

anarchist fortnightly **Freedom**

19 January/80
Vol 41 No 1

25p

Inside: RONAN BENNETT ON THE TRIAL; AFGHANISTAN; NYCITYCRISIS; ALIEN, ETC.

1980

ALMOST!

BUSINESS / AS USUAL



'Hold on to your bollocks, lads,
lads, Indira's back!'

1979 ENDED far better than most of us thought possible, with the total acquittal of our comrades of the 'Persons Unknown' trial. After nearly two years of preparation, ten weeks of trial and what must have been astronomical costs, the prosecution's jigsaw puzzle failed to fit and the jury threw it all out - almost, one felt, with contempt.

Certainly they showed their contempt for the state's attempts to get a rigged jury - and for the judge's slanted summing up and his generally biased handling of the whole process of the case through his court, as well as for prosecuting counsel Worsley's pathetic histrionics.

And was that so unexpected? The jury is supposed to be independent, is supposed to consist of twelve good citizens and true whose job, carefully explained, is to weigh the evidence and convict only when guilt is proved 'beyond any reasonable doubt'.

Given that as the underlying and traditional function of the jury - would not any average collection of jurors resent like hell the implication that they have been rigged, hand-picked, selected, vetted, in order to ensure in advance the decision the judge wanted? And when prosecution and judge turn out to be as foolish and as prejudiced as Worsley and King-Hamilton, would that not be enough to make any bloody-

minded and perverse - whatever the strength of the evidence?

So the state's conspiracy fell apart, for the weak link in any state's hegemony is the common sense of the citizens. And isn't it nice to be on the winning side for once? The FREEDOM collective was delighted to be able to welcome Iris and Ronan to our 'at home' on the Saturday before Christmas and to toast their freedom with a bottle of bourgeois champagne!

Having sub merged over Christmas, however, it's a bit daunting to surface again to find the world back to normal - with a vengeance. If the Seventies ended with a happy release, then 'vengeance' is certainly the word for the beginning of the Eighties, with states around the world putting up their sordid signs saying 'Business as Usual'.

Not quite as usual, perhaps, in Saudi Arabia, where the government took revenge for the extraordinary occupation of the Grand Mosque in Mecca - one of Islam's holiest places - by some 'deviant' Moslem fanatics (as distinct from orthodox Moslem fanatics) last November. Sixty three survivors met Moslem justice according to Allah and were put to the sword - beheaded in the way described for defilers of the mosque.

This grisly bit of medieval justice rated few headlines in the British press,

presumably because the ruling Saud family is strongly 'pro-Western' - which may be taken to mean that 'we' buy most of their oil.

Meanwhile howling for vengeance continues in Iran, where the followers of Khomeini continue to hold hostages in the American embassy in Tehran, demanding the return of the Shah to face Islamic justice himself. It is sickening for anarchists to see the tremendous and courageous efforts made by the Iranian people to get rid of the Shah last February come to this - the replacement of a modern dictatorship by an obscurantist bigotry every bit as repressive, with anti-feminism and cruelty built into the holy relics of its twisted ethics.

But it is not the religion of the Moslems that matters - it is the political strength of the world of Islam. And while the Americans were preoccupied by the fate of a handful of hostages, the Russians took their chance to advance their own cause in the Middle East by answering a call for help from the friendly government of Afghanistan.

This was not an invasion, you understand, it was an answer to an invitation. Though, oddly enough, the British Communist Party, which hastily supported the invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia in their day, have now critic-

ised the Russian action - without, of course, going so far as to support President Carter's brisk embargo on the sale of wheat to the USSR, an action which has had mixed reaction from the rest of the West, depending on how much trade each country does with the Soviet Union.

If we remember how the last big wheat deal the Russians did with America pushed up the price for the rest of the world, we might all be pleased if last year's harvest comes on the market now - potentially bringing the price down. But Europe's farmers don't necessarily see things like that - what they see is an opportunity for them to fill the USSR's granaries instead of the Americans, but of course, don't want the price to come down either, thank you very much.

So America's European allies are welcoming Carter's decision for the USA to apply sanctions against the Soviet Union - but have no desire to follow suit themselves. Britain, not being an agricultural country, will be quite happy to back Carter (perhaps hoping to get some cheap American grain herself?) and will get her fingers in the gravy by selling arms to Pakistan having, temporarily at least, lost the lucrative Iranian market.

Pakistan, shocked by Russia's invasion of neighbouring Afghanistan, is of course a Moslem country, and so is reacting coolly to America's prompt offer of arms, not wishing to upset the militant Muslims of other countries. Hence Britain's interest in getting in quick and indeed, even as we write our non-elected, self-styled foreign secretary, Lord Carrington, is in Islamabad,

order book at the ready. He will be followed there by a Chinese delegation headed by China's foreign secretary, Huang Ha, no doubt on the same friendly, businesslike mission, while My Lord Carrington himself carries on to Delhi to allay Indian fears about the increases in Pakistani armaments by - you've guessed it - selling arms to India as well. Mrs Gandhi, after all, is such a good friend of democracy.

And all this jolly good capitalist business stems from the Soviet invasion of little old Afghanistan (where?) which is, after all, probably nothing to do with trying to get a warm water outlet to the Indian Ocean, but only an attempt to drive a wedge into Muslem country and give a nudge to Khomeini that, when Iran settles down again, it might be sensible to get friendly with all those Muslims in the Soviet Union.

Which wouldn't please the West too much. But then the West isn't too pleased with Iran at the moment anyway, and would not be at all unhappy to see a big Russian policeman looking over the garden wall at the nutty Ayatollah. Better the Russian bear you know than some unpredictable religious fanatic ...

Meanwhile, back home, the steelworkers are entering their third week of a bitter struggle in which they started with all the disadvantages - like, how much strength do you have when the boss wants to close down the plant anyway?

Apart from that, there were plenty of steel stocks around the country as well, and the steel workers are reacting quite rightly to the huffing and puffing of such as Willie Whitelaw on the doubtful legality of 'secondary picketing' -

by setting up flying pickets for the precise purpose of extending the strike from the steelworks to the steel stockists. But for this to be successful, there must be more support from, say, the transport workers as well - and the dockers, to prevent steel coming in or out of the country.

If some of our steel works are antiquated and should be run down - then the men who have given their lives to the industry must be adequately compensated, and those remaining should be adequately paid. That's the minimum demand as of now.

As anarchists we want to see the steel workers in control of their industry themselves - but that means all the workers in all the industries doing the same. Is it too much to ask that the eighties will see the emergence of a working class movement that will reject the bankrupt trade unionism which seeks nothing more than to be 'an arm of management' within capitalism - and which rejects equally the equally bankrupt social democracy which seeks to do no more than present the 'acceptable face' of capitalism.

While the Trots waste their lives boring from within an organisation which has no future anyway - how about the anarchist movement making a determined effort during the next ten years to present the libertarian and international alternatives to the present cynical, political, industrial and social mess? Clearly the authoritarians are going on the offensive; how about the libertarians making sure their answers are effective - and relevant!

Afghanistan

THE hypocrisy of governments knows no limits. The Soviet Union sends an army into Afghanistan to prop up its bloodthirsty puppet and the West responds with outraged squeals, while it decides on the expediency of doing the same in Pakistan.

Guerilla action in the mountains against the Russians is a plucky people fighting for their freedom. Similar people across the border in Iran are Islamic fanatics.

Armed intervention in Afghanistan is intolerable. In Uganda, the Central African Empire, it is tolerated.

'Red' subversives, agents of Soviet imperialism, are vicious fanatics. Counter propaganda is in the interests of the 'free world'.

The list could go on and on. Just think of Vietnam or China. How many shifts of attitude have there been about that? But there is no need to spell it all out. This is how people act when they are in these positions of power. More distressing is that they

are allowed to get away with it.

In the meantime let's try to look a bit more dispassionately at events in Central Asia. Like many countries Afghanistan is a patchwork, cobbled together from as large a geographical area as the central power could control. The modern borders cut through several ethnic groups. In the north the Uzbeks and Tajiks are split with Russia and in the South the Pashtuns (Pathans) spread across into Pakistan. The southern Baluchis are divided between three states. There is a lot of resentment about these arrangements. For example there was a Baluchi uprising in 1972, which the Pakistani government suppressed very heavily, using American supplied arms. There is currently Baluchi unrest in Iran. Along with the ethnic divisions came a parcel of languages. The total population is probably about 18 million (no one knows for sure. There are a lot of nomads.) Of these about half speak Pashtu and about a third Dari. These are related to Farsi (Persian) and Urdu. North of the Hindu Kush there are

a lot of Turkman people, speaking a variety of other languages.

Afghanistan has long been regarded as strategically vital, lying across the land route to India. Britain and Russia - both saw it this way and spent the nineteenth century vying for political influence. Britain invaded a couple of times (though, of course this was in the past, would never think of such a thing these days. That is why it is possible to criticise the Russian intervention.) However, they were never able to hold the place down militarily and had to withdraw, suffering heavy losses and considerable embarrassment and settle for the political manoeuvring. In the end the British and Russian governments set the present borders between them, though the locals never took much notice of them. Until 1973 the country was theoretically a monarchy. This was overthrown and a republic announced, with sweeping talk of reforms. None of this amounted to much and in April 1978 there was a communist lead coup. There are two

continued on P. 7

STUDENT DEATHS IN MADRID

THE first confusing radio reports on Thursday night, December 13th, in Madrid gave the impression that a trade unionist had been killed during a demo against the new labour laws proposed by the Suarez Government.

Friday morning's papers clarified the situation. Some students protesting about the large sums of money directed into private and catholic education and the new proposed educational legislation, became mixed up in the trade union demo of the communist Comisiones Obreras (CCOO). Some slogans like "Workers and students together" had been chorused.

About this time, the communist chiefs on the trade union demo denounced the students saying "they are not workers" and left. These included Carillio, the party leader, and Camacho, their union leader.

At some point after the communist bosses left, some students are reported to have surrounded a police jeep near the Glorieta de Embajadores. The police in the vehicle were armed and opened fire, shooting two of the students. Emilie Martinez and Jose Luis Montanes fell dead to the pavement.

In the metro that Friday morning, CNT members distributed leaflets calling for support for the students and for a struggle for a more liberal system of education. Some factory workers stopped work for one minute's silence in the city, but, because of the communist party opposition to more general industrial action for the students, it was difficult to mount something more substantial in Madrid, where

the communist unions are the strongest.

Fidel Alonso, secretary of the communist CCOO in Madrid, appealed to his members not to get involved in strikes or similar actions connected with the student deaths. He also offered his union's best wishes to the re-emerging student movement, but pointed out that they didn't have a 'common strategy'.

REACTION TO THE DEATHS

Although the CNT had intercepted police messages which indicated that they had been ordered not to use their pistols, it was with some misgivings that, together with two Irish comrades and several CNT militants, I went to Embajadores to demonstrate at the point where the students were shot.

All the metro stations around Embajadores had been closed by the police, and armed police were occupying the Ronda de Valencia and the Glorieta.

In unauthorized demos such as this one, it seems almost impossible to organize a common point of assembly because of the heavy deployment of police. The Government had closed the universities on Friday, possibly to prevent them being used as assembly points by student militants.

All we could do was to congregate in groups of 50 or so and roam the city. In this way we did manage to build barricades at several road junctions, disrupting the circulation of traffic throughout Madrid. But when we did try to join the larger demo in Atocha

just down the road; we were forced back by police firing tear gas.

All round the city there were reports of disturbances, which the Civil Government in Madrid referred to as being characteristic of 'urban guerillas'. Barricades were built of boxes, pavement seats, telephone kiosks, and empty cars. Heaps of rubbish were lit on the streets and memories of Paris in '68 came back. On the Avenida Jose Antonio in Madrid's nerve centre, I saw two auto buses stopped and emptied of their occupants and burned in order to block this major street. Even my mates from Belfast, where demonstrations are now largely a ritual, were impressed by some of the tactics and especially the courage of these Spanish demonstrators.

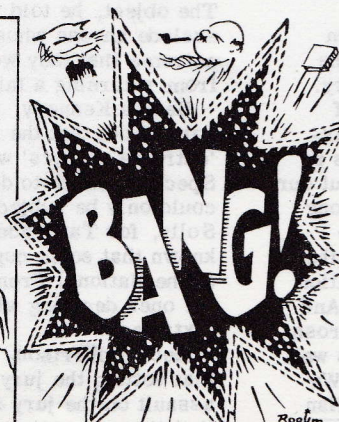
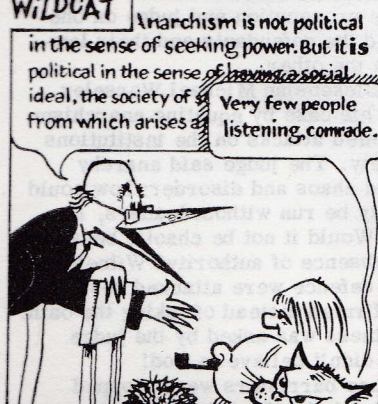
In the last four years, forty people have been killed in demonstrations in Spain.

The reaction to the deaths of the Madrid students spread to other towns. There were demonstrations in Barcelona, Toledo, Oviedo, Murcia, Zaragoza, Granada, and Bilbao. In Pamplona, 22 arrests were made and in Madrid 53 were detained.

The Madrid demo represents a radical trend in a city which has been less traditionally militant than other parts of Spain. One can only hope that, with the CNT decision to install its new general secretary in Madrid, the CNT can firmly establish itself as a third force, a radical alternative to the socialists and the communists in the capital.

TRADE UNIONIST

WILDCAT



Ronan sums up



THE unexpected verdict of a vetted jury is by now known to all. Below, Ronan Bennett, who defended himself at the trial - and who was beyond doubt the defendant the police most wanted to see behind bars - gives a summary of the case. As Ronan stresses, it was anarchism that had to be on trial since the lack of solid evidence - and hence the use of the conspiracy laws - inevitably brought to account the defendants' attitudes and ideas. But if anarchists have won the day, we have still to win the decade! The authorities will do everything they can to prevent such humiliation in the future. How long, for instance, can we expect to maintain the (admittedly fragile) protection of a jury system?

Tom Harper, in the rather dry *New Law Journal*, remarked "There is one respect at least in which 1980 will be an improvement on the year that has just ended. Judge Alan King-Hamilton will no longer be on the bench". But his initial relief was followed by apprehension. Commenting on the day's detention in court imposed on the jurors as punishment for returning a not guilty verdict, he wrote, "Had I been a member of the jury concerned, I should certainly have refused to comply with Judge King-Hamilton's order; I would, no doubt, have been committed for contempt, but at least the matter could then have been brought before a higher authority. Even as things stand, the silence of the authorities is difficult to interpret. Does it signify approval or the belief that the conduct of judges; however reprehensible, is above reproach? Judge King-Hamilton's retirement has let the authorities off the hook. The problem nevertheless remains. A precedent has been created - in my view, a thoroughly bad one". (NLJ, 3.1.80).

This is why the Persons Unknown trial may well prove to be one of the most important trials of the century. This is why, despite the number of valid reservations that have been expressed about the conduct of juries in the libertarian press, we should put our weight behind the jury system as long as people continue to be brought to trial. In a court of law it remains the only possible means of communication with, and appeal to, one's peers. And in this case, notwithstanding the gross distortions of crown and bench, as well as media, it has been vindicated. We believe that the letter to the *Guardian* from one of the jurors deserves reprinting in FREEDOM.

THE Persons Unknown case began and ended with controversy. When Iris and I were arrested in May 1978, the Anti Terrorist Squad were desperately short of work. Their numbers had been cut from over 200 to 30 and they had had little to do for several years. They were specialists whose skills were not much in demand.

That was to change after the discovery of our 'bomb factory' - the now famous Blanchards weedkiller, sugar, flour etc. Britain was saved from a depraved anarchist plot to overthrow society. The gutter press fuelled the police hysteria with stories of 'important anarchist cells', and 'target lists'. The ATS now had enemies to pursue. The need for their skills was revived and their numbers swelled.

Among the enemies they pursued and caught at various times were Taff Ladd, a founder member of Black Aid, Stewart Carr, also a member of Black Aid, and Vince Stevenson and Trevor Dawson who both worked at Rising Free bookshop. Their arrests added meat to a conspiracy charge which looked anaemic from the moment Iris and I first appeared in court on a conspiracy to cause explosions charge.

So began the long wait for trial. We all spent lengthy periods in Brixton prison, including Iris, who for many months was the jail's only woman prisoner. One by one bail was granted to each of us - except Stewart Carr, who did not apply for it. The conditions of bail were strict: daily signing with the police, curfews, high sureties and specified addresses.

Controversy broke out anew when, in August 1979, the prosecution (in the person of Michael Worseley) applied to judge Gibbens for permission to have the jury panel vetted by Special Branch. The object, he told the court, was to exclude anyone whose politics were so extreme that they would inhibit them from returning a fair verdict.

Helena Kennedy, acting for Trevor, pointed out that the interpretation of 'extreme politics' would be left for Special Branch to decide, and therefore could only be subjective. Stephen Solly, for Taff, added that it was well known that some cops were members of the National Front - would they be the ones deciding whose politics were 'extreme'?

Geoff Robertson, for Iris, argued that vetting the jury panel was an assault on the jury system, and I said that it was an attempt by the prosecution to pack the jury.

The judge gave the prosecution leave to vet the jury and as a sop to the defence told us that we could employ private investigators to look into the jurors and this would be paid for by the legal aid fund. The trial was set for 10 September.

The hearing took place in chambers and therefore the press was not allowed access to the court. However, an account of the proceedings was leaked and appeared in the press. Jury vetting became the issue in the Persons Unknown case.

The prosecution did their vetting and the results (subsequently leaked to the *Guardian*) give some indication of the kind of information kept by police on the populace. For example the address of one juror, it was revealed, was 'believed to be a squat', another had made a complaint against the police which was subsequently withdrawn. Another had a son who was acquitted of a murder charge. Worseley also indicated that the vetting had revealed more information which he was not prepared to let the defence have. We can only guess at its content!

After the *Guardian* leak a new panel was selected and also vetted. The defence once again opposed this procedure and this time refused even to accept from the prosecution the results of the vetting. We reiterated our staunch opposition to jury vetting.

* * *

It is impossible to summarise a three month long trial in one brief article, and in any case various accounts of it have been published (the fullest in Persons Unknown Trial Info Bulletins - mainly due to the incredible work of Dave Couch). The trial was notable, however, for the many political clashes which took place with the prosecution and judge on one side and the defendants and their lawyers on the other.

The Dickensian Michael Worseley opened his case by equating anarchism with armed attacks on the institutions of society. The judge said anarchy equalled chaos and disorder: how could a society be run without leaders, he asked. Would it not be chaotic because of the absence of authority? Witnesses for the defence were attacked because they affirmed instead of taking the oath. One witness was asked by the judge why he didn't believe in God!

Defence barristers were stopped immediately by the judge when they ventured into the area of politics.

This is not a political trial, he would repeat. But attacks, ignorant and bigotted, on anarchists and anarchism by the prosecution were permitted. "I don't interpret politics as including anarchy" said the judge, neatly ducking the double standard.

The defendants were cross examined at length about things not remotely connected with the case - not once did the judge intervene.

But then why should we be surprised that the judge was biased and the prosecution ignorant and prejudiced? As anarchists we know what the court's functions are. We know that there are no fair and no unfair judges. We know

that while most defendants are fighting a personal battle for survival, the judge is fighting for the ascendancy of his class. Every word, every act of his is said and done with that end in mind.

Cantley could afford to be gracious with Thorpe and his friends because, after all, Thorpe is an establishment figure. His demise would be meaningless as far as the state is concerned. Thorpe posed no threat. However, the defendants in the Persons Unknown trial did pose a threat - not a powerful one, no more powerful than the threat posed by any reader of this paper - but we did represent the anti-

thesis of Worsley and King-Hamilton and were unrepentant opponents of class society.

King-Hamilton's remarks at the end of the trial were prompted not by personal animosity towards the defendants but because our politics did not have the effect on the jury that he had expected. Anarchism as much as the defendants was on trial - and it won!

Vince, Trevor, Iris and I would like to thank all those who helped us during the case with money, clothes, books, picketing, leafleting, legal advice and friendship.

RONAN BENNETT

Letter from a juror...

Sir - In view of Judge King-Hamilton's remarks to the jury on Wednesday and Thursday last week over their acquittal of the defendants in the anarchist conspiracy trial, may I, as a member of that jury, address a few remarks to your readers?

The judge saw fit to criticise us and he did so with the immunity of his office. As a matter of simple human courtesy, we should be allowed to say something in our defence.

I will say nothing of what took place in the jury room as we were coming to our verdicts. I propose to confine my comments to more general matters, particularly to the presentation of the Crown case. The views are mine alone and are the thoughts of but a layman.

All juries are told that they must judge the issues put before them objectively and dispassionately and that the test to be applied in order to bring a conviction is that each member must, in his own mind, be sure that the defendant has committed the crime with which charged. If not sure, then the defendant must be given the benefit of the doubt and acquitted.

All juries are told, as we were, that it is not for the accused to prove their innocence but for the Crown to prove their guilt by presenting such a case as to remove any reasonable doubt as to guilt from the jurors' minds.

The Crown's case at this trial was freely admitted to be based wholly on circumstantial evidence. To my mind, however, there are great difficulties in proving a conspiracy from circumstantial evidence. A primary difficulty is how to decide what weight to give to each piece of the disparate and diffuse pieces of evidence.

Early on, the Crown described its own case, metaphorically, as a jigsaw, each piece fitting together to add up in the end to a picture of guilt. In a jigsaw each piece is required to complete the picture and has equal status with

the other pieces in building up the picture. Yet there are great difficulties in treating all the pieces of circumstantial evidence as parts of such a jigsaw when the picture is supposed to show a conspiracy.

Of course the prosecution would not say every piece of evidence was of equal weight and the jigsaw approach is only a metaphor anyway. But the point is that not everything is grist to the same mill.

To change the metaphor, one does not arrive at a conviction by adding up the evidence as if it were a shopping bill. It all boils down to the fundamental question of what interpretation one is to put on a great jumble of evidence, the pieces of which may or may not be part of the same picture.

Before I come to the question of interpretation may I deal with one other matter? As the judge himself pointed out to us, conviction in a case where the evidence is largely circumstantial, depends in drawing inference from the evidence and then deciding whether that inference takes one from evidence of fact to guilt.

What constitutes such inference? It cannot, surely, be a merely intuitive leap from evidence to conclusion. Surely one must be compelled to one conclusion and no other. If then in drawing a conclusion of guilt one recognises in it any element of mere intuition, one surely must reject that conclusion. A judgement surely must be one made on wholly rational grounds.

The Crown's interpretation of the evidence was but one of a number of possible ones, but it was not stamped with any imprimatur of inevitability. It had to be tested. There are other possible interpretations and the defence had theirs.

The distinction here, of course, is that while one need not be convinced of the truth of the defence's interpretation, one must be convinced by the prosecution's. The question the jury has to ask

is: are other interpretations sufficiently possible so as to conclude that there is a reasonable possibility of the prosecution's being wrong? If there is such a possibility then the prosecution's interpretation must be rejected.

Two points arise concerning Carr's statement, which we were forced to endure last Thursday. First, as Carr's own counsel declared, that statement was not given to incriminate any of the others named in it. Read as it was by prosecuting counsel, it was not subjected to cross examination. None of the persons mentioned in it was given the opportunity to refute it.

Second, we the jury were unaware of the contents of the statement before that day. It had never been introduced into the case we had been called to try. I think that a child can see that without the aid of clairvoyance a jury cannot convict on the basis of evidence that it had not heard and not had a chance to assess.

Perhaps a good deal of what I have said is obvious, but perhaps the obvious does need to be stated in order to dispel any notions which your readers may have that we were duped. We were not. In the days (and nights) since we delivered our verdicts I have gone over and over in my mind the discussions we had in that jury room.

Our deliberations lasted nearly 20 hours: several of us took detailed notes of the trial throughout its three months: ours were not hasty or ill considered conclusions. I remain as convinced now as ever that on the evidence that was placed before us the verdicts we brought in were absolutely right.

Finally, may I say that it will not be judge's ungracious and gratuitous remarks to us that will remain my abiding memory of that trial; rather it will be of the honesty, dignity, and deep impartiality of all my fellow jurors. - Yours sincerely, A Jurymen.

(Guardian, 29.12.79)

A.N.C. HIERARCHY?

IT seems to us that Gaia ('What shall we do about the ANC?' last FREEDOM but one) is saying that the newly formed Anti Nuclear Campaign is hierarchical, centralising and authoritarian, but that on the other hand it is as likely to do good as do harm, and it will respect the autonomy of other groups. Its organisers are well-intentioned, and our opposition must be 'responsible' (in particular, it would be 'appalling' if we were to wreck the ANC without a 'positive demonstration of the superiority of the libertarian method'). None of this convinces us.

It's of no interest to us whether people like Scargill (or any other leader) are out for their own good or genuinely believe the ANC is the answer to our problems. That's why, in the leaflet which Gaia quotes, we emphasise the function of the ANC and not the motives of individuals in it. It requires no mysterious conspiracy to explain the role of the ANC in recuperating the anti-nuclear movement; merely observation that in an authoritarian society there are always politicians (most often 'left wing') ready to take over the organisation of protest once it reaches a certain strength - and when the time comes, to negotiate surrender. But the true liberal will always be taken in by the next organisational racket.

We don't agree with London Greenpeace in seeing a 'positive side' to the ANC, which might justify us according to some

special tolerance in spite of its authoritarian nature. If, as we argue, the role of the ANC is to sell us out, then the fact that it may draw money and support from the unions is hardly an advantage.

We don't wish to glorify the rest of the anti-nuclear movement, far from it: the latest issue of our paper is largely devoted to criticism of lack of democracy and effectiveness within it. It is precisely one consequence of its weakness that many are being drawn into an organisation which offers to direct it.

If, as Gaia suggests, ANC members are 'drawn progressively toward more militant attitudes', this will be because its nature is exposed, which is what we tried to do when we went to the inaugural conference. This was a tightly organised publicity stunt, with big name speakers, ordinary mortals having to fill out a slip and wait for the chairman to ask them to speak, and 'election' of a steering committee which had been selected beforehand. A group of us went along and tried to speak several times, to demand a more democratic organisation of the conference. It was a waste of time, we had the microphone unplugged on us and were shouted down. Many people told us privately that they agreed with us, but didn't support us at all in the meeting.

But of course we don't plan to go along to all ANC meetings and try to 'wreck' them (i.e. democratise) them, not be-

cause it would be 'appalling' if the ANC were wrecked - we will be more appalled if it survives - but because our energies are limited, and if we spent our time opposing the ANC we would be diverted from real opposition to the nuclear state just as much as if we joined the ANC.

We are having an open discussion of what such opposition might consist of in 1980, on Sunday 20 January. No place and time decided yet: ring (01) 226 3208 nearer the time.

ECOLOGY AND ANARCHISM
(Box 1000 Rising Free
182 Upper St, London N1)

Gaia replies: For the record I did not say that ANC will respect the autonomy of other groups, since I have no idea whether it will do so or not. I was referring to a phrase in the Ecology and Anarchism Collective leaflet on the ANC which itself pointed out this possibility and read, 'It's not a question of who's who on which committee, or whether the ANC has formal membership, or respects our autonomy ...'

The Collective says it will not have the time or energy to wreck ANC. My answer is that, if ANC does respect other groups' autonomy I am glad that this is so, for otherwise, and with unfortunate irony, it would end by looking more libertarian than the libertarians. And that is always bad propaganda.

TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN

Dear friends

A point that would seem to be blatantly obvious only to an anarchist - that the two super powers are combining their forces the better to extinguish dissidence whether from 'right' or 'left' - still seems to pass unrecognised and unnoticed. I have no illusions that this letter to the Guardian (so far unprinted) would achieve very much, but perhaps some of your readers would care to comment. DAVID MARKHAM

- Sir, Once again, no doubt as a result of a misunderstanding within the American-Soviet pact - known as détente - the real victims have been forgotten. For example, the Soviet workers, whose crime was to seek to establish genuine and independent trades unions within the Soviet Union, find themselves still incarcerated in labour camp or 'hospital'.

With one or two exceptions, these courageous people have been virtually ignored by the TUC, who are effectively silenced by the official (i.e. KGB) Soviet 'explanation'.

As with Hitler, internal and external policies are but two sides of the coin: yet one must insist that bigger nuclear bombs will never win the human rights war. Nor, it might be added, will the sending of arms to General Zia.

Unless and until this truth is realised, it seems futile to suggest what might be done. Yours faithfully, David Markham

Hartfield, Sussex.

JOHN BRIGHT TARNISHED

Dear Comrades,

The inspired ideals of the progressive radicals of the 19th Century which flourished under the name of liberalism showed considerable evidence of decline into the dutiful conformist routine of established orthodoxy long before the period I have indicated in the 'Open Letter to the Workers.' (Freedom No. 23 Dec.) The case of John Bright illustrates very well

the way in which the massive weight of the inertia of conservatism can crush the struggling efforts of the wishful progressives and block all the gateways to advance. I wrote that John Bright 'would not accept office in the government.' In actual fact he did. The acceptance, however, was not undertaken without reproaches from his conscience and he considered that he was to be pitied for doing so. Nevertheless the rot in liberalism was firmly planted and although he was aware of his fall from grace, his eager successors, in total disregard of the torch which fell from his hand, have happily entered the darkness of the errant tunnel along which they have since plodded their pedestrian way.

Just how far, in our day, do we find it necessary to compromise? Have Dave and Paul Puckland been able to pick up another and a better torch?

Yours hopefully
FRED YATES

BLACK CAT PRESS, P.O. Box
11261, Edmonton, Alberta, T5J 2T6,
Canada.

AFGHANISTAN (cont..)

communist groups in Afghanistan, both supported by the Soviet Union. The one which gained control was the Khalq ("masses") Party, fronted by Tariki & Amin, as vile a pair of Stalinist hacks as could be found anywhere. The leaders of the other tendency ("Parchan"- "flag") found themselves acting as representatives in Eastern Europe.

Tariki became President and (later) Amin, Prime Minister. There was an attempt at enforced reform. For example land was distributed. Previously 5% of the landowners had owned about half of the land. These feudal estates were to be split up between 700,000 peasants and a maximum of 15 acres applied. In practice the distribution was messy, botched and corrupt. Another reform was to abolish the traditional bride price, which had reached such high levels that it could be a crippling economic burden. However the resentment was at the level, not at the principle, which was an important social interaction in this deeply conservative society and the attempt at its abolition only caused more resentment. Any opposition was stamped out. Tens of thousands have been killed, even by the government's own figures. In September 1979 Tariki was killed and Amin became President. The actual circumstances are still obscure, but it seems to have occurred during an attempt by Tariki and the Russians to get rid of Amin. Whatever the truth things only got worse, leading up to the Soviet invasion and the installation of Karmal, leader of the Parchan faction, newly fetched back from Europe (though there is currently an attempt to make out that he was in the country the whole time, gallantly working in the Underground).

So, why did they do it? There seems to have been a complex of reasons. Some of these are the international, expansionist aims that hawks in the west are gleefully pointing to. No doubt the Soviet Union would like to control territory all the way down to the legendary "warm water port"

If they control Afghanistan, then they can begin to work towards the secession of an autonomous Baluchistan, taking areas from Iran and Pakistan as well. (In the fifties and early sixties they offered arms to the Afghani monarchy, to be used to help set up a separate Paktunistan. I don't suppose that the Pakistan government has forgotten that) A stable Afghanistan would be necessary for this. However, this traditional aim is not as important as it once was. They now have friendly ports in the Indian Ocean. This old dream may well have been in the back of their minds as a pleasant long term possibility but not as an immediate objective. Other international aspects are the hints of power shifts in Moscow. The hard line militarists are reported to be disturbed by growing "detante". Breshnev and Kosigin are old and ill. The decision to deploy NATO (ie American) missiles in Europe would have contributed to this unease.

However, the main thing would appear to be simple, imperialist consolidation. Since the "April Revolution" (1978) Afghanistan has been in the Soviet sphere of interest. There have been demonstrations in the past of the correct line for dealing with unrest in satellite states. And, as they keep plaintively (?) insisting it is hypocritical of the west to talk about "invasions" when all they are doing is supporting a "friendly" government, the sort of thing the Americans do all the time, for instance in South America (admittedly, not so dramatically) or until recently, in Iran, or, dare we say it, Vietnam. Afghanistan was a client state whose rulers were being inefficient. Their imposed rule was creating opposition, a vast range of guerilla groups were operating, Nationalist, Monarchist, Islamic, you name it. The Kabul government was having singularly little success against these. (This, also is traditional in Afghanistan) The army was deserting in droves. The inspiration of neighbouring Iran was causing a great stir and it wouldn't do to have an Islamic takeover in

a Russian client. After all there are large numbers of Moslems just across the border, in "autonomous" Soviet republics like Kazackstan.

(Incidentally, the possibility of criticism of oppression of fellow moslems from the good ayatollah next door appears to have been squared in advance. The Russian ambassador went to see Khomeini on December 28th, just as the invasion was really getting under way. It might be noted that the Soviet Union vetoed UN sanctions against Iran)

Add to all this the fact that Amin was getting increasingly savage and, from the Russian viewpoint, unruly and it seems sensible to stop messing around and just go in and sort it out yourself.

Will they get away with it? Probably. The only people who might stop them are the Afghans themselves (surprise). I suppose that people and arms will continue to filter back and forwards across the Iranian and Pakistani borders (though it is rumoured that the Iranian frontier is tighter than under the shah's regime). Sardonic satisfaction could be obtained by watching the Soviet military machine get pinned down in the mountains but I'm not sure how the traditional guerilla tactics would work against air power. The same could have been said before Vietnam. The Russians could probably subdue the country, but I doubt if they could keep more than the main towns quiet. After all the Kabul government has never been able to.

Then there is the actions of the West, bastion of freedom. Well, there sure will be a lot of noise for a while, "detante" will be retarded, perhaps the Olympic games will be boycotted. The hawks, militarists and general paranoiacs will have a field day. Warm bonds will be strengthened with that good friend, the Peoples Republic of China. Arms and 'aid' will be poured into "friendly" countries (Which I'm sure that that other defender of freedom, General Zia, will find very useful)

And doesn't it all make a wonderful distraction from boring internal problems like economies and the need for increasing state control.



FINLAND

KOSTI LAKUS, a comrade imprisoned in Helsinki, recently sent a report to the UN Commission on Human Rights to protest against his treatment at the hands of the Finnish and Swedish authorities.

In this report, Kosti states that he has been an anarchist all his life and that his anarchist convictions are the reasons for the prison sentences repeatedly meted out to him. Now 56, Kosti was first imprisoned at the age of 19 for deserting from the army in

PRISON NOTES

1942/3. He almost died from starvation in a concentration camp in Northern Finland and escaped the firing squad - to which 400 soldiers fell in Finland between 1941/4 - by pure chance.

After his release from a 6-year prison term (on a drugs charge) in 1975, he began to work for the Amsterdam-based prison group HA POTOC (Help a Prisoner and Outlaw Torture Organising Committee) as correspondent and coordinator. His work for this group brought about a renewal of police harassment. When details were revealed in the HA POTOC newsletter of Finnish police involvement in a drug ring, the authorities suspected that Kosti was responsible for the revelations and the harassment increased.

Kosti relates how, in August 1977, he was making his way home when he was attacked by three men, who knocked him down and robbed him. An hour later, he was arrested and charged with stabbing Kari Lankinen, who had been assaulted at about the same time, in the same quarter of the city. He was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment on 28 September 1977 and, despite the fact that Lankinen later made a written statement denying that Kosti had done the stabbing, and that a prisoner in Turku also wrote to him to claim responsibility, his appeal for release was rejected by the Supreme Court. A second is pending.

Then shortly before he was due for release in the spring of 1978, a new charge - manufacture of amphetamine - was brought against him. Kosti flatly denies that there is any basis in the charge; since he was in prison

Continued over leaf

Groups

ABERDEEN libertarians group, contact c/o 163 King Street, Aberdeen

ABERYSTWYTH: David Fletcher, 59 Cambrian Street, Aberystwyth.

BIRMINGHAM anarchists/anarcha feminists meet Sundays. Contact Alison at Peace Centre, 18 Moore St., Ringway Birmingham 4 (tel. 021 643 0996)

BRISTOL CITY: 4 British Road, Bristol BS3 3BW

BRISTOL Students: Libertarian Society, Students Union, Queen's Rd. Bristol 8

CAMBRIDGE Anarchists, Box A, 41 Fitzroy Street, Cambridge

CANTERBURY Alternative Research Group. Wally Barnes, Eliot College, University of Kent, Canterbury.

CARDIFF write c/o One-o-Eight Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Road

CHELTENHAM anarchists see street-sellers 11 am - 1.30 Saturday mornings

COVENTRY: John England, Students Union, Univ. of Warwick, Coventry

DERBY: Contact Andrew Huckerby, 49 Westleigh Ave., Derby SE3 3BY tel. 368678

EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians. Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex

EDINBURGH anarchists meet 8 pm on Monday at First of May Bookshop, 45 Niddry St., Edinburgh

EXETER anarchist collective c/o Community Assn., Devonshire House, Stocker Road, Exeter.

GLASGOW anarchist group: John Cooper, 34 Raithburn Avenue, Castlemilk, Glasgow G45

GREENWICH & Bexley. Any trade unionists interested in forming syndicalist group contact John Ryan, 47 Binsey Walk, London SE2 9TU

HASTINGS anarchist group c/o Solstice 127 Bohemia Rd., St. Leonards on Sea Sussex. Tel. 0424 429537

HULL libertarian collective: Pete Jordan, 70 Perth St. Hull.

LEAMINGTON & Warwick c/o 42 Bath St, Leamington Spa.

LEEDS - new address awaited

LEICESTER anarchist group: Lyn Hurst, 41 Briarfield Drive (tel. 0533 21250 (day) 0533 414060 (night)). Bookshop: Blackthorn, 76 Highcross St., (tel. 0533 21896). Libertarian Education 6 Beaconsfield Rd. tel. 0533 552085

LONDON
Anarchy Collective, 37a Grosvenor Av., (tel. 359 4794 before 7 pm)
Freedom Collective, 84B Whitechapel High St, E1 (tel. 247 9249)
Hackney anarchists: Dave, tel 249 7042
Kingston anarchists, 13 Denmark Rd., Kingston-upon-Thames (tel. 549 2564)
London Workers' Group, Box W, 182 Upper St. N.1 (tel. 249 7042)
Love V. Power, Box 779, Peace News London office, 5 Caledonian Rd. N.1
West London anarchists, 7 Pennard Rd W.12.

MALVERN & Worcester area Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storridge, Malvern, Worcs.

MANCHESTER - see NW Federation

MID-SUSSEX & South Coast anarchists c/o Resources Centre, North Road, Brighton, E. Sussex

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE. Black Jake c/o 115 Westgate Rd. N/cle NE1 4AG

NOTTINGHAM c/o Mushroom, 10 Heath cote St. (tel. 582506) or 15 Scotholme Av., Hyson Green (tel. 708 302)

OLDHAM: Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Road, Failsworth, Manchester

OXFORD anarchist group c/o Danny Simpson, Exeter College. Anarchist Workers Group ditto. Anarcho-Feminists c/o Teresa Thornhill, 34 Divinity Road. Solidarity c/o 34 Cowley Road

PORTSMOUTH: Caroline Cahm, 25 Albany Road, Southsea, Hants.

READING anarchists c/o Ms. Shevek, Clubs Office, Student Union, White-knights, Reading, Berks.

SHEFFIELD anarchists: c/o 4 Have-lock Square, Sheffield S10 2FQ.

SHEFFIELD Libertarian Society: P. O. Box 168, Sheffield S11 8SE

SWANSEA: Don Williams, 24 Derlwyn, Dunvant, Swansea

SWINDON area. Contact Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE, Martyn Redman, Flat 5, 23 Milton Road.

national

NORTH WEST Anarchist Federation c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester M1 7DU. Groups are: Burnley anarchist group, 5 Hollin Hill, Burnley, Lancs.
Lancaster anarchist group, 41 Main Road, Galgate, Lancaster.
Manchester anarchist group) both
Syndicalist Workers Fed. c/o Grass Roots (as above)

Contacts in other areas, and newsletter published.

MIDLANDS Federation: groups include Birmingham, Coventry, Derby, Leamington/Warwick, Leicester, Nottingham, Sheffield.

NORTH EAST Anarchist Federation: Secretariat: HLC, 16 Park Grove, Hull

THAMES VALLEY anarchist federation - contact Oxford or Reading groups

DIRECT ACTION Movement, 28 Lucknow Drive, Sutton-in-Ashfield, Notts. Groups in various places including London, Manchester and Leeds.

'SOLIDARITY' libertarian communist organisation (publ. 'Solidarity for Social Revolution') c/o 123 Lathom Road London E6. Groups & members in many towns.

ANARCHIST COMMUNIST Association organisation of class struggle anarchists (publ. 'Bread and Roses') Box 2, 136 Kingsland High St., London E8.

PUBLISHED BY FREEDOM PRESS
PRINTED BY MAGIC INK

Meetings

Monday, 28 January NCCL meeting: Jury Vetting. Conway Hall. 7 p.m.

Sunday, 10 February Ronan Bennett on Anarchism. 3 p.m. Library, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn, London.

LONDON Workers Group meet very Tuesday 8pm at Metropolitan pub, 95 Farringdon Rd., EC1 (Farringdon tube) All welcome

FINLAND

Continued
at the time of the alleged offence; which is why the prosecutor, in the midst of the legal proceedings, put back the date of the crime. Kosti was then sentenced to 6 years 4 months imprisonment. Then, on 17 May 1979, his elder son, Pertti Sakari Lakus, was extradited from Sweden to Finland, where he is now serving a 3 year sentence connected with alleged illegal import of goods, since altered to aiding in the manufacture of amphetamine. Meanwhile, Kosti is being subjected to punishment regime for selling drugs in prison. Kosti says that he is a diabetic and needed the drugs for this purpose, as there was no form of treatment for diabetics in prison. He urges the UN to "investigate the illegal actions of Swedish and Finnish authorities and to do whatever you are able to, in order to relieve both my son and I of the injustices we have suffered and continue to suffer."

Both Kosti and Pertti are grateful for any letters. Pertti can receive magazines and books direct from anyone who writes, but Kosti can only receive printed material directly from the publishers.

Addresses: Kosti Lakus, PO Box 40, 0051 Helsinki 55. Pertti Lakus, PO Box 160, 00551 Helsinki 55, Finland.

NEW RATES FOR 1980

Inland and surface mail overseas, sterling £7.

USA \$15.00

Canada C\$18.00

Airmail USA US\$20.00

Airmail Canada C\$22.50

Airmail Europe £8.00

Airmail Australasia £9.50

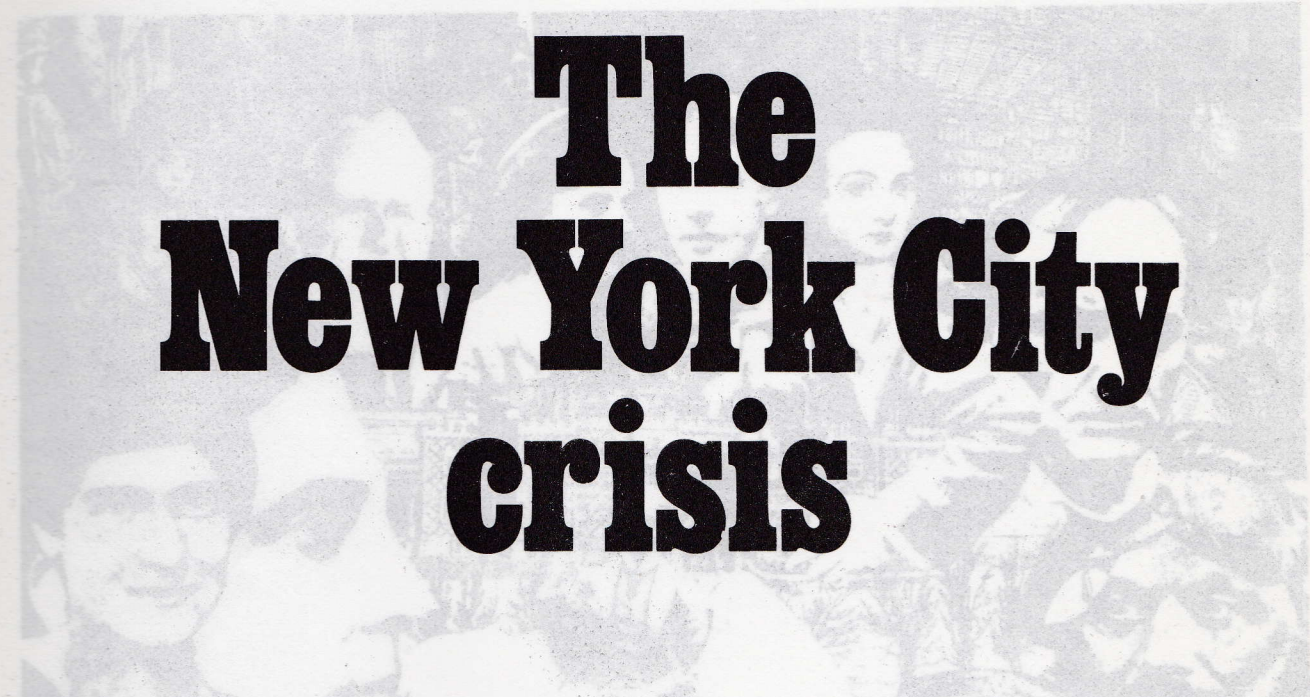
OAPS READ ON

HOWEVER, we have subscribers who have been loyal readers and supporters for years, now living on retirement pension, who will find this a largish bite out of it.

So, for these subscribers we are making a special rate of £5 per annum. NOTE: This replaces wrong figure printed last issue.

NOTE!

Turning point in health care :



The New York City crisis

NEW YORK — It is significant that the health programme in New York City is what is breaking down. The city's leaders are playing the familiar game of benign neglect in which all institutions supposedly for the human welfare are merely receptacles for those who are too sick, too old or weak. And the institutions tend to make them weaker. Now, people have found that they have to fight to keep what little scrap of health care that is available to them. This is the character of the present health care crisis.

Out of 18 million New Yorkers, 3 million have no ready access to a doctor or health clinic. And today, a number of hospitals are slated for destruction. The 'country doctor' who would come to one's door has become virtually non-existent in the urban setting. Instead of home care of good quality, people are increasingly dependent upon institutions which are bureaucratic, impersonal and costly as well.

Some have suggested making medical schools free, or endorsing subsidized residencies to get more doctors to practise general medicine in the areas that need it. In addition, nurses and doctors' assistants are so often trained *en masse* and then placed into hospitals when their services could be used more effectively in the neighbourhood.

But it isn't only the issue of obtaining cheap, personal health care which is rooted in the community and oriented towards the individual. There is also the whole notion that medicine must be aggressive. What I mean is that disease is often thought of as something to combat. The cure takes on even military dimensions. Take the medical profession's relation to cancer. There are three basic ways to fight it: with surgery, drugs, and/or radiation. All three are characteristically hostile. However, there may not be much more to be done about cancer at this time, unfortunately. Nevertheless, attitudes about disease and illness can change. The view that a disease is a set of germs which must be combatted by drugs, surgery (literally *cutting*), radiation, and extensive hos-

pital stays must be changed. A notable lack of knowledge about nutrition is also a problem, as well. There's much in the medical profession that is actually damaging to the patient, not only its exorbitant medical fees.

Besides recognizing *who* it is that profits by various health procedures, a more preventative orientation is required, to resolve the present health crisis. Local-based clinics (with moderate fees—which don't provide profit to those who run it), are positive in this respect. Preventative services such as hypertension detection, various testing procedures, immunization, access to nutrition, family planning, and prenatal care are useful. The over-population that usually occurs in clinics can be assuaged by simply building more. And, more home-based services such as midwifery (delivery of babies at home), can be greatly utilized. And there are a multitude of people trained in medicine who sincerely want to help others, which they are usually *prevented from* doing within an insitutional environment.

Since 1975, the state of New York has approved the elimination of 3,863 hospital beds and the shutdown of 29 hospitals. (At present, any shutdown must be approved by the state.) What the great protest is about is, these are crucial facilities albeit inefficient. They are *needed* despite their faults. The main question to ask is: *What will replace them?*

Among the considerations of the state (there is a certain line beyond which they will not consider, however!) is what they are now calling 'free-standing ambulatory care clinics'. These are similar to hospital outpatient facilities, laboratory testing, and other basic medical services not oriented towards long stays and the need for hospital beds. Many are likening this to services of the general practitioner of yesteryear, but to me, it rings of institutionalization as optimised by the modern hospital. It may relieve overcrowding in the hospitals, but not change the health care deficiencies in general.

continued on page 15

1894



The Characters : Clockwise: Karl Marx, Charles Baudelaire, Shelley, Oscar Wilde, Lord Alfred Douglas, G. B. Shaw, Eleanor Marx, Edward Aveling, Paul Verlaine, Centre: Prince Albert Victor. Background: Wentworth St. London E1. and Reading Gaol

Edward Aveling has always been typecast as the rotter of the revolution. The man who dipped into the till, drove Eleanor Marx to suicide by jilting her and, all in all, failing to live up to the high standards demanded of any card-carrying saviour of the people, but then, with the exception of myself and Jesus, who did or does? No one doubted his sincerity in relation to his spoken or written principles and Shaw used him as his model for Dudedat in his wordy 'The Doctor's Dilemma' arguing that, while Aveling was a "blackguard" in relation to other people's money, 'he had his faith and upheld it'. One can do no better than to quote from the first volume of Yvonne Kapp's life of Eleanor Marx that "the socialist movement, even in its infancy, was bound to attract men of his type, as it has done ever since. They are not so much moved by human misery and injustice as they are rebellious against society, contemptuous of the gullibility, blindness or hypocrisy of those who uphold the status quo. This is not Marxism, it is not socialism of any kind, but there was no place, certainly not in Aveling's day, for such nonconformists other than in the only movement pledged to the overthrow of the existing social system."

One must wonder, but dare not surmise, where in 1880 Aveling would have found a haven, for to give Yvonne Kapp one more quote: "the facts widely known about Eleanor Marx are that she lived with a man of evil reputation who married

someone else and that she killed her self. Of this stuff theatre is made: a neurotic woman, a villain, an unhallowed union, betrayal, suicide and hey presto, the Marx-Aveling melodrama is produced: the Emma Bovary of Sydenham (minus the style)." Cruel? ..but is it less cruel than the black comedy of Nellie Wallace prowling the old music-hall stage, singing 'Everybody at the church turned up ... everybody but the groom turned up'. In the end they become no more than the archetypal clichés for the Grub Street hacks to people their turgid tragedies with for the TV Play of the Week.

Aveling and Eleanor Marx should have been no more than the unity of true minds, for they shared a common desire to improve the lot of their fellow men and women and a sincere belief that they were outlining the answers to the problems of man-made misery.

And do not fault them because, in an age that spawned the new industrial capitalism with all its attendant horrors, they did not know all the right answers for, if, comrades, we know all the answers, then the debate is closed and the key should be returned to the caretaker. In 1888 they published the text of two lectures - of which 'Shelley's Socialism' is the only one known to have survived. Twenty-five copies were published as a private edition, then, in 1947, it was reprinted with a preface by Frank Allaun MP. We indeed owe the Journeyman Press a debt for this 1979 reprint with its

inclusion of a number of Shelley's "Popular Songs", among them "Mask of Anarchy" and "Ode to Liberty". Aveling and Eleanor described their lecture on Shelley's socialism and his poetry as a Marxist evaluation and decided that he could be called a socialist because of his, so they claim, his understanding of the class struggle, his attacks on tyranny and his support for liberty. They claim that Shelley despised his wealth and social rank, but then so does the pauper, and Aveling and Eleanor, while claiming to be members of the middle class, applauded Shelley's onslaught against the aristocrats, monarchs and landowners. They had little use for Godwin as a man, but argued that it was he who fashioned Shelley's thinking and they argued, in that forgotten room, that if Byron had lived, he would have developed into a reactionary bourgeoisie while Shelley would have flowered into an active revolutionary. They saw Shelley on the side of the bourgeoisie in the struggle for freedom, but ranged against them when they, in their turn, became the oppressors of the working class.

It is the classic dilemma that the Levellers serving with Cromwell's middle class army argued out at Putney, that Lenin refused to come to terms with in 1917 (and then did so with his NEP program) and was argued and debated with the pamphlet and the bullet in the back while Franco's Fascist troops marched on the towns of Spain. I would dispute Shelley's claim to be a major poet, for he survives, as with Byron, Wilde, Kipling, Houseman, Dowson either for the romantic drum beat of their subject-matter or for a handful of memorable lines: "I met Murder on the way/ And down the long and silent street the dawn on silver sandalled feet crept like a frightened girl / God of our fathers / and the rose lipped maids lie sleeping in fields where roses fade / and burning there on either hand the iron lillies of the "Strand" - love it man, love it, but beyond a few lovely or mighty lines lies a vast graveyard of rhyming and pedantic verse. And the fault lies not with the poets, writers or artists, but the fan clubs who praise the work beyond its obvious value. Of Shelley, may Aveling and Eleanor's claim that Shelley was a socialist, or Frank Allaun's "1975" that Shelley may appear more as an anarchist than as a socialist, can never be proven. I would hold that he was a romantic whose enquiring mind found its satisfaction in the overturning or the destruction of the shibboleths, the mores, the manners, the artifacts or the government of the fashionable hour. One can do no more than quote Sir John Rennie's 1875 "Autobiography" when, writing of Shelley, he says: "His imagination was always roving upon something romantic and extraordinary such as spirits, fairies, lightning, volcanoes, etc, and he not infrequently astonished his schoolfellows by blowing up the boundary palings of the playground with gunpowder, also the lid of his desk in the middle of school-time, to the great surprise of Dr Greenlaw and the whole school. In fact, at times, he was considered to be 'almost on the borders of insanity'". I take this quotation from the 1875 work of Sir John Rennie and not the Journeyman Press's Shelley, but I feel that it explains much of Shelley's approach to his age. And what can we say of Oscar, in the Journeyman Press's same series - "The ballad of Reading Gaol" by Oscar Wilde, illustrated by Frans Masereel, except to be smug and patronising and to be false to a man who gave too much pleasure to a society who, while they paid to have the piss taken out of them by a fashionable clown, destroyed him when they tired of the joke and the joker. Wilde served his two years within Reading Gaol for his various homosexual adventures and the world long cried 'shame' at the persecution and destruction of the artist, but, before one cries 'Tony Blunt', bear this in mind, that before Wilde drew his self-invoked two-years' stretch, only six years before, an unfortunate clergyman was sentenced in 1889 to penal servitude for life for lesser sexual offences, while, in that same year, My Lord Galloway beat two separate charges of child molestation, no trouble, man, while an unfortunate 'Private Eye' style of editor went to jail for blowing the gaff on child prostitution to service those in high places or office within the State. Wilde dedicated his ballad to C.T.W., and 'C.T.W.' was Trooper C.T. Woolridge who was hung within Reading Gaol for cutting his wife's throat, and Wilde's ballad has the sombre lilt, the extrovert emotion and the mind-haunting rhymings of the nineteenth-century ballad-mongers hawking their broadsheets among the mob around the public gallows.

Wit is always suspect among the pedants and the academics for they distrust and destroy what they cannot understand and Wilde's laughter opened his gate to his private hell, but his ballad for Trooper Woolridge will rightly last, for the deep and sincere emotional shared agony with Trooper Woolridge transcends what would have been no more than pleasing shallow coffee house versifying. While Oscar was the toast of the Cafe Royal, he penned his "The Soul of Man under Socialism" and I find it suspect for every prosperous society has its bleeding hearts liberals and they are not to be faulted for that, but, all too often, they are no more than the solid bourgeoisie Victorian -company Christians whose heart is in the right place and their alms in the other pocket; they who would hang an RA painting of a well-fed soulful starving child on their William Morris-wall papered - walls, yet draw their wealth from the use of child labour within their sweat shops.

In last year's book list was the "Cleveland Affair", clobbered together by three Sunday Times writers. It is a well written, worthy book and makes use of many forgotten documents. The houses in Cleveland Street, off the Tottenham Court Road, of which one was a male brothel using Post Office messenger boys to service the carriage trade, still stand. Less than a hundred years ago - for Lord Somerset died in France in 1926, having shown more flair than Wilde in that he fled the brothel onto the boat to France and the good life. Charlie, who ran the brothel, vanished into the great American nation when his record was lost in a pre-Nixon fire in Washington D.C., U.S.A. 1936, while Inspector Frederick G. Abberline, having failed to catch Jack the Ripper, also failed to pin the rap onto Prince Albert Victor, an honoured guest at the Cleveland brothel and the Hundred Guineas Club, never raided by the Vice Squad, for "Victoria" - as he was known when in drag - was the heir to the throne of Great Britain and one doubts if Queen Victoria would have tolerated the blood-royal peering over the edge of the dock in low-cut plunging neckline.

Dear old barmy Herbert Ashbee left his 15,000 soft and hard core porn books to the British Museum for scholars to dribble on, if they have first been vetted by the BM security or, if they find it too shy-making, to browse among the Swedish imports in the Soho porn shops, but, for all that, there is no mention in the Sunday Times invest. team's book on "The Cleveland Affair" of Wilde or Sickert or others who swam in that same pool. Only one man from Shelley to the Keystone cop Inspector Abberline, in those years around 1894, deserves any respect and that is Leonard Smithers. Kenneth Clark, in his book on the "Best of Aubrey Beardsley", describes Smithers as a small drunken Yorkshire man. A publisher of high-class porn, and the literatti have always dismissed him as unworthy of their pen and one would claim that it is almost impossible to find a photograph of him. But though Beardsley snivelled that Smithers might mess up the reproduction of his Volpone drawing because of boozing, it was this same porn merchant who refused to destroy Beardsley's Lysistrata drawing when the artist was weeping on his death bed for his immoral soul and 'burn the dirty drawings', and it was this same porn merchant who printed Wilde's 'Ballad of Reading Gaol'. Smithers is forgotten or ignored, nay despised, by lesser men whose only claim to fame is that they can parse a sentence, but remember this when next you bow the head to the work of Wilde or Beardsley - that you read it and view it because of the devotion and dedication of Leonard Smithers, pornographic dealer.

ARTHUR MOYSE

Shelley's Socialism by Aveling, Marx, Shelley pubd. The Journeyman Press London N8 9SA. Price £1.50

The Ballad of Reading Gaol by Oscar Wilde. Pubd. The Journeyman Press. London N8 9SA. Price £1.40

The Best of Aubrey Beardsley by Kenneth Clark. Pubd. John Murray. London. Price £9.50.

The Cleveland Affair by Chester, Leitch, Simpson. Pubd. Weidenfeld & Nicolson. Price £5.95.

Oscar Wilde by Martin Fido. Pubd. The Hamlyn Publishing Group. Feltham. Middx. Price £1.95.

ANARCHIST AESTHETIC? REMEMBER HISTORY!

MICHAEL Scrivener, in his article 'An Anarchist Aesthetic' (FREEDOM vol. 40 no. 23) forgets one thing - history, or, to be more precise, historical relativity and historical contexts.

Because the avant-garde has been historically associated with 'libertarian', 'anti-establishment' (choose your own label) movements he invests it with an almost mystical power and implicitly assumes that a generous application of this heady balm will undermine 'capitalist'/'authoritarian' culture to a sufficient degree that the shock waves emanating from this aesthetic epicentre will bring down the other vestiges of 'authority' - wage slavery, states, sex roles etc (and perhaps even the price of a FREEDOM subscription?) Or maybe not. Maybe the implicit assumption is one of day to day guerrilla warfare on the barricades of 'Art', fought tooth and nail by brothers and sisters insisting on maintaining their artistic integrity (avant-gardist as opposed to Marxist-Leninist) and thereby "creating the new world in the shell of the old".

But hell's bells, here we are (well, here I am; anybody else here? Ah yes! A snore of boredom from over there, a moan of agony from behind) at the end of the seventies/beginning of the eighties and even the quickest of glances over the shoulder with one eye, while keeping the other firmly on the present (not easy) shows that the avant-garde has done so little for most of us and is now, if not dead, then wholly recuperated. It's not just 'exploitation-based politics', as he dismissively calls the class struggle, that can be co-opted.

Dada is long dead. Surrealism, barely alive, has become (along with Dada) just another 'school' to most people, to be exhibited in flash galleries as witness the big one in London in 1978 or the present one in Paris of the works of the bourgeoisie's pet, Avida Dollars. America has had for fifty years a Museum of Modern Art (such contempt!) ensuring that whatever avant-garde is produced it automatically is frozen into the establishment. Joyce's *Ulysses* has been yawned over for half a century, and Lautreamont's *Maldoror* is over a century old and now merely a curiosity. (I haven't a clue

what today's avant-garde literature is but whatever it is it ain't making much impact on everyday life). For years American corporations have been financing the most avant-garde architecture around (so-called de-architecture) - it's a good advertisement causing one of the architects involved (Dines?) to comment "Over here you can even sell Anarchy". In popular music the hero of yesteryear, Dylan, is now a born again Christian and punk has become very marketable. And so on and so forth.

Michael Scrivener briefly touches on all this when he says that the avant-garde, "like everything else in capitalist society, tends towards commodification". Exactly. So why so much faith in it, especially now? Following his advice to challenge the avant-garde at all times to prevent commodification would, in the present context, only repeat the pattern of creating new needs for capitalist consumption which he himself describes so well in the same paragraph.

Certainly this is a great dilemma, the unresolved tension of which is probably more tellingly expressed in the one arty-farty reference I'll allow myself - from Jarry's play *Ubu Enchained*, the introduction to which states, "We shall not have succeeded in demolishing everything unless we demolish the ruins as well. But the only way I can see of doing that is by putting up a lot of fine, well-designed buildings". I don't see how this dilemma can be overcome by putting to one side 'exploitation-based politics' in the hope of coming up with a cultural solution. It's not a question of one or the other bit of both (and more). Domination is total, not just cultural and 'libertarian points of departure' can come from all fields of struggle.

Michael Scrivener ignores why 'exploitation-based politics' have been 'resurrected' in the 70s. He can't be unaware of the present crisis of capital, can he? And it is the severity of this crisis which is forcing people to fight for basics such as work, houses and hospitals, before fighting for an Aesthetic. (Of course some people fight for arts centres too). Certainly there will be cooption by social democrats, union bureaucracies etc. but turning away to admire Magritte reproductions in Selfridges won't help one bit. Does Scrivener pine for the good old 50s and 60s when the avant-gardists of then, the situationists, were reminding people of the quality of life? Sadly for him those days are gone. (And weren't the situationists as much as anything a 'product' of their times - the smooth, seemingly problem-free, affluent capitalism of that period - during which the emphasis necessarily fell on the qualitative?)

As the global crisis worsens the fight back will become more and more bitter. It looks as though the emphasis will continue to be on 'exploitation-based politics' (but, hopefully, not exclusively), so it would serve Michael Scrivener well if he learns to spread his talent as well as re-evaluate his conception of the avant-garde.

A. PLIER
London

FOREIGN BODIES

My cat Merry was ill, and he hid under the bed. I bent down to look. Merry, where are you? Merry? Icky-wicky-woo? Pooh! He'd shat under the bed. But I'd just seen *ALIEN*. Was this foul deed an act of Merry?

The real alien in the film *ALIEN* is the movie camera; that is, us, the viewers, as we pad along the corridors, swoop across the dials, look up at the water dripping in a lofty engine-room, and twist round the corners of the spaceship, exploring this extraordinary world of future technology created for us at such expense and with such intricate artistry. We and our camera are on a voyage of discovery.

Outside, the silent grey hull is like some gigantic battleship or Metropolis, or the vast timeless wall in the silent film *Destiny*. When the space-ship crash-lands on a foreign planet, the environment is hideously rocky and bleak and nisty and rainy and sinister. I was reminded of the legendarily sweet planet

Venus, which the US space probe revealed to have an inhuman surface temperature of 800 deg. F. When the explorers gaze at the strange alien construction and exclaim that they have never seen anything like it before, we match their wonder. Because this world is always strange to me, to me the camera is always on a search; so that when it is in fact searching for the monster, this search is even keener.

The whole film is an exercise in suspense. As usual the suspense and horror is most effective when we and the actors know it, but the menace is sensed, not seen. This is not true of one sequence when the monster hatches out and erupts revoltingly from an actor's chest. A few nasties were edited out. Maybe this director's epitaph should be: "We left more gore on the cutting room floor." Several whole sequences were evidently dropped out, which helps to explain the inexplicable.

The story is as trivial and the characters as thin as the technology and artistry of direction, set design, camera work and special effects is sophisticated. (This sticks in my gullet more than *Star Wars*, which was a fairy tale.) If the search is for humanity, that is not found. We get the usual science fiction contrast between brilliant ideas and feeble characterisation. I met one of the writers of *ALIEN* while it was in production. Nine million pounds so far, he said. He explained to me in proud detail how systematically it was worked out, with so many 'plot points'. There are nice moments of grousing early on (plot stage A IIb ii 1.03?) when two crew members want proper overtime pay. This section, however, seems almost to have been lifted from the thrilling good cheap film *Blue Collar*. It doesn't quite fit.

The crew show a little common sense. They seek out the source of alien radio noises before unscrambling them and thus find that they are not an appeal for help. Against all regulations, they allow the alien to be brought on board ship. (That's because they follow a superior officer who turns out to be a programmed robot...) Hackneyed conventions of movie suspense oblige them to wander about on their own, and to gawp in horror at the monster as it strikes them down. Even the aggressive Yaphet Kotto, who has gone hunting the monster with a gun, appears to be prevented by his script from attacking it.

Almost too late, the crew find out that the ship is computed above all to bring the monster back to earth for examination, and to hell with the crew. The lone survivor of the crew, however, succeeds in defeating the computer and the monster. In contradiction with most of what has gone before, human spontaneity and invention triumph. I am much more impressed by the cold technology in this film than by the warmth of human feeling. (the same is true of 2001 *A Space Odyssey*, directed by a more thorough-going misanthropist.)

There are more horrors on earth than are dreamed of in the fantasies of science fiction: or of witchcraft. Remember the first 15 minutes of the film of *Rosemary's Baby*, or the first 50 pages of the book? They were sinister. Something strange was happening behind the facade of everyday life, but we didn't know what. (Hence the most effective scenes in *The Andromeda Strain*, or most of the film in the case of the 1956 *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*) Unfortunately, *Rosemary's baby* turned out to be the Devil's spawn, horns and all - and this at the very time when real monsters, or rather terribly warped babies, were being born deformed by thalidomide. Our deepest fears and hopes are to be found in almost everyday life, as Hitchcock perversely knows. Is this entertaining? - ask the millionaire backers. The story of individual and social affliction and individuals' attempts to win through - or merely survive as best they can with their own heap of vices and virtues, is always gripping. (This is no plea for social realism, whatever that is.) For what futuristic technology can mean, linked with extraordinary psychological study, all technically impeccable too, see Coppola's *The Conversation*.

The film director of *ALIEN* has long been an advertising man, so I was wondering (my involvement in the film rarely being more than skin deep) when we were going to get the hot pants. Not till the very end. Having saved the spaceship pet cat (=humanity?), the crew survivor strips to her panties. Then up pops the lurking monster with its horrible appetites. Quivering with fear, she hastily dons her armour plating and manages to blast the monster off into space. Then she settles down snugly in her time capsule with her pussy. It had been a near thing.

Julius.

OILGATE!

—how the Sanctions were busted

Oilgate, Martin Bailey. Coronet Books. £1.50 1979

TO believe that people in government are hypocrites and opportunists, that the civil service and multinationals are run by those seeking profit, financial or political, for themselves and their friends and that all these sections of the effectively 'ruling class' act in collusion to support their interests and investments, regardless of any morality or justice, is something that ascribes to us the title of cynical paranoids. It is therefore nice to have some facts and figures at hand to explain to those not cynical and paranoid enough that it's true. The involvement of ITT in Chile was an example that woke up quite a few people in this country - maybe as the company concerned was American it was easy to criticise and complain about its action. Yet when a comparable situation takes place nearer to home, with BP, Shell and Castrol, it seems to have been totally ignored. The facts forgotten.

The 'scandal' surrounding the Rhodesian oil sanctions has been put to one side by the media and the government. Talks to legalise a regime in Zimbabwe Rhodesia have wound up and the cover up continues, this time by default. All will be forgotten, the process repeated; the show must go on.

In fact the *Sunday Times* of 2 December informs us that any intention of mounting a prosecution against BP, Shell and Castrol for breaking oil sanctions against Rhodesia has been quietly dropped.

The author of that article, Martin Bailey, is also the author of the book *Oilgate*. Along with colleague Bernard Rivers he followed the story, or tried to unravel the story, surrounding the farcical British and UN oil sanctions against the racist regime in Rhodesia. The failure of which is a major reason for the escalation of the guerrilla war in Zimbabwe Rhodesia, causing thousands of deaths and total polarisation of the two sides over the past 13 years. It was the evidence that Bailey and Rivers accumulated that finally forced the then foreign secretary, Dr David Owen, to appoint the Bingham commission

which produced its report in 1978. That report must be pretty unreadable, but the book *Oilgate* is well worth going through.

It's divided into two parts: the first explains how the sanctions cover up ever came to light. Against lack of media interest and conspiratorial silence or lying on the part of those involved, it took from 1974 to 1978 for anyone to take any notice. Previous to that virtually nothing was published on the clandestine methods that Rhodesia had been using to import oil over the last 13 years. However, in 1974, after the fall of the dictatorship in Portugal and the consequent liberation of Mozambique, it became possible to get into Lorenzo Marques (now Maputo) through which oil for Rhodesia had till then been passing, and begin to investigate the affair. The most valuable sources of information were high ranking members of multinationals themselves. One was Tiny Rowlands, the well-known 'unacceptable face of capitalism' chief executive of Lohno. He began a crusade against the sanction busters in 1976 after having been accused in a government report of being party to them. Lohno had been forced to shut their almost new pipeline between Umtali (Rhodesia) and Mozambique after sanctions were declared, and had lost millions of pounds profit as a result. So his desire was to clear his name and get back at those who had continued to make money out of Rhodesia. The second big source was Jorge Jordim, who headed a refinery in Lorenzo Marques. He had been a very close personal friend of the dictator, Salazar, and decided to clear his late friend's name, as the British government, in a true act of hypocrisy, had always tried to blame Portugal for the failure of sanctions. So if it hadn't been for the coup in Lisbon, with its effects in Mozambique, and two big businessmen with personal grudges the story would not yet have broken.

The second part of the book sets the story in its historical perspective. Tracing the long line of hypocrisy, misinformation, secrecy and collusion that made sure of the 'business as usual'.... The contrasts between the public statements of the British government, announcing its determination to bring down Ian Smith's rebel regime, and their actual connivance with the breaking of oil sanctions which was having the opposite effect... the ways in which civil servants are able to both dominate their ministers and to collaborate with the executives of multinational corporations.

So in conclusion this book is a valuable source of information about the workings of a specific past of the society we live in and gives more weight to emotive arguments against the power of the state and big business.

STEVE SORBA

Publications received

THE following are some of the papers and publications we have received over the last few weeks, and not yet mentioned.

* * *

England

BORROWED TIME. This 'magazine' is produced because 'we can't take it any more and time is running out'. In fact this number is a wall newspaper with an emphasis on ecology - particularly nuclear power and animal liberation. Many of the items and illustrations are selected from anarchist papers or from bulletins, such as the Animal Liberation Front hit list (a more recent one than that published in FREEDOM last August) and are re-presented in a lively and eye-catching format. Recommended for all anarchist notice boards and available walls. Write to Box A, 41 Fitzroy St, Cambridge.

XTRA! 'The Paper for the Armchair Terrorist'. Pilot issue (November), price 30p. Again, a well-produced paper (see accompanying item by Xtra!'s Structureless Tyranny) with a nice article on the Persons Unknown trial, but a rather curious one on nuclear power. There is also coverage on recent splits in the Labour party and an investigative piece on Derrick Day of the National Front. The editorial admits to being a collective of four anarchists and 'two individuals who vote Labour if it's sunny', and to the ambition of producing 'an intelligent, provocative paper which appeals to something wider than the anarchist movement'. But again, it doesn't seem too well informed on nuclear power, or, indeed, on ETA. (Does its military wing really consist of 'autonomists cells with support from such groups as Anarchists and gays'?)

Xtra! writes: EVERY so often the anarchist movement produces a large-format, colourful 'monthly' which attempts to go beyond the rather inward-looking productions of FREEDOM and Black Flag. The latest in a long line is called Xtra!. With the success of the first issue and the production of the second, Xtra! must now be counted as one of the regulars of the anarchist press.

Colourful, populist, carefully laid-out, readable and expensive (30p), it attempts to do for Anarchism what the Sun has done for Conservatism. We're trying to reach a wider market than the 'pure in spirit' anarchists, hence the lack of the 'anarchist' mast-head. Although we've been selling out on demonstrations (with slogans such as 'Twice as expensive as Socialist Worker!' or 'Stop sectarianism, Smash SWP!') we would like feedback from the Anarchist Stagnation. We need contributions (of any form), money, moral support, subscriptions or just a nice letter.

We believe that the failure of Wildcat and Zero was due more to problems within the collectives than any hassles over finance, production or distribution. Consequently the Xtra! Structureless Tyranny consists of a group of people who have proved that they can work together successfully. This will enable us to overcome the personal problems which have hampered other such projects and give a much needed longevity.

Yours in Solidarity

Xtra! Structureless Tyranny

(We can be contacted through: Rising Free, 182 Upper St, Islington, London N.1.)

A LONDON WEEKLY. Issue no. 1, December 1979. Price 12p. This ambitiously named paper in fact hopes to go fortnightly soon. This too is produced by anarchists who hope to reach a wider readership than the anarchist movement - so wide, in fact, that they have dropped the A sign which tentatively appeared on the pilot issue, and make no

claim to be producing anarchist propaganda. Issue no. 1, it too, deals with nuclear power and gives coverage to such local topics as London Transport, Islington council and the cuts, housing in Islington, Wandsworth etc. Despite its apparent determination not to mention the word anarchy or anarchism, we wish it luck in what will be a very difficult task, and suggest it change the title. Contact: c/o Little @ Printers, Metropolitan Wharf C.I. Wapping Wall, Wapping E1. Tel: 488-0602.

ANARCHIST STUDENT. Price 5p from North London Poly Anarchy Society, Kentish Town, London NW5. A two-page large format news sheet which, unlike the London 'Weekly' has the definite intention of introducing readers to the ideas and practice of anarchism. The inaugural issue announces the existence (from 1979's autumn term) of the Anarchist Student Association, which will probably be London-based.

Scotland

JACK THOMPSON. Vol. 1 No. 1 from 'Pa'isley (Collge) An'archist Grøup'. 350 copies of this sprightly new paper have so far been distributed within the college and, we hear, not without consternation in some circles. Jack Thompson is a pseudonym of the author of a reply to an adverse article about the anarchist group, and anarchism in general, in the Glasgow Herald. The first issue explains (as the infamous Worsley would put it) 'in a nutshell - anarchy', and attacks the problem of student accommodation; it intersperses a few situationist-inspired comments with news from Talbot's Linwood plant, as well as from the college campus. Paisley anarchists have also distributed 500 copies of a new broadsheet called Gut Rot outside the Talbot plant, calling for and setting out the 'possible composition and procedures' of factory councils. Contact: Jack Thompson, c/o College SRC, Hunter St, Paisley, Renfrewshire.

NUCLEAR POWER. ANYONE INTERESTED? A Simple Guide to Scotland's Possible Energy Options. Published by Aberdeen People's Press in conjunction with SCRAM North East, price 75p. Finely produced, with concise information and cartoons on each page. Does not neglect to mention that 'much good work in the anti-nuclear movement can be done outside the Party system', ie. the anarchist view. But it adds that belief in a system of self-organising and stateless communities 'still leaves the problem of how to dismantle the existing state machinery'. Copies available from Aberdeen People's Press Ltd, 163 King St, Aberdeen.

Ireland

URANIUM MINING IN DONEGAL: The Dangers and Deceits. The main purpose of this pamphlet is 'to provide as much information as possible about the dangers of uranium mining and its consequences for Donegal...' But it is a very useful publication for groups outside Donegal too, with plenty of illustrations and advice. Write to: Just Books, 7 Winetavern St, Belfast 1. Phone: 25426 (0232) Price: Free in Donegal, 20p. elsewhere.

Canada

THE KITE (see Prison Notes, this issue)

Australia

EVERYTHING (no. 2). Well-produced 'anarchist feminist magazine' with articles on local politics (aboriginal land rights, postal strikes), women and work, anarcho-feminism in Italy, women's refuges, child care, 'women, the family and sexual life in Cuba', and others. Everything's collective consists of about half a dozen people and hopes to 'keep a core group involved, while maintaining flexibility'. They

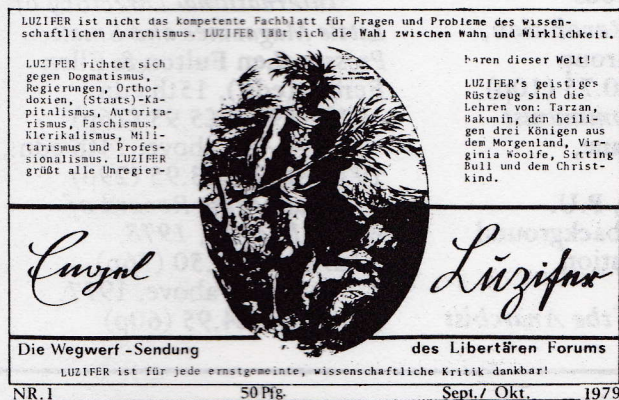
... Publications received

"do not want the pressure which having subscriptions involves" but advance payment of 75 cents to Box M328 Sydney Mail Exchange, Sydney 2012 (Australia) will ensure receipt of next issue. Cover price 40 cents.

CAKE (Let them Eat...) A community paper, each issue being produced by a different group of residents of Darlinghurst. The current issue is produced by Gay Men's Rap; the next will deal with childcare. Published by: Acquarius Youth Services, 196 Palmer St, East Sydney (Australia).

Berlin

LUZIFER. New organ of the Libertäres Forum of Eisenbahnstr. 16, 1000 Berlin 36. This is called after the Rolling Stone song 'Sympathy for the Devil'. The first issue (a second has since appeared) opens into four large pages, two of which are taken up with a poster proclaiming the opening of the Libertäres Forum on 6 October last year as an anarchist centre, after 1½ years of difficulties. There is an article by Thorwald Proll (brother of Astrid) on the Forum's plans for libertarian art displays and poetry and music meetings in the hope of diffusing anarchism through wider channels than the mere, conventional political one. Another item expresses the hope that the Forum will become "the point of crystallisation of a libertarian 'movement' which is (still)



today largely splintered... but which possess its own strengths and originality which could make it into a real political force". The Forum does not intend to be the political organisation of libertarians in Berlin, but to create the possibilities for the forging of links between various libertarian ideas and initiatives in Berlin.

Meanwhile, according to the editorial, *Luzifer* will not duplicate already existing news or street papers but "for example, translate pieces from the CIRA bulletin, *Interrogations**, *Le Monde Libertaire*, *Freedom*, *Rivista Anarchica* and other foreign language libertarian papers, to make them available to German readers for the first time; and also print historical texts still awaiting translation and diffusion".

* It appears that *Interrogations* has now ceased publication.

FRG

FREIE PRESSE. 'Libertarian socialist magazine', appearing every three months. Coverage in latest issue includes: guest workers today, the free town of Cristiania ("is anarchy possible?"), anarchism in Switzerland, rock and roll in Germany, a science fiction story called 'Meiob', Harrisburg two months later, and the Makhnoviscina. The next issue will give special coverage to 'anarcho-syndicalism today'. Editors' address: c/o impuls, Postfach 1704, 633 Wetzlar, tel: (0644) 44813.

France

CPCA 5. (Centre de Propagande et de Culture Anarchiste) A regular French magazine reviewing the international anarchist press, and books of interest to the anarchist movement. All queries etc. to CPCA, BP 21, 94190 Villeneuve-St. Georges.

REVUE ANARCHISTE. Magazine of the Groupe Emma Goldman. This group, which has open house at 51 rue de Lappe, 75011 Paris (Bastille tube) on Thursday and Saturday evenings, is now into the fifth issue of this professional-looking magazine. The present issue covers the struggles of the American Indians, reflects on anarcho-syndicalism and antimilitarism and anarchy and other matters. Well worth reading.

These are only a few of the publications received. Many of the journals more well known to readers have not been mentioned this time round.

continued from page 9

Still and all, the government is considering them (clinics). Their motive, of course, is what saves them the most money, which is too often the motive in such human issues as education, public transport, working conditions, in addition to health. The obsession with cost will rule out simple compassion, almost always.

The expense of health care to the patient is astounding. The average cost for hospitalization in New York is \$200 per day per patient (or about £87). And often, longer hospital stays are encouraged by hospital personnel. In comparison, even a bureaucratically-run clinic is less than \$50 a day (£21-£22). Hence... the state endorses clinics! As the New York *Daily News* states: "Uncle Sam is especially interested in money-saving techniques since he ends up paying 55% of the total U.S. hospital bill, either through public insurance programs, such as Medicaid, or through direct subsidies to hospitals, both public and private."

This is misleading. It's as if the public pays a minimal amount for health care while the "benevolent" government is footing the bill. Medicaid is not easy to obtain. Most of us do have to pay—for hospital bills, visits to the doctor (or, these days, the specialist), for X-rays, drugs, and so on. All these aspects of "maintaining health" are high-priced. And in general, the prices for the necessities of life—energy, housing, food, and medical care—rose at an annual rate of 18.6% in April, May and June of last year, according to the National Center of Economic Alternatives (a private research group).

Now, there are a number of recommendations from different levels of government. For instance, a study prepared by

Deputy Mayor Haskell of New York and task force, states that the city could save \$30.5 million a year if it would only shut down more hospitals (sounds simple!). And, the State-wide Health Coordinating Council drew up a plan recently, which incidentally, costed \$1.1 million. They recommended shortening hospital stays, paying more attention to the elderly and bringing back the general practitioner; and this, of course, would allow for the more easeful closing of hospitals. The latter group emphasized the transition to local clinics and placing mental patients in "nursing" homes instead of hospitals. It sounds to me like trading one sort of hell for another. (If one takes a trip to a typical nursing home, this becomes apparent.)

However, no matter what useful recommendations are brought up by these task forces of the state, the next step is for them to be officially endorsed and put through as concrete policy. This usually takes years. And good health care is needed now.

In the meantime, there is protest. The alternatives to sprawling, impersonal, often inefficient, and expensive medical centers must be clarified. Just what are they to be replaced with?

If this can be done, there may yet be good health care for everyone. There may be the recognition that it is more beneficial to be well than to be sick for the benefit of state-owned institutions; the recognition that it is better to be well—and maintain our health through community-based clinics; well-trained, caring individuals, and our own knowledge of what is and what is not healthy.

SALLY A. FRYE

Freedom Press

IN ANGEL ALLEY
84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH ST.
LONDON E.1
PHONE 01 247 9249

NORMAL OPENING HOURS:

Monday	Closed
Tuesday	2p.m.—6p.m.
Wednesday	2p.m.—6p.m.
Thursday	* 3p.m.—8p.m.

*Provided BR Eastern Region working normally; if not, we open at 6p.m.

Friday	Closed
Saturday	10a.m.—4p.m.

When ordering by mail please add postage as in brackets. (USA dollars, please convert at £1 = \$2.20; Canada £1 = \$2.60). Items marked * are published in the USA.

DIRECTORIES, DIARY etcetera

Housmans World Peace Diary
1980 (incl. a 64pp International
Directory of Peace Organisations),
£1.70 (14p)

Calendar 1980: Walt Whitman
quote, anarchist drawing,
£0.10 (8p)

JOURNALS,

a small selection:

*Black Rose No.1 Spring 1979

*Black Rose No.2 Summer 1979

*Black Rose No.3 Autumn 1979
each £1.00 (14p)

Everything: Anarchist Feminist
magazine from Australia, August
1979 (latest issue), £0.30 (11p)

The Libertarian, a Common
Wealth publication, Winter 1979,
£0.25 (11p)

Xtra: The Paper for the
Armchair Terrorist, Pilot Issue,
£0.30 (11p)

FOR YOUNGER READERS (10—14 yrs)

**The Canbe Collective Builds a*
Be-hive, Bert Garskof (illustrated
by Brenda Louise Zlamany)
£2.00 (21p)

BOOKS

Miscellaneous

Towards a Fresh Revolution,
Friends of Durruti Group
(Barcelona, 1938), £0.75 (10p)

An Anti-Statist Communist
Manifesto, Joseph Lane,
£0.75 (10p)

Persons Unknown, P.U.
Support Group, the background
to the recent prosecution.
£0.60 (14p)

A Short History of the Anarchist

BOOKSHOP NOTES

Movement in Japan, Le Libertaire
Group, £4.50 (60p)

ANARCHY

First Series 1961—1970

There are a few complete sets
of the 10 volumes of the 118
issues of *Anarchy* left.

Bound in full cloth, £60.00
(US\$150.00) including postage.

Also we have individual volumes
for sale as follows:

Vol. 7 Nos. 71—82 incl. 1967

Vol. 8 Nos. 83—94 incl. 1968

Vol. 9 Nos. 95—106 incl. 1969

Vol. 10 Nos. 107—118 incl. 1970

Each at £7.00 (US\$15.00) including
postage.

THE LITTLE PRESS SCENE

**International Directory of*
Little Magazines and Small
Presses, Len Fulton & Ellen
Ferber (eds.), 15th edn.

1979—1980, £5.95 (76p)

*----- as above, 14th edn.,
1978—1979, £3.95 (29p)

**Small Press Record of*
Books In Print, 1978,
(7th edn.) £5.50 (76p)

*----- as above, 1977,
(6th edn.) £4.95 (60p)

WANTS:

Dear Comrades,

I am working on a *Filmography of Anarchist Films*. For this I am doing research to find as many films as possible containing images (both positive and negative) of anarchists and anarchism, films made by avowed anarchists and films espousing anarchist views.

A number of obvious film titles (*Joe Hill*, *Rebellion in Patagonia*, *La Cecilia*, the films of Jean Vigo and those of Luis Bunuel, and the new film *The Wobblies*) are easy to find. What I am particularly interested in is any suggestions you or your readers may have about feature films that have had characters (even minor characters) in them who are 'considered' Anarchists. Films like Hitchcock's *Saboteur* (where a stereotyped anarchist bomb-thrower is featured) would fall into this category.

Even if people don't remember titles, I would be interested in anything they

may remember about such films that I could use as clues to help track them down.

This project will include a rather extensive annotated evaluative filmography, extensive indexes of varying sorts, and (hopefully) a source guide indicating which films can be rented from whom for what price. I hope that it will become something that would be of use to community organisations, political groups, study groups etc.

Any suggestions should be sent to me at the address below. Of course I would also be interested in any comments about the individual films themselves or my project as a whole.

Yours in struggle
HOWARD BESSER
Film Resources
Information Group
11 Eshelman Hall
University of California
Berkeley, Ca. 94720, USA

Dear comrades,

I am researching Anarchism in relation to the Visual Arts (especially 19th

century) and am seeking a pamphlet by Charles MALATO on the subject of urban and rural workers (published in Paris, 1888). I would be grateful if you could help me locate this or suggest other relevant material.

A CORLETT
53 Queens Terrace
Jesmond
Newcastle on Tyne

SUBSCRIBE!
SEE NEW
1980
RATES!