had better learn to eat bananas or the monkey will outlive him; the monkey does not have to be any fitter than the lion to do this, he simply depends on the lion's lack of imagination to allow his continued existence; it is only when the bananas run out that the monkey's survival is called into question, and if he is not to die, he must adapt extremely rapidly, accepting the possibly agonising withdrawal symptoms as an inevitable result of his lamentable lack of foresight.

Ah but we can dream! We have history which shows us what happens to those who cannot change and the agony of those who are taken unawares; we will not repeat the mistakes of the dust; we are not blind or frightened, nor are we stubborn, or even stupid; we have learnt our lesson, and we will change.

MARK.



## Freedom Press

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368pp  
ABOUT ANARCHISM, what anarchists believe, how anarchists differ, what anarchists want. . . Nicolas Walter 25p (9p)

(from page 15)  
of the ton seeking high camp victorianwise, is a single painting by Simeon Solomon of a Roman Lady. A rather bad painting with a smear of white highlight ruining the imperial roman hooter but Simeon Solomon was 48 at the time of the Ripper murders and this associate of the Pre-Raphaelite painters was already part of that dreary world. From fashionable painter he rose to be a Bayswater Road pavement artist and then became the inevitable poverty cursed alcoholic until, as had happened to so many constant readers he collapsed outside the New Statesman's office in Great Turnstile, Holborn in May of 1905 and died in St Giles Workhouse as happens to so many New Statesman constant readers. Here within the Fine Art Gallery in Bond Street, with its courteous staff and free flowing ease of viewing and shudder making victorian rhubarb is a single painting of a painter who never made it in the rat race but then neither did the Ripper's five unfortunate women economically or Life Forcewise. And talking of Dukes I must congratulate my old battle buddy the Duke of Edinburgh on his painting of Steel Mill in India. I praised it a year ago when it was on display at the Royal Academy and it is on display within the Armed Forces Art Society exhibition within the Royal Mall. Colonel Vulliamy, "Bunny" as we call him in the basement of Wards Irish pub in/under Piccadilly, publicly slated the painting but "Bunny" is a fool in relation to that opinion. Never let social, political or economic snobbery blind you to

Bommi Baumann

## WIE ALLES ANFING

The Personal Account of a West German Urban Guerrilla.

With Statements  
by HEINRICH BÖLL  
& DANIEL COHN-BENDIT

Translated by  
HELENE ELLENBOGEN  
& WAYNE PARKER

PULP PRESS



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A number of issues are still in print at 15p each (postage on single issue 7p; 2 copies 10p; 3 12p; 4-5 15p; 10 29p.

No. 119 Work : 117. Conurb and country : 116. Chomsky on anarchism : 115 Students' Community Action : 114. Drinnon on Goldman, Berkman ; 113. Women in Prison : 112. Southern Africa : 111. Reichert on Anarchism, freedom & power : 110. Poems from Prison (Tim Daly) : 109. Bertrand Russell and the anarchists : 108. Big Flame Flickering : an attempt at workers' takeover : 107. Paul Goodman on education.

These form the complete volume 10 (the final volume), the only volume complete in separate issues still available.

what is worth while. Hitler, Churchill and the Duke are good and competent painters and it is foolish to pretend otherwise. The fact that when I leapt single handed onto the beach, loaded like a Christmas tree, to liberate Europe "like a greyhound in the slip. Straining upon the start" Henry 5, Act 3, Scene 1, the military historical fact that the Duke was behind me at the sharp end of his boat giving me covering fire no way man influences my opinion. Dukey is a good artist and "Bunny" should stick to guard mountings. For those who like good solid academic work then within that same gallery is the work of Richard Walker and Robert Hill. When you visit the Mall Gallery mention me to the Duke and point out to "Bunny" that although the Armed Forces Art Society is open to all ranks there is not one private soldier of N.C.O. on the governing board or in the members list. Naughty "Bunny". Angela Flowers' gallery in Soho has now closed, prior to moving into Covent Garden at an unnamed date, and Patrick Hughes has been fortunate enough to have the final exhibition within that romantic gallery. He closes it with a blaze of rainbow glory as the gallery and all those fortunate enough to be associated with it become part of the history of our age. The wine and the wit, the long polemics and the bitchy quarrels. The good paintings and the bad all added to the enjoyment hosted and created by Angela Flowers and I can but thank her and wish her well.

Arthur Moyses

# Anarchist Review Freedom

24 JUNE '78

## 3rd ARTICLE IN A SERIES ON RACE

# Abophobia and —

# ANTIPODEAN ANARCHISM



WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN CAMP, WARBARTON CAMP, WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

AUSTRALIA sporadically features in the news these days. We hear about the few remaining Aborigine concentration camps - 'tribal lands' they are called, usually by people who fail to realise that all of the continent is 'tribal land' as well. These limited areas were allotted by various governments and christian agencies as compensation for centuries of destruction and degradation. The regions in which they are located - the northern parts of the continent - were until recently considered useless for material exploitation. They are now increasingly required for mineral extraction by international mining companies with the backing of the state government in Queensland and the federal government of Australia - greedy for the royalties. This time bauxite and uranium are sought; as for the Aborigines and questions of 'rights', well, they cannot be so openly pushed aside or simply exterminated as in the past, but government and profit hold sway in Australia, as everywhere else - the Aborigines come last.  
JAN

### ABORIGINALITY

Apart from questions about environmental destruction (through open-quarry mining) and the growing threats of nuclear power in Australia, the aboriginal population of the mainland and the Torres Strait islands is significant in at least two respects in an analysis of human society and social relations. Firstly, in their relations with the white colonialists during the past two centuries they present an extreme, yet in many ways fundamental, example of how race thought and race relations operate. Race has had very clear effects on both the white and the black populations in Australia. Secondly, the pre-contact, indigenous Aboriginal social systems exhibited many of the working features of intra-continental anarchism. Both points need to be examined - to see what we can learn from their societies, and from their relations with the white Europeans.

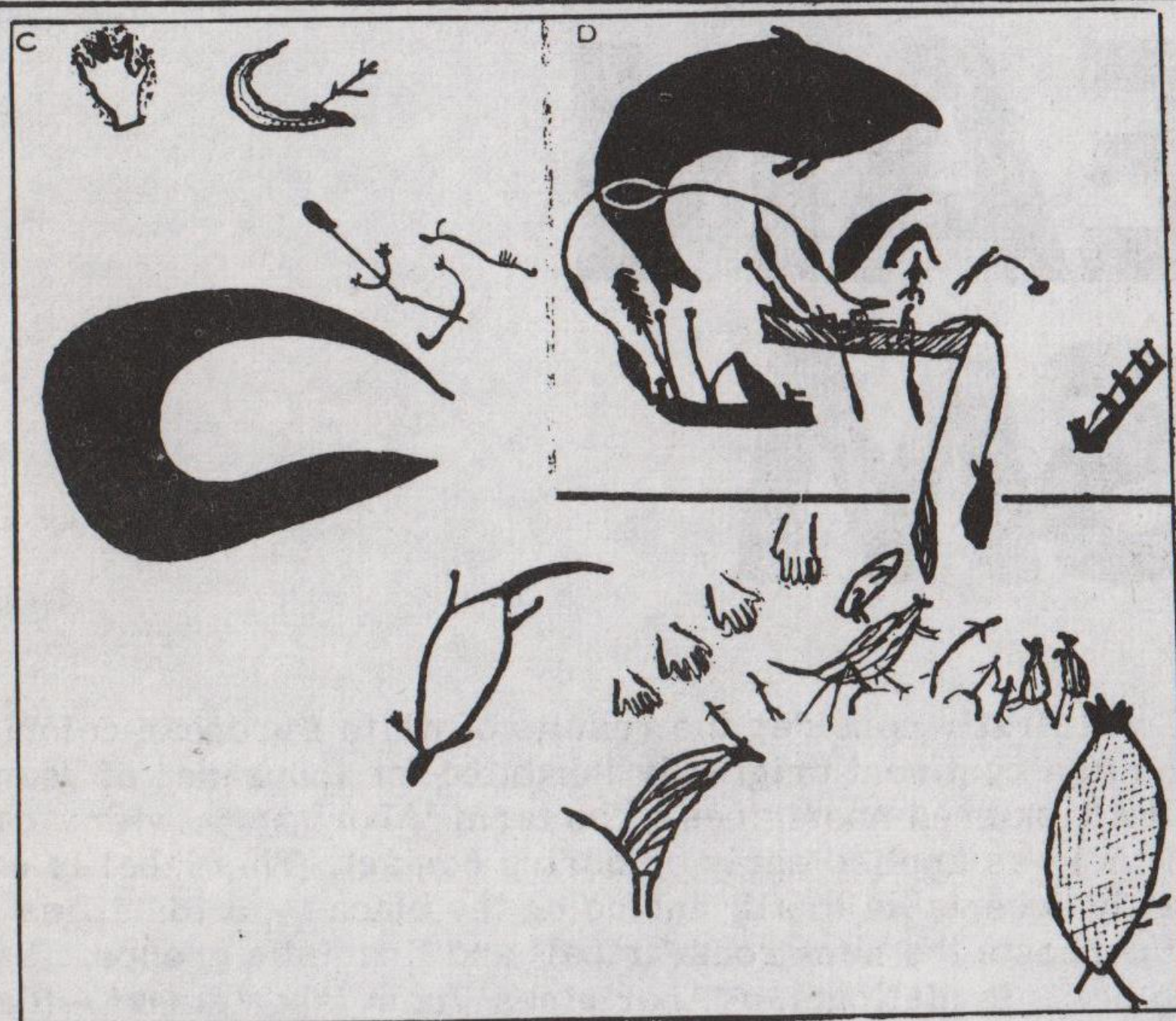
I will firstly consider the results of white European colonisation in a continent originally inhabited for thousands of years by dark-skinned Aborigines. The term 'Aborigines' (with a capital 'A') was applied early on during contact. This label is now largely acceptable to all, including the blacks - it identifies and connects the numerous 'tribal' and linguistic groups. It also helps to distinguish 'Aborigines' from 'aborigines' - the latter term being applicable almost anywhere, though not strictly accurate anywhere. The contemporary black population in Australia, for instance, are not the original inhabitants - their ancestors were. This is an important principle because throughout the world the notion of being 'aboriginal' (with a small 'a') is often manipulated to justify the exclusion of 'outsiders' - as with the NF in Britain. The term is loose and imprecise, and therefore potentially dangerous.

The Aboriginal population in the 18th century, when Cook and his bunch of adventurers imposed themselves on the land and the people, probably stood at 500,000. The majority seemed to have inhabited the coastal, riverine and insular regions, where food was often more abundant, water more predictable and the climate more favourable. The Aborigines economy was based on hunting and gathering, demanding relatively small groups, nomadic in habits for much of the year - in the search for resources. These co-resident units are termed 'hordes' in Australian ethnography, and 'bands' for the remaining hunter-gatherers elsewhere on the globe. The 'tribe' is an inaccurate label for any human group - in the Australian case it usually is applied to a larger population with a degree of linguistic and cultural unity, infrequent face-to-face contacts and inhabiting contiguous areas. In most regions there was nothing approaching 'tribal unity' or organisation. Individual groups were largely autonomous and self-managing. Settlements were temporary, while the degree of movement largely depended on the water and food supply. There were no villages, animal domestication or cultivation, or storage of resources or artifacts. Material technology was elementary by European standards, but ample to guarantee a comfortable livelihood in all ecological zones on the continent.



## THE WHITE PERIL

Initial contact with whites was undoubtedly a traumatic experience for the coastal people. Within a few years the population was decimated, warfare (usually one-sided) and ecological disruption. The remainder were pushed inland by the invader. Aborigines were ultimately powerless to defend themselves against European brutality and greed. They possessed no militaristic structure of any size, legitimacy or effectiveness. Throughout the continent, right up to complete takeover by the colonisers, the Aborigines (what was left of them) were thrust into the more inhospitable, poorer regions - into areas of no immediate value for the settlers. Aboriginal society and culture were thoroughly disrupted in any region into which the whites moved. Similarly with their indigenous economy, subsistence and survival techniques, and religious traditions. Their balance with the environment was destroyed irretrievably. Hunting and extermination of all Aborigines became standard practice for the whites, who saw the indigenous inhabitants as something less (or other) than human - similar to the kangaroos and wallabies - at most as a bit of an oddity. If not through direct violence many perished as a result of unknown, newly introduced diseases against which they had no immunity, coupled with starvation or an inadequate diet (for instance that provided by whites to the few black slaves and chattel workers was bulky but lacked protein and vitamins). There was widespread capture, rape and enslavement of black women after the males, elderly and children were eliminated. The Aborigines found themselves helpless in the face of the white push. In Tasmania,



PAINTINGS FROM CHASM ISLAND, GULF OF CARPENTARIA:-

C/ STICKMEN, SNAKE, LIZARDS, WALLABIES AND FISH.

D/ A DOLPHIN, WITH FISHERMEN IN CANOES.

for example, not one 'full-blooded' Aborigine survived the annihilation in the 19th century; the situation in S. T. Australia was not very different either.

It must be remembered that the majority of the whites (including the convicts) arrived in Australia with a pioneering settler mentality, and the undisputed authority to pursue their acquisitive aims. They colonised the continent at a time when the arrogant pride of the white person had reached its most lofty level. The idea and feeling of pushing back savagery (which included the blacks) in order to establish christian, laissez-faire civilisation was clearly prominent. As a result no treaties were even made and broken (as in North America) with the previous inhabitants. Land and everything on it was simply seized and occupied, with no recognition of any form of Aboriginal rights to it. It would take too long to catalogue all the brutality, inhumanity and injustice (even by European standards) meted out to the blacks. Suffice to say that times were not gentle, the transition for the Aborigines was not peaceful, the white strangers were not friends. Aborigines were confined to forever shrinking areas, out of the direct path of the pioneers. These lands proved to be of little survival value, especially with the sudden increase of population in such a small zone leading to overcrowding in the camps - due to the deliberate herding of people from numerous 'tribes' and regions.

The major immediate effect of white colonisation was a cultural and social clash between two almost opposite types of organisation. The Aborigines used a simple technology, with a small scale social system based on extended families, group solidarity and independence, and a distinct absence of hierarchy, chieftanship, priesthood, long-term leadership or military organisation. The Europeans possessed a complex technology, and a pioneering, individualistic, competitive, violent, missionary and aggressive culture. There was a certain inevitability about the situation - there was only one victor from the start.

## EVOLUTION OF WHITE POLICY

In the early years of conquest there was no effective official policy dealing with the Aborigines position. There was no single, overall authority concerning their treatment, either by the Home Government in London, or any administration on the continent. It was left to regional bodies and, in the majority of cases, individual pioneers themselves, to deal with the Aborigines as they wished - without governmental and official sanctions or approval. There are few historical records documenting the early period, but the dramatic decline in Aborigine numbers speaks for itself as to what overall white policy consisted of. These initial contacts between blacks and whites shaped the image of the Aborigine in the minds, and permeated the values of the whites - and determined how the Aboriginal situation has developed ever since.

Over time government followed in the footsteps of the white settlers, and spread like the plague into all regions of Australia. Though the blacks were sometimes recognised as a human population (distinct from the white one, of course) in practice government policy helped the pioneers to take over - by protecting their 'rights' to expand and acquire land, as British subjects. Aborigines, naturally, did not have recognition as British subjects, but as the subjects of nature - their extinction became a matter of 'natural law' and 'racial evolution.' The theory was that they would 'naturally' die out in the struggle for survival with the highly evolved white Europeans. Government attitude displayed a sort of pseudo-Darwinism. The 'stronger' culture, racially defined, would inevitably emerge victorious, while the 'weaker' one, also defined by race, would perish in the process of 'natural selection.' But in no manner was the process 'natural' - Aborigines had suffered as a result of contact and deliberate policy, and found themselves constantly at the mercy of the pioneers - who could still deal with them as they wished. At no stage were the Aborigines left alone to manage and control their own affairs.

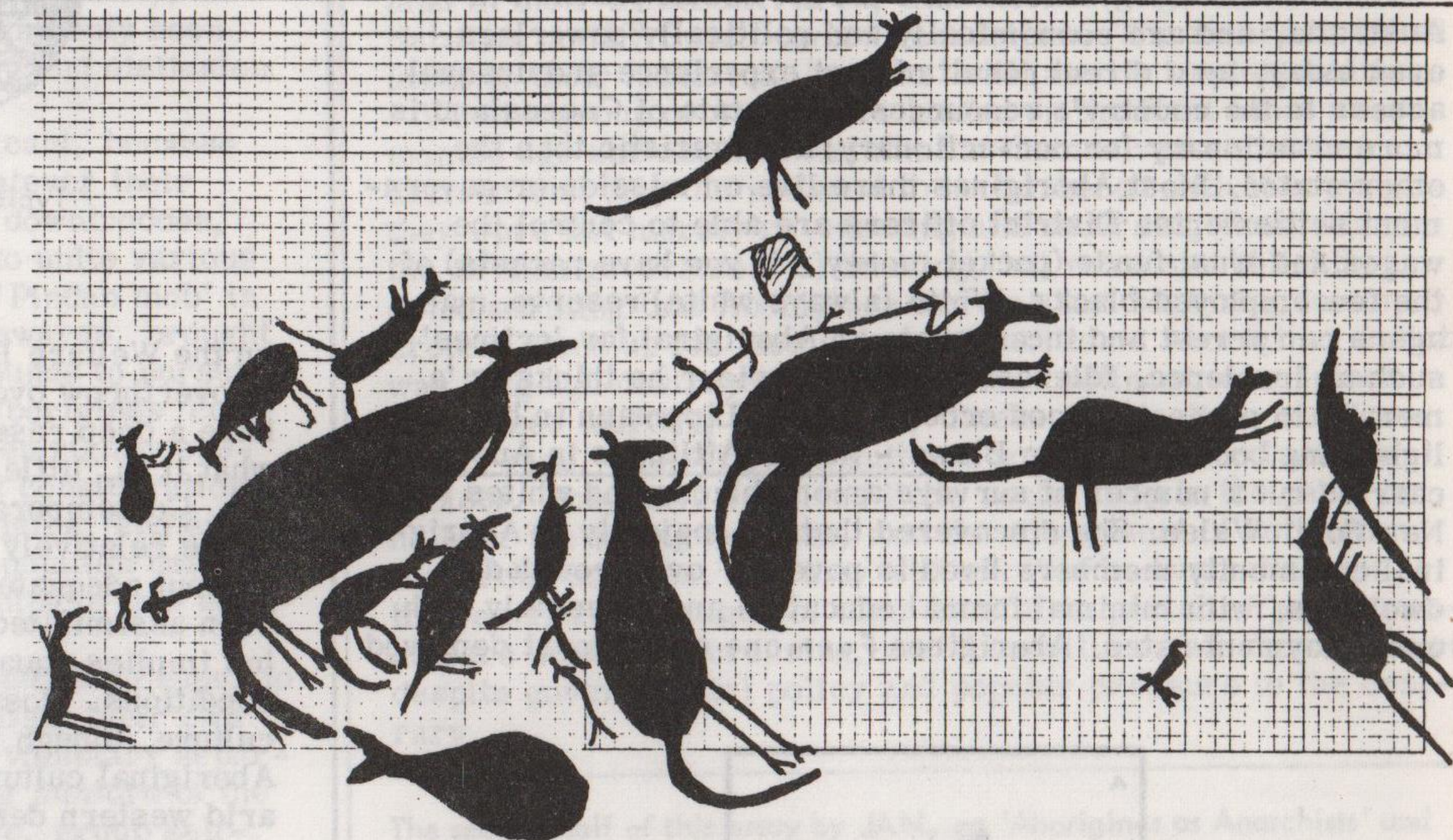
When it became clearer, over the decades, that the 'black fellow' would not conveniently disappear as rapidly as was required, a policy of segregation was soon adopted, and eventually a more liberal, benevolent notion of 'Protection.' It was decided that the Aborigines did have the 'same'... Aborigines were isolated in smaller and smaller areas - on Reserves, farms and Mission stations. The result was black institutionalisation - where Aborigines became dependant on bodies like the Welfare Boards and various denominations of christian missionaries. They acquired a separate status in law and were left to the 'mercy' of their apparent protectors. C.D. Rowley's extensive accounts on the Aborigines, in three volumes (1) are a valuable contribution to an understanding of Australian society. He decides that 'protection' in practice consisted of harsh discrimination against blacks and interference in every aspect of their lives (a version of democratic totalitarianism). 'Protection' had a disastrous effect on the remaining Aboriginal culture and individual expectations and personality. Though there was minimal direct or violent defiance of the dominant society, segregation and 'protection' led to poverty, social breakdown, emotional disruption, widespread disillusion and despair. All this was expressed in increasing infant mortality, weakened resistance to disease and illness and increasing inactivity and alcohol consumption.

The effects on the white population were also disastrous - though not in exactly the same way. Early contacts and subsequent events created the image of the helpless, useless, lazy, and derelict 'black fellow' - who occasionally got in the white man's way (and in the way of 'progress'). Later segregation was followed by increasing white (especially urban white) ignorance of Aborigines in general. They had limited contact with them (if any) - if anything contacts decreased. It was simply assumed by the majority of whites that the blacks position at the time was a normal feature of their own culture, values and life-style - in fact, due to them being 'Aborigines' - a race.

All these factors combined to create the Aboriginal stereotype in white society. He or she became helpless, lazy and incompetent because of something inbred and inherent in his/her own nature. S/he was a figure to despise, to ignore, to pity, or at best to 'be interested in.'

## THE THEORY OF BLOOD

Over time a distinction was drawn up, however haphazard and inaccurate, between 'full blood' Aborigines or 'half blood'



A frieze of wallabies, with tiny stick-person hunters, painted on the ceiling of a large rock shelter on Chasm Island, Gulf of Carpentaria. The recording is made with the aid of a grid frame drawn to a scale of 1 ft. to each of the main squares on graph paper (shown here) - there by making it possible to make an accurate scale chart of groups of paintings and carvings.

ones. The latter were a product of intermarriage between whites and blacks - or more precisely, inter-copulation, and often one-sided oppressive relationships, including rape. The policy concerning the two subdivisions were never made very clear. However, the general idea maintained that over a long period of time the 'part Aborigines' would be accepted into white society - how progressive! According to Rowley very intensive methods were employed to change the lives and aspirations of the 'part Aborigines'. Various injustices were inflicted on them to hasten their 'assimilation.' However, it was never completely possible to separate the 'parts' from the 'full bloods', as definitions of the Aboriginal 'race' were vague enough and wide enough to include most 'part Aborigines' - simply because their skin was darker, and their physical characteristics peculiar or distinctive enough.

Social and racial assimilation became equated in the minds of policy makers and among the population generally. It seemed that for Aborigines to be accepted and 'assimilated' they needed to first of all become white. Official policy creators viewed 'part Aborigines' as requiring special treatment in order to 'advance' white society. But to have been successful it would have involved altering skin pigmentation, hair form and facial features. In practice 'part Aborigines' were treated as outcasts on the outskirts of Australian socio-cultural life. Even when a few totally accepted white values and seemed eager for 'assimilation' they encountered a great amount of prejudice and discrimination. They were still considered to be racially Aborigine - descendants of a separate race and perpetuating that race's stereotyped characteristics. The net result was that 'part Aborigines' tended to associate even more strongly with the 'full bloods'. The growing 'part Aborigine' population remained a section of the changing Aborigine society. They were inclined to marry within black society, and were not conveniently destined to disappear into white Australian oblivion.

## ASSIMILATION OR ANNIHILATION

The 'assimilation policy' was developed primarily in the late 1930s and throughout the 1940s. The underlying assumption was that the 'black fellows' would lose the last vestiges of their Aboriginal culture and become acculturated into the 'predominant' Australian society. The original notion that as a group they should one way or another vanish, not merely merge into white society, was perpetuated. Reserves, mission stations, government settlements (maybe that is where they should settle the government), and special black areas were upheld. All these institutions were administered and supervised by whites with their all-powerful bureaucratic

structure behind them. A few policies dealing with the 'free movement' of particular 'assisted' Aborigines were adopted, but only involved isolated individual cases. These exceptions tended to return to the reserves and their own kinspeople in search of security and acceptance - something they could not find in the white world. The reserve policy had proved, once a modicum of 'assimilation' was pursued, that the reserves only fitted Aborigines into the controlled, isolated reserve life. They were not able to equip them to come to terms with

white values and the competitive, acquisitive wider society, even though attempts had been made to make the blacks less offensive to white tastes and moral standards. 'Assimilation' policy upheld the fallacy that social change could be imposed by intensive educational and administrative efforts upon a group whose standards and values deviate from those assumed to be met by the majority of the population. A white stereotype was likewise operational - the sporting, wholesome, middle class, liberal minded decent Australian citizen (closely linked with the sex role stereotypes as well). Because social conditions were equated with racial origins 'assimilation' was visualised and treated as a long term process requiring the continuous maintenance of close controls. In practice such a situation would not end when all Aborigines accepted white values but would last until white society accepted black people as equals (as equal economic and political competitors, anyway).

'Assimilation' attempts proved a failure. It seemed that the greater was the attempt the more rigidly defined the difference in status and race between blacks and whites became. These failures in turn accentuated the white attitudes and prejudices. Failure was seen as the fault of the Aborigines themselves, and not of their own narrow mindedness and the accumulative results of discrimination and economic and political inequality.

Since the last world mass slaughter in the early 1940s a 'new' policy of 'integration' has been developed - however incoherent in content. Once again it was believed that government pronouncement would direct the Aborigines into social and economic 'integration' in white society - to which of course the blacks quite 'naturally' aspired. 'Integration' would ensure black group identity would be maintained - whatever was left of it (usually little except skin colour) - similarly to Jews and Italians. At least there was a modicum of recognition that Aboriginal identity was worthwhile preserving - though which features of this identity would be a matter for white government and white community selection. 'Integration' policy still revealed the same assimilationist mentality, and in practice encountered numerous difficulties in a society with such a high degree of race consciousness, prejudice and discriminatory behaviour. The problem still persists - the assumption that the blacks still required an indefinite period of training in order to achieve 'equality'. This coincides with the casual acceptance of present day inequality, few immediate solutions and the debarring of Aborigines from economic and political resources. A further problem is that all the state governments possess their own particular policies, including their own Departments of Aboriginal Affairs. There exists a great gulf between the slowly changing and modifying intentions of central



federal government and the situation in the various states, and even smaller localities within them. In all cases Aboriginal affairs are of low priority, there is little thorough innovation in this field. A further problem involves the tendency on the part of Aboriginal agencies to cater for the few successful 'well adapted', ambitious, 'non traditional' individuals. The rest are regarded as beyond help - at least in the 'near future.'

#### CONTEMPORARY AND TEMPORARY

The black Aborigines have the lowest social position in Australia, and are economically and politically powerless even today, as a direct result of past experience and unequal access to the country's resources. The state of Queensland is more reactionary (or non-actionary) and fascistic than the other states. Most Aborigines there live on mission or government settlements. District officers are able to control the wages and trust funds (pocket money - if you have pockets) of the few employed blacks. White (always white) reserve managers can arrest and incarcerate an Aboriginal for 'crimes' such as insolence, idleness or any behaviour he thinks is 'a menace to peace and good order.' Lorna Lippmann in her enlightening book *Words or Blows - Racial Attitudes in Australia*, carried out a number of surveys among blacks and whites in New South Wales. She discovered that the majority of Aboriginal community members lived in poverty, overcrowded dwellings, with minimal formal education and extremely high unemployment rates. Aborigines form one of the most deprived



Paintings from Chasm Island, Gulf of Carpentaria.  
A-Stickmen as fishermen with catfish.  
B-Two men.

ethnic (and racially defined) groups in the world, even in the more enlightened states. For example many young blacks have no income at all as they leave school at the age of 12 and are unable to get paid work or unemployment benefit (unobtainable till they are 16). 'Protected' Aborigines on reserves receive a quarter of the national average wage, when they do receive something. In many areas the situation, and the disparity in living standards between blacks and whites, is worsening.

In the state of Victoria the Aborigine population declined from 11,500 at the beginning of the last century to 50 in 1921 and has gradually increased since then. They are a small, largely dispersed and powerless minority unlike the blacks in the USA. They are politically impotent. Few have any degree of motivation to aspire and achieve in Australian society through channels such as education. Many of the recent Aborigine arrivals in towns in New South Wales have only just emerged from the reserves in a pitiful economic condition - they predominantly settle on the outskirts of white communities. The sudden change from one variety of existence to another (from a secluded mission life to an urban, economically competitive one) proved disturbing for the majority. Ingrained dependency



Typical "floral" or "protozoan" design on a coolaman

on the Welfare Board and christian benevolence was difficult to overthrow overnight, despite the fact that most Aborigines have a deep resentment of the Welfare Board - seeing it for what it is, little more than a tool of oppression and manipulation. Contemporary government plans provide a little assistance to the relatively successful, while the vast majority are left without adequate help or resources. The 'black fellow' has not been assimilated into white society, or integrated - if integration implies equality under the law and in economic and political conditions. Most of the black population constitute their own culture, though in numerous ways different from traditional Aboriginal culture. Probably no groups remain, even in the arid western desert regions, who have not experienced some degree of contact with white representatives. Aborigines still attempt to preserve their extended familial life styles and do not share the values of 'middle class' Australia, or more widespread white values - such as the upward social mobility, hard work, materialism or the nuclear, isolated family.

Concurrent with government failure it has been assumed that the administration, acting through its various bodies, must be improving the blacks' position and delivering great innovations. History has demonstrated the naivetes of this view. Policy was uncoordinated, with imprecise aims, directed towards some utopian, far distant future. It could have attempted more (if of course it had been genuinely concerned with the blacks) - with acts against discrimination in white areas (as in Britain) - in other words positive discrimination, an increase in employment opportunities (if the work ethic is to be applied to distinguish between the 'productive' and the 'unproductive'), the promotion of self-help, to name a few possibilities.

#### THE NEW ABORIGINES

During the 1960s and 70s the Aborigine voice has grown more audible; it is now even heard by some whites. The Aborigines have begun to organise themselves, and assert themselves as a group with certain definite interests. Protests, strikes, demands for rights and political activity have increased. Though these actions are often uncoordinated they all nevertheless contribute to eliminating the notion that Aborigines everywhere are helpless, inarticulate and inadequate. The young especially are becoming more militant and aware of their own possibilities. The Springbok rugby union tour in 1971 enabled the Aborigines to demonstrate the white Australians' disgusting hypocrisy in protesting about the position of the blacks in South Africa while totally ignoring racial discrimination on their own doorstep. Aboriginal individual and group consciousness has developed. They have initiated actions on their own behalf - as distinct from merely taking part in action by other groups (students, charities) on their behalf. Freedom marches, conferences on racialism, confrontation with the police, politicians, employers and publicans have all taken place, as has the creation of an Aboriginal embassy in tents on the lawn in front of Parliament House in Canberra in 1972. Aborigines now have a justifiable self-image as an embattled minority group, in conflict with white society and the Aboriginal institutions set up by that society.

As in all race relations situations everywhere in the world it is essential for the Aborigines to assert their own identity, which must be self-defined. They must not reinforce the image provided them by the dominant members of the white 'community' (and white values generally), or lose all identity completely in an amorphous mass society, or accept capitalist and state dominated structures. The latter would in fact imply

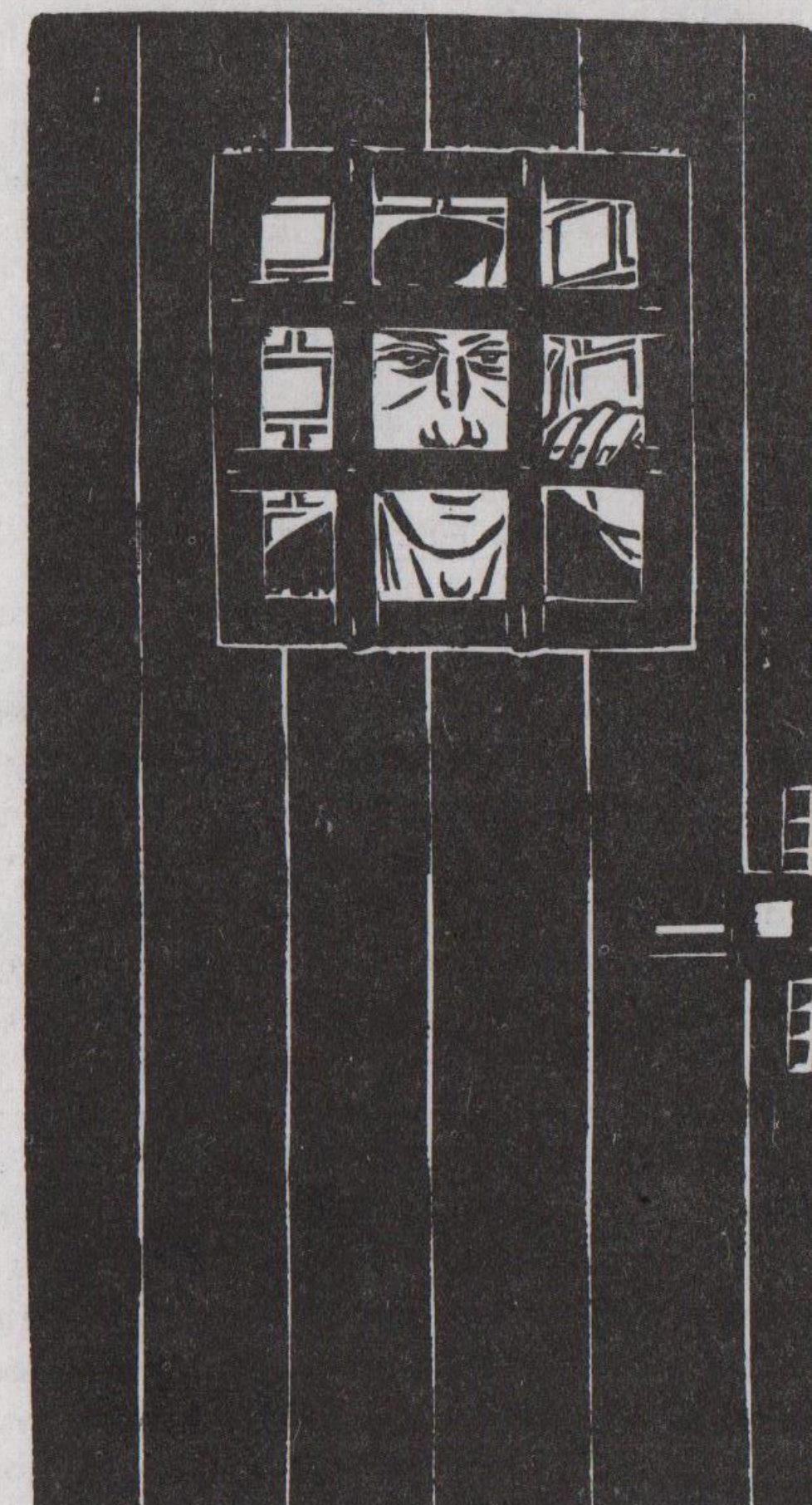
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becoming the standardised stereotyped white Australian. However, they could never become standardised, as they could not become white! This illustrates one of the major problems of race thinking. Even if the white society's underlying values were totally accepted and embraced, and the blacks lived up to other peoples' expectations, some of their characteristics (for example, skin colour) could still be selected by whites (whether openly, consciously, deliberately, or not) for discriminatory purposes. This has commonly been the case - so it is not surprising that suspicion and disillusion abound.

The upsurge of pan-Aboriginalism is significant, because the blacks realise their common position (whatever their particular cultural heritage or language) as a downtrodden, rejected minority. Attempts have been made to unite various Aborigines for some common purposes - the 'Pindan mob' in Western Australia, for instance, from 1946 onwards, brought together many Aborigines of differing backgrounds to pursue mutually sought rights. The diversity in the Aborigines' cultural, social and religious backgrounds has been rightly obscured by more immediate and more important considerations - primarily the struggle to manage their own affairs, and end consistent outside manipulation. The black population has stopped declining - from 125,000 at the beginning of this century it now stands at approximately 150,000.

It is vital for Aborigines, as for other immediate groups, to plan and direct their own programmes and satisfy their own aspirations. Many blacks are now demanding voluntary separation from white society. They seek a working mixture of the important values from their traditional culture, group self-identity coupled with economic and technological improvements - one of the few benefits (when available) from the dominant society. How far the idea and practice of self-management will

## THE BALLAD OF READING GAOL BY OSCAR WILDE



WITH WOODCUTS BY FRANS MASEREEL

Journeyman Chapbook No.1 Journeyman Press  
Obtainable Freedom Press £1.40 plus postage.

I know not whether Laws be right,  
Or whether Laws be wrong;  
All that we know who lie in gaol  
Is that the wall is strong;  
And that each day is like a year,  
A year whose days are long.

But this I know, that every Law  
That men have made for Man,

proceed we must wait and see - Aborigines have tried to provide their population with special services, including pre-school centres, legal defence, advice centres and housing schemes. The majority of the present programmes are the direct result of the trials and frustrations of Aborigines working voluntarily for their people for years. The main stumbling block with the white administration has always centred on land rights. A court case (extremely rare) in 1970 stipulated that the Yirkala clan in the Gove peninsula possessed no title to land in their traditional area, and instead judged in favour of Nabalco, a 75% Swiss-owned consortium. The return of tribal lands to their historical 'owners' still awaits implementation.

When a group of Aborigines landed on the Kent coast a few months ago and claimed Britain for themselves - and then decided that they did not want to be lumbered with it anyway - they were not merely re-enacting and reversing Cook's (and the British government's) thieving, but were symbolically demonstrating that Aborigines were at last beginning to concretely stand up for themselves. Traditional Aboriginal society was long ago destroyed in most of the continent; Aborigines have faced murder, starvation, disease, rejection, confinement, rape, subjection, insult and non-acceptance in white society. They have received little useful help in the past, or help for the wrong reasons, and the wrong sort of help from the wrong sources. But they will survive in Australia even if the remaining vestiges of their traditions perish. Their numbers are steadily increasing, and they will remain dark-skinned despite governmental policy and popular pressure to the contrary.

The second half of this essay by JAN, on 'Aborigines as Anarchists' and 'Anarchists as Aborigines' will follow in the next issue. For the first two articles in the series see FREEDOM vol. 39 no. 2 (4 February) and no. 8 (29 April).

Since first Man took his brother's life,  
And sad world began,  
But straws the wheat and saves the chaff  
With a most evil fan.

This too I know -- and wise it were  
If each could know the same --  
That every prison that men build  
Is built with bricks of shame,  
And bound with bars lest Christ should see  
How men their brothers maim.

When one reads these words one thinks particularly of ones comrades recently jailed. I read this poem as a schoolboy not at school but from my father's bookshelves with Shelley, Blake, D.H. Lawrence and others. I still count it as one of the most moving poems I have ever read.

It relates so simply and directly to human experience -- it relates to a devastating experience of a sensitive man brought directly in touch with the derelict and deprived. The antithesis of privilege.

Power and privilege destroys compassion. There is a moving condemnation of the death penalty which must be among the best written. It is this advance of human compassion that the Thatchers of this world wish to reverse.

For as Wilde points out there are many ways of killing people and in this affluent age it is as well to remember that one person's affluence is another's poverty.

Some kill their love when they are young,  
And some when they are old;  
Some strangle with the hands of Lust,  
Some with the hands of Gold;  
The kindest use a knife, because  
The dead soon grow cold.

Some love too little, some too long,  
Some sell, and others buy;  
Some do the deed with many tears,  
And some without a sigh:  
For each man kills the thing he loves,  
Yet each man does not die.

One wonders whether simple words still have the power to move in these days of technical satiation I hope so, this ballad is well worth the reprinting perhaps some benefactor could have it distributed to the Conservative party conference. The wood cuts of Masereel's add perfectly to the poem.

Alan Albon



# ANARCHISTS, FREEDOM &

## PARTIES

ANARCHISTS ARE concerned with human freedom. They object to all existing society because it prevents people running their own lives. In the 'free world' and the 'communist world' varying forms of capitalism \* dominate and manipulate the individual in all aspects of his daily life.

To dominate people effectively, rulers everywhere proclaim that ordinary people are incapable of 'understanding' the intricacies of the modern world and their only solution lies in 'correct leadership'—in a 'disciplined' 'vanguard' 'party' that 'understands' the social processes and can guide the ignorant masses to the new society.

"Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers only from without", wrote Lenin in his 'What is to be Done' (his emphasis).

"Just as the blacksmith cannot seize the red hot iron in his naked hand, so the proletariat cannot directly seize the power; it has to have an organ accommodated to this task," added Trotsky in his 'History of the Russian Revolution'.

Recent 'defeats' in Britain are because the workers "had no trusted organization which could show the way to the new social order," says Paul Foot in his 'Why You Should Be a Socialist'.

Those who rule find the 'party' an effective means of controlling the ruled. That this is true of the extreme 'right' is widely known—the Nazis and fascists made no secret of their dependence on the authoritarian party, their Fuhrer and Duce. But there is a widely believed mythology successfully making the authoritarianism of the 'left'.

Just look at a few snippets from Trotsky in the early years of bolshevik rule:

"The working class cannot be left wandering all over Russia," he told the 9th Congress of the Party. "They must be here and there, appointed, commanded, just like soldiers...compulsion of labour will reach the highest degree of intensity during the transition from capitalism to socialism...deserters from labour ought to be formed into punitive battalions or put into concentration camps."

"...that free labour is more productive than compulsory labour... is not true for the transition to the socialist order...and no serious socialist will deny the right of the Labour State to lay its hands upon the worker who refuses..."

"The young workers' state requires trade unions not for a struggle for better conditions of labour...but to organise the working class for the ends of production."

From here it is a logical step to see the 'party' as above those it claims to represent.

Thus Trotsky, with the full support of Lenin, attacked the Workers' Opposition in 1921, in the following terms:

"They have come out with dangerous slogans. They have made a fetish of democratic principles. They have placed the workers' right to elect representatives above the Party. As if the Party were not entitled to assert its dictatorship even if that dictatorship temporarily clashed with the passing mood of the workers' democracy."

These quotations trace the consolidation of the Bolshevik 'party' dictatorship.

In its beginnings the Russian Revolution represented something very different. 'Soviet' rule was self rule, and autonomous soviets, or councils had sprung up throughout the country. Some were based on places of work, factories, rail depots etc., and some on localities. All were based on grass roots democracy—all delegates were elected, all were revocable. In fact the soviet represented just the sort of rank-and-file management of affairs that anarchists fight for—which is why anarchists were positively involved during the events of 1917.

The Petrograd Soviet Military Revolutionary Committee included four anarchists; indeed the soldiers who dissolved the Constituent Assembly and dispersed the deputies were 'led' by the anarchist Zhelezniakov, a sailor from Kronstadt. "All Power to the Soviets" was originally an anarchist slogan, and was adopted by the Bolsheviks for purely opportunist reasons after it had become a popular demand. Following their 'coup' the communists set about dismantling 'soviet' power and replacing it with 'party' power. In the process not only anarchists, but all other political parties, and indeed all opposing factions within the bolshevik party itself, were suppressed. Anarchists are not puzzled by

the fact that the Soviet Union today is one of the most totally repressive regimes in history. What else could have developed from the victory of bolshevik philosophy?

On the road to power 'party' politicians pay lip service to democracy from below, not because they believe it, but because its advocacy wins the support needed to 'capture' the state apparatus. Like Lenin, the party politicians might write a 'State and Revolution', talk about every cook running the state, and adopt all the popular anarchist slogans of the day...but again, like Lenin, when the power is captured:

"Can any worker administer the state? Practical people know that that is fantasy..."

And what about the 'State and Revolution'? ..."Syndicalist nonsense...to be thrown into a waste-basket."

All a 'disciplined, vanguard party' will do (can do) is create a society in its own image, repeat what hundreds of other parties have done in the name of the 'revolution', install a new, more rationalized, dictatorship. Those who separate ends and means, those who believe an authoritarian 'party' can conquer society FOR the people are the true 'utopians'.

In every society working people are born in bondage, working class children grow up seeing their parents being told what to do by an employer, policeman and council or government official. Is it surprising they see this state of affairs as being the 'natural order of things', especially when that belief is reinforced by all the media, and in particular by the self-styled revolutionary organizations?

True revolutionaries must challenge these beliefs.

We do not need leaders!

We do not need government!

We know ordinary people ARE capable of running their own lives!

Genuine revolutionary activity is any action that hits back at those 'leadership' ideas, wherever they are found. It is any activity that helps demonstrate that workers can do without bosses and 'leaders'. It is any activity that tells workers how others have successfully fought and organized, in the contemporary world or in the past. It is any activity that builds the self-confidence of the ordinary 'man in the street'. It is not offering 'alternative' leadership.

Every worker who tells the 'party', the 'union' or the 'boss' to get stuffed, and with his fellows begins organizing his own life, deciding when he'll work, how he'll work, what he'll do with his leisure, and so on, is already building the free society. Every action that enhances workers' confidence in themselves is a creative and meaningful revolutionary action, as surely as any action that deprives the worker of self-confidence, encourages him to believe he needs a 'leader', a 'party', strengthens the existing society, perpetuates the division of order-givers and order-taker, and is 'counter-revolutionary'.

This is how an anarchist sees revolutionary activity. This is why an anarchist sees joining or supporting a 'party' as a fundamentally reactionary act.

BOB POTTER.

\*I use the word 'capitalist' in a strictly Marxist sense, i.e. a society where people work for wages, produce a surplus which accumulates capital.

In the West there are still 'individual' capitalists, although their importance is declining rapidly. In the East the state itself is the 'personification' of capital, as Marx himself expected would be the case in 'advanced' capitalism.

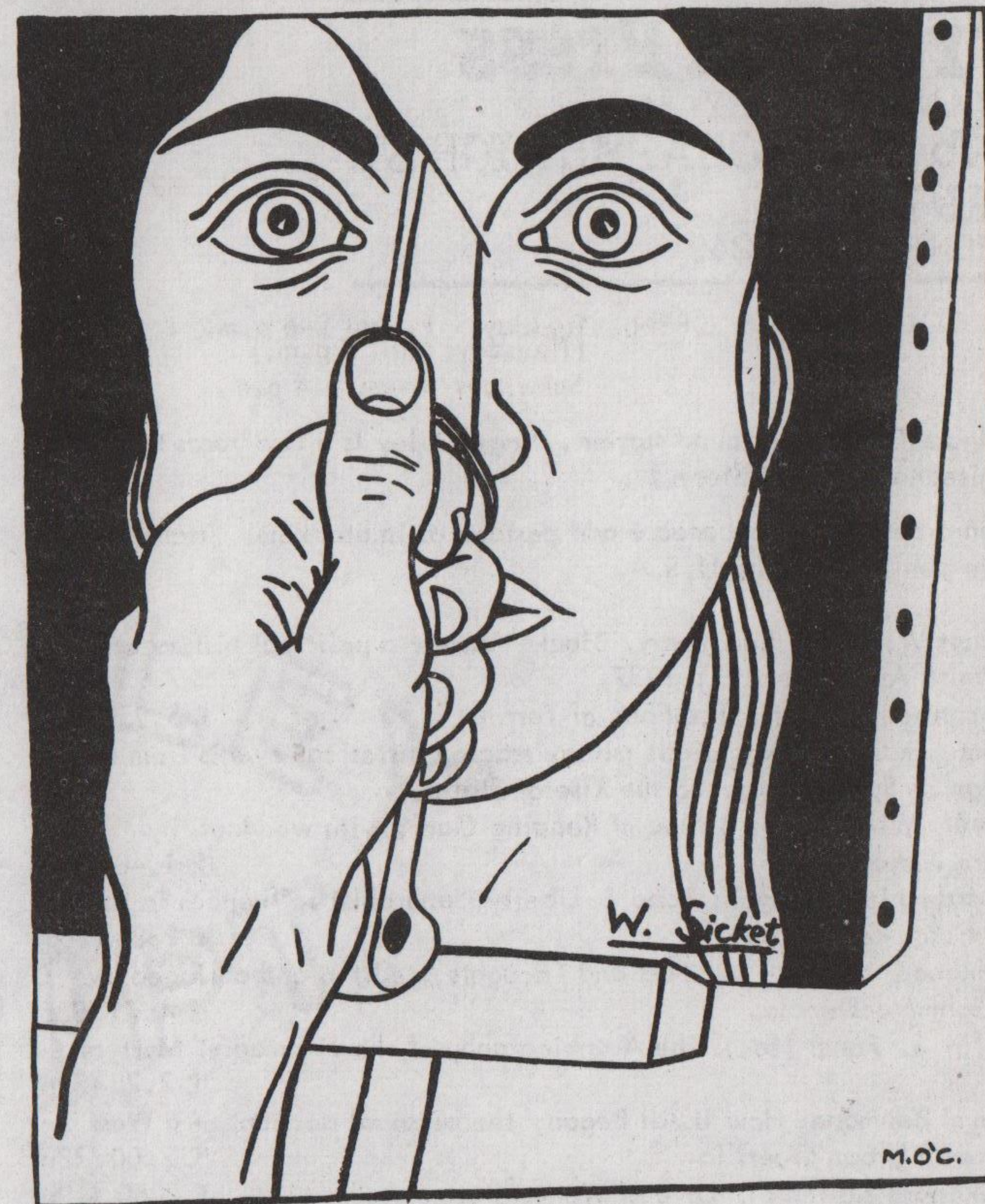
(See esp. Capital Vol.III)

# talking of murder

THERE are certain myths so obviously false that only laziness and/or pure pig ignorance can be responsible for their continuing circulation. One can argue that much of this is of little import but when certain evidence is paraded in a Bond Street art gallery and one of the great towering temples of the London art world Edward Lucie-Smith, who I will not name, arrives at, in my most humble of judgements, opinions that are completely contradictory to the work on exhibition then I claim a primitive right to blow my cool.

Browse & Darby are parading the paintings of the late Walter Sickert and here was an artist obsessed with death within a joyless world of his own creation. With his muddy palette of dirty brown and grey he reduced everything from murder to music hall into a shadowed hell of his continual creations. Lucie-Smith writes of Sickert's 'warm and subdued' colouring and even brings in the Fauves, a group of minor 1905 painters whose single claim to fame is their bold use of colour. All this is of minor importance. It is Lucie-Smith's claim that the 'truth is that Sickert was at heart a puritan', then one can only conclude that Cromwell's Roundheads were not the Squares that Tory historians have written them off as. The London anarchist movements by the nature of their stamping grounds and the police and private investigatory fact findings and myth makings have had a continuing interest in the Jack the Ripper murders and Sickert was involved in the whole black comedy as a contender, with the anarchists, members of the royal family and odd ball members of the bolshevik secret police (waiting to take office) as murder suspects.

Running parallel with the grimy Tottenham Court Road is Cleveland Street and prior to the Ripper murders there was a fashionable Gay Lib club within that street and one of its patrons was Prince Edward the son of Princess Alexandra. It is claimed, and documents have been produced, that he formed a morganic marriage with a young shop assistant Annie Cook. It was this that triggered off the blackmail plots and the Ripper murders after the police raid of the Gay Lib club and the hatchet man for the murder of the interwoven group of blackmailing Whitechapel prostitutes was a Sir William Withey Gull, Royal abortionist, mass murderer and dedicated doctor. Sickert's role in this bloody mess was as finger man, back up artist and free lance murderer for it is claimed that Sickert was the intimate friend of the Prince and that when Annie gave birth to a girl child within Marylebone Workhouse it was Sickert who removed the child to France. The argument has been made that Britain in the '80s was in a ferment of industrial and republican unrest and Salisbury the Prime Minister felt that a Nixon type of cover up was needed and it was left to Sir William Gull, Physician in Ordinary to Queen Victoria to silence the blackmailing east and prostitute Mary Kelly and Gull and Sickert the painter achieved this by slaughtering five unfortunate east end prostitutes of whom Mary Kelly's murder on the 9th November 1888 was the end of the murderous means working on the simple principle of losing clues in a general mindless carnage. Sickert was no dim little academic painter but a man who moved within the Royal circle, the male brothels and the fashionable intellectual playground of his time. That the State went to extraordinary lengths to try to hush up evidences relating to the Ripper murders cannot be denied. If it had been some ghastly local slob murdering for perverted pleasure, as I believe it was, or the killings of a Pedachenko on behalf of the Russian secret police to bring the full force of the British law down on the British anarchists of the day then the British authorities would have been happy and willing to lift stones but they covered up and up and up. The reason is, in my opinion, a matter of geography and in the tough life



of men such as the painter Sickert for in that pre-television age your actual Royals and the gelled and the belted had to find their carnal or their raucous pleasures in the slums and the stews of the town and Sickert played Fairstaff to Queen Victoria's princeling but that grandson of Victoria was no King Henry and Sickert was no Falstaff to be brushed aside for Sickert knew to many dirty secrets to be silenced. Sickert was an indifferent art tutor to the Prince, a guest at the Gay Lib brothel, a disposer of bodies living and dead and, a point that is seldom mentioned in the 'lives of Oscar Wilde' a few doors from Wilde's house in Tite Street was the house of Miles the brother of the Prince's equerry and he was a former lover of Oscar Wilde and Sickert was a friend and visitor to those cosy nooks in Chelsea's Tite Street.

If the fact that Sickert and Melville Macnaghten 1889 Scotland Yard crim boss were both members of the Garrick Club off the Charing Cross Road and party sharers at Oscar's pad in Tite Street then Sickert's personal involvement with the Ripper murders becomes more than questionable. The paintings at the Browse & Darby gallery and Lucie-Smith's review give an image of a dim academic minor English painter but what would destroy this myth is if such paintings as Sickert's The Camden Town Murder based on the Mary Kelly killing, Blackmail, La Hollandaise with its Bacon corrupted face and slack nude body were on display. Even his best known painting Ennui is said to contain a clue to the ripper murders with the tiny painted gull (Sir William Gull) floating behind the painted portrait of Queen Victoria within the painting. Sickert was too much in love with death and the joyless pleasure of his time and that path took him to the royal palaces, to the expensive male brothels off the Tottenham Court Road, to the intellectual playground of fashionable Chelsea, to the respectable clubs and into the Whitechapel slums and the company of the doomed prostitutes of that awful metropolitan hell. Sickert died in 1942 in our life time and the streets, the houses and many of the people involved in the Ripper murders were still living in that year and the Bond Street dealers and the national art critics who give a false picture of this minor morbid painter are doing no more than those who did the Watergate cover up be it through ignorance or indifference. Maybe the Duke and Sickert's involvement in the murders of these five women will one day be revealed but age has turned truth into unimportant history as the last witnesses die off. And there but minutes walk away is the Fine Arts Gallery, that Marks & Spencers

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