

FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

Freedom Press

IN ANGEL ALLEY
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LONDON E.1
PHONE 01 247 9249

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, Mejlgade 48, 8000 Aarhus

Copenhagen: Anarkist-Synd, Bogcafe, Studies fraede 18, 1455 Copenhagen

Christiania: Write Stot Christiania, Dronningensgade 14, 1420 Copenhagen

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Baden: Karin Bauer, Info-Btro, 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: Anarchistische Föderation Ostwestfalen-Lippe (Eastwest-fallian 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. Tiffoni, 5-00153 Rome

SWEDEN

Frihetlige Forum, Landsvagsgratan 19, 41304 04 GÖTEBORG.

Frihetligt Forum, Renstiernsgata 51, 11631 STOCKHOLM.

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

Meetings

FRIENDS OF ASTRID PROLL.

Picket outside HMP Brixton, Jebb Av. on Christmas Eve at 6.30 p.m. (Sunday). Bring songs and music.

ANARCHIST TALKING SHOP AND PISS UP

Over the New Year holiday there will be an informal gathering of anarchists/libertarians in Bristol. There will be talking, eating, sleeping, bopping, boozing, walking, playing, cooking, arguing and anything else that people want to do.

For more details contact: New Year, 4 British Road, Bristol BS3 3BW

PERSONS UNKNOWN BENEFIT

11 January. North London Polytechnic Theatre. Holloway Road. With SOFT BOYS, CHARGE, RESISTERS, THE PASSIONS. 7.30. £1.50. (All money to Persons Unknown).

Desires

AUM EXPEDITION VIA HIMALAYAS

Anarcha United Mystics are sending out an expeditionary action unit via the Himalayas from London in about September 1979, for at least 6 months and maybe FOREVER. The object is to rediscover the lost secret of revolution and life and to be accordingly, and also to bring to the East the message of anarchy.

Transportation, equipment etc. are

all yet to be decided; but certain interim suggestions are as set out below. Many of the suggestions will of course be varied when resources and response is known. There is space for some people who wish to travel only as far as Europe or Turkey. Contact has already been made with the appropriate consulates and the AA.

It is hoped that there will also be musicians available to form a band, actors for a theatre group, poets, artists, dancers etc. and that the participants will have revolutionary or spiritual sympathies.

Transportation: either refitted bus or coach, or vans landrovers lorry etc.

Equipment: radio tents musical/theatrical gear, maps sleeping bags dingy fridge first aid etc.

Supplies: food water spares petrol etc are to be obtained on location.

Personnel: mechanic nurse electrician etc.

Finances: hopefully each person will contribute at least £300 but £700 might be better, however deserving cases go free, sponsorship, gigs and shows en route, police damages etc.

Route: London, Brussels, Frankfurt, Munich, Innsbruck, Zagreb, Belgrade, Skopje, Thessalonika, Istanbul, Ankara, Tabriz, Tehran, Mushhad, Herat, Kabul, Peshawar, Lahore, Amritsar, Delhi.

Post: There will be AUM boxes at Ankara till end of October, Kabul till Christmas, Delhi anytime later.

Health: Innoculations are required by some countries

AUM meet every Thursday at 7.30 pm at 13 James Street, Covent Garden, London WC2 and all are welcome to attend. We discuss action and do yoga, tarot, encounter, meditation etc.

NOTE!

This will be the last issue of FREEDOM this year (vol. 39 no. 25). Over the next couple of weeks the collective will relapse into actual rest. The next issue (vol. 40 no. 1) will appear in January; copy dates: Review, Monday 8 January, news section, 15 January. You can use your time profitably not acknowledging the festival by producing a contribution for us!

Now we should like to adopt a traditional role situation and send good wishes to all our friends. Thanks for the cards. And thanks for all help, contributions and the like over the last, and the next year.

HAVE FUN! eds.

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anarchist fortnightly Freedom

23 DECEMBER/78

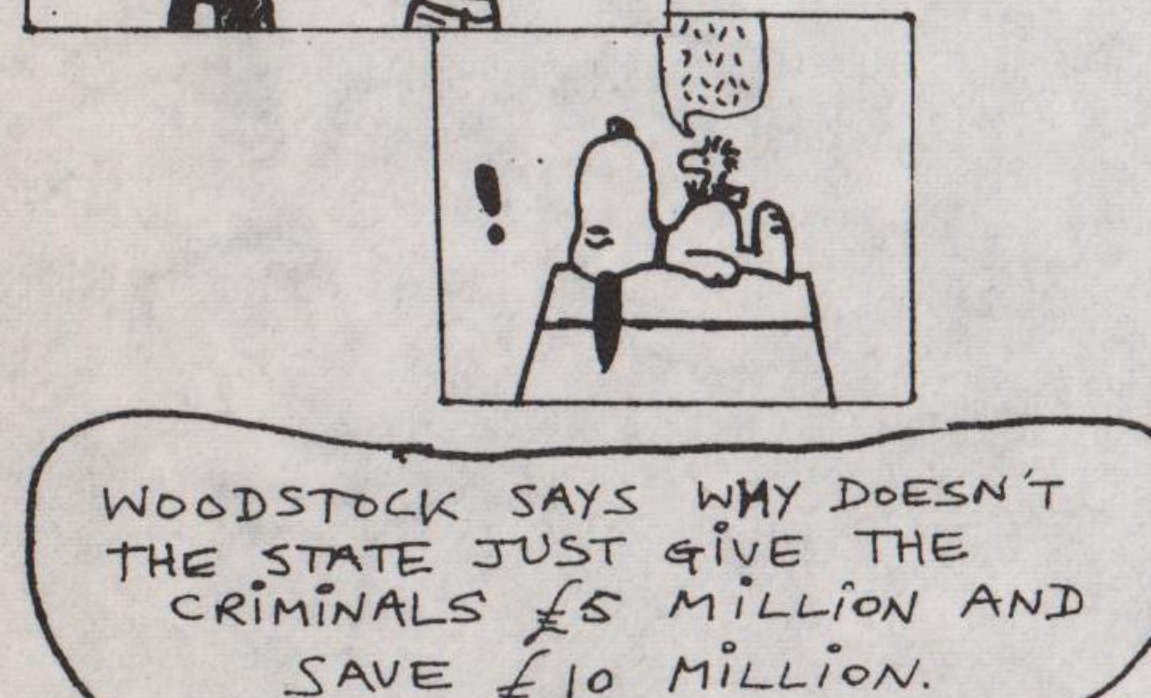
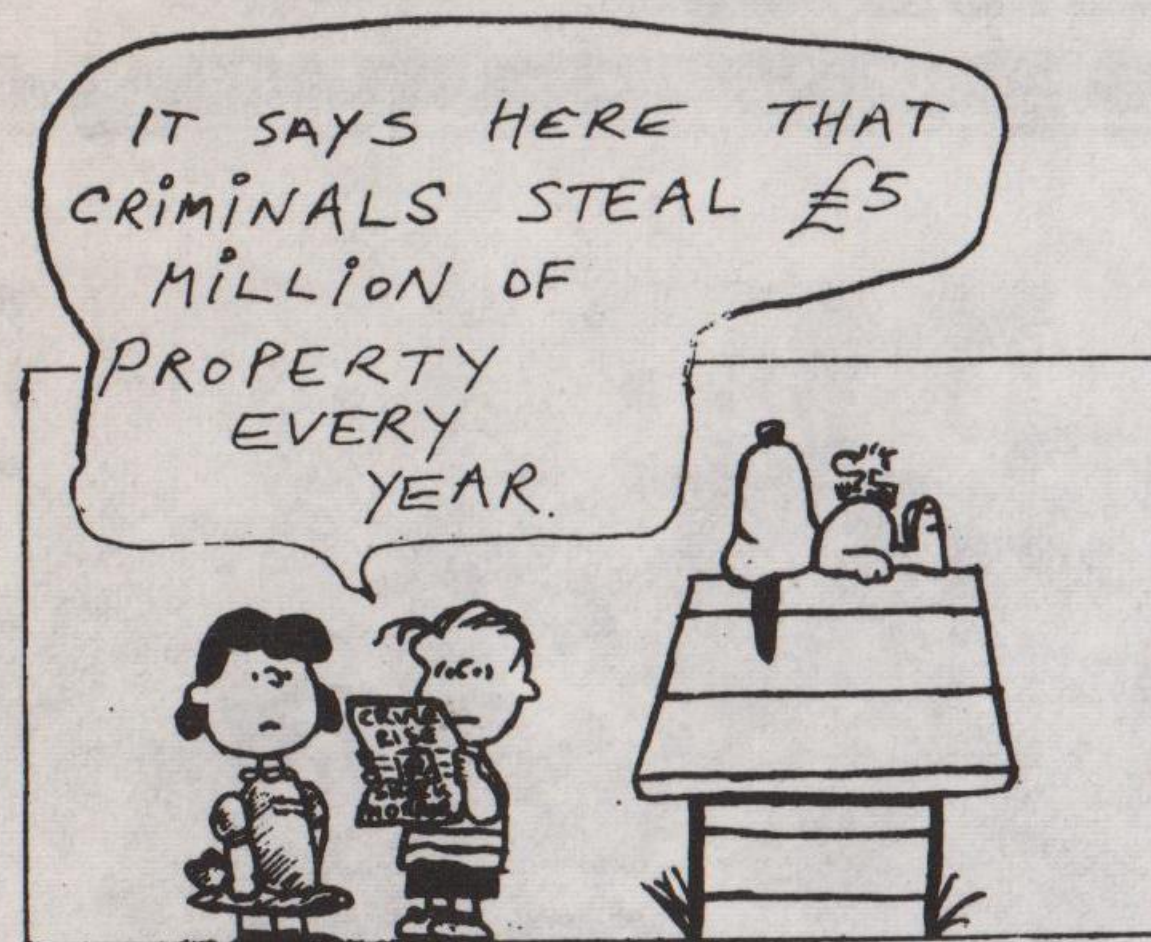
Vol 39 No 25

20p



SEASON'S GREETINGS

SHOOTIN' GROUSE IN FLEET STREET



VINCE BAILED

ON Monday, 11 December Vince Stevenson became the third of our comrades facing 'conspiracy to rob' charges to be released on bail. Despite the dropping of the main 'conspiracy to cause explosions' charge this was only possible on the strength of four sureties totalling £16,000 and after application to a judge in chambers. Magistrates had repeatedly refused him bail, as they continue to do in the case of Ronan Bennett and Dafydd Ladd. Vince must stay with a friend and her husband in the East End of London and report daily between 8-9 p.m. to the local police station. He must also observe a 7 a.m. - 10 p.m. curfew.

It is meanwhile expected that Taff and Ronan will apply again for bail at committals, due to take place this Thursday (21st). If bail is once more refused, judge in chambers will be the only recourse left, since after defendants are committed for trial, the regular remand

hearings before the magistrates cease. And, on a point of information, the cost of applying to a judge is the same as that of a new wig: £100!

The pre-committals campaign in London has had both its positive movements and its disappointments. Throughout the last week pickets braved icy winds each day at each of London's five prisons. Leaflets were distributed to visitors as well as to some prison staff and passers-by and on the whole were cheerfully, and sometimes enthusiastically, accepted. They called for an end to solitary confinement and special control units, to use of drugs for controlling inmates, to the secrecy surrounding prison matters and to victimisation of prisoners without legal redress. They also gave a short summary of the history and underlying reasons why the ruling class like their prisons so much.

The public meeting at the Drill Hall on 14 December and 'day of action' that followed met with a shameful response. At the risk of sounding censorious, even when account is taken of the cold weather (!) and uncertainty about the committal date preventing better advance publicity the fact that no more than 15 people turned up on Saturday in Trafalgar Square is an unequivocal disgrace to the anarchist movement in this country and particularly to those of us based in London.

SUNDAY TELEGRAPH OCCUPIED

This was no doubt also the view of an enigmatic group by the name of EPIC ANARCHIC PRODUCTIONS, who report that that same day they locked themselves in to the third floor, mauve and pink office of the Managing Director of that most reactionary of papers, The Sunday Telegraph.

Here, literally from one of the highest swivel-seats of power of the Third Estate, a sombre communique was penned to the national press and stuck hard to that mighty desk with cow gum. It demanded that the conspiracy of silence about the 'young people arrested for their ideals' be broken and went on, 'The Sunday Telegraph participated in the state smear campaign against them when they were arrested. Now the main conspiracy charge has been dropped nothing has been done to remove the smear. We demand that the bourgeois media, including The Sunday Telegraph print the FACTS. Further action will be taken if this is not done immediately! (Signed) Epic Anarchic Productions.'

'P.S. God is dead. Anarchy lives. Merry Xmas!!!'

EPA also, incidentally, report that the FAMOUS GROUSE whisky in the managing director's right hand drawer was not at all bad ...

As for the 'Persons Unknown' campaign, the events of the past week contain, as they were bound to do, lessons for the future. This writer can't speak for the support group/s, but it is possible that the disappointments of the pre-committal activity in London so far are due more to a lack of foresight and reality than of pure organisational efficiency.

A greater sense of reality, at any rate, means realising that no large-scale activity (and hence reliance on anarchist support from outside London - let alone from non-anarchist groups within it) can be expected unless a date is fixed and widely publicised several months in advance.

Where this is possible, for instance the anniversary of the first arrests last May (?) then preparations for a large-scale demonstration against the conspiracy laws and the political police would have to begin immediately after Christmas.

Where, as in this case, it isn't, it is surely better to concentrate exclusively on action best suited to small groups. These can be at least as effective in impact, as well as more flexible and more radical, than mass demos: and have the added advantage that they won't turn us into a lot of angry Estragons waiting for Godot ...

Apart from this, the mysterious example of the Epic Anarchic group reminds us (if reminder we need) that there is plenty of room for improvisation independently of 'Persons Unknown'.

... And maybe more bottles of whisky as well.

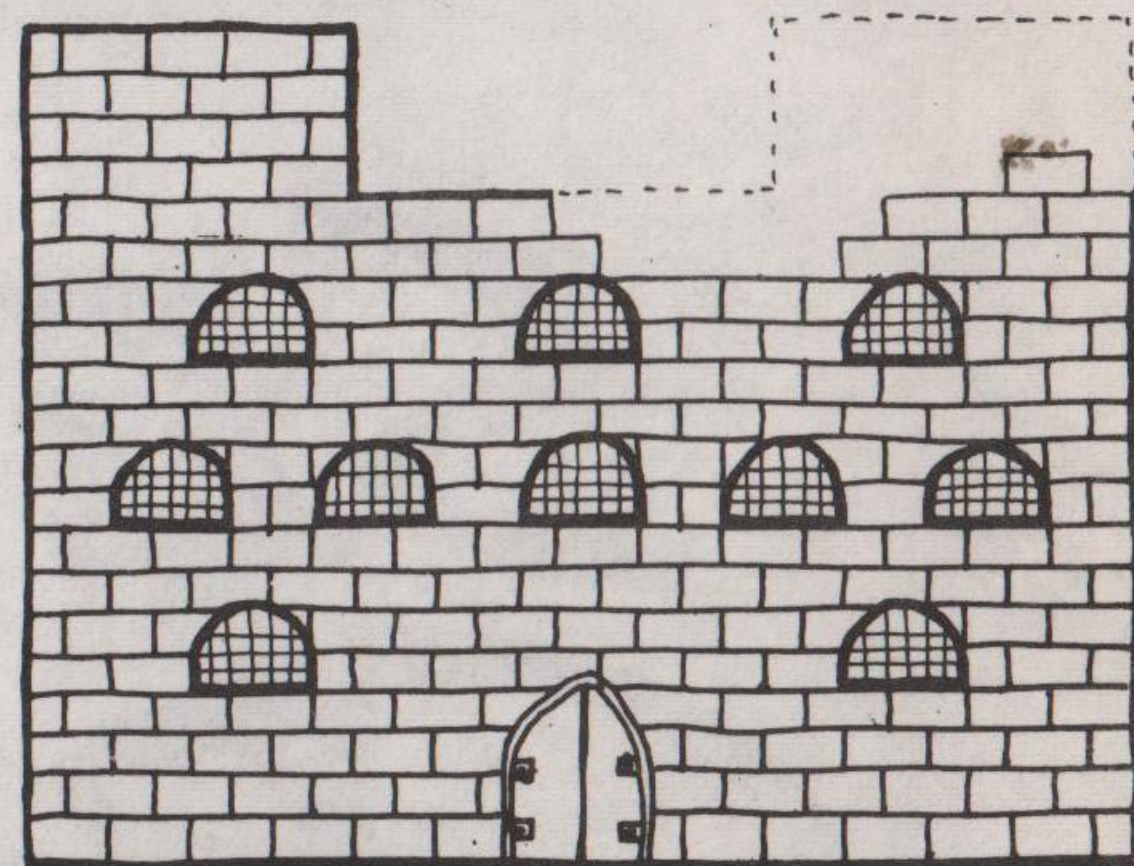
But comrades, even so, where were you last weekend?

GAIA

£1000 Demolish a Prison Fund

Every £5 received in donations to

Persons Unknown removes one brick



in support of RONAN IRIS
TAFF VINCE & TREV
PERSONS UNKNOWN
Donations to
Persons Unknown (DAPF)
POBox 123, 182 Upper St, London N1

HAVING managed to get along to North London Poly for the conference and also having forked out £1.60 for admission, conference papers and lunch, I was able to recline in a large and nearly empty room which felt several degrees below freezing. The conference finally got going around 11.00 a.m., when the organisers, having bribed the 30 or so who had arrived to remain in the face of arctic conditions with hot cups of tea, despaired of any more arrivals and decided to start off.

The speakers managed during the course of the morning to develop several points establishing the fallacy of the liberal/democratic state dispensing justice and settling disputes between the many and varied groups making up society, with total objectivity. This was supported by the provision of cases pointing out firstly the great rise in non jury-decided judgements. Mostly this great increase occurs in the magistrates courts, though there is also the trend of high court judges increasingly directing juries to bring in guilty verdicts. The judiciary was shown to be judging in terms of class interest, and while such findings should be no surprise to those who make the anarchist critique, at least ideas like this might get to the so-called liberals if JAIL keeps shouting loud enough. But this problem is not confined to the judicial arm of the state; the 'public inquiries' which send any opposition up a blind alley while the real decisions were taken long before way up the hierarchy, are just one example of aspects of class rule.

The conference on the whole failed to make the connection between discussion and action on legal abuses and opposition against the whole system. Admittedly this was not the aim of the conference but it is a very limited achievement if one concentrates merely on one aspect of oppression. The conference did provide useful information and examples of the more horrifying, but common, police

J.A.I.L.

ice practices. Duncan Campbell's paper on the practice of verballing should be a warning to those who hope keeping silent will save them, it won't. If the state can't get you to make a false confession it is quite willing to make one up anyway. The attitude of the police bosses to their own people breaking the law is well known. They want such actions given legal support instead of the mere tacit acknowledgement they have now.

One criticism of the conference I would like to make is that there was too little time for discussion; also, the use by the state of criminal legislation for political suppression was not adequately covered. There was some reference to Northern Ireland on this question, but little to the problems in the UK as a whole. There was no speaker on or discussion of the 'Persons Unknown' case.

The afternoon session was switched to a warmer room and quite a few more people turned up to listen to the comrade from Germany give an interesting,

though somewhat disjointed resume of her own view of the situation as regards freedom (the lack of it) in Germany. Two Irish comrades gave an interesting and distressing account of the suffering of prisoners and the problems presented for the defence in Diplock courts and appeals.

The conference on the whole was very strong on a wide area of law and order problems but it did not go beyond this area to any great degree. Moreover, it was weak on actual discussion. I left slightly dissatisfied with what I had seen and heard; it seemed that it was in risk of being merely a talking shop. Conferences are desirable but only if they lead to action as well as thought. However, criticism aside I hope that our comrades in JAIL can keep up their stand and perhaps develop some forms of cooperation for the left generally in opposition to the growing police state tendencies which the governments of the west, faced with economic decline, are being drawn into.

JON SIMCOCK

(Note: The conference was held on 2 December at the Polytechnic of North London, Holloway Road. Readers interested in finding out more details about JAIL's valuable work, and helping the collective in any way, should telephone: (01) 359-8034. EDS).

SHREWSBURY

AN anarchist group has started up in Shrewsbury (see contact column for address and meetings). We've been going for a little over one month and have about five active members. At our first meeting we discussed many possible activities, including prisoner aid, a wall newspaper etc. As a start we have begun street selling anarchist literature. A few members at first thought this would be a waste of time in a 'middle class', 'non university' town - but results have proved otherwise.

The first time we tried, three of us spent an hour on Saturday morning. We took 6 Peace News, 10 of the last Zero and 5 out of date Anarchys ('Fireman's strike' and 'housing/prisons' issues). Of these we sold all the Peace News, 4 Zeros and 4 Anarchys. In the following two weeks we didn't go, but when we went again on the 9/12 we spent two hours (two people) and out of 6 Solidarities, 6 Black Flags (October issue), 7 Anarchys and 1 Peace News we sold 5 Solidarities, 3 Black Flags and the Peace News, as well as two copies of Nick Walter's pamphlet 'About Anarchism'.

These results may not sound very significant to Londoners, but remember that until the anarchist group appeared there was virtually no overt political activity in Shrewsbury outside the parliamentary campaigns of Labour and the Conservatives. Those of us who've been involved in the street selling here all felt well pleased with the action. We got a fair bit of negative reaction but we also got plenty of positive feedback, including contact with prospective new members for the group. Plans are now afoot to get all the British anarchist publications regularly, including FREEDOM, and also the Canadian Open Road.*

In addition to street selling and the regular weekly meetings, we are involved in the anti-nuke movement and we are also planning a fund-raising disco for early in the new year. Through these involvements it is hoped to build strong foundations for more activities as our membership expands.

WINSTON SMITH
for Shrewsbury Anarchists

* We're glad to hear it! EDS.



SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONS: AZANIAN PRISONERS

part 2: making everyone a political prisoner

SINCE its rise to power the Nationalist Party has made for itself a number of increasingly severe laws that give it the excuse to crush social and political thought and brutalise workers and activists.

In 1950 the Suppression of Communism Act was brought into effect. It defined communism as any 'doctrine' aiming at political, industrial, social or economic change through 'disturbance of law and order'. All African unions were outlawed. Individuals could be summarily 'listed' as communists and banned. Since 1950 this act has been expanded and joined together with a series of laws brought into force in reaction to increased resistance.

When passive resistance against apartheid was organised by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress the government introduced the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1953. After the Sharpeville massacre, in 1960, the Public Safety Act was invoked and a State of Emergency declared. Police were given extensive powers to arrest people without warrant and hold them incommunicado. The Unlawful Organisation Act of 1960 was made to ban the ANC and PAC.

Later in the 60s a series of General Law Amendment Acts were passed creating the offence of 'sabotage', carrying the death penalty and provisions for arrest without warrant and detention incommunicado without trial for successive 90 day periods. In 1965 the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act permitted the Attorney General to order the detention incommunicado for 180 days of anyone considered likely to be able to give material for the state in trials involving 'serious' criminal or political offences.

1967 brought the Terrorism Act which allowed the detention of anyone incommunicado and without charge for an indefinite period of time. Finally, in 1976, the Internal Security Act widened the terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.

Nobody seems to know exactly how many detainees there are in South Africa at any one time. In October 1976 the government announced that there were 697 people in detention. A year later the South African Institute of Race Relations estimated that there 662 in detention and that between January and September 1977 556 had been released of whom as many as 97 had been detained for longer than a year.

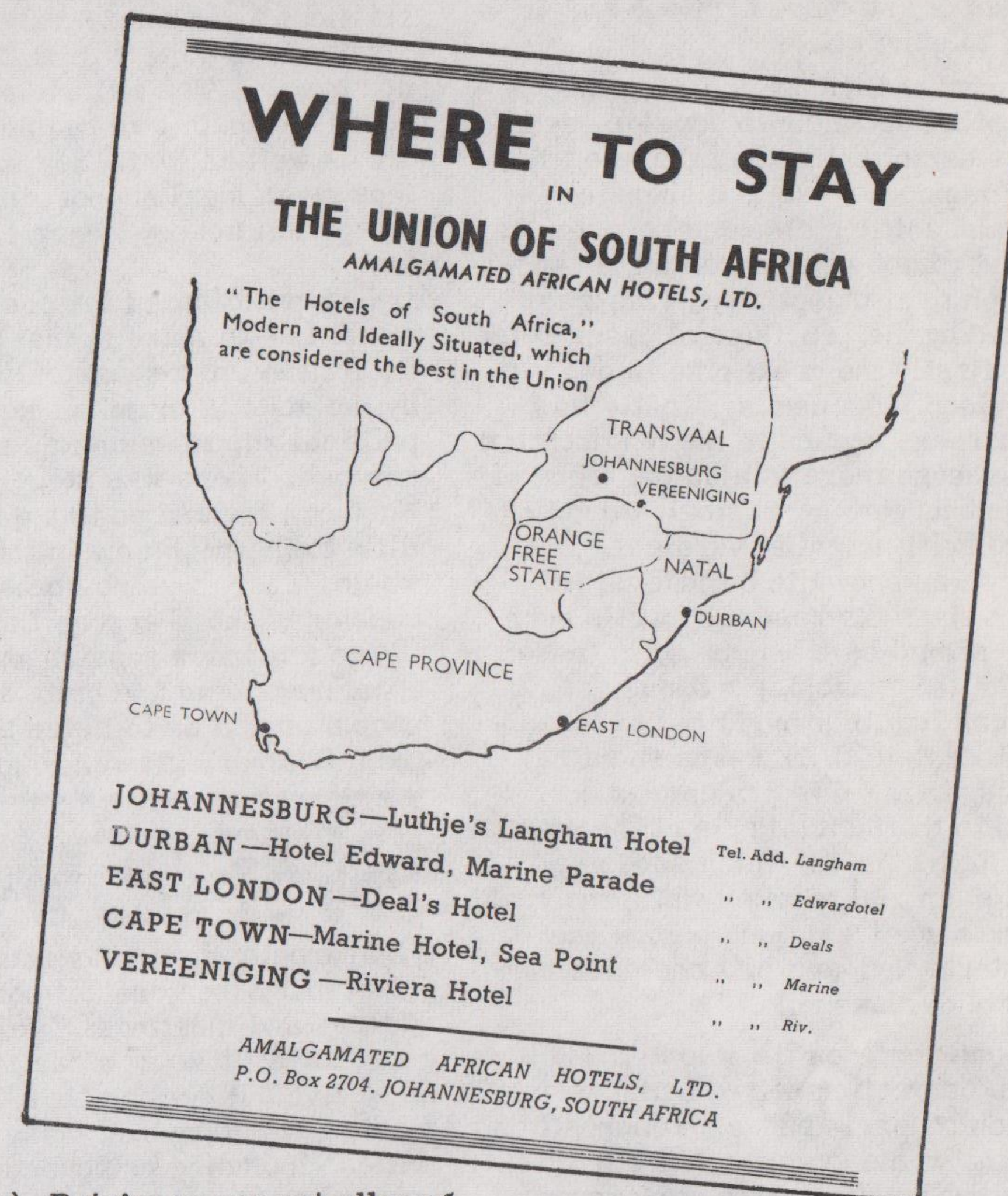
Amnesty International has documented numerous reports of torture and assault in detention, and a list of 'methods of interrogation' has been compiled by the

UN (see box). Detainees are not allowed access to relatives or legal representatives. They are completely in the hands of the security police who, under the widely used section 6 of the Terrorism Act, are free of all legal restrictions in their treatment of the detainees.

Political prisoners are those who are formally charged under the 'legislation' listed above. Since the Soweto uprising 4,200 people have been charged and 1,381 convicted. 927 of these were children or juveniles of whom 588 received up to eight cuts with a cane.

Once convicted political prisoners are lodged alongside 'common criminals' under 'special' regulations. Besides the notorious Robben Island, reports have mentioned seven other prisons including Pretoria Central, Pretoria Local, Fort Prison at Johannesburg and Roeland Street in Cape Town.

Although the government insists that their prisons meet the International Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, successive UN commissions have found that conditions are in fact well below in every measurable category: accommodation, sanitary installation, health and cleanliness, employment of prisoners, punishment for offences, corporal punishment, instruments of restraint, communication, access to news, use of force, and education.



Prisoners are treated under four 'grades' (A to D) which determine the diet, clothing, cell equipment and privileges. All political prisoners are in category D. They are denied parole or remission although the other categories of criminal offenders may receive up to one third remission of sentence. They are allowed to send and receive one letter of a maximum 500 words every six months and only one visitor in the same period. They are denied even simple privileges like tobacco.

Robben Island itself is the most complete definition of the Nationalist Party regime. Located 10 kilometres off the coast from Cape Town it contains more than 600 prisoners, carefully segregated and isolated from the outside world. It has been reported that the political prisoners on the island first learned of the Soweto uprising and the development of the resistance to 'Bantu Education' when large numbers of new prisoners began arriving towards the end of 1977. Some had not seen as much as a newspaper page in 10 years or more.

Prisoners are divided on a racial basis and according to the nature of their 'crime'. The prison is divided into four sections, the fourth recently added to accommodate people 'convicted' after the Soweto uprising. Ninety per cent of

prisoners must sleep on the cement floors. Two years ago it was estimated that there were 37 beds in the whole place. The climate is harsh, dry salty winds in the summer and cold damp fog in the winter. The Red Cross has said that there is a continuing danger of tuberculosis for long term inmates.

Most prisoners are kept in large cells with over 10 to a room. Long term political prisoners who have been leaders of labour and political movements are isolated in single cells and locked up from 15 to 17 hours a day. Work consists of collecting seaweed, breaking stones and quarrying limestone (1).

The object of Robben Island and the atrocities of the other prisons and the security police are maintained as the ultimate solution for those caught up in the rule of apartheid. Apartheid underpins the South African economy which is supported by the western nations through their investments. Upon this foundation 16 per cent of the population has made prisoners of 83 per cent of the population by the use of direct police action, the excuse of security laws and one of the most draconian detention systems ever consciously organised.

BRIAN MURPHY
(Southern Africa)

(1) For a much fuller description of these and other conditions in South African prisons and of the whole system of political oppression see; *Political Imprisonment in South Africa*, Amnesty International Report, 1978.

Next: Part 3. Steve Biko is not Alone

a little help with the enquiries ..



SOUTH AFRICAN INTERROGATION BY TORTURE *

Survivors of the Special Interrogation Branch have concurred in their testimony before numerous organisations that these are the most common methods used to 'gather' information and 'confessions'

Hung from rafters by a rope around the neck.

Forced to stand for long periods without sleep.

Compelled to lift weights above the head for extended periods, sometimes wearing shoes lined with pebbles.

Holding the head under water in a toilet basin.

Threats of assault and death.

Tied by the hands above the head so that the feet barely touch the ground.

Stand blindfold for five days and nights.

Solitary confinement for unlimited periods.

Handcuffed through legs.

Hold the 'imaginary chair' with hands outstretched.

Hit with karate blows.

Stand barefoot on the edge of bricks for long periods.

Struck on the genitals.

Denied opportunity to go to the toilet.

Bindfolded, gagged, tied down and given electric shocks for extended periods.

* Source: paper delivered to United Nations Symposium on the Exploitation of Blacks in South Africa and Namibia and on Prison Conditions in South African Gaols. 17-22 July 1978, Maseru, Lesotho.

UTRECHT

A FEW lines from chilly, cold Holland. I've been reading your paper for about a year now. Not bad, though a bit too dull in the layout for me. Material is good, good attempts of anarchist analysis of present scenes in the UK. In short, a good paper.

In Holland, as you might know, the situation of anarchist propaganda is quite different to that in the UK. There are three main anarchist papers - there are - De Vrye Socialist founded by Domela Nieuwenhuis in 1890 and still existing, De As, since 1971 and Recht voor Allen. The last one goes back to 1886, when it was the paper of the SDB (social democratic federation). Over the years it changed its character quite a lot. At the moment it is the paper of the anarchist federation of the North; they represent the 'oldies' (as you find them in any country) and are more or less the moralists: anti-alcohol, anti-smoking, anti-militarist.

Since the summer of this year the editors of De Vrye Socialist (The Free Socialist) have moved to Utrecht. We've been following, of course, your coverage of the ABC trial and Persons Unknown. One question: do you have any plans yet concerning the European elections? We're

REPORTS

in the process of organising a big rally at the end of January in cooperation with other groups. If you do have any plans please let us know. I think it is important to combine forces, especially against the European elections.

Keep on fighting!

RENE TEYGELER

N.B. Any group interested in joining forces with our Dutch comrades over the elections can contact René through FREEDOM or by writing direct to De Vrye Socialist, Postbus 411, Utrecht, Holland.

NUREMBERG

Comrades who belong to a prisoners' aid group in Nuremberg, West Germany and who have been working on the case of a mentally handicapped prisoner, Gunther Braun who died in mysterious circumstances earlier this year, have recently been the subject of a police raid. Material connected with their prisoner work was confiscated, including documents relating to the Braun case, and four members of the group were arrested. The group is suspected of 'criminal association' (article 129 of the penal code which is always used in political matters.)

THANET

THERE are not enough 'conscious' anarchists in Thanet to constitute a group and such activity as there has been over the past few years (Ramsgate Commune - and anarchists and anarchist ideas have never been more than an element in its make up - dates from 1971 and is likely to voluntarily disperse in mid-1979) has taken the form of making a libertarian presence felt in local pickets and actions. These have otherwise a predominantly left-socialist, IMG and SWP line-up. Small scale banner-carrying demonstrations have taken place at army recruitment displays, NF meetings and elections. Two of us took a CAAT banner into the recent Remembrance Day service and after subdued altercations with church wardens and then police officers were finally carried off the church premises. Correspondence with the vicar continues.

The women members of this household have been very active and persistent in efforts to get the local council to improve the totally inadequate nursery school provisions in Thanet and Canterbury and recently efforts have been made to draw attention to the plight of battered women and to get some kind of locally funded refuge provided for them.

PETER FORD

PE-REN- -NI-AL AR-GU-MENT

Dear FREEDOM

W. Upton thinks I am wrong to criticise Vernon Richards in my review of *The Impossibilities of Social Democracy* for using the word 'perennial' and says it is 'common in gardening catalogues and compere's patter' (FREEDOM no. 24). But what exactly does the word mean? My dictionary (Chambers) distinguishes between its botanical meaning, 'lasting more than two years', and others such as: (of insects) 'living more than one year' and 'lasting through the year'. Loosely, it means 'long-lasting' and this, I think, is all Vernon Richards meant by it in the example I chose, 'the perennial guarantee that' (page 71). If so, why use it at all instead of 'long-lasting', 'perpetual' or 'permanent'?

My complaint against Vernon Richards was not so much that he used unfamiliar words but that he used them when they added nothing to his meaning. I certainly would not assume that 'a limited vocabulary means that someone is better, more down to earth, and more in touch with reality'. Indeed, it was precisely because I did recognise most of Vernon Richards' unfamiliar words that I thought I was in a position to criticise his use of them.

Also, W. Upton's claim that the *Daily Mirror* offers 'simple answers, as fascists do' (my italics) is difficult to make sense of - unless he means that he is opposed to the techniques of popular journalism as such. If so, he would presumably condemn the attempts you have been making recently to brighten FREEDOM and make it more readable. But, still, fascist? On this evidence W. Upton is another person who should be more careful in his choice of words.

Yours fraternally
Wynford Hicks

London

MAKE NEWS!

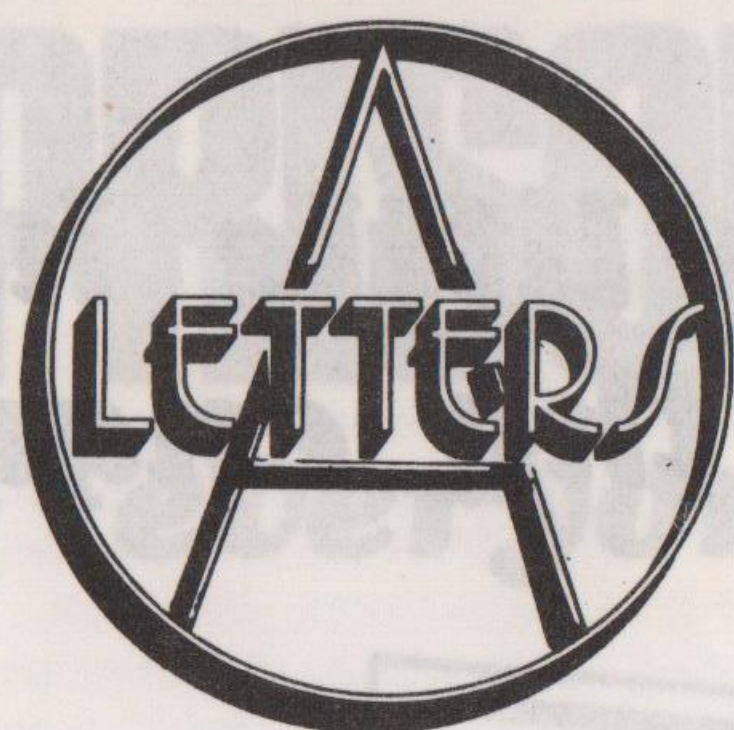
Dear FREEDOM

Alan Westfall is right when he says that FREEDOM should be more orientated around the movement than the world at large but in order for this to happen Anarchists must create news, or put forward ideas which can be reported or published.

Being one of the smaller groups in society it is obvious that Anarchists have difficulty in organising effectively to campaign around certain issues (more so in some areas than others). I am sure that there are many potential Anarchists who have jumped on the bandwagon of left wing statistics unaware of any alternative.

FREEDOM must become a forum for debate both theoretical and tactical through which Anarchists can communicate and make contact with each other, strengthening links and becoming a potent force in society.

N. B.



NEEDED: A MASS MOVEMENT

Dear Editors

With regard to recent letters in FREEDOM, I feel that the common failing of the anarchist movement, left wing groups in general and even extreme right wing groups is that, unlike the establishment, they must create a genuine mass movement if they are to succeed. In the cases of authoritarian left and right wing parties, these mass movements are merely a vehicle for an elite ruling group to gain power; nevertheless they are still genuine mass movements. Entrenched power-structures need not be mass movements, as manipulation of the mass media and 'democratic elections' on the terms of the ruling elite obviate the necessity for them to create a true mass movement, even if they were capable of it. This can be seen in China, where the Communist Party has a mere 18 million members out of a population of 850 million. The fact that party members sit on every factory and commune committee requires no further comment.

Of all movements, anarchism has to be a mass movement in order to succeed at all. Its very nature recludes elitism, either during a formative period or at the point of achievement of an anarchist society. As it stands today in Britain, it has patently not succeeded. Just as the modern day successors to fascism and the 57 varieties of communist have failed to build mass movements, so has anarchism. This is not to say that great effort has not been made and that individuals and groups have not suffered great hardships in attempting to achieve their aims. Society as we know it is manipulated from above by an uneasy alliance of businessmen, usurers, politicians, aristocrats and christmongsers. We are all forced to live in it and so we know the compromises we must make every day in order to survive. Nevertheless, we recognise these compromises as having been forced upon us against our will. Unfortunately, the majority of people do not recognise these as compromises at all - by participating in mass culture, they celebrate them.

All groups, left and right (and even some extreme religious sects) are outside mass culture, as peddled by the press, radio and TV. Monstrous distortions pass unnoticed as 'news' whilst political commentary - amply screened by alternative 'light entertainment' - only serves to reinforce the system.

Alternative views of any kind are never permitted to appear on their own terms: they must appear, if at all, on the terms of the existing system, and can then be blackened as sinister plots or trite comedy. There is no right of reply. Seeing this manipulation of the great mass of society by means of the media, our cause is hindered by lack of resources. Small papers like FREEDOM or *Black Flag* circulate in the ghettos of University left clubs, small anarchist cells in workplaces and among isolated individuals in town and country. Sales resistance to anything which is not as familiar as the formula press (*Mirror*, *Sun*, *Mail* etc), which is not advertised on television, and which is periodically blackened in the 'news' ('Anarchist Baader-Meinhof terrorists today ...'), or TV 'cops and robbers' series, is very strong, part of the everyday habits of life.

What we have to do is to break out from this ghetto and communicate. The average reaction of people to anything which is new or strange is fear - which elicits a response of a conditioned reliance upon 'protecting' police forces, laws and prisons for those who would presume to dissent. The task of unbrainwashing the millions who have been taught from the cradle that those already in authority know best is indeed a daunting one - one which no alternative political group has succeeded in achieving in Britain to date.

Those in power know this and like to keep it that way. It is up to us to try to break this vicious circle. We need to recognise the problem and come up with an answer soon, because Britain is drifting rapidly towards becoming a fully-fledged police state of the West German model.

Anarchist discussions tend to centre upon policy decisions - 'what we'll do after the revolution' style. This kind of speculation, whilst amusing (we've all done it), is about as much use as sectarian religious quibbling in the angels/pin-head debate. The task is daunting, and nobody has yet succeeded in solving the problem. Internal dissent within the movement, is, of course, exactly what our opponents like to see, and preaching to the converted has only the function of perhaps increasing solidarity, if we're lucky.

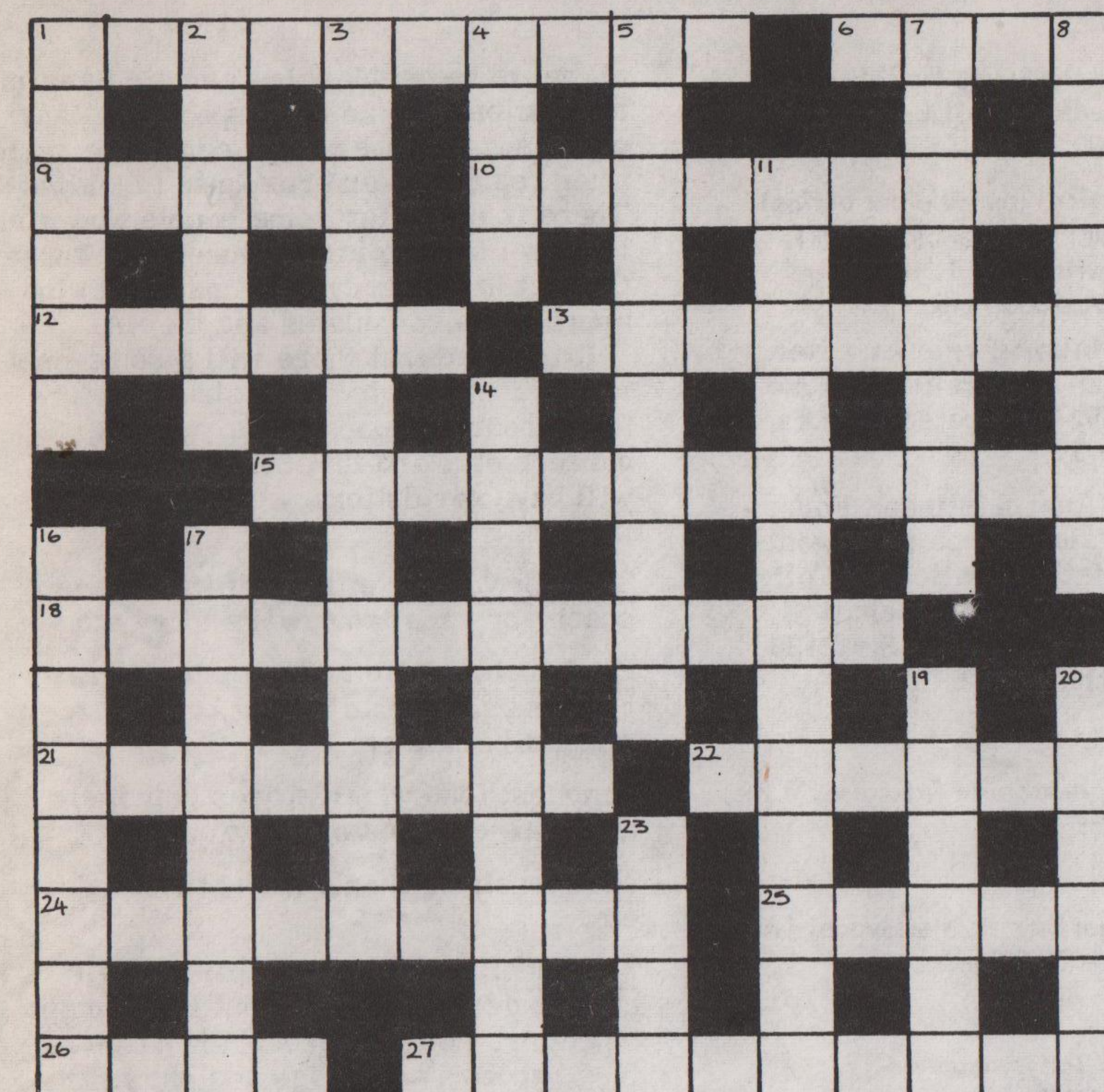
External to the movement, anarchism has unfortunately little impact. Occasionally, the Liberal Party steals a few ideas on self-management for their latest manifesto, but, in general, only the beard-cloak-bomb stereotype is presented. It's rather like presenting the TUC as the Tolpuddle Martyrs.

Until we can make a positive and noticeable contribution to the lives of Mr and Ms Average, we are merely fighting a rearguard action - acts of resistance in response to the authorities.

Funds are lacking. No big business is going to pump money into the anarchist movement, unlike the well-known ro-

(CONT PAGE 7)

DRAW SOBS OR SORBAWORDS



ACROSS

1. SCAN A SHIRT, THAT TEARS, THEY MIGHT BE FRIENDS OF OURS (10)
6. GIVE OUT ABOUT TIME (4)
9. EMPIRE-BUILDER BRINGS BACK GOLD FOR FELLOW (5)
10. NOT SOMETHING ONE SHOULD DO IN A.D. 5, IS EDITED (5)

(CONT. FROM PAGE 6)

mance of capital and fascism - it is certainly not in their interest to do so. Pop groups are not the answer - 'Anarchy in the UK' is just another way of making money for the record companies. 'Alternative' methods of fund-raising are sporadic, dangerous and tend to dry up suddenly, when continuous regular funding is required.

All major newspapers, and most little ones, could not afford to publish them-

NARAYAN

Dear comrades

In querying my description of Jayaprakash Narayan as 'a Gandhian socialist', Frank Hibbert (letter, 9 Dec.) correctly points out that Narayan was one of the Indian Marxists who formed the Congress Socialist group in 1934, and that in *Why Socialism* (1936) he criticised some of Gandhi's ideas. But since then Narayan's position has changed considerably. In the early 1950s he abandoned Marxism for Gandhism, an intellectual journey which he vividly described in *From Socialism to Sarvodaya*, published in 1957. For 20 years, 1954-74, Narayan was engaged with Vinoba Bhave and other revolutionary Gandhians in seeking to bring about a land revolution through Gramdan - voluntary villagisation of land.

Dissatisfied with the results of the

Gramdan campaign and disturbed by the dictatorial tendencies of Indira Gandhi's Congress, Narayan in 1974 launched a new 'people's movement for Total Revolution', taking with him the majority of Sarvodaya activists but not Vinoba. In conception the Total Revolution remained essentially Gandhian. What distinguished it from the Gramdan movement was its adoption of nonviolent direct action against the government - its reversion, so to speak, to the technique used by Gandhi against the British Raj but employed, this time, against the Brown Raj that took over after independence.

In rallying to the support of the 'people's movement', the non-Communist opposition parties found a basis for unity which eventually led to the formation of the Janata (People's) Party. Mrs Gandhi's imposition of the Emergency in June 1975 was in part a pre-emptive strike to prevent this happening but, in the event, only delayed it until the elections of 1977.

Insofar as the coalition that makes up the Janata Party can be said to have an ideology, it is broadly Gandhian in content.

Nigel Pennick

12. CONTINENTAL LADY HAS NOSE PAINTED BY ARTIST (6)
13. SOUNDS AS IF YOU TAKE ORDER'S FROM WORKERS, WHICH IS WHAT THEY ARE (8)
15. RESERVE ACTOR/ESS DRAWS UP TROOP FORMATION (5,2,5)
18. LITTLE IS RETAINED, BUT ENOUGH TO GROW FOOD ON (5,7)
21. ESSAY ON CHARGED PARTICLE IS DRAGGED OUT? (8)
22. STEW THE SECOND LIFT! (6)
24. MADE A MOUND OF HIDDEN HIPS AND LEGS, AND SENDS AWAY! (5,4)
25. COLOUR EGG-LAYER NORTHWARD'S FIRST (5)
26. QUIET, PRIMARILY SOUTH AFRICAN SCARF. (4)
27. CHIEF IN LARGE RED CONSPIRACY (10)

DOWN

1. UNDER WHICH ONE IS RESTRAINED? (6)
2. RETIRED ARTIST COLLECTING VASES OR WEAPONS? (6)
3. RELIEVED PRAISE? A TANGLED COURT CHANGES IT (13)
4. THIS IS IN AN OXFORD RIVER (4)
5. THE TWISTS & TURNS OF INDUSTRY OR BLASTS OF AIR DEFLECTED WESTWARD'S? (5,5)
7. ONLY KNOCK DOWN ONE! (4,4)
8. NOT TO, NOT TO USE, SOD IT USE THIS ANYWAY! (2,6)
11. "HA. I NEVER CAVIL" A FRENCH CRY OF REVOLUTION. (4,1,8)
14. 1978 OF THEM, SOON TO BE 1979 (4,6)
16. IS THE BOOK THE WORK OF EASTENER'S, OR A COLLECTION OF THE FORMS OF THE ELEMENTS? (8)
19. WORKED IT BACK FROM STUDY OF WHAT GRAVITY IS, THEN MADE YOUR MARK (6)
20. ALMOST 22 A MIX BLOWING FRESH IN ONE'S FACE? (3-3)
23. A SOUTHERN WITCH HAS A CRESTED CORMORANT (4)

(ANSWERS IN NEXT ISSUE, 1979)

One important section of the party, headed by Charan Singh, is certainly sponsoring 'peasant socialism': see his recent book, *India's Economic Policy. The Gandhian Blueprint* (Vikas). On 23 December a million or more of Charan's peasant supporters are expected to stage a rally in Delhi. This could mark the beginning of a new phase of peasant militancy in India. But it seems likely that it will turn out to be just another move in the political infighting that has plagued the Janata Government in recent months.

Jayaprakash Narayan, I should add, although hailed as 'Father of the Janata Party', is not a member of it, and in recent statements he has severely criticised the government's lack of performance on the social and economic fronts. Unlike the Janata politicians (and also his former Marxist self), he does not believe that a social revolution can be made from above. What he is now calling for is the opening of 'the second phase' of the movement for Total Revolution in which the non-party Sarvodaya activists will take the initiative in setting up 'people's committees' at all levels.

Jayaprakash Narayan is the most original and interesting thinker-cum-activist in India since Gandhi. The most up-to-date source for the study of his thought is the 4-volume collection of his writings, *Towards Total Revolution*, published by Popular Prakashan, Bombay 1978.

Yours

G.N.O.

(Geoffrey Ostergaard)

Birmingham

el gold

FROM P.14

But let the dead past bury the dead past as the barman in Wards would say as he flushed away a pint of Guinness with too much head on it for there is scandal and gossip and the exhibitions of various artists hatred and rejection of a Germany that found its logical conclusion in the physical murder of any written, painted or spoken disagreement until in the end even the gas ovens within the concentration camps were unable to slaughter the millions of men, women and children whose only crime was that they existed.

On the 22 of November the Royal College of Art, by the Albert Hall, stage the private view of the '1918-78 Soviet Posters' and through the great glass windows one could see the guests wandering among the framed posters with the inevitable wine glasses in their hands. Outside on the stones, three people were protesting at the 10-year imprisonment of the Soviet artist Boris Penson. He has already served eight and a half years of that sentence, for allegedly planning to hi-jack a plane to escape to Israel. I took a few leaflets with the intention of entering the RCA exhibition to hand them out to the wine bibbing guests but my entrance was physically barred by two uniformed attendants. I do not claim that Boris Penson is a good artist for the artist or the intellectual does not have a greater claim to freedom than the common labourer. I do not protest that the two uniformed attendants of the Royal

College of Arts refused to allow the art critic of Freedom Press into that exhibition of '1918-78 Soviet Posters' for that is what they are hired for but I do question the moral stance and the lack of principle of those guests, wine in hand, who pay lip licking service to those millions of men, women and children who died in the creation of a new society that so many believed would open up new frontiers of freedom for human-kind, by parading in the company of His Excellency Nikolai Lunkov, the Soviet ambassador among these posters to the ghosts of the honoured dead, yea and this is where morality creeps in comrades, even up to the posters of 1978, for the Russian artists of 1978, posterwise, dishonour the dead when they ape their revolutionary style and pounce on that great libertarian breakthrough of 1917 that the very government who contributes to this exhibition foul with every killing, prisoner and labour camp inmate. I made my very small, so very tiny contribution to this protest for Boris Penson but let us always bear this in our minds, that freedom and liberty are not the prerogative of the artist or the intellectual but the need, the desire and, dare one say it, the right, of the nameless untalented millions imprisoned in field, factory, slum, highrise and prison for they have no-one to protest their cause as individual only as fodder for worthwhile principles. I made my small, brief protest in Kensington Gore and moved on into the cold night but I ask the staff and students of the Royal College of Arts, the guests scar scattered on the polished floor with that glass of wine in hand and the Arts Council, all liberty lovers in relation to 'the arts', why did you not make some small protest on behalf of those you profess to honour with your presence and your wine?

ARTHUR MOYSE

times

FROM P.15

"The going out to buy a newspaper" so widely practised by millionaires seems to be not merely an outlet for the investment of surplus capital but the acquisition of a hobby, a status symbol or a possible lever of political power. But the perpetual paper financial losses of newspapers also make them of possible value as a tax loss.

The Thomson empire, the newest owners of The Times, do not actively need the profits (there are some) which The Times provides. With the versatility and monopoly commission avoidance for which giant conglomerates are noted Thomson's control in this country oilfields, tourist holiday agencies, Illustrated London News, Family Circle and Living, Draper's Record and Catering Times, book publishers Nelson, Michael Joseph and Sphere, a share in Thomson Yellow Pages and a chain of provincial newspapers. Forecast profits of the group (says the Telegraph) for 1978 are £36 million before tax. The Times only contributes one fifth to this kitty. With the death of Lord Thomson it is possible that the Thomson empire is not very interested whether The Times survives or not. The unions have been accused too often of kamikaze tactics, but might not the Thomsons with their £24 million parachute be carrying out those tactics with The Times?

The Times was often involved in new technological developments, claiming in 'Printing Number' of The Times (October 1979) that "From the year 1784 until the present day all the chief improvements in the printing of newspapers have either been invented or first tried and fostered in what is now the office of The Times". John Walter I, the original proprietor, first happened on the notion of logography which was an idea of combining letters for easier hand typesetting; this entailed reducing the 90,000 words in the English language to 5,000 (some newspapers appear to still do this) and quickened the ability of the compositor to set type. However, The Times had to drop the idea since for one thing the compositors demanded the same pay for setting each 'logotype' as they did for each letter separately. Even in those days (1780s) the workers knew their value. John Walter II introduced the power driven printing press which increased production of The Times to 10,000

copies per hour. The Times also pioneered in stereotyping, typesetting machines, later monotype. All these innovations were not primarily to reduce human labour or to increase wages of the workers but to increase production so that the margin of profit for the Walters, the Northcliffes, the Astors or the Thomsons would be greater. Indeed with the capital tied up in technological improvements it was necessary to produce greater and greater runs of the paper, probably increasing human labour and certainly making work more monotonous and repetitious and eliminating skill.

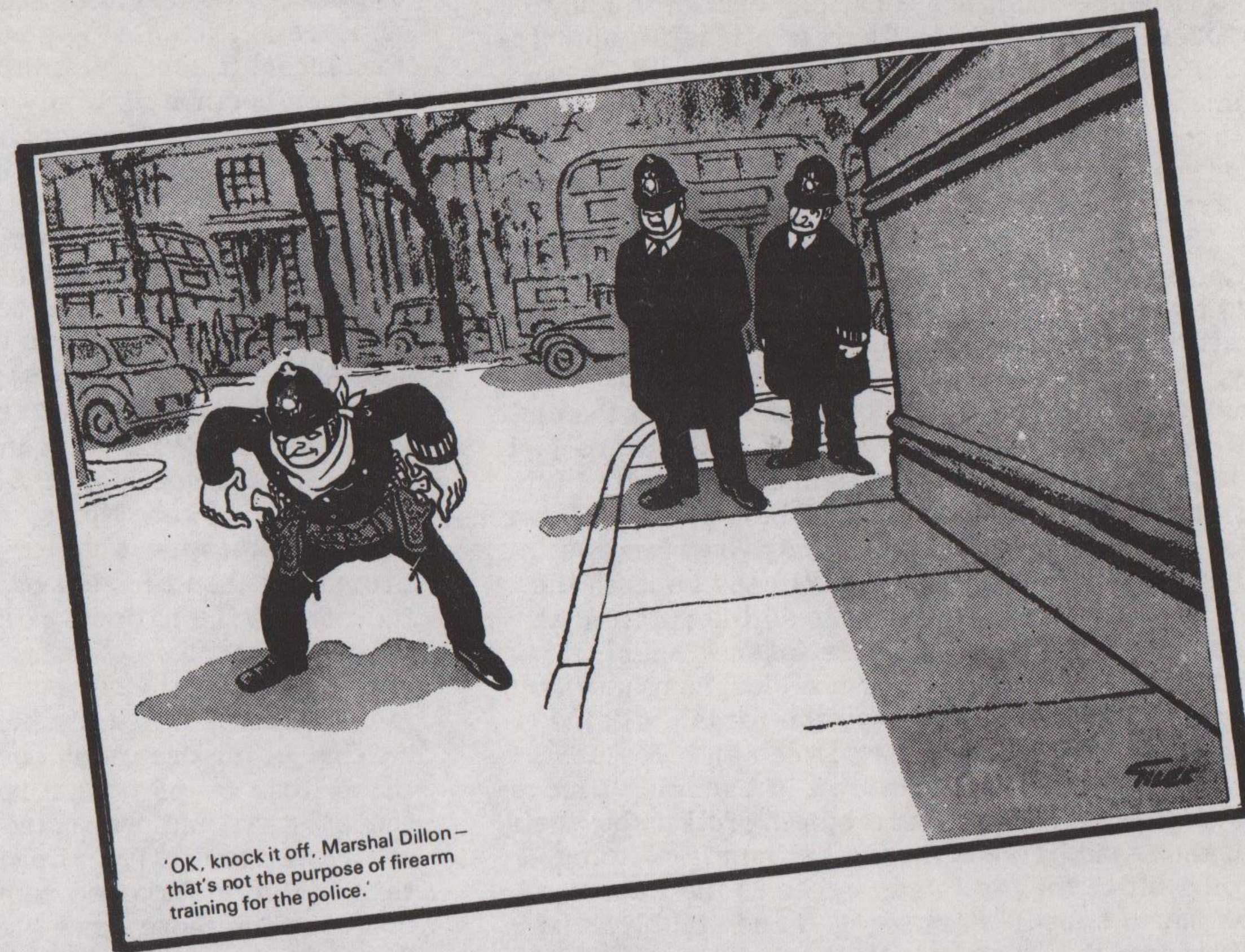
One of the excuses, and they are needed, for the production of the horrendous new tabloid The Star, is that the Express had surplus productive capacity. As with all technological improvements more production means more work, for less people. A greatly increased output of newspapers means a greater battle for circulation and advertising - which usually go hand in hand. Ironically, The Times and The Sunday Times make an additional selling point for advertising that they are read by the 'top people' and their readership is higher than their circulation. One in four of The Times readers, it has been calculated, is lower middle class. Nevertheless, this proud boast of exclusivity does not prevent The Times, like all newspapers, from aiming at an increase in circulation.

What makes the newspaper industry so vulnerable is the necessity for speed in production (there is no longer an absolute necessity for split-second topicality, the TV, which many proprietors have bought into, having pre-empted this) and acknowledge that there is nothing so dead as yesterday's newspaper. The unions, well organised and taking advantage of the former strenuous competition for skilled and union-approved labour, have hitherto dictated terms. At the same time newspapers by over-manning have captured labour from rival newspapers. These labour costs have been passed on to the advertiser, who in turn has passed them on to the consumer after claiming tax allowance for some of it.

This heavy concentration by the unions on the cash nexus has left them prey to the haggling of the slave-block and has spurred Fleet Street on to new technological horrors and triumphs. Without any union regard for who controls what, they have left the field to the millionaires who are aiming to make unions unnecessary. It could be an answer to say, as Reuher said when asked if a robot carrying out a section of a production line would pay union dues to counter with "Will he buy newspapers?"

JACK ROBINSON

Freedom



'OK, knock it off, Marshal Dillon - that's not the purpose of firearm training for the police.'

cops and robbers

NAME a TV police serial. All right, name several. If this is still too easy, name a dozen that have run at some time or other in the course of the past year. Think for a minute, and, if you're a habitual television viewer, you will be able to double the number - perhaps even treble it. Probably you will have forgotten one or two, and certainly there will be one or two more coming before long, because we are fairly and squarely in the middle of a police serial boom, and which, although most people will claim to disapprove of it, nevertheless continues to rake in the biggest audiences before the screen with little sign of abating. I am not interested in making the defeated intellectual's weary crack about philistine Kojak flashing his bare head and philistine Miss World flashing her bare thighs and philistine plebby masses sitting gawking at them, and My God what is the standard of education coming to? What I would like to suggest is that the popularity of the police serial tells us something about the minds of those who watch it, present company included, and that that something is very alarming indeed.

When Orwell wrote his essay 'Raffles And Miss Blandish' (1944) the amiable pipe-sucking coppers of the golden age of British detective fiction were being replaced by the crypto-fascist G-men of Hollywood, both in paperback railway station novels and (in suitably censored form) on the big picture screen. For the first 20 years of television the amiable pipe-sucking coppers rose from the dead and brought their upper middle class pre-war values to the patrol of Britain's lower middle class post-war streets. Then, in the seventies, the phantom fascists struck again, and literally dozens of imported TV serials hit British screens: Kojak, Columbo, McCloud, Starsky and Hutch, Charlie's Angels, Most Wanted, The Streets of San Francisco, Cannon, and many, many more, all fast-moving, all violent, all American, and all, strangely, very

much the same.

Let me number off these points one by one. I've said they are fast-moving. The point is rather unfair since, despite what many TV directors (and some anarchists) seem to think, 99 and more percent of a policeman's time - even if he is Special Branch - is spent doing routine, boring, frustrating work not much different from that of any other civil servant; and in the interests of entertainment the directors select those few instances in which he may really be face to face with big decisions, and then pretend that that is how he spends his life. Fantasy, but then so was the Lone Ranger. Far more important is that the fantasies are all violent.

Old Scotland Yard was once popularly portrayed by such writers as J. J. Marric ('Gideon's Night', 'Gideon of the Yard' etc) as a castle tower from which gentleman vigilantes issued to keep the forces of evil at bay. Wearing his raincoat like a suit of armour, the gentleman copper seldom, if ever, carried a gun, and his violence was limited to a little bit of scuffling when the villain was ultimately nabbed. With the exception of 'The Blank Gang', Sapper's notorious first book of the adventures of Bulldog Drummond (a death squad killer who subsequently mellowed remarkably in print and was whitewashed beyond recognition on the screen), the 'Kill if you can, catch if you have to' mentality of the US police serials is nowhere to be seen. True, Holmes and Watson sometimes set out from Baker Street with their old service revolvers safely-cocked in their coat pockets, but that was strictly for self-defence if all else failed. Sexton Blake was capable of handling knives and shooters in his one man crusade against that never-ending horde of homicidal slant-eyed maniacs bent on world domination, but there again only in the last resort. The reader of these adventures was never left in any doubt that an offensive



weapon was not part of his hero's equipment. It is not a bullet in the heart or a blast from a riot-control shotgun that stops Professor Moriarty or Fu Man Chu or the country house murderers of the green penguin age, but the force of good emanating jointly from the Holmesian domed forehead and the Watsonian stout heart of their trackers. When Richard Hannay in "The Thirty-Nine Steps" is menaced by a horde of cruel, wicked foreign agents armed to the teeth with guns and daggers, he only resorts to violence once in a book long enough to run to a dozen TV episodes, does it only to liberate himself from captivity, and kills nobody in the process - and in David Crawford's one moment of violence in the even longer "Prester John", when faced by an armed and (literally) back-stabbing Portuguese gun runner, what does our hero do but send in a good British straight right to the chin and knock the cowardly Dago for six? No one is likely to miss the moral, as obvious as that of St George slaying the dragon, that this is a victory of decency and right over the power-lusting force of evil.

This same attitude deriving from a time of upper middle class security, the time of the Raffles of Orwell's essay, this view of law enforcement as a game of cricket in which the end did not always justify the means, and certain things were just 'not done', was incorporated without too much difficulty in the British police serials of the 50s and 60s: Dixon of Dock Green was the Bulldog Drummond of the beat, Andy Crawford was the Hannay, the Gideon, the Lord Peter Wimsey beneath the local blue light. Even when Z Cars informed the public that policemen were really just council estate tenants wearing blue serge suits, this same decency prevailed. Imagine Dixon or Andy Crawford callously blowing away the parish villains with a quick spray of machine gun fire; Lynch and Steele screaming through the streets of Newtown in a shining limousine, sirens wailing, shoulder holsters bulging full under their armpits; or all those public school wallahs from No Hiding Place putting on a bit of the old third degree in the interrogation room of the squad house, shirt sleeved and stubbly, and indistinguishable from the gangsters they are grilling. Impossible. Not British, old boy.

But now? A few years into the American police wave such things are commonplace. Name one episode of a recent police serial which did not feature at least one car or rooftop chase followed by a killing and/or a savage mugging, and/or an act of cynical victimisation or betrayal. If you can you are probably being charitable, and the children were probably bored stiff. For some reason, which I cannot pretend to fathom, those people who object loudest to pornography on the screen are almost always objecting to sex, pornographic or not. They seldom object to violence, unless it is part of an explicitly sexual shot. Violence deprived of nudity and bad language passes the censorious with its wings unclipped, although sex, even at its most shoddy, is still ultimately about life, while violence, even at its most glorified, is a cold and empty negation of life, a zero at the bone. And unless anyone should think I am being nationalistic and bashing the Yanks, the very same is true of those British serials made, like *The Sweeney*, *The Professionals* and *Target*, as grittier versions of an American original, or like *The New Avengers* and *The Return of the Saint* (one recent episode of which hit the nadir of including real live newsreel scenes of authentic agony from the Moorgate train disaster) as fantasy soap opera for an American market.

Another thing which is noticeable about these cop shows is their sameness. *Harry O* and *Hawaii Five-O*, *Police Woman*, *Police Story* and *Police Surgeon* merge together in a flickering mist with no clear divides. Every tough lieutenant sounds the same, and every solid reliable sergeant rings just as hollow; every wisecrack from Starsky (or maybe McCloud?) could pass as one from Rockford (or perhaps Kojak?), Raffles, the gentleman crook, was a ridiculous but instantly recognisable individual. Revamped into the Robert Wagner character of *Switch* and the James Garner one in *The Rockford Files*, he became an identikit for two glib, upper class villains who can rob, cheat and lie with equal ease on both sides of the law, show their white teeth in engagingly boyish grins, and who could read each other's scripts without any incongruity, so alike are they. About the rest, not even so much can be said. Identikit gladiators whose personalities are formed of a few visible foibles - a handlebar moustache, a bald head, a shabby raincoat - all that is vital in them drains away into their inevitable holsters by the end of their first series and leaves them to face the second, and the third, the empty shells of men who never were, but who once might have been.

For ultimately these serials are not about people at all, but about guns, guns and the easy power which guns buy. The gun is as much a part of the costume of the TV policeman today as it was of his predecessor, the TV cowboy of *Laramie*, *Bronco*, *Cheyenne*, *Bonanza*, *Wagon Train*, *The Virginian* and so many others; as much a part of him as of the GIs in *Combat*, tommy-gunning the Krauts for ever in a war frozen in the France of 1944. The threat is ever present, even in the good episodes of the best of the serials; and in the bad ones of the worst (and by now, repetition having gone on far too long, most serials are the worst) it zeros in triumphantly - the guns take over, and the men become virtually indistinguishable handles which hold them. Occasional messages do indeed flicker through - written in to give the programme editor some ammunition to fire back at the censors or at some troublesome viewers association as occasion demands, and delivered by an embarrassed actor without much conviction as he looks with an expression of brief regret at the body of the deviant he has just killed in the interests of society. But when the painfully interpolated message is not there, which is like saying on any day of the year except Christmas Day, the American police serial lives in an urban consumerised Wild West in which some of the gunmen wear stars and the rest don't. All this struggling under a mile-thick layer of candyfloss, as though American television were determined to make up for every last jibe, every last expose, every last insult hurled by a suddenly conscience-stricken film industry at the nation's police over the past decade - and knowing American television, it very probably is, if only because its advertisers want it to show the rich, shiny, goods-laden US of A which is, they hope, every consumer's dream.

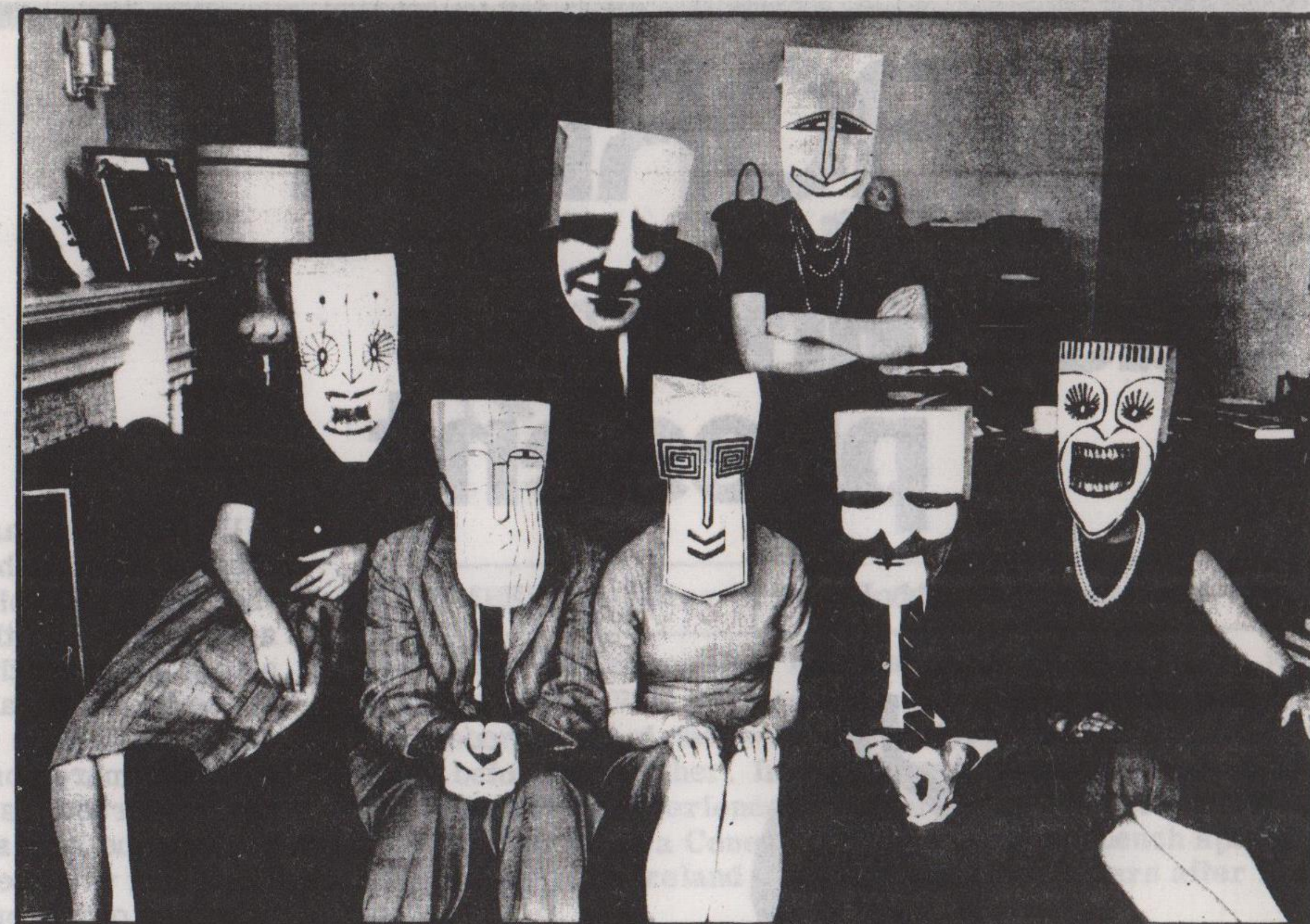
What is my dream on seeing all this? (and I write as one of those little people with a box at whom all this entertainment industry pap and propaganda is aimed). Night after night, sitting in the sickly wallowing light which the television screen throws into a darkened room, seeing alternately images of confusion on those news and current affairs programmes that I can steel myself to listen to, and of quick easy solutions on the fifty minute propaganda slots that follow, don't I, free-thinking man as I like to imagine myself being, feel that hankering for heroes which some people find in handsome rebellious young detectives, and others in handsome rebellious young guerrillas depending on taste, climate and the effectiveness of the TV screen? Doesn't a voice inside me somewhere cry, Leave it all to the Professionals, to Starsky, Reagan, Rockford and McCloud! Let them corral all these money-dirty crooks and sharks and gangsters and blow them all to hell! We all know the judges are fools and the law an ass, so leave them to the hard operators of C15, let them be shot by Bodie or karate-chopped by the Saint - but get them out of my hair! I want bona fide final solutions only!

It does; that voice is there, I can hear it, I can feel it; that evil hankering for leaders and men on white horses, that masochist's desire to abandon all independence of mind and fall in to step behind my Fuehrer in a marching column - whether that preached by Josef Goebbels or Che Guevara it does not matter, so long as it marches and so long as HE is there, the man who does my thinking for me, who leads me onwards, who sees everything, who knows everything, who does everythink, My Leader!

Vigilante is a dirty word. It conjures up pictures of a Charles Bronson character with a shotgun and a killer instinct and a paramilitary badge on his sleeve. But the only justification for a society having an enforceable law code is that it defends the rights of its citizens, and what is a vigilante but a citizen out to defend what s/he believes to be h/s rights? The police force is a uniformed and professional body of vigilantes operating in a society in which the law has grown so complex, and in its many clauses so rarefied, that it is increasingly beyond the understanding of most of its supposed beneficiaries. To insist, as our judges do, that 'law enforcement, 'prevention of crime', and 'defence of rights' be left to the 'proper authorities', is to insist that the mass of individuals who do not belong to some esoteric knighthood of the wig, the blue uniform, and the shoulder holster, surrender themselves as passive spectators of their own subjugation; the background against which Bodie and Kojak, Columbo and McCloud, and all their gun-toting men, rush about jousting with bullets and cadillacs; an ensnared peasantry who must get out of the way when the warlords ride past, and kneel by the wayside and beat their foreheads on the ground, and whisper that most despicable of all words - 'Master'.

COLIN MACKAY

anarchists make lousy film stars



ANARCHISTS rarely appear as the subject of commercial films or TV shows but when we do we cop hell one way or another.

Invariably anarchists are portrayed as fanatical terrorists, silly young radicals or naive dreamers.

A rare exception was the film about the digger commune Winstanley, set in 1650.

Today the activities of the Red Army Faction have given a new lease of life to the image of anarchists as maniacs with machine guns in love with violence, although the Red Army Faction is not anarchist.

We've had two movies on the Entebbe raid, both Zionist propaganda as subtle as those WW2 movies which end with 'anchors away', blasting away over the credit cards.

A recent episode of the TV show *The Professionals* had the RAF as guest villains identified as 'maniacs, bloodthirsty killer anarchists', even misnamed as the Myer Helmut gang they turn up in England and after a few high speed car chases made exciting by Latin fast beat music, they are all blasted to death by one clean cut macho detective, an ex-Congo mercenary. When his girlfriend asks why he does this he says he doesn't know, his commander knows the reasons, that's his job.

Yet it's his girlfriend who shoots Ulrike Meinhof dead.

There's an unwritten law that heroics don't shoot women in our culture and there's even less chance that the real death of Ulrike Meinhof, which involved rape and strangulation by her warders, will ever be put into any fictionalisation of the Red Army Faction. (*)

Are real anarchists treated any better in literature or film?

Not really. Everyone seems obsessed with the bomb throwers, a tiny minority of the whole movement. Henry James and Joseph Conrad used them as subject material for caustic stories. Endless films have one line references such as "You can't deny you're associating with anarchists and socialists!" (1). A year ago we had the respect of the whole world, now we're behaving like anarchists" (2).

Of the five films made in the 1970s that deal with anarchism only two don't deal with terrorism, *Winstanley* and *The Iceman Cometh*. Of the others *Nadia*, *S.P.I.E.S.* and *Love and Anarchy* only the last could be called a fair representation, but even here anarchism is represented by one individual - a serious sincere youth but gormless, still in the traditional media representation. He seems to think that by killing Mussolini he can overthrow Italian fascism and he bungles the assassination because he sleeps in on the day of the planned killing.

Nadia only reinforces the image of anarchists as terrorists.

The comedy send up *S.P.I.E.S.* (1973) shows a gang of three anarchists living in a house with posters of Ho Chi Minh and Che on the walls!

The Gang of Three consists of one glowering cut throat, one nymphomaniac and a clumsy bookworm who is so inept that

when he washes the dog he falls in the bathtub and nearly drowns because he can't get out.

There are several references to bombs, to a funny man called Kropotkin and plenty more stereotyped jokes which give the impression that anarchists are idiots.

A more serious attack is in the 1973 American Film Theatre production of Eugene O'Neill's 1940 play *The Iceman Cometh*.

Set in New York in 1912 the play looks at the life of a group of derelicts and has-beens who are visited by a young anarchist on the run, who is really an informer. Two have been anarchists and the youth gets chances for dialogue along the lines of 'anarchists are hypocrites', 'people are too greedy for that system to work', 'only idiots, fools and megalomaniacs take up politics', 'capitalism's a fine system in which normal people prosper' and so on.

It is a play which divorces people from their environment, then concentrates on the worst (or the weakest) side of the human character, holding up weakness as the cause of misery not the product.

It's been a favourite piece of culture with all types of right-wingers for years.

Our chances of seeing good or even fair films on libertarian topics are pretty slim. The media is obsessed with crime and violence and this reflects on how anarchism is treated as a topic. We'll never see a film on anarchists involved in culture or in setting up a commune, (†), films about rank and file strikes or squatter groups or women's shelters or ecology will not be made or, if they are, they'll get the 'two-weeks-at-the-small-non-commercial-cinema-where-only-trendies-go'.

Yet there is a wide potential for films with libertarian themes. Look at the hundreds of films, books and plays based on satirising the establishment or showing people trying to control their own lives in one way or another.

The potential in culture and the media for getting anarchist ideas across is there; where the anarchistic urban guerrillas go wrong is that by their actions (which are designed to get publicity) they reinforce alienating stereotypes in the public image, and they create a spectacle of violence which either titillates or disgusts the audience. They think they are using the media to help bring down the system, but the media uses them to prop capitalism up.

Of course the best representations of our movement will come when libertarians have more control over the workplaces which produce our culture, but it's a long dull wait.

G.V.H.

Notes

(*) That warders raped and strangled Ulrike has never to our knowledge been proved (eds).

(1) Quote from Mayerling (1969)

(2) Quote from *Exodus* (1960)

(†) *La Cecilia* has fairly recently been shown on TV (eds).

TERRORISM —

past and present



AS terrorism increases throughout the world and thus becomes more and more 'newsworthy', it is not surprising that the bourgeoisie should attempt to use it for its own advantage. One way of course is to use it as a justification for the increased repression against the working class. Another is to turn terrorism into a profitable commodity while denouncing it in self-righteous law and order tones.

Thus we have *Carlos: Portrait of a Terrorist* by Colin Smith and *The Carlos Complex: A Study in Terror* by Christopher Dobson and Ronald Payne, two poorly written books out to make a quick buck.

Colin Smith's book seemingly has as its raison d'être a desire to prove that Carlos (Illich Ramirez Sanchez) and friends are working for the KGB. Dobson and Payne take a more 'liberal' view, indicating that some contemporary terrorists are former idealists who have gone wrong.

Both books spend most of their time tracing the 'career' of Carlos from his birth in Venezuela through his attendance at Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow where he was expelled (a part of the KGB cover plan?) and through various terrorist operations of which the kidnapping of eleven OPEC ministers in Vienna in 1975 was no doubt the most successful.

While Dobson and Payne spend more time writing about other groups such as the RAF and Japanese Red Army, both they and Smith mistakenly label individuals and groups as anarchists when this is clearly not the case. (*Hitler's Children*, a long attack on the RAF, is even beneath the level of the above two books and is not worth going into. The title alone demonstrates the author's viewpoint).

On the more positive side, as far as truth and readability are concerned, is *Terrorists and Terrorism* by Edward Hyams; perhaps the best short history yet written on the subject. Beginning with the belief that - state propaganda to the contrary - the use of terrorism can and has been a successful force for change, Hyams examines the individuals, groups and causes that have made use of terrorism.

The first part of the book deals with four individuals who propagandised the use of terrorism. This group is made up of Max Stirner (what I can get by force I get by force ...), Sergei Nechayev, Johann Most and Michael Bakunin. All four are treated with respect and sympathy; even Nechayev whom Hyams tends to view as did Franco Venturi, as opposed to the completely negative view by someone like George Woodcock.

The second part of the book deals with terrorist societies such as the carbonari in Italy, the Serbian Black Hand, and with the use of terrorism for social change in Russia, Ireland and Palestine about which Hyams writes: "This leads us to consideration of what, if anything, the terrorists achieved: to my mind there is not much doubt about the answer, though it is one which most people, Jews and Gentiles, will reject with all the honourable and decent disgust of respectable bourgeois confronted with the proposition that nations are founded in robbery, arson, rape and slaughter, the objective truth of which can be denied only by carefully avoiding any knowledge of the facts of history. They accomplished the Republic of Israel".

Regarding the terrorist founded Republic of Israel and the opposition to it of Palestinian terrorists, Hyams writes: "Before their campaign of terrorism, every politician in the world ... were bored stiff with the Palestinians, and apart from passing a few resolutions did nothing about them. The terrorists have forced them to face facts; and it looks very much as if nothing short of terrorism would have accomplished this remarkable feat".

Perhaps the most important point that Hyams makes in his book is that while terrorism can indeed bring about social change, it is usually the 'responsible' non-terrorist groups and leaders who step into the terrorist caused breakdown of society and reap the 'rewards' while at the same time denouncing and jailing the people and means used to bring about the breakdown of society.

One of the groups Hyams writes about in his book is the terrorist organisation of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party. *Memoirs of a Terrorist* by Boris Savinkov, one of the leaders of this group, is an excellent eye-witness account of the period during which this group was at its peak.

Second only to Levno Azev (a double agent) in authority within the terrorist way of the SRs and to a certain extent in his own strange life, Savinkov's memoirs deal with the period 1903-1909 during which revolutionary terrorism was at its peak within Russia. For Savinkov and some of his comrades, the desire for action far outweighed any need for theory. This fact would later lead Savinkov into the arms of reaction as he would end up by joining with some of the very people he had earlier done his utmost to destroy.

Nevertheless, *Memoirs of a Terrorist* provides the reader with a fascinating first hand view of a group of men and women who were totally dedicated to bringing about a social revolutionary change in society.

JOHN WALDEN

NUREMBERG

by a.neave.

NUREMBERG by Airey Neave. Hodder & Stroughton, £7.50.

AIREY NEAVE has come a long way since he was given a job with the British War Crimes Executive in connection with the Nuremberg trial of Nazi war criminals. He'd not been idling about beforehand either. In 1945 he was 29 years old, a law graduate and an experienced escaper from German custody as a POW. Now he is a Conservative MP, a front bench spokesman on Northern Ireland and has a string of letters after his name.

This book on the Nuremberg trial is in the form of a personal reminiscence and in view of the apparent abilities of the author I believe we are entitled to expect a better book than this is. One defect is the high proportion of its 330 pages that consists of padding. In view of the fact that Neave's only real function at Nuremberg was to give the indictments to the accused and advise them of their rights to have defence lawyers, then a little fleshing out of his of his material is inevitable if he insists on writing a book about it. But writing like the following ... "I started from scratch to obtain all the evidence I could get against (Gustav) Krupp. I studied his photograph, his: shaven head, prim mouth, ramrod back and narrow eyes. Could this be the monster described in the British press?", and, on walking round Nuremberg ... "The house of Duerer, his birthplace, lay in ruins, and that of Viet Stoss the great wood carver. In one of these broken Renaissance homes I thought, J.C. Denner may have invented the clarinet" ... is really writing one would expect to see in the *News of the World* rather than in what purports to be a serious book on an important subject. And that is to disregard the unconscious irony of the author talking about the destruction inflicted on German towns by the Royal Air Force while he is taking part in a trial of Germans for their war crimes. It may not escape the more sceptical reader that much of this material could have supplied evidence against allied 'war criminals' had the war been won by Germany.

Further in this connection Mr Neave fulminates against the indifference of the secretaries and office workers of the Krupp arms plant to the "calculated savagery of the labour camps". But these people no doubt had justifications for their indifference which were as adequate to them as the justifications Mr Neave has for his approval of the brutalities visited upon internees in Northern Ireland are to him.

His experience at the Nuremberg trial was no doubt an informative and instructive one to Mr Neave, and his role barely warranted a book on the subject being written by him at the time. But with his latter day prominence, and after he has published other books on other matters, it appears that the temptation to make some easy royalties from his Nuremberg experiences at last became too strong for him. This is a pity. I have no doubt that Mr Neave could write a perfectly adequate book on the subject, and it is at least possible that he could write a good book on it. But this book is neither. Ill prepared and grotesquely over padded, it gives no decent consideration to the issues raised by the trial, preferring to set up a series of facile arguments which anybody could knock down. And it determinedly refuses to speculate what basis for a war crimes persecution there would have been had Germany won the war. This is an altogether facile book lacking any real depth or insight, or even the intelligent pondering one expects in a nominally historical work. It has plenty of very interesting photographs.

PETER MILLER



JOHN HENRY MACKAY - THE UNIQUE

K. H. Z. SOLNEMAN

John Henry Mackay - The Unique, K.H.Z. Solneman, Mackay-Gesellschaft, Freiburg/Br. Obtainable from Freedom Press. 50p + 10p postage.

JOHN HENRY MACKAY (1864-1933) is usually known in this country for two things: his book *The Anarchists*, published in 1891, and as the biographer of Max Stirner. A full length study of him by Thomas A. Riley was published in 1972, but it has gained little attention due to its high price and to a bizarre academicism which left about one third of its text in German.

This booklet is therefore to be welcomed as an interesting and useful introduction to Mackay's life and work. It has the added advantage that its author was one of his comrades.

Solneman makes it clear that Mackay was something more than just the biographer of Stirner. Important though his work on the latter was, he also deserves recognition for his activity as a poet, novelist and social critic during the 50 years of German history which culminated in Hitler's rise to power in 1933. Indeed, there is a certain significance in the fact that the year of the triumph of Nazi collectivism was also the year of the death of Germany's leading anarchist individualist.

There are some aspects of Solneman's thesis that I find questionable. For example, he tries to 'sweeten' Stirner into a harbinger of 'social harmony' which he was not. Again, like Mackay, he insists on linking that dreadful old moralist Proudhon with Stirner, even though Stirner detested his philosophy. Despite these flaws, however, K.H.Z. Solneman has written a persuasive case for rediscovering John Henry Mackay. I hope it will be followed by the translation of the rest of Mackay's writings into English.

S.E. PARKER

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