

FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

WE WELCOME News, reviews, articles, letters, cartoons...etc. Copy deadline for next issue, **Monday 4th December**. Send to Editors, **FREEDOM**, 84b White-chapel High Street (Angel Alley), London E1.

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE:
Thursday 7th December

International

New South Wales
Black Ram, PO Box 238, Darlinghurst, NSW 2010
Disintegrator! PO Box 291, Bondi Junction, Sydney, NSW
Sydney Anarcho-Syndicalists, Jura Books Collective, 417 King Street, Newtown, NSW 2042
Sydney Libertarians, PO Box 24, Darlinghurst, NSW 2010

Queensland
Libertarian Socialist Organisation, PO Box 268, Mt Gravatt, Central 4122
Self-Management Organisation, PO Box 332, North Quay, Queensland

Victoria
La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o SRC, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic. 3083
Monash Anarchist Society, c/o Monash University, Clayton, 3168 Melbourne

South Australia
Adelaide Anarchists, PO Box 67, North Adelaide, 5006

Western Australia
Freedom Collective, PO Box 14, Mount Hawthorn, 6018

TASMANIA
c/o 34 Kennedy St, Launceston 7250

NEW ZEALAND
PO Box 2052 Auckland
PO Box 22-607 Christchurch
Daybreak Bookshop, PO Box 5424 Dunedin

CANADA
Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, BC. Write for information on activities.

USA
Minnesota: Soil of Liberty, Box 7056, Powderhorn Station, Minneapolis, Minn. 55407
Missouri: Columbia, MO 65201
New York: Libertarian Book Club, Box 842, GPO, New York, NY 10012
SRAF/Freespace Alternative U, 339 Lafayette St, NYC, NY 10012
San Francisco: Free Socialist, PO Box 1751, San Francisco, CA 94101
Texas: Houston SRAF, South Post Oak Station, PO Box 35253, Houston, TX 77035

WESTERN EUROPE

DENMARK
Aarhus: Regnbuen Anarkist Bogcafe, Mejlgaade 48, 8000 Aarhus
Copenhagen: Anarkist-Synd, Bogcafe, Studiestraede 18, 1455 Copenhagen

Christiania: Write Stot Christiania, Dronningensgade 14, 1420 Copenhagen

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Baden: Karin Bauer, Info-Büro, Postfach 161, 717 Schwäbisch Hall
Berlin: Anarkistische Bund, Publishers of 'Anarkistische Texte', c/o Libertad Verlag, Postfach 153, 1000 Berlin 44

'Gewaltfreie Aktion' (non-violent action) groups throughout FRG, associated WRI. For information write Karl-Heinz Sang, Methfesselstr. 69, 2000 Hamburg 19

Hamburg: Initiative Freie Arbeiter Union (Anarcho-syndicalists). FAU, Repsoldstr. 49, Hochpaterre links, 2000 Hamburg 1.

Ostwestfalen: Anarkistische Föderation Ostwestfalen-Lippe (Eastwest-falian anarchist federation). Wolfgang Fabisch, c/o Wohngemeinschaft Schwarzwurzel, Wöhrener Str. 138, 4970 Bad Oeynhausen 2.

FRANCE

Paris: Federation anarchiste francaise, 3 rue Ternaux, 75011 Paris

ITALY

Roma: Gruppo Hem Day, c/o Giovanni Trapani, via A. Tittoni, 5-00153 Rome

SWEDEN

Frihetlige Forum, Landsvagsatan 19, 41304 04 GÖTEBORG.

Frihetligt Forum, Renstiernsgata 51, 11631 STOCKHOLM.

Revolutionära Anarkisters Organisation, Box 11075, S-100 61 STOCKHOLM.

Literature

Aberdeen Libertarian Socialist Group have produced an lp. each (minimum order 25) assorted equal numbers of six stickers. They are all black on red with an A sign, ready for that snap election. The words: 'Anarchists Warning: Governments can seriously Damage your Health: 'whoever you vote for the government always gets in': 'Don't Vote - It Only Encourages Them': 'there's no government like no government': 'Elect-an Dav: Tweedledum or Tweedledee'. ' Bullshit'.

Aberdeen can be contacted c/o 163 King St, Aberdeen.

Pagan Cards are Christmas cards freed from doctrine. Each has a traditional carol restored to its folk-song original, and an African-type illustration. They are 75p. for the set of six, from Norman Iles, 381 Marine Road, Morecambe, Lancs.

Freedom Press
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84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH ST.
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Meetings

SISTERWRITE. A cooperative women's bookshop, 190 Upper Street, London N1 (nr. Highbury tube - 359-3573). Opening to the public on 30 November Monday to Friday: 11.00 - 7.00. Saturday: 10.00 - 6.00. Sisterwrite will be carrying a large stock of British and American feminist books, ranging from Women's Studies, politics and history to more general literature of particular interest to women. Posters, records and journals will also be available. There will be a comprehensive mail order service and catalogues in the near future. For more details, contact: Lynn Alderson, Mary Coghill or Kay Stirling, 139 Fieldgate Mansions, Romford Street, London E.1.

LONDON. Today, 25 November. Demonstration outside Soviet embassy, Kensington Palace Gardens, 2 pm. Organised by London Gay Activists Alliance and Campaign for Homosexual Equality, to protest at imprisonment and persecution of gays in USSR - especially gaoling of Gennady Trifonov and disappearance of Sergei Paradjanov.

Saturday, 2 December. JAIL conference on 'Whose Law and Order', at North London Polytechnic, Holloway Rd, London N7, 9.45 - 5.30. Entrance fee: £1.00, claimants, 50p. Subjects include: Persons Unknown: the criminalisation of political organisation; the PTA, the Diplock Courts in N. Ireland; legal repression in West Germany.

OUT NOW!!

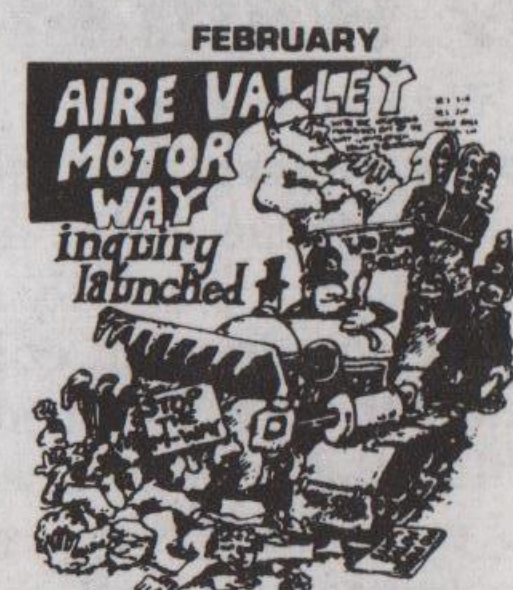
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18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28			



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20p

Explosive substances



returned to suspect

THE prosecution's 'evidence' in the 'Persons Unknown' case is getting increasingly flimsy. From their peak about three months ago with six dangerous terrorists held in maximum security, hints that more would be brought to justice soon, justification for swamping Lambeth with armed police every week, the whole bit, there has been a steadily accelerating slide in police credibility. If you would recall all six were held for 'conspiracy to cause explosions' plus a ragbag of other counts. Then, their insistence that the prisoners were all too dangerous to be allowed out without (or even with) a keeper, looked a bit tattered as Trevor Dawton was given bail. Then Iris Mills, so fiendish she had to be held in a men's prison, was also bailed. The police, still not moving towards a date for committal for trial proceedings, were forced to show a little of their hand and very hollow it looked.

'Conspiracy' dropped

Now it is so hollow as to be positively vacuous. They have finally submitted their case to the legal establishment. Not, as usual, to the Director of Public Prosecutions, but 'because of the gravity of the charges' to the Attorney General. Apparently, for some reason, the conspiracy charges against Vince and Trevor were not submitted so they have been dropped by default. Well, Sam Silkin must be feeling a bit vulnerable these days what with criticism over the ABC case and the like. He's been a bit clumsy

before such as with the BWNIC 14 and now actually seems to be learning his lesson. He 'refused his fiat' for the four conspiracy charges so the six assertions which were the prosecution's mainstay have disappeared. They have been replaced by 'conspiracy to rob'. On top of this everybody still has their other odd charges and Iris and Roman have been additionally charged with possession under section 4 of the Explosives Substances Act (our old friends, the weedkiller, flour and sugar). Iris has had the flour and sugar returned to her (see last issue, also photo above - frightening, isn't it? She commented this weekend 'From now on dandelions are my favourite flowers').

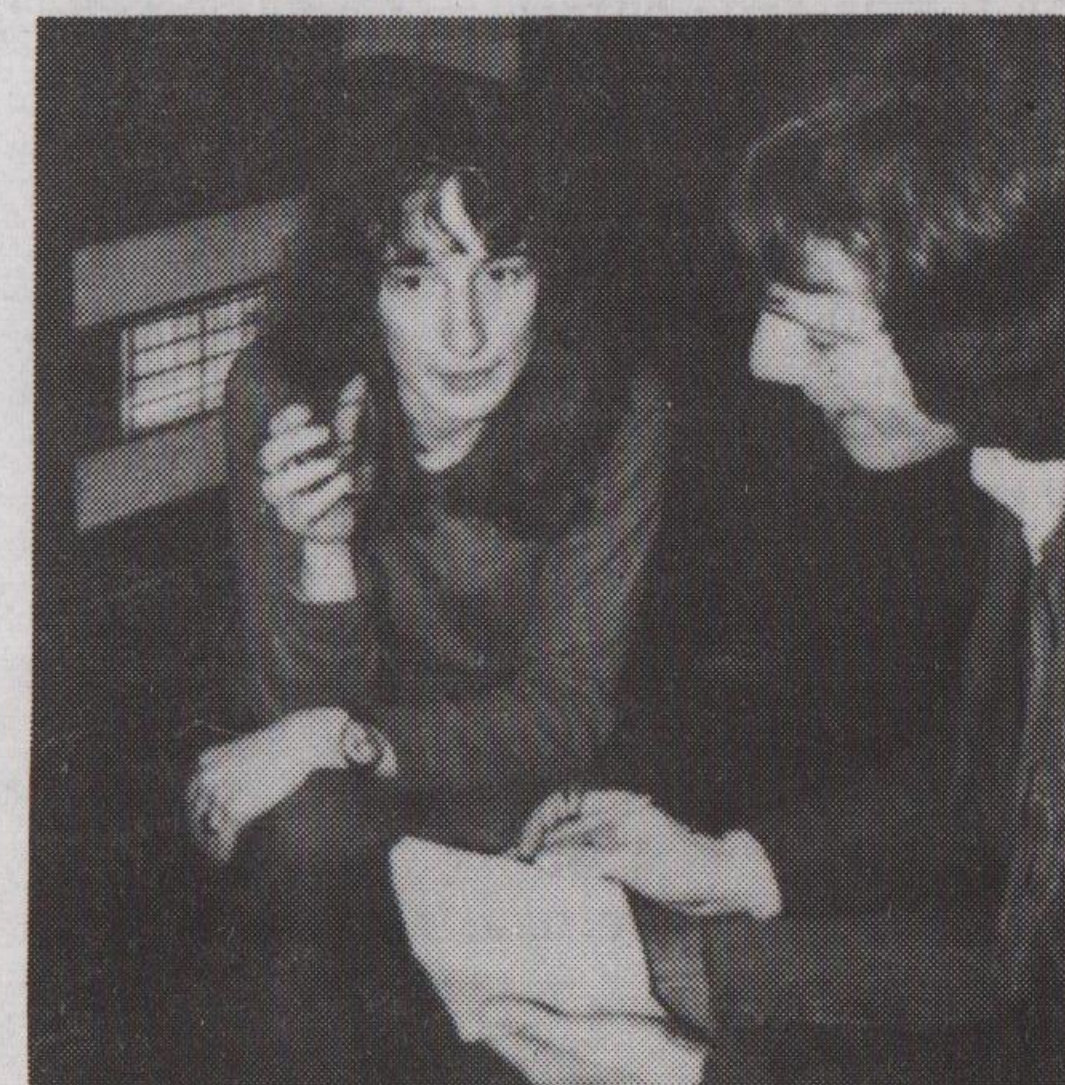
The defence have now seen the prosecution case and it looks as if a date for the committals will be set this week or next (six months after the first arrests). They might fit them in before the Christmas holidays. And that's only the committals. The trial will be months after that and four of our comrades are still in there.

Comrades throughout the country are asked to prepare for a week of intense activity leading up to the committals. If these are to be before Christmas there will be very little warning. The activities will include demonstrations, leafleting, picketing and much more. Please contact your local support group (see p.3).

Perhaps when the committals start the national press may do something about their dreadful record on the case. There has been a bit of patchy coverage in the 'quality' press, nothing but the

original 'shock horror' sensation in the rest. The dropping of the conspiracy to cause explosions charges has passed unremarked. It may be that now their eyes have been opened by ABC, which affects them (Freedom of the Press and all that) they will notice some more aspects of the state's activities. We leave that up to you).

One of these aspects, the treatment of 'top security' women prisoners on remand, is being discussed at a meeting in the House of Commons this Tuesday (21st). Organised by the MP Tom Litterick in conjunction with Iris Mills and members of 'Persons Unknown', it will be attracting the attention, among other bodies, of the NCCL and Howard League for Penal Reform. And to coincide with the meeting the Friends of Astrid Proll are holding a torchlight picket outside Brixton prison.



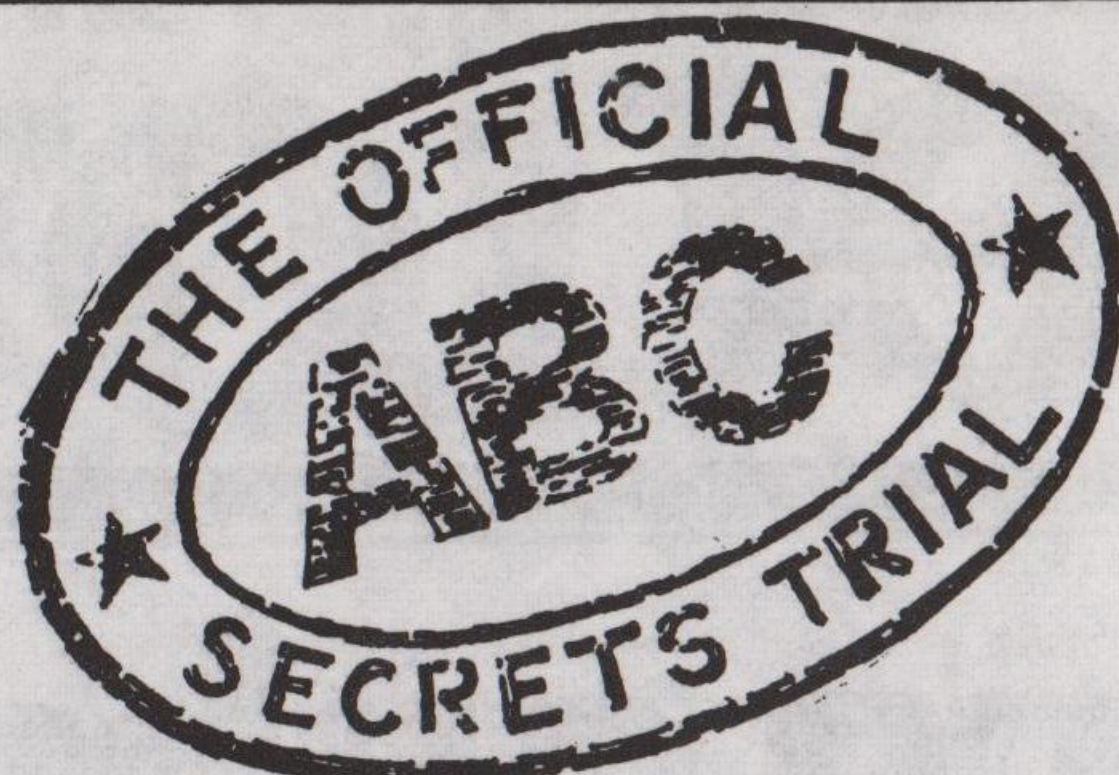
WELL, as I've no doubt you don't need me to tell you, the ABC trial is over. The state has really made a fool of itself, by overreaching and pettiness. As the charges around the 'Persons Unknown' continue to dissolve, let's look forward to a similar outcome. Not that the ABC's is entirely a victory; there's huge costs to find.

To sum the thing up: Duncan Campbell is a free-lance journalist, specialising in communications. In May 1976, together with Mark Hosenball, he wrote an article called "The Eavesdroppers" which was printed in *Time Out*. This was about SIGINT, the government's organisation (technically illegal but standard practice) for monitoring electronic communications. When Hosenball, along with Agee, was threatened with deportation, John Berry, who had been a corporal in SIGINT, approached the Defence Committee, as he thought that the article may have had something to do with the threat. He himself was worried about the power and unaccountability of SIGINT. Crispin Aubrey of *Time Out* was to interview Berry and he called in Duncan Campbell's technical knowledge. The interview took place at Campbell's and revealed little that Duncan hadn't put together for himself from open sources. Crispin was lost and bored throughout the proceedings. When they left they found the police waiting outside, presumably alerted by phone tapping. They were arrested, held for 40 hours incommunicado, and then charged under the wonderful catchall section 2 of the Official Secrets Act.

Media opinion was horrified. Freedom of the Press was threatened. It appeared that any journalist doing his or her job was threatened by the Act every time s/he looked into anything concerned with government. After all, as the Director General of Intelligence told the Frank investigation into the OSA, "It is an official secret if it is in an official trial". The Frank Report itself caused further scandal; its recommendations were to have reformed the Act, the Labour government was 'committed' to such reform. In fact, of course, the government has let it be known that it has no intention of any meaningful revision of the Act, and Duncan, Crispin and John would have come within the scope of its new manifestation. Surprise, surprise.

It looked bad. It seemed that the three were going to be done. The Act (in its standing and proposed forms) is so vague and all embracing that they could not but be convicted. But the state overreached itself. It showed extreme vindictiveness. Duncan's flat was turned over and his filing cabinet arrested. Anyone linked with the defence campaign was harassed. A research student who had happened to write to Duncan was picked up and held, though never charged. The charges were steadily upped. Counts under section 1, designed for foreign spies and saboteurs, were brought. There have been repeated official reassurances that this would never be used against journalists. Then came the committal proceedings, with all the farce with Colonel B.

So, we eventually came to the trial, with a total of 11 charges. The first trial dissolved in chaos. By the time the second one started the establishment had begun to realise that it had gone a



bit too far and the most serious charge (under section 1, against Duncan) was dropped. The defence's case was that the information that they had collected was freely available anyway, that Merlyn Rees had made a statement that the receiving of information would not come under the Act and that it was in the public good. The prosecution said that it didn't matter if everybody knew it; if the state chose to call something a secret, then a secret it was. (This apparently, applies in retrospect. For example, for the second trial the name and location of John Berry's old base in Cyprus was a secret, despite the fact that it had been named in the first trial and reported in the newspapers. The location and use of the SIGINT headquarters in Cheltenham was likewise a sensitive matter, despite the presence in court of a graduate recruiting brochure, containing a photo and the address. And now, at the HQ's annual prizegiving ceremony, they complain that they can't get recruits due to lack of publicity). Further charges were dropped, eventually leaving only one each. Basically that John Berry had spoken about his ex-work, that Duncan Campbell had listened to him (and more, he had actually asked questions) and that Crispin Aubrey had helped the two to meet.

With the nature of the Official Secrets Act they were bound to be found guilty. Anybody would be. But even this had its dubious side; the judge actually directed the jury to find John Berry guilty. There is now some discussion about whether he's allowed to do things like that! As it ended up John Berry got a suspended sentence, Crispin Aubrey and Duncan Campbell got conditional discharges. Which is perhaps as good as we could hope for in the circumstances. But, the dark side, the 'costs', amounting to some £20,000 have to be found. The actual cost to the taxpayer is estimated at £250,000.

So, why did they bring the case! The Attorney General is coming in for considerable criticism for allowing it to continue. There are some indications that it all got somewhat out of his control, which casts doubt on his competence as well as on his judgement. Basically, these laws can be used on anybody, that's what they are designed for. The variable is, the decision of the state when to use them. So what was the crucial factor in this case? It's blatantly obvious that the information involved is comparatively trivial. The involvement with Mark Hosenball might have contributed. What we have is a decision to make an example of somebody. Once it was underway the endemic paranoia and pettiness of officialdom escalated. Liberal opinion is horrified by the events, and has the

opportunity to say 'told you so, the Act must be reformed'. But we are in a position to say 'told you so' on a deeper level (as usual!) As anarchists we recognise that this sort of thing is built into the nature of the state. The state is trying to tighten up. They have their range of useful all-purpose legislation, the OSA, Prevention of Terrorism Act, Criminal Trespass Law, the conspiracy laws. The police are getting more truculent and demanding more powers. And every now and again they dip their toes in and test the currents. There's 'Persons Unknown' for instance. And there's this case. Here they didn't get away with too much. But remember that the three were found guilty and have, in effect, been given heavy fines. And the chances of a repetition? After all, the Act must be reformed now, mustn't it? Some people never learn. A quote from the trial judge, when the defending counsel hoped that section 2 of the Act was now too discredited to be used again: "I beg leave to doubt that".

In fact even the notorious section (never will be used against journalists, remember?) has been wheeled out in dubious circumstances. In 1959 *Isis* (the Oxford University magazine) was charged under sections 1 and 2 for printing information on - any guesses? - Signals Intelligence. They pleaded guilty to the section 2 charge and the section 1 was dropped. There were two sentences, of 3 months and 6 months. In 1962 six full-time workers of the Committee of 100 were charged with conspiracy to violate section 1, for organising a demo at a RAF base. A year later there was a demo at the Marham Air Base, people who crossed the wire fence were to be charged under section 1, but as they ended up with about 200 of them, it was dropped in favour of obstruction. These are the sort of issues that the defence campaign has brought out. They are also interested in the workings of section 2 and feel that it will be useful to join the pressure for a 'Freedom of Information Act', so that this can be exposed as a sham as well. Other useful issues arising from the campaign are the whole question of the Intelligence surveys and who, if anybody, they are accountable to (answers please, on a postcard to Col. Hugh A. Johnstone...). In fact there is the whole question of what is a secret and who says so. There are the legalistic angles to investigate - the rigging of juries, the use of contempt of court laws (eg. reporting restrictions, the Col. B affair; incidentally, the appeal in the Col. B. comes on in the Lords on 27 November), the powers of the Attorney General and much, much more. Then there is the unofficial secrecy, the de facto decisions of local government bureaucrats and the like. So the net effect of the whole affair has been to expose SIGINT and to set people looking into related matters. Precisely what it was supposed to stifle. A positive step already is the publication of 'Region 1' and 'Region 6', pamphlets investigating the 'state's plans for repression' in the North East and Brighton. So let's be positive. Duncan, Aubrey and John are free. And now we must work for a successful conclusion to the 'Persons Unknown' case.

DP

FROM:— PERSONS UNKNOWN

Comrades

In reply to Alan Westfall's article about the Manchester Persons Unknown workshop (FREEDOM, 28th October). Firstly, to talk of the State's initial attack on these six people as being a matter of 'Black Flag and the police force playing at cops and robbers again' is astonishing. Any attack by the state on any section of the anarchist movement ought to be of concern to anyone calling themselves anarchists. The fact that the defence committees have been harassed is only a development of this attack. The implication of this particular comment is that if there had been no organisation around the case of the six, and this had not met with police opposition, the six themselves could have been consigned to a small paragraph in the anarchist press.



The article is right in saying that we have failed to adequately counter state propaganda and communicate effectively, though given the number of people involved in Persons Unknown this is an easy criticism. Aside from the general problem of state control of the media, it glosses over the problem of how to communicate with people likely to be sympathetic, and this has to be a reflection on the movement as a whole. It's not just our problem that people don't know what anarchists or the nature of state oppression means. It points to the failure of anarchists generally to relate to the left and to the wider population.

We call ourselves a support group for the six and this must be our main function. In addition we are trying to:

1. analyse the political nature of this particular state conspiracy;
2. develop an analysis of the current political developments in Britain and Europe that have created the situation within which the state is free to perpetuate and develop its means of oppression without opposition. Something which all too few anarchist and left groups are tackling to our knowledge.

Bearing that in mind, to criticise our stickers and our choice of name is a little superficial, particularly since the implication of this criticism seems to be that there is nothing to fear. The gap between the state's activities and general consciousness of them is already too great for us to be afraid of creating paranoia by exposing it.

The 'Free the Six and Fight Back' leaflet is an attempt at a political statement and hence aimed at those likely to be sympathetic and responsive, it was not designed for handing out in the street but to stimulate discussion and promote action. We do not see our role as that of directing other support groups or individuals in the ways to act against state repression, whether specifically in relation to this case or more widely. And leaflets for 'provincial centres' have to be written by those living in them.

It is not true that we feel 'the only defence should be to accept any charges made against them (the six), any wild accusations of the most grotesque nature and simply say "so what"'. The fact that someone can gain this impression is to some extent our responsibility in not adequately communicating the facts of the case. But this ignores the problem that until the committals (date to be set as this goes to press) and the official presentation of the state's charges and allegations as opposed to the hints and suggestions emerging at remand hearings, which are all we have to date, we only do the state's work in responding to their 'wild accusations' publically.

It's said that 'if the facts and our reasoning are explained properly our case will help in mobilising anti-state feeling and activity... and this is what isn't being done'. We agree that the problems of communicating are crucial to the success of the campaign and that there is a very real distinction between communicating with anarchists, libertarians and the left, and communicating with the 'bulk of the population'. We feel

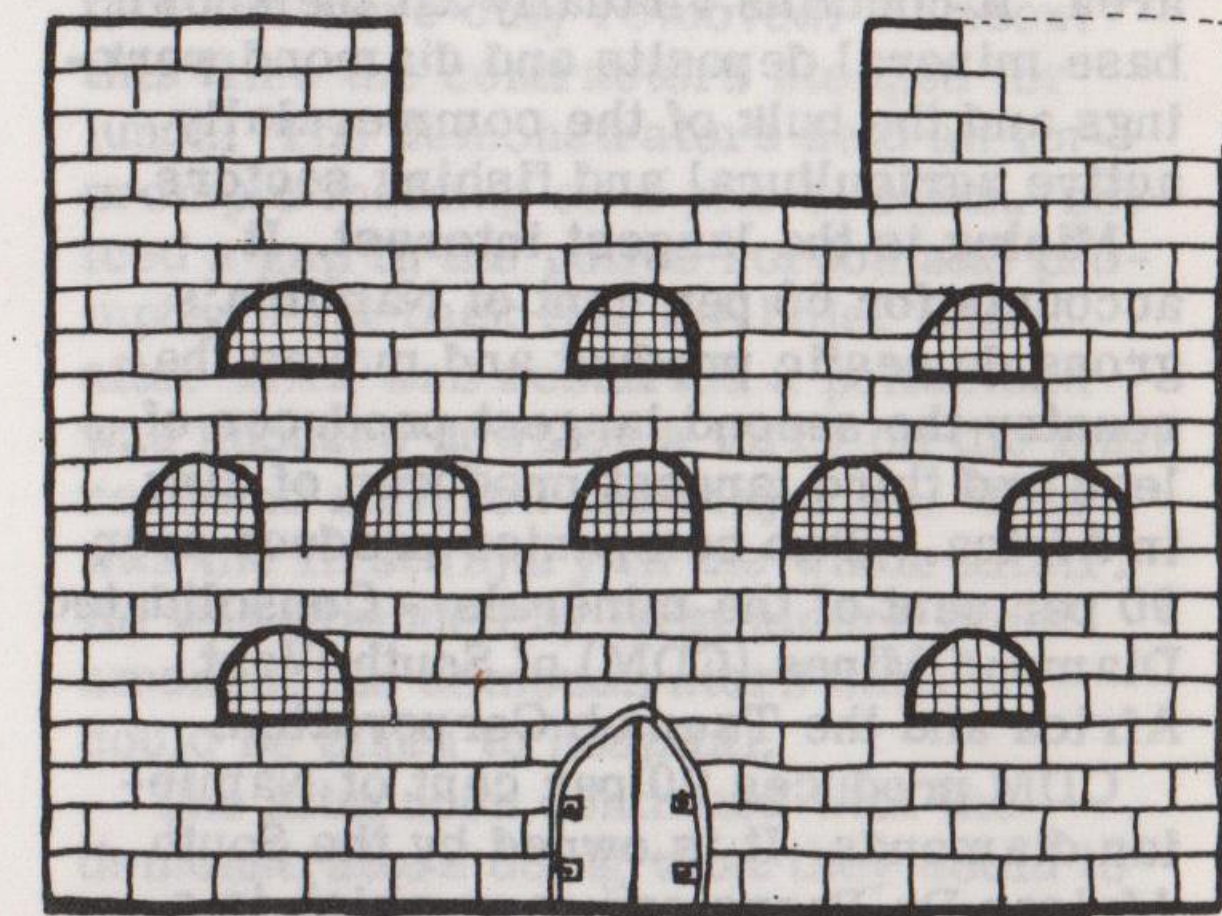
that this is a problem that must be faced collectively by all people effectively concerned with changing society. However, it is not up to Persons Unknown to 'solve' this problem on behalf of 'the movement' nor is it our sole responsibility to initiate such a debate, much as we are interested in taking part in it.

- PERSONS UNKNOWN (London)
c/o Rising Free, Box 123, 182 Upper Street, Islington, London NI.

For more information on the case/support group activities, contact:

London (see above).
York York Anarchists Grp, c/o Students Union, Goodricks College, York University.
Edinburgh c/o 1st of May Books, 45 Niddry St, Edinburgh.
Aberystwyth c/o 2 South Rd, Aberystwyth, Dyfed, Wales.
Belfast c/o Just Books, 7 Winetavern St, Belfast.
Leeds c/o Leeds Other Paper, 29 Blenheim Terr, Leeds 2.
Brighton c/o Sussex Anarchists, Street Library, Refectory Terrapins, Univ. of Sussex, Falmer.
Liverpool Box 1984, 100 Whitechapel, Liverpool.
Manchester c/o 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester.
Reading c/o Reading Univ. Anarchists, Students Union, Whiteknights, Reading, Berks.
Leicester c/o 76 High Cross St, Leicester.
Newcastle c/o Black Jake, c/o 115 Westgate Rd, Newcastle-u-Tyne, Tyne and Wear.
Huddersfield E.A.G. 173, Yews Hill Rd, Lockwood, Huddersfield.
Sheffield c/o Sheffield Lib. Soc. Box 168, Sheffield S.E.11.

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PERSONS UNKNOWN

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NAMIBIA — THE MULTINATIONAL PEACE

THROUGHOUT the western press the Namibia 'solution' pits nasty South Africa against 'sensible' United States and its friends. International comment and debate has been focused on the independence date and time; the registration of voters, and the size and composition of the UN peacekeeping force. But to see this as the extent of the situation is to be caught up in a propaganda smokescreen operating to obscure the intertwined South African - western interests at work to maintain the present economic condition of Namibia.

Given the level of western economic involvement in Namibia it is not surprising that they feel that the 'peace' must be controlled - even to the extent of sanctions. The paranoia can be traced, not to a selfless love of freedom, but to the activities of British, American and South African multinationals. The multinationals want a western peace. It means protection of massive investments and the continued economic dependence of the bulk of the Namibian population.

A South African peace means a quick slide into an all out war that the 'white elephant' racist army cannot now contain with 30,000 troops when it is a 'hit and run' stand-off. Afterwards an embittered SWAPO government will give short shrift to the hypocritical multinationals - and they know it.

What is the multinational stake and how can they bring pressure to bear within the top levels of the political-industrial superstructure? Namibia has been divided into two parts - a 'white' area which includes a total of 50.6 million hectares of prime farming land, government reserves, townships, diamond areas and Walvis Bay; then the 'non-white area' containing no more than 32.8 million hectares of land varying from thinly-populated desert reserves to the highly populated and congested Ovamboland. All development has occurred in the 'white' area. It contains virtually all the known base mineral deposits and diamond workings and the bulk of the commercially active agricultural and fishing sectors.

Mining is the largest interest. It accounts for 60 per cent of Namibia's gross domestic product and makes the country the second largest producer of lead and third largest producer of zinc in Africa. Two companies produce over 90 per cent of the minerals - Consolidated Diamond Mines (CDM) of South West Africa and the Tsumeb Corporation.

CDM produces 90 per cent of Namibian diamonds. It is owned by the South African De Beers company which is a member of the giant Anglo-American consortium. Anglo American's chairman Harry Oppenheimer is also chairman of De Beers. De Beers is the largest company in South Africa. For example, its after tax profits in 1973 were £188 mill-

ion. The De Beers/Anglo-American group are deeply caught up in the British and North American economies.

In Britain Anglo-American is represented by the Charter Consolidated company. Charter's investments in 1973 stood at £393 million, 11 per cent of this in England and the rest scattered throughout Asia, Africa and North America. Charter Consolidated holds interests in Rio Tinto Zinc, Falconbridge Nickel Mines of Canada, British Petroleum, 'Shell' Transport and Trading, Exxon, Mobil Oil, and Phillips Petroleum to name but a few. Profits from the Namibian diamond mines have been used to extend British interests in the financing of international mineral production and the development of North Sea Oil.

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In the United States the De Beers/Anglo-American group owns 32 per cent common and 20 per cent convertible preferred stock of the Engelhard Minerals and Chemicals Corporation (EMC). This corporation sells ore and minerals and refines precious metals for industry. The directors of this company hold between them parallel directorships at Charter Consolidated, Chemston, Euro-American Bank and Trust Company, and Ferro Corporation. More indicative is one particular director, John Harlan. Mr Harlan has a strong record in US public service: Deputy Commissioner, Defense Materials Service (1958-1966); Commissioner, Property Management and Proposal Service (1966-1969); presently, Representative to the President's Commission on Economic Impact and Defense Disarmament.

The other dominant mining company in Namibia, Tsumeb, is owned by AMAX (29.2 per cent), Newmont Mining (29.2 per cent), Union Corporation (15.6 per cent) and the O'okiep Corporation (9.5 per cent). (O'okiep is in turn controlled by AMAX and Newmont). The South African controlled South West African Corporation holds 2.4 per cent.

Tsumeb produces copper, zinc, lead, silver and cadmium. Production is 80

per cent of Namibia's total mineral production, and 20 per cent of Namibia's exports. It is the largest employer in the country. The two largest shareholders in Tsumeb, AMAX and Newmont, are both American. AMAX, the American Metal Climax Company, is heavily involved with Anglo-American. Together they own half the copper mines in Zambia and have jointly invested in the newly operational copper-nickel mine at Selebi-Pikwe in central Botswana. One of the AMAX board members, NAM Burden, has held numerous US government posts since 1939 including a stint as US ambassador to Belgium for 1959/61. He is presently chairman of the Institute for Defense Analysis and a director of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Another board member, D. J. Donahue, has served as special assistant to the president for economic affairs between 1956 and 1958.

Newmont Mining has world wide mining and finance interests including the Southern Peru Copper Corporation which exploits Peru's most profitable open pit mine.

In 1975 both AMAX and Newmont came under stock holder pressure for their heavy investments in Namibia in contradiction of UN dicta. A Newmont vice-president said, "We know the people and the government and we back our conviction with our reputation and our dollars".

The third largest Tsumeb shareholder, the Union Corporation, is South African. In Britain it owns Bay Hall Trust which in turn controls the large real estate firm Capitol and Countries Property. Union has major interests in Anglo-American's British partner Charter Consolidated. And Charter in turn has share interests in Union.

There are a number of other 'smaller' mines operating in Namibia.

For example Falconbridge Nickel has a 75 per cent holding in a copper mine (416 thousand tons a year). Falconbridge is controlled by the US Superior Oil Company, Charter Consolidated owns 10 per cent of the stock.

And then there is Walvis Bay, Namibia's only deep water port. It is claimed by South Africa by reference to a fuzzy British colonial land grab 'treaty declaration' of 1878 when the area was annexed to 'save' it from Germany. It was transferred to the Cape Colony in 1884 and later, as part of Cape Province, became part of the Union of South Africa. However since the League of Nations mandate was given to South Africa the enclave has been administered as an integral part of Namibia. The port handles 2 million tons of cargo a year and harbours the largest and best equipped fishing fleet in the south Atlantic. Offshore fishing accounts for 20 per cent of Namibia's gross domestic product.

CONT p.5

greece

A GREEK comrade has written to us about the case of Philip and Sofia Kyritsi, who were sent down recently for 9 and 5 years respectively for possession of benzine and wadding, which the prosecution referred to as 'Molotov cocktails'. (Ring any bells so far?) They were tried along with Mr Papadopoulos - no first name given - who, our correspondent suggests, denounced them to the police when his own house was raided and 'Molotov cocktails' found there. He said they were given to him by Philip and Sofia. Papadopoulos himself got three years, so if he did denounce them it didn't do him much good.

The trial seems to be part of a campaign by the Greek government to establish the existence of a network of 'terrorist anarchists, with vast knowledge of bombs and subversive activities, and international conspiratorial organisation'. Our comrade suggests that Philip and Sofia inadvertently helped this propaganda exercise by refusing a lawyer, "thus determining from the very start a collision course with Power", and because "there were moments when they participated in the farce of the trial, deceived by the paternal style of the chairman". The trial took place last September, but unfortunately our comrade's letter gives no details of where, or in which prison(s) Philip, Sofia and Papadopoulos are being held. He mentions only that the prosecutor, Arvantis, had a few days earlier found innocent a group of known fascists who had carried out bomb attacks in Athens.

NAMIBIA

FROM P.4

There are nine fishing companies running canning and processing factories in the harbour and a fleet of 240 purse-seine trawlers on an estimated capital investment of £15 million. There is a deep sea fleet of 72 ships. 23 of these have recently been upgraded at a cost of £2.3 million. These refitted ships now carry refrigerated or chilled sea water conveyance tanks which, in the past season, raised cannery production by 56 per cent.

But, as in other offshore fishing grounds, increased efficiency has seriously affected stocks. In 1978 the industry produced 45,185 tons of pilchards and 360,000 tons of anchovy - a total catch of 414,000 tons compared with 833,611 tons in 1974. The complete Walvis Bay catch is integrated into South African exports. The new Namibian government would not have to worry itself about 'over-fishing'.

And now Walvis Bay is set to produce oil and uranium - items of crucial importance to the western powers. A new uranium mine recently opened at Rossing. International investment amounted to £150 million during 1976. High on the list of contributors was Rio Tinto Zinc.

Despite the lack of detail, the case has several aspects in common with the 'Persons Unknown' case here. The fact of materials which could be used in bomb-making being found in anarchists' homes (the police 'discovered' books, periodicals and newspapers with 'anarchist content'); the publicity about international/subversive/conspiratorial/revolutionary etc etc groups being behind those arrested; and the fact of the defendants being remanded in custody for long periods (six months for Philip and Sofia).

The severity of the sentences on people who had not actually committed any bombings when compared with (in Greece) the acquittal of known fascist bombers, and in this country the failure of the police even to find the people responsible for the series of bombings on left wing and black bookshops, let alone bring them to trial, leads one to ask the question - whose international conspiracy is this supposed to be anyway - ours, or theirs?

V. Footnote Following the attack on the Corner Bookshop in Leeds last April, Fourth Idea bookshop in Bradford was attacked by fascists recently. The Corner Bookshop Collective have been trying to collect enough money to pay for metal shutters since the spring, but so far have only been able to raise £47.30. At the same time, since the attack on Fourth Idea, they have received an increasing number of threatening phone calls, and on several occasions there have been fascists in the shop or outside. The collective say they are subject to this intimidation because they sell socialist and alternative literature and put up posters advertising these and local activities in the window. Proceeds of any collections made to help them put up their metal shutters should be sent to: The Corner Bookshop Ltd, 162 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2.

Rumours of a large oil find came in a recent UN report which insisted that US firms had made big finds on the offshore coastal shelf. South African officials have refused comment.

Finally South Africa will plead the 'best interests' of the western strategic position while packing the enclave with troops and navy.

The combinations are endless but the pattern is clear. The mining concerns in Namibia are controlled by the interlocking interests of South African, American and British corporations which use their profits to support continued investment in the western nations where individual board members often double as high level lobbyists and policy makers.

In addition Walvis Bay anchors the outflow of Namibian resources to the whim of the South Africans.

Small wonder, then, that the western powers want to control the peace in Namibia. A western peace is a multinational peace which will give any 'independent' Namibia the odious position of being little more than a cheap labour 'homeland'.

BRIAN MURPHY
(Southern Africa)

To be followed by a series on South African prisons.

NEWS FROM TORNESS

AS we go to press the campaign to resist the building of the Torness nuclear power station has hotbed up. Demonstrators have been occupying the site for some weeks now. Last week (14 Tuesday) the South of Scotland Electricity Board moved in and the occupiers were evicted and arrested. All the dwellings they had built were flattened. More supporters went up over the weekend. A local farmer allowed use of his land for camping and a marquee and an information caravan were set up. Some 80-100 local people followed a farmer onto the site, while he was to plough up the part that had belonged to him before it was taken over by the Electricity Board. This involved moving, by weight of person power, seven old concrete tank traps that the Board had set up. This morning (Monday, 20th) at about 7 am, about 300 people moved on to the site. The police arrived at about 7.15 and the contractors at 8.15. The demonstrators had had a mass meeting the night before to plan tactics, divide into small groups (10-12) and establish their personal attitude to arrest. They blocked the access roads so that it took the first bulldozer an hour to cover 50 yards. During the day several people were taken away by the police. Some were released after having their names and addresses taken. About 30 are still being held with mutterings about charges of 'breach of the peace'.

Later it seemed as if the excavators were going to try to extend the work on the last drainage hole (30 ft by 50 ft and 20 ft deep) which had already been started. About 80 demonstrators went into it. The police (there were about 100 of them on the site) formed a cordon round the hole and the excavators started a new one nearby. More people jumped into this and were duly removed. At about this time the contractors stopped for lunch. The demonstrators held an impromptu meeting on a pile of earth, noticed a gap in the police cordon and promptly leapt back into the hole. Soon after work was restarted a policeman was knocked down by a lorry on the main road and suffered head injuries. This was the first injury in the whole affair. He was attended by first aiders from amongst the demonstrators until he could be taken to hospital.

The afternoon continued with the demonstrators doing what they could to impede the work. The police attitude has been reasonable both today and in the past, except when actual hindrance was occurring. Some people are staying near the site tonight and will be meeting to discuss events so far and plan further action.

peace in our time

BEHIND the well rehearsed cries of horror and alarm at the 'senseless attacks' by hi-jackers and 'terrorists', there lies the common ground of mutual interest that firmly unites the Eastern and Western power-blocs, irrespective of any internal and traditional 'national' postures. 'Peace in our time' is again the order of the day - that is, the sort of peace that can be controlled and contained almost indefinitely.

Full scale nuclear war, on the other hand, is recognised by both blocs to be uncontrollable. Individual and sporadic 'terrorist' attacks have become pretexts - welcome pretexts - for re-establishing a state of law and order: one could say, a law-and-order State. Whether these 'outrages' occur in Eastern or Western dominated countries is immaterial; and it would be a mistake to regard such a statement as cynical - one has only to remember two random examples: the Moscow underground bombings, and in the West, the name of the Littlejohn brothers.

Probably the most vivid example of a State-inspired act of terrorism was the Reichstag fire of the pre-war era, although such events are usually orchestrated more carefully. What remains is what might be called the Constant Factor; that is, the imposition of total State control. Where this control is zealous to the point of appearing oppressive in one of the two main blocs, there will almost inevitably be a reaction from the other bloc: an exception to this was the Watergate scandal, when the Soviet press hesitated to reap short-term advantages, since it instinctively disliked any attack on delinquent Authority.

The paradox of national rivalries and international detente is only a seeming paradox, since these rivalries are diminishing in exact proportion to the necessity of inter-State co-operation, or collusion, or 'detente': the word is interchangeable, the fact is unchanging. One might call this state of affairs, 'real detente, without inverted commas. The price of this detente has still to be fully paid in the West, since it means the loss of every individual activity that is still recognised as freedom.

One has to be extremely careful before using the word 'conspiracy', if only for the reason that this word is continually mis-used by State organs looking for a scapegoat. All States condemn 'terrorism', i.e. unpredictable small-scale acts by 'terrorists'. Some States equally condemn (and punish) so-called 'dissidents'. It is only a question of choosing the appropriate word; once a person has been labelled, the appropriate punishment is sure to follow - and here are a few labels that come to mind: terrorist, dissident, hooligan, agitator, Sinn Feiner, extremist, anarchist, jew, charterist, freedom-fighter. The list could easily be doubled.

Of course, detente as a phenomenon is not confined to political or State circles, it has reached professions that are traditionally utterly opposed to 'government interference'.

One has only to contemplate that most independent of all professions - the medical - to understand how far the rot has spread. The tacit (often open) support by high-ranking psychiatrists in the West for the 'Snezhnevsky School' ensured, among other things, the arrest

and heavy punishment of Vladimir Bukovsky in 1971. The full circumstances surrounding the World Psychiatric Association's Congress that year has been meticulously described by the American journalist, I. F. Stone, who lays a heavy share of the blame on British psychiatrists for the refusal to discuss Bukovsky's 'Open Questions' at the Congress.

During the next six years, when the Soviet psychiatric abuses naturally increased, and had become too blatant to be ignored even by the British WPA secretariat, the Soviet psychiatric hierarchy went to frantic lengths in trying to prevent the slightest criticism of the Snezhnevsky methods. They failed to stop the resolution of condemnation being (narrowly) carried at Honolulu in the summer of 1977, but did succeed in smothering any further practical action by Western psychiatric associations. Presumably as a reward for their 'understanding', Alexander Podrabinek received a sentence of a mere five years exile in Siberia.

It must be assumed that medical detente continues to this day, part of a conspiracy that reaches into virtually every commercial, political and cultural transaction, symptom of a malaise that haunts the shifting quagmire that we call 'peace', but is no peace. H.G. Wells called it 'Mind at the end of its tether'.

To cling abjectly to party politics and party politicians is to fail to face our fate, or at best, a vain attempt to postpone it: and thus we seal it.

DAVID MARKHAM

gays in the ussr

Sergei Paradjanov is an Armenian film director noted for his support for the rights of national minorities in the USSR and for his commitment to the democratisation of politics in the Soviet Union. He is also homosexual, and because of this was imprisoned in a labour camp in 1973. As a result of world-wide protests the Soviet authorities announced that he had been released in December 1977, but he has not been seen since he was visited in prison in August 1977.

Gennady Trifonov is a Leningrad poet who privately circulated a series of poems about his love for another man. He is currently serving a 4 year sentence in a Soviet labour camp. He was tried and sentenced at a closed trial in November 1976. At the time, his mother and friends were unable to learn the exact nature of the charges against him, but

the official Soviet magazine Ogonyok (no. 27, June 1977) claimed, following international protests, that he had been imprisoned for, amongst other charges, 'violating still another article of the Criminal Code, one that has a direct bearing on his miserable homosexual doggerel'.

Russian gays suffer from a stifling atmosphere of ignorance and prejudice actively fostered by the Soviet government's attitude of equating homosexuality with crime and insanity.

When Angelo Pezzana, a deputy in the Italian parliament, was arrested in Moscow for his one-man demonstration against the oppression of gays in the Soviet Union, he was told by the KGB: "You are the first homosexual we have met; in the Soviet Union there are none, and even if there were any it would be

necessary to eliminate them all". (Body Politic, 45, August 1978).

London Gay Activists Alliance (5 Caledonian Road, London N1), together with the Campaign for Homosexual Equality (PO Box 427, 69 Corporation St, Manchester) are campaigning to publicise the oppression of gays in the Soviet Union and in particular through the above-mentioned cases. A demonstration is being held outside the Soviet embassy on 25 November at 2 pm (Kensington Palace Gardens). The campaigners say they believe 'the issues involved extend far beyond the gay movement, and we are calling on all those concerned at what is happening to gay people in the Soviet Union to help us publicise the facts'.

How about £1 each to

FREEDOM Typewriter Fund

?

AS you can see from a glance at the Typewriter Fund list at the bottom of this item, contributions to the Fund have begun to tail off - with the exception of one substantial donation of £35.

The amount subscribed to date, however, has enabled us to buy one new typewriter - a golfball machine which will enable us to save space on the Contacts page and will be a valuable steady machine. You will see the style of that in our next issue, when the Contacts page will be entirely re-set in a new style.

We still need, however, a new or good second hand machine to set our main columns - the material you are reading now. Once we get that, we can get the present machine serviced and renovated to give a few more years of work, and our potential disaster, through their collapse, will be averted.

So please, comrades, continue to send what you can to ensure that FREEDOM will never fail to appear for that reason!

We are very grateful to the comrades who have given handsomely - but we also like to see hundreds of small donations, too! If every one of our subscribers would give, say, £1.00 - our typesetting problems, as far as the machines were concerned, would be over.

& Wanted-a Typist!

We put it like that, because behind every typewriter, there has to be a typist. Because of the accident (from which she has not yet fully recovered) sustained by our devoted comrade, Mary Canipa, who not only 'manned' ('personned') the office three days a week but also started off each week's typesetting before the weekend, the setting of every issue is falling on the shoulders of one comrade who already has a full-time job, and is doing the work under great stress in two evenings every week.

We now need another typist as well as another typewriter! If any reader can give a couple of hours on either a Saturday or Sunday afternoon, regularly, he or she would make all the difference to the way FREEDOM is produced.

The conditions are uncomfortable; the machines, as of now, are awful, but will soon be much better; as soon as we can pay the gas bill the heating will be on again; you will be sneered at by intellectual giants who know exactly what's wrong with the paper but don't do anything to help - but you will get such a glow of self-satisfaction every time yet another issue appears on time.

And all for a cup of pissy tea and, if you're lucky, a chocolate biscuit. Any volunteers?

BELIEF?

Dear Comrades

I don't know where Sid Parker gets the idea that it was reading Stirner's *The Ego and His Own* that compelled Marx to abandon the real humanism (not, as Sid Parker calls it, 'ethical humanism') of Feuerbach. It was rather Marx's studies in political economy and the conditions of the peasantry and the working class that made him, in the years 1843-1845, move from real humanism to communism.

Stirner's book was published in 1844. At the beginning of 1845 Marx was preparing a *Critique of Economics and Politics*, but decided, after discussion with Engels, to first of all deal with the Young Hegelians, especially Feuerbach, Bauer and Stirner. This he and Engels did in *The German Ideology*.

Sid Parker says that, in *The German Ideology*, Marx gave up his belief in the *Essence of Man*, but replaced it with a belief in the abstraction 'Forces of Production'. But the main differences between Marx's concept of forces of production and Stirner's concept of 'ego' is precisely that the latter is abstract and speculative and the former is not. 'Ego' is a philosophical concept, derived from Fichte out of Hegel, and Stirner develops it in true Hegelian fashion. He demonstrates the ego as the negation of spirit, which is, in turn, the negation of the world of things. He thus demonstrates the ego in dialectical fashion as the negation of the negation. The whole process takes place entirely in the realm of thought.

It does not matter whether one 'believes in' the forces of production or not. The point is the actual, demonstrable influence of forces and relations of production on political formations, personal relations and, indeed, beliefs. This influence does not take place in the realm of ideas.

Marx's theory is marred by its Hegelian cast and his belief in historical inevitability. But the materialist method remains more useful than the philosophical speculations of Stirner, who considers, in true ideological fashion, that what happens in society is determined simply by the way people think about it and by what they 'believe in'.

Yours sincerely
Marshall Colman

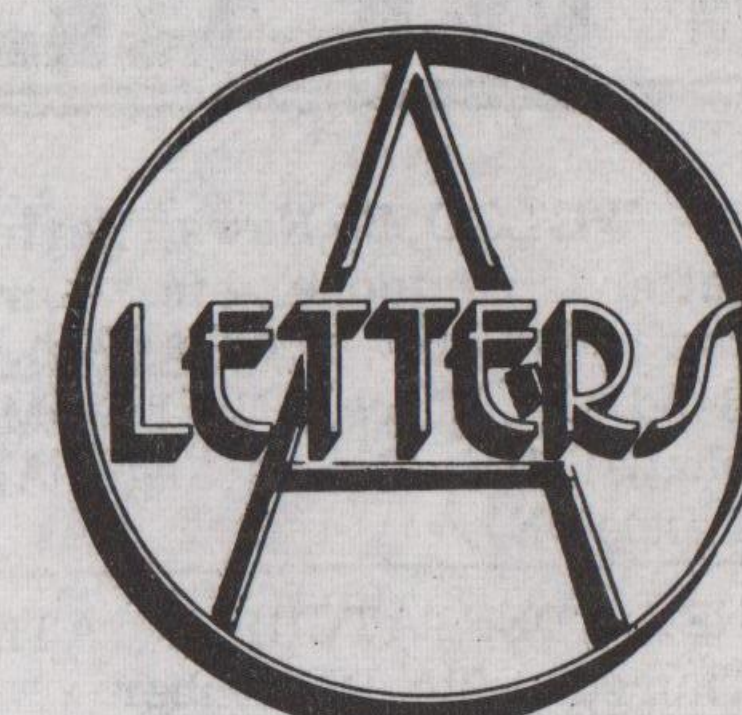
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USEFUL?

Dear FREEDOM

I was relieved to see the beginnings of an open discussion of the role/content/format (of FREEDOM), AW is right to praise FREEDOM's regularity but as he seems to point out a newspaper should be more than that. One only has to look at the back copies of the early 70s to see both much greater news coverage and a presentation which looks like a newspaper in size as well as format. The present FREEDOM at first glance on a bookshop/newagent shelf is too much like the rest of the left wing/libertarian A4 sized journals to make any separate impact. This is a pity as much of the paper is of great value, and it does serve the useful purpose of introducing people to the movement. I for one got in touch with other anarchists through FREEDOM. Before that I'd had two years' isolation having been converted, but told by Woodcock's history that there was no movement.

Keep fighting
Jonathan Simcock

London N10.

IN BRIEF

Nice to see that the anti-gay Proposition Six in California has been defeated. However the fact that it was put at all, the style of the campaign and the voting figures does show the extent of surviving bigotry.

Quotes on alleged disquiet about the progress of democracy in Spain: 'Suarez, Carillo... they should all be shot.' He (sic) is the basic anarchism of so many Spaniards. They don't want to accept that democracy has to have its orders, just as dictatorship did. Which just shows the depth of understanding at the Sunday Times 'don't want to accept...' indeed, I'd say it was a basic point.

In 'The Silent Three', the Guardian cartoon piss take of the trendy bourgeoisie, Holton's 'British Syndicalism' was included among the impressive books to be scattered around before a dinner party.

Interesting in Regent St. this evening. It was packed with people come to see the Christmas lights. Naturally, there were plenty of police. And every fifty yards, leaning casually against a wall, was one, twice the average size, prominently wearing a gun. That must have helped dispel a few tourist illusions.

UNCLE LOUIE

JIMMY 'Schnozzle' Durante, born 1893 and still available for Masonic rallies, political fund raising dinners and leading roles in American 26 episode television series, worked a perennial gag that never died the death. He would turn to his audience in mock hate crying "They said Wagner was mad, they said Shakespear was mad, they said Einstein was mad, they said Louie was mad" and the members of the backup band would roar out "Who's Louie?" and the great Schnoz would throw out his arms, close his eyes, smile and say in a stage whisper "He was my uncle and he was mad". And why not for madness had always been the public prerogative of the belted aristocracy and the British literary intelligentsia. It was they who filled their autobiographies with the antics of their crazy aunts, mad fathers and lunatic uncles and they built up a golden age of an island dominated by horsemen driving coach and fours down the aisles of crowded churches, squires in flaming night shirts, elderly ladies refusing to come down from the branches of high trees and a landed peasantry permanently scarred with aimed lead pellets fired at them by mad earls using hand tooled blunderbusses. Only the middle class and the working class bowed the head in private sorrow and public shame when the subject of 'poor cousin Charlie' was mentioned by some tactless clod, but three things have altered the climate of opinion relating to this matter. Public television, the National Health Service and the increased recruitment of card carrying students to fill the rash of red brick colleges made the temporary nervous and mental breakdown through overwork or domestic or social strain more fashionable than cancer. The days when the knowledge that my gentle Uncle Albert ended his life in Hamwell Lunatic Asylum was the dreaded family secret passed when they took down those State signs and just called the buildings hospitals and the perverse pleasure I derived when in 1944 among the sand dunes of Caen a raging army cock pointed a quivering finger at me screaming, for all the rank and file and those holding His Majesty's Commission to hear, that "Everybody knows you're fucking mad" is no longer valid as public abuse for there are too many case histories waiting in the outpatients departments "Next please door on your left".

The late Ludwig 11 of Bavaria is at this moment in time heading the pop parade of fashionable culture and one knows that this would not be so if he had not been a king carrying out the public crown of the Mad King. Like all latter day Royalty he was born to a purple stripped of all political authority, so much so that he could not even have declared a small war and so this poor simple character turned to the folies de grandeur in the belief that they represented an heroic age. It was and still is the most ghastly Teutonic rubbish, a combination of Wagner and Disney. The Victoria and Albert Museum are exhibiting various designs, plans and models under the tinted umbrella of "Designs for the Dream King" and here is a monument to all the bad taste of that Victorian age of entrepreneurs whose children had still to create a fresh social culture. The faults of poor Ludwig's hacks were that devoid of talent and imagination they took the crude artistry of past functionalism, mixed age with age and overloaded it with all the glittering rubbish, be it gold or diamonds, that the building, the chair or the ornament could carry without collapsing under its own bad taste. It is the old belief that authority lies in the barrel of the gun. I have no doubt that if Ludwig, or Lou as we refer to him in Wards pub, were with us today, and 133 years old is not really old, he would be an active member of the British Arts Council. One may jeer at the merry madcap capers of wealthy philistines yet if we have to choose between Der Maerchen Koenig and some faceless bureaucrat allowing property speculators to tear down buildings of beauty and or historical value then I will stand footfirm with my mate Ludwig 11. Debrett's Peerage Ltd share the blame for the Victoria & Albert exhibition but in passing I would like to thank His Royal Highness Prinz Franz von Bayern and Luipold Freiherr von Braun, the General Director of the Wittelsbach-

erausgleichsfonds not only for their contribution towards this exhibition but for the pleasure I had in typing out their names and titles.

But for the Town and his O Level Art frau there is the Grand Tour for the dealers and the State is fighting for their attention. Within the Tate there is the Pier Gallery Collection on loan from Stromness in the Orkney, a small free exhibition of British regional painters. The work on view represents the private pleasures of Margaret Gardiner and the exhibition is a tribute to her love of the creative arts yea even to purchasing the works of those then little known artists and for that, as a town spawned spectator, I thank her.

But it is on ca to the British Museum for the company of the Dutchman, Polish George and the sherry and of course the drawings of Gainsborough and Reynolds. Here is the work of good, solid craftsmen who earned their 18th century corn. Fashionable painters whose work has survived for the best of reasons and that is that they were mastercraftsmen. It is unfortunate that Reynold's personal collection of ancient master painters and artists are included within this exhibition for Michelangelo Buonarroti (after?) 's is a brilliant black chalk drawing that cuts Reynold and Gainsborough down to parochial size. Like the Islamic Painting also on exhibition we are offered a beautiful facade. And the Town and his footloose frau are waiting for there is wine and food at the Royal Academy and the sophisticated naive paintings of Anthony Green. Brash bright colours and claustrophobic perspectives grip the viewers but that is also its limitation but the Dutchman, Polish George, the artist's wife and child and I climbed narrow iron steps and tiptoes along narrow catwalks until we were alone high on the galvanised sheet metal-plated roof of the Royal Academy. Beyond us stretched Regent Street and Piccadilly and we peered down at the stone facade of the Royal Academy and the statue of Reynold's below us in the courtyard. And we look through tiny skylight windows down into gallery after gallery watching the trapped spectators moving slowly from framed work of genius to framed work of genius and we returned down down down to the buffet and the wine and the paintings of Anthony Green.

Rene Clair keep your 'Sous les Toits de Paris'. But the open plains, the wind in the face and the thought of highwaymen hidden among the falling autumnal leaves calls so it is to the Serpentine Gallery, the Arts Council's answer to Watership Down, and the wine and the buffet and Scale for Sculpture. Here is fashionable trivia presented as this work always is with the usual mind deadening pseudo intellectual handouts yet it would be unfair to condemn it for it gives a number of pleasant people a brief moment of glory and one feels that like so much discarded Action Paintings of but a few years ago the ultimate pleasure was in the creation of this rather banal work. And Sue Grayson the gallery director looking as always very petit, slim and worried made the visit worth while but tonight it is to the anarchists old stamping ground the Lamb and Flag pub in Covent Garden for a publication party of Beryl Cook's book 'The Works', £2.95 (pub. John Murray) and the Portal Gallery exhibition of this 51 year old housewife. Good cheerful mixture of Stanley Spencer and Donald McGill and whisky and beer for the drinking and that infernal buffet.

ARTHUR MOYSE

NOTE FROM P.S. "ANARCHISM AND LIBERATION"

* The judge, of course, was not stirred to feelings of true justice and Ronnie and Cliff were both imprisoned for 3 years (Ronnie also being one of the BWNIC 14 - British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland - who were to be acquitted at the Old Bailey). Later, Ronnie was also imprisoned for 'mice rustling'. He has since been released. This article has been reprinted from Global Tapestry no. 6. The wider the distribution, in our view, the better.

Freedom

RUSSIA IN

1984?

IN view of the symbolism now attached to 1984, it is both interesting and ironic that George Orwell's choice of year for the setting of his anti-utopian novel was anticipated by a little-known Russian writer, A.V. Chayanov. In 1920 the State Publishing House in Moscow published what is probably the one and only peasant utopian romance ever written, *The Journey of my Brother Alexei to the Land of Peasant Utopia*. Published under Chayanov's pseudonym, 'Ivan Kremnev', the book included a critical foreword by 'P. Orlovskii', the pseudonym of V.V. Vorovskii, a professional diplomat who was also a writer on peasant problems.

The critical foreword, written of course from a bolshevik perspective, was evidently a prerequisite for the publication since Chayanov's utopia was a thinly disguised attack on the then current bolshevik policies in respect of the peasants, policies which included land nationalisation and the compulsory requisitioning of foodstuffs. Chayanov himself was an executive member of the League for Agrarian Reform, formed in 1917, but he firmly believed that the Marxist analysis of the agrarian problem was mistaken and that a change in the ownership of land would not automatically solve the practical difficulties of farming. An adherent of 'the Organisation and Production' trend among agrarian reformers, he developed a theory of peasant economy as a system comparable to what Marxists call 'socio-economic formations'. His utopia depicts such a system in operation. It was not, therefore, simply his own personal fantasy but, rather, an imagined realisation of a well-considered concept of peasant socialism.

The date 1984 figures in Chayanov's story in the following way. In the year 1921, the hero, Alexei Kremnev, after an exhausting day at the Polytechnical Museum, relaxes one evening by reading a volume of Herzen, the great Russian populist. After falling asleep, he wakes up to find himself in strange surroundings. He soon realises that he is still in Moscow, but in a new, transformed, brighter one - a fact confirmed by a newspaper which he picks up and which is dated, Friday, 5th September, 1984. As the story unfolds, the confused Kremnev discovers that he is being taken for someone else, an American named Charlie Mann who is on a visit to Russia to inspect agricultural engineering installations.

The rest of the plot need not detain us here, since the real interest of the story lies in Chayanov's imaginary descriptions of Russia in 1984. When he realises that he has been transported into the future, Kremnev asks himself: 'What is waiting for me beyond these walls? The blessed kingdom of socialism, now consolidated and enlightened? The marvellous anarchy of Prince Kropotkin? Capitalism restored? Or perhaps some new hitherto unknown social system?' The answer turns out to be the latter.

In the social system of 1984, Moscow, we learn, is a town of no more than 100,000 people. Fifty years earlier, in 1934, after a decade of political struggle, the peasant parties, it transpires, succeeded in forming the first purely peasant-class Council of People's Commissars. Among the first acts of the new government, conscious of the danger to democracy posed by huge conglomerations of urban population, was a decree abolishing all towns with more than 20,000 inhabitants. As a consequence, there had followed a mass exodus from Moscow. The centre of social life shifted to the countryside, and the towns, Moscow included, became simply 'nodal points of the nexus of social relations'. Each town, in other words, became 'an assembly point ... not a place for living, but a

place for celebration, gatherings and some other matters, A point but not a social entity'. In place of the old system in which the town was self-sufficient and the countryside no more than its hinterland, reflecting the sharp division between town and country, the population was more or less evenly distributed throughout the land. Thus, 'the whole area for hundreds of miles around Moscow is a continuous agricultural settlement, intersected by rectangles of common forest, strips of cooperative pastures and huge climatic parks'.

The abolition of the towns was, however, only one aspect of the peasant revolution of the 1930s. Peasant power, it seems, did not involve the introduction of any new principles into social and economic life. As Kremnev was told: "We had no need of any new principles; our task was to consolidate the old, centuries-old, principles on which from time immemorial the peasant economy has been based. Our only aim was to assert those



FROM P. 9.

great ancient principles, and to enhance their cultural value, to transform them spiritually and to endow their embodiment with a social and technical organisation which would enable them not only to display that peculiarly passive resilience which has characterised them for ages, but also to have active strength, elasticity, and, if you like, striking power'.

The economic system of 1984, like that of old Russia, was founded on the individual peasant farm. This was 'the ideal model of economic activity' because 'in it, man confronts nature; in it, labour comes into creative contact with all the forces of the cosmos to produce new forms of existence. Every workman is a creator, each manifestation of his individuality represents the art of work'.

In order to establish a 20th century nation on the basis of the peasant farm and the peasant way of life, the new regime had had to solve two basic organisational problems. The economic problem was to create a national economic system, based on the peasant farm, which in its functioning 'would not be technically inferior to any other conceivable mechanism and (which) would sustain itself automatically without resort to state compulsion of a non-economic nature'. The social, or cultural problem, was how to organise the social existence of the broad masses so as to preserve, in conditions of scattered rural settlement, the highest forms of culture which had hitherto been the monopoly of urban civilisation.

In solving these problems, the new peasant leaders, unlike the leaders in the period of state collectivism 'when ideologists of the working class were realising their ideals ... by the methods of enlightened absolutism', rejected 'any idea of a monopoly in the sphere of social creation'. They were 'not proponents of a monist outlook, thought or action', but had 'a mentality capable of accommodating a pluralistic view of the world, and so believed that life is worthwhile when it permits the full realisation of all the possibilities, all the new departures contained in it'. 'We had to resolve these problems', Kremnev was told, 'in such a way as to leave to any initiative, any creative effort, the chance of competing with us. We endeavoured to conquer the world by the inner strength of our cause and our organisation, by the technical superiority of our organising principle, not by smashing in the face of anyone who thought otherwise. Apart from that, we have always recognised that the State and its apparatus are by no means the sole manifestation of social life, and so, in our reforms, we have for the most part relied on social methods of solving problems, not measures of social coercion'. Nevertheless, 'we were never blindly addicted to principle; and when outside violence threatened our cause, and expediency made us remember that state power was in our hands, our machine guns worked no worse than those of the Bolsheviks'.

Of the two problems mentioned above, the economic one presented no particular difficulties. It was clear to the peasant revolutionaries that the typical socialist view of the peasant farm as something inferior, destined to give way to so-called 'higher forms of large-scale collective economy', was not so much logical, as genetic in its origin. 'Socialism was conceived as the antithesis of capitalism; born in the dungeons of the German capitalist factories, nurtured in the minds of an urban proletariat haunted by forced labour, by generations that had lost the habit of any individual creative work or thought, it could conceive of an ideal system only as the negative of the system it knew. Hirelings themselves, the workers, in constructing their ideology, made servitude an article of faith of the future system, and created an economy in which all were performers and only a few individuals possessed the right to creative activity'.

The socialists had conceived of the peasantry as 'proto-matter' because they reasoned in terms of their own experience, which was limited to the field of manufacturing industries. But to the peasant revolutionaries it was clear that 'in social terms, industrial capitalism was merely a pathological, monstrous condition by which manufacturing industry, owing to its peculiarities, had been affected', and that it was by no means 'a developmental stage of the economy as a whole'.

Thanks to its fundamentally healthy nature, agriculture, Kremnev was told, had avoided 'the bitter cup of capitalism', so the Russian peasants had no need to direct the developmental process into that channel. The socialists' collectivist ideal, 'in which the working masses were conceived as the executors of agricultural work in accordance with State directives', seemed socially very imperfect when compared with 'a system

of working peasant farmers, a system in which labour is not separated from creative management, in which the freedom of individual initiative allows each human being to develop his full spiritual potential, while enabling him also when necessary to make use of the whole might of the collective large-scale economy and of public and state organisations'. Already at the beginning of the 20th century, the peasants had collectivised and organised in large cooperative enterprises all those branches of their productive activity where big economic units scored over small ones. And these peasant cooperatives were the buttress of the economy of Russia in 1984.

Manufacturing industry had presented greater difficulties than agriculture, since in the former sector it would have been foolish to expect to restore family production. So manufacturing industries were organised mainly in cooperatives, although private initiative of a capitalist type was also permitted. These residual capitalist enterprises were subject to 'swingeing taxation' which did not apply to cooperatives. To complete the picture of the 1984 economy: the State had rid itself of all economic enterprises, except that it retained monopolies in forestry, petroleum and coal - the control of fuel being the means to ensure that the peasants controlled the whole of manufacturing industry; trade was predominantly in the hands of cooperatives; and state finance was based on taxation of profits of enterprises employing hired labour and on indirect taxes. Indirect taxes because these had been shown to be just as progressive as income tax.

'We have enough knowledge of the composition and mechanics of consumption of all our social strata', so Kremnev's informant told him, 'to arrange the incidence of taxes mainly not on necessities, but on luxury goods, and, besides, the differences between average incomes are not so great. The advantage of indirect taxation is that it does not cost the taxpayer a minute of his time. Our system is so arranged that you may live for years ... and not once be reminded of the State as an oppressive power. That is not to say that our State organisation is weak. Far from it. It is simply that we stick to methods of operation in which the State refrains from grasping the citizen by the scruff of his neck. In former times, it was naively supposed that the only way to manage the economy was by giving orders, subordinating, nationalising, forbidding, commanding and issuing warrants, in a word, fulfilling the national economic plan by means of pliant performance ... We have much more subtle and effective means of indirect influence, and can always create such conditions for any branch of the economy as to make it meet our requirements'.

The social, as distinct from the economic, problem of building a society based on peasants' power proved more difficult and complicated. Kremnev was told: 'We had to solve the problem of the individual and society. We had to build a human society in which the individual could feel completely unfettered while society takes care of the common interest by methods invisible to the individual. We never allowed society to become an idol or made a fetish of the state. Our ultimate aim was always the enrichment of human life, an integrated human personality; everything else was a means to that end. We consider society and the state as the most powerful and essential of these means, but never forget that they are no more than means. We are particularly cautious about the state, which we use only when necessity dictates ...'

How, then, is the Russian state in 1984 organised? 'The system ... is a Soviet system, a system of peasant councils', Kremnev is told. In some ways, it is 'the heritage of the socialist period in our history' but, 'among the peasants, it long predates October 1917, when it essentially existed in the management of the cooperatives'. 'We value in it the idea of direct responsibility of all authorities to the social groups or organisations which they serve; only the courts, the organs of state control and some bodies in the communications field are exempt from this rule and are run entirely by central authority. We see particular value in the division of legislative power; under this, questions of principle are decided by the Congress of Soviets, having first been considered at the local level ... The actual mechanics of legislation are entrusted to the Central Executive Committee and, in some cases, to the Council of People's Commissars. This method of administration involves the masses very closely in state activity and at the same time ensures flexibility of the legislative machinery. But in any case we are no sticklers for formality in putting even such a mechanism into effect, and local variants

SOFT-TECH

Edited by J. Baldwin
& Stewart Brand

A Penguin Book



I didn't believe in the alternate-energy future until I saw how dull it was gonna be and how stupid the slogans were gonna be and how much I wasn't gonna like it. Then I knew it would come.

— Steve Baer
Solar Inventor

SOFT TECH: Penguin Books, £2.25. \$5.00
(30,000 distributed in USA, Canada and Britain. 3,000 mail order direct from The Co-Evolution Quarterly, Box 428. Sausalito, Ca. 94965.

SOFT: Responsive, Pliable, Resilient, Mellow, Flexible, Yielding, Sensitive, Relaxed, Giving.

TECH: Skill, Craft, Knack, Excellence, Experience, Versatility, Mastery, Imagination, Competence, Ingenuity, Artistry, Know-How.

THE illustrated highlights of America's SOFT TECHNOLOGY world, telling you what you can do, how you can do it, and just where you can find the best books, tools and advice to help you on your merry way. Hamstead bicycle technology, double bubble wheel engines and underground architecture loom forth as examples of the diversity and scope of ideas in soft technology, and that's not all. Methane bubbles, nitinol, solar water heaters, small tractors and economic cars, all have an important part to play! In fact this book covers so many aspects, both major and minor, of ST work that we would have to re-write the contents list to be fair. Articles by those directly involved in the various aspects covered are preceded by many impressive 'reviews' of books and catalogues on the subject. The first of which describes a suggestive and 'highly evolved tool box' with which to carry out the dirty work while expending the minimum amount of brute force and ignorance. The outcome is that whatever you're into the editors have given you a great range of informative sources with which to supplement your knowledge. It is, understandably, 100 per cent North American and so of

The Serpent's Egg

The Serpent's Egg has not received very good reviews but those of us who lived nearer the times in households of the politically aware will view the film in a different light.

The times that gave rise to surrealism were messy, vindictive, blind and destructive. The serpents that nurtured the egg were those in power in England and France. By their crude disastrous policies they ground the German working class into the mud and with it the working class of Britain and France. With cheap coal from the Ruhr they defeated the miners' struggle in England for a civilised standard of living.

Some Utopian Characteristics of Soft Technology (Robin Clarke)

'HARD' technology society	'SOFT' technology society
1 ecologically unsound	ecologically sound
2 large energy input	small energy input
3 high pollution rate	low or no pollution rate
4 non-reversible use of materials and energy sources	reversible materials and energy sources only
5 functional for limited time only	functional for all time
6 mass production	craft industry
7 high specialization	low specialization
8 nuclear family	communal units
9 city emphasis	village emphasis
10 alienation from nature	integration with nature
11 consensus politics	democratic politics
12 technical boundaries	technical boundaries set by nature
13 world-wide trade	local bartering
14 destructive of local culture	compatible with local culture
15 technology liable to misuse	safeguards against misuse
16 highly destructive to other species	dependent on well-being of other species
17 innovation regulated by profit and war	innovation regulated by need
18 growth-oriented economy	steady-state economy
19 capital intensive	labour intensive
20 alienates young and old	integrates young and old
21 centralist	decentralist
22 general efficiency increases with size	general efficiency increases with smallness
23 operating modes too complicated for general comprehension	operating modes understandable by all
24 technological accidents frequent	technological accidents few and unimportant
25 singular solutions to technical and social problems	diverse solutions to technical and social problems
26 agricultural emphasis on mono-culture	agricultural emphasis on diversity
27 quality criteria highly valued	quality criteria highly valued
28 food production specialized	food production shared by all
29 work undertaken primarily for income	work undertaken primarily for satisfaction
30 small units totally dependent on others	small units self-sufficient
31 science and technology alienated from culture	science and technology integrated with culture
32 science and technology performed by specialist elites	science and technology performed by all
33 strong work/leisure distinction	weak or non-existent work/leisure distinction
34 high unemployment	(concept not valid)
35 technical goals valid for only a small proportion of the globe for a finite time	technical goals valid for all men for all time

Thirty-five characteristics and counter-characteristics borrowed from AD magazine (July '74) who borrowed the list from a book by David Dickson (we're still tracking it down) who borrowed the material from Robin Clarke, who ...

little practical use to those of us many miles away who would find book and postage prices too high. A problem that of course can only be solved by the production of similar material wherever there is a need for it.

The editors, James Baldwin and Stewart Brand, describe themselves as 'soft technology professionals'; the book may indeed be one for soft-tech professionals they wonder. However this may be, their underlying philosophy is one of a genuine desire to replace the ecologically destructive hard technology of today with a system that will minimise if not eradicate the damage that human beings inflict on this planet. Something that all people concerned with the future of planet earth, and all who sail in her, must be fundamentally concerned with.

Today most people unthinkingly accept the rampant destruction of the environment as necessary for the maintenance of an ever increasing population of already 4,000,000,000. Though the problem might well be eased by organisational improvements and attitudes towards distribution of wealth changing radically, or such notions as 'going back to the land' - cottage industry - approximating to self-sufficiency, which I do not see as viable, the only long term solution can be a change to soft technology. A way to reap the benefits of the technological age without incurring the high 'ecological' price that we presently pay.

This book is not however a starting point for discussion on soft technology versus hard technology. It takes that argument as already proven. And it doesn't merely theorise about various possible applications and alternatives within soft technology. It starts with hard facts. It can work, it is working, and here is a lot more information on how to go about it.

And it ends? A book like this will never end; they will probably soon update it.

STEVE SORBA

The more subtle aspects of the film have great significance today for the growth of fascism in Western Europe will not come through marching gangs of frustrated and impoverished youths but by the governments' increasing development of police and social control in which all the methods indicated are used.

The serpent has many heads and some were executed at Nuremberg so that the serpent could survive. It survives everywhere and in subtle ways: in affluent Germany, in Russia and in Britain. Fascism is often a misdirected reaction to human misery, to loss of dignity and direction.

I liked the film but it is not entertainment. It has a Pasolini-type touch to it and is, perhaps, Bergman's most political film.

Alan Albon.

Arson and Liberation

I'VE been writing this on the bus, on my way to work. Outside the dawn is just breaking. I try not to think too much about the days ahead. For I have damaged property to the value of over £50,000 and with two comrades soon I will stand trial.

This is a short story about how this situation came about. A tale of burglars and arsonists of the night. Another chapter in the saga of the struggle to free animal beings from human tyranny. The story, so far, of the BAND OF MERCY, and my thoughts and feelings on our campaign.

At sometime during the middle of 1973 there were a few of us involved in the Hunt Saboteurs Association who were becoming increasingly frustrated by the failure of HSA to take effective action against cubhunting, a diabolical procedure whereby young foxhounds are trained by being encouraged to tear young foxes to death. Given available resources we reckoned that the only meaningful action which could be taken against cubhunting was to immobilise hunt vehicles in night raids on the kennels. HSA stuck to their official line of 'no damage to property' and refused to initiate such activity. Us few militants decided that vehicle immobilisation had to be carried out, so we decided to form a guerrilla group independent of HSA. We decided to call ourselves the Band of Mercy, a very appropriate name formerly used by the RSPCA youth group in the last century.

In the early autumn we carried out raids on the kennels of the Whaddon Chase, the Vale of Aylesbury, and the Puckeridge and Thurlow foxhunts. Vehicles were immobilised the night before cubhunting by low-key damage methods such as cutting wires and putting tacks in the locks and ignition.

We had been keeping an eye on a building site at Walton, Bucks since early in 1973. This was a research laboratory which was being constructed for Hoechst Pharmaceuticals, the German drug firm. One of the Hoechst bosses was quoted in the local evening paper as saying that animals would be used there and would be subjected to experiments using radioactive material. There was some slight local concern about the building of the lab and a lady member of the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection who lived a few miles from the laboratory had staged a single-handed protest at the ceremonial beginning of construction work. But this was to no avail and it was evident that animals would be subjected to torture in the Hoechst lab unless drastic action was taken. We decided that the only course open to us was to attempt to destroy the building, and on November 10 1973 the partially constructed vivisection complex was attacked by fire.

When workmen had left the site the building was checked to make sure that no human or other creatures remained inside and a fire was started by setting light to a polythene sheeting in a room of the building. The damage caused by this attack was later estimated to be over £26,000 but the local press gave the figure as less than one sixth of this and so we decided that another attack must be made on the laboratory.

This attack came on November 16. Once again we waited until workmen had left the site and then checked the building. This time we had brought several gallons of petrol with us and when we had poured the contents into the building we set it alight. So intense was the fire and smoke that we were almost overcome, but eventually managed to escape by breaking a window and running down the fire escape.

Sadly only £20,000 damage was caused to the lab by this second attack, and it was now almost impregnable as security guards were present day and night. A letter was sent to the Bletchley Gazette claiming responsibility for the fire attacks and we decided to leave the Hoechst complex alone, at least for the time being. Happily the opening of the vivisection lab was delayed by six months. How much this had to do with our actions we do not know.

It was not until June 1974 that the Band of Mercy once again went into action. Every July for decades sealhunters had murdered baby seals on the Wash sandbanks for their fur.

There had been much protest about this and a few years ago the government decreed that the hunters had to obtain licences for the killing, but licenses were always granted and the slaughter went on.

It was decided that militant action had to be taken to stop the 1974 killings. The Save our Seals campaign had announced that they would use motor boats to intercept the hunters but we were concerned that this would not be sufficient. Early in the morning of June 23rd the Band of Mercy struck at two seal hunting boats at Sutton Bridge in Lincolnshire, destroying one completely and damaging the other. A few days before the date laid down for the start of the seal hunt it was called off by the Home Secretary. Whether this was because our action had made him think more deeply about the issues involved, or because he feared further actions by us and the Save Our Seals campaign, we may never know.

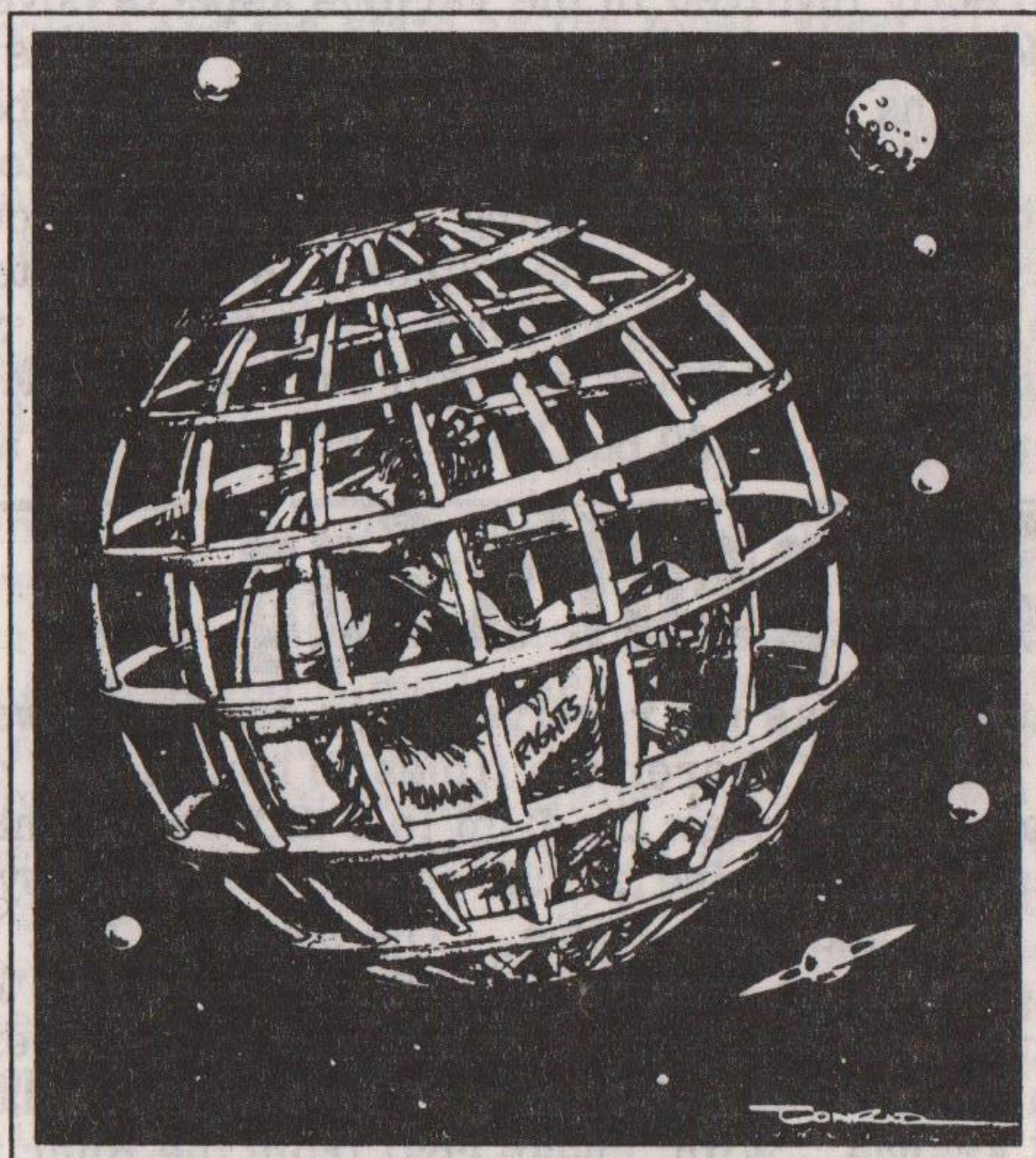
It had been decided that after the attack on the sealing boats the Band of Mercy would concentrate on attacking property connected with vivisection, and on July 11 two vans belonging to Huntingdon Nutritional Research Unit, used to transport animals to vivisection labs, were destroyed by fire. This raid was followed up quickly by a damage attack on vivisection vans at Rosbuck Farm near Welwyn Garden City, and walls and doors at this animal breeding centre were sprayed with anti-vivisection slogans. Six days later a van belonging to Harris Biological Supplies was gutted by fire at Weston-Super-Mare and this was followed on July 22nd by a diversion from the usual plan of attack when bricks were hurled through windows of Marlborough gun shop to damage fishing rods and other animal murder equipment inside.

The next raid came on August 10 at Hope Farm near Elstree, a place where they breed farm animals and others for vivisection labs. Four vehicles were damaged. Six days later boxes used for transportation of baby chicks to laboratory torture were taken from a shed at Orchards farm, Little Kingshill, Bucks and burnt in a field nearby.

Band of Mercy activity then switched to Wales where on August 21st boxes used to imprison animal vivisection victims were stacked around a van belonging to dog and cat breeders and then set on fire causing £400 worth of damage. The Welsh breeders were OLAC (Western) Ltd and two days later their English counterpart OLAC (Southern) at Blackthorn near Bicester were the subject of attack. But it was an attack which never occurred for a night watchman had seen the two of us on the premises and we were captured by police as we hid beneath a prefabricated vivisection building.

Cliff Goodman and myself were taken to Bicester Police

CONT P.13



"All the world's a cage"

Russia in 1984

FROM P.10

are allowed; thus we have parliamentarism in Yakutsk oblast (district), while the monarchists of Uglich have set up a local prince, restricted, it is true, in his power, by the local Soviet of Deputies; on the other hand, in the Mongolo-Altai territory, a 'governor-general' appointed by the central authority rules alone'.

At this point in the exposition, Kremnev interjects: 'The Congress of Soviets, the Central Executive Committee and the local Soviets of Deputies - all these merely legitimise power. But on what is real power founded here?'

His informant replies: 'Our fellow citizens have almost forgotten about such concerns, for we have stripped the state of virtually all social and economic functions, and the ordinary man has hardly any contact with it. Generally, we consider the state to be an outdated mode of organising social life, and nine-tenths of our work is done by social methods; it is they that are characteristic of our system; various societies, cooperatives, congresses, leagues, newspapers, other organs of public opinion, academies and, finally, clubs - that is the social fabric which constitutes the life of the nation. And it is here, in managing it, that we meet exceedingly complicated organisational problems'.

Further, Kremnev was told, the peasant revolutionary leaders had been constantly dogged by the thought: Are the higher forms of culture possible with a population scattered throughout the countryside? Believing that they were, the leaders had to find the means. The solution was found in keeping the countryside for several decades in a state of psychological tension. 'A special League for the Organisation of Public Opinion set up dozens of mechanism for stimulating and maintaining the social dynamism of the masses'. But, his informant continued, 'perhaps the law on obligatory travel for young men and women, and the two-year conscription for military and labour service played the biggest part in bringing our fellow-citizens to the fountain-head of culture. The idea of journeying, borrowed from the medieval guilds, allowed a young man to see the world and expanded his horizons. He was polished still further during his military service'. But almost no strategic significance was attached to the latter, since, in any case, the nation had 'means of defence more powerful than all the guns and cannon taken together' - means which, as the story unfolds, turn out to be instruments to control the climate, capable of creating cyclones and whirlwinds powerful enough to literally sweep away invading armies.

As the extensive quotations given above make clear, Chayanov's vision of Russia was not an anarchist one, 'the

Arson...

FROM P.12

Station, charged with going equipped for burglary and damage, refused bail by a magistrate, and imprisoned within Oxford gaol. Six days later we appeared before the magistrates again, together with Robin Howard, who was charged with me with burning the sealboats, and once again we were remanded to Oxford prison. The next Monday before a bench of three magistrates we were each granted bail, after lengthy legal argument and much talk of 'taking a chance with you' by the chairman of the bench, in the sum of £2,050. In addition we had to surrender any passports and report nightly to the police. But it was with great relief that we once again became comparatively free.

For myself there were several reasons why I took part in Band of Mercy actions; I wanted to save animals from cruelty; I wanted to make people aware that such cruelty went on, and to encourage them to act against it; I wanted those who took part in such cruelty to reflect upon their actions and hopefully to cease their cruel activities. Animals have been saved. Press publicity has and will make people aware, and hopefully, some will take action. Animal torturers have been forced to think. Hopefully they will think long and hard and at least begin to act humanely. Despite the adverse comments of some people I still maintain that our actions were nonviolent, for we took the greatest care that no animal or human being would be injured by our activities. We asserted by our actions the value of life, and the fact that the lives of sentient beings are more important than property. I would be concerned about using damage purely as a form of protest but this was not just protest but

marvellous anarchy of Prince Kropotkin'. But it may fairly be described as 'libertarian socialist'. In its distrust of the State, in its concern for individual freedom, in its hostility to the values typical of industrial urbanised society, and in many other ways, it expresses an ideology that is miles nearer to anarchism than it is to bolshevik Marxism. This conclusion is not surprising. Historically, most peasant movements, when they have articulated their social ideals, have shown pronounced libertarian tendencies. To the peasant, as to the anarchist, the State appears the tax-gatherer, the bully and the butcher, an alien intruder into 'natural society', an expression of the political, as opposed to the social, principle.

As we all know, there was no peasant revolution in Russia in 1934. Instead, the bolsheviks under Stalin carried out their ruthless policy of liquidating the kulaks and enforcing collectivisation of farming. Chayanov, not surprisingly, was himself arrested in 1930, dying nine years later. In the real Russia of 1984 it is only too likely that Chayanov's vision will seem to his successors (if they are allowed to learn of it) as no more than an idle dream of what-might-have-been. Elsewhere, however, in developing countries where the bolsheviks have not yet seized power and carried through their statist counter-revolution, Chayanov's vision retains its original characteristic: that of providing a possible, viable alternative. In reading the romance, I was struck by how closely, in many respects, Chayanov's social ideals resemble those of certain Gandhian socialists in contemporary India - the largest non-communist, predominantly peasant society in the world. Gandhian socialism, as expressed by men like Jayaprakash Narayan - as distinct from the Fabian-inspired socialism of Nehru and Mrs Gandhi - is essentially a socialism based on the peasantry and infused with typically peasant values. If the Gandhian socialists could succeed in establishing their ascendancy under the present Janata regime - which is, at least, overtly sympathetic to them, J. P. Narayan being their chief mentor - then India by 1984 might be set on the road to the kind of social system outlined by Chayanov. From an anarchist perspective, there would remain much to criticise in such a social system, but, at least, it would be a system pointed in the right, i.e. the libertarian, direction.

Acknowledgement: Credit for rescuing Chayanov's utopian romance from oblivion goes to Professor R.E.F. Smith of Birmingham University. The above account draws shamelessly on his translation of the work, with commentary, which is published in full in the special issue on 'The Russian Peasant' of The Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol. 4, No. 1, October 1976.

G. N. O.

the prevention of suffering and the saving of lives.

Come February* we may be in prison. Our only hope for freedom, and indeed the only way in which I feel I can personally fight this case, is to say 'We are not sorry, we acted to save the helpless and the weak from suffering and untimely death. We were in the right'. I feel we must attempt to relate to the judge as a person. Deep beneath the wig and robes, beneath the decades of indoctrination with the legal lie, there exists a human being. We must attempt to reach that human being, and to stir his feelings of compassion and true justice. That is our only hope. But I realise that his humanity may be so deeply buried that we may not reach it, and with pronouncements concerning dangers to society he will order us to jail.

If this occurs they will have to carry me to the prison, for I cannot accept that such institutions should exist, or that we should be locked inside them, and as far as I am able I will not cooperate with my incarceration. My non-cooperation will include refusal to eat prison food and to wear non-vegan prison clothes, and will continue until we are freed or until the government announces the ceasing of weapons testing on animal beings.

My greatest regret is that Band of Mercy activity did not continue as soon as news had got out of our capture by the police. But the state is vicious in its punishment and I feel that others were afraid of reprisals against us if the raids went on. Happily the Band has not been broken by the state. It is not dead, only sleeping. And I have confidence that soon it will reawake to rejoin the struggle for the freeing of the animal creation from the tyranny of humankind.

(NOTE ON P.14)

RONNIE LEE