

20th March 1982 Vol 43 No 5

## THE LORDS TAKE A RIDE



THREE members of the FREEDOM collective became Law Lords for the morning with a bus load of other transvestites. On Sunday morning 14th March at about 11am, 69 ordinary citizens boarded the number 159 bus at its terminus in West Hampstead, London, and after paying their lawful fare changed into Law Lords like butterflies in the spring.

The bus was completely occupied thus depriving the public of seats. When it arrived at Westminster Bridge the Lords, being very old and decrepit, slowly got off and in about half an hour the bus went on its way well decorated with slogans. One Law Lord sat on a police motor

bike but its driver did not see the humour. The bus driver and conductor entered into the spirit of it. After we dispersed, one Law Lord's robes were seen floating down the Thames. A good place for them all.

AA

## Breaking the Ice

'It has taken 2½ years of Toryism to force the military into the place it deserves at the forefront of public consciousness'.

Today this statement is even more strikingly true than when written for the February-March 1982 issue of the *State Research* bulletin. The writers of the bulletin list among examples for their claim the high military pay rises awarded by the Conservatives as soon as they last came to power, the pushing up of defence spending

with corresponding cutting of social service provisions, the re-emergence of civil defence as a priority, and the threatened and actual use of troops in strikes.

Since then the militarist issue has moved yet further to the forefront with the government announcement this month that it is to buy Trident missiles, to revive the Home Guard under the name of Home Services Force, to establish new adventure training schemes with the armed forces

and, Trident apart, to increase defence spending 3-4 percent a year above the estimated rate of inflation — the biggest Budget rise of any Whitehall department.

Much has already been written elsewhere about the specific issue of Trident II, not only its cost (£8000 million) which, on top of the £1,000 million for the new Polaris warhead and several hundred millions on new rocket motors, a poor and continued over



ailing society can ill afford, but its furnishing — together with Cruise — of yet more evidence, if any were needed, of Britain's extra-servile status within the American bloc. So it's hardly necessary to enter into this kind of detail in the columns of FREEDOM.

Nor is it necessary to spell out in any detail the implications the formation of a new Home (note the word's comfortable sound!) Service Force. Suffice it to remark in passing that his plan to recruit civilian males to guard key installations from Soviet wartime saboteurs make a significant advance in the state's campaign to create acceptance among the population of the eventuality of nuclear war.

More important is it, however, for us as anarchists to look at the wider implications of the growing militarism, what really motivates it and thus on what grounds it should be attacked.

No-one watching an interview with the Defence Minister, John Nott, on a recent *Weekend World* programme could have failed to be impressed by his inability to come up with anything but the old old arguments to justify the arms race. Soviet imperialism, in other words, is the ever more terrible Antichrist (so terrible indeed that 'Better red than dead!' snapped Nott's predecessor, the tactless Pym, claiming to speak on behalf of us all one day on TV.) And yet we know that they know that, even while the Cold War takes on a fresh layer of ice, never has the Soviet empire seemed so vulnerable.

In the East, China remains a big worry, even if things haven't yet reached the situation prophesied by Amalrik in *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* Yugos-

lavia and Romania have long since left the Warsaw Pact, with Ceaucescu to the fore of a big new peace campaign. Afghanistan and Poland go without saying, while the different nationalities that make up the Soviet Union are clearly not reconciled to Russian rule. Dissent in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania recently issued an appeal for a nuclear-free Baltic sea.

In the West, as in the East, Marxism has lost its intellectual prestige and is in total disarray. The Cominform has long given way to Eurcommunism and new agreements over natural gas pipelines between Western European countries and the USSR emphasise the growing-economic interdependence between the two blocs. So what is the Cold War about?

In his Not the Dimpleby Lecture *Beyond the Cold War* E P Thompson sees one explanation in the bonding function of Cold War ideology. ('The threat of an enemy — even recourse to war — has always afforded to uneasy rulers a means of internal ideological regulation and social discipline'). He sees another in the self-perpetuating nature of the military/industrial apparat, which he describes as follows:-

'The Cold War has become a habit, an addiction. But it is a habit supported by very powerful material interests in each bloc: the military-industrial and research establishments of both sides, the security services and intelligence operations, and the political servants of those interests. These interests command a large (and growing) allocation of the skills and resources of each society; they influence the direction of each society's economic and social development; and it is in the

interest of these interests to increase that allocation and to influence this direction even more'.

This quote is a significant one for anarchists (especially coming from a Marxist) in that it would seem very much to validate the anarchists' traditional stress on the *psychology of power* and their central criticism of classical Marxism for ignoring it. We believe that the analysis is right and that it should lead naturally on to the question of just what contribution anarchists in Britain are making to the anti-militarist movement now.

Some (see Letters, this issue) have deplored what they see as FREEDOM's failure to agitate. Well, sure, it's no good simply raising our glasses in the White Hart to the future of Angel Alley, Whitechapel as a nuclear-free zone. Given what anarchists have to say, more eloquently than any others, about the nature of power; given that trying to create an anarchist society in a Cold War is like trying to grow pineapples in the snow; given the tremendous interest that has been rekindled in anti-militarism since the beginning of the decade, surely this should become, absolutely without prevarication, the priority issue for all of us, while we as editors should make it our specific priority to spread news and ideas of anarchist involvement in the antimilitarist movement. But in order to do this it is vital that groups renew their efforts to send in reports on their activities, in this as well as in other fields. The momentum for the present has been lost. Help us regain it or it'll be forever too late.

## CREEPING MILITARISM

OF recent years the question of militarism has received very little attention from anarchists, as Ken Weller so rightly observed in *Anarchy* 77\* in an article called 'Shouting Slogans about Vietnam':

'Over the past 20 years at least, the history of "left wing" politics has been the history of attitudes towards events taking place — or having taken place — hundreds or thousands of miles away. Long and bitter debates and splits have followed disputes on exactly which bureaucracy to "support" (critically or otherwise)...in Spain, Korea, Greece, South Africa, Algeria, Cuba, Bolivia or Black Africa. The story (and the mistakes) have been repeated ad nauseum. These politics by proxy have at least one big advantage: they put no one in Britain in serious jeopardy.'

The point Weller is trying to make is that if we were to try to challenge our

own rulers we would have more effect on what was happening abroad as we host many of the multinational companies whose activities have such a disastrous effect on the third world.

One development which is being given very little attention is a growing militarism, which in this time when social discontent is spreading will be — as in all such times — an important element in social control.

### Militarism and Authority

Opposition to militarism has always been an important element in anarchist propaganda, for what are the essential elements of it? They are OBEDIENCE, UNIFORMITY, VIOLENCE, NATIONALISM, PATRIOTISM....the very elements that are making freedom difficult to achieve. In the 60s there was a growing disregard of authority and since that time there has

been a steady growth of the forces of the state.

The police have been strengthened and a para military riot police formed (by a Labour government) and this process has steadily gone on. There has been a force with special powers to guard nuclear installations. The army and Special Services have been introduced to their internal repression role in Northern Ireland.

Now the young unemployed are getting restive there is talk of training 'holiday camps' with the military. There is now talk of another Home Guard to look after other installations. Militarism is the obedience cult and a uniform is part of it; most of the deaths, violence and torture are perpetrated by obedient men and now quite a few women in uniform.

At Nuremburg some check was supposed to have been put on the excuse of obeying orders to engage in certain actions. It is because people are prepared to place themselves in the position of voluntary servitude that society remains as it is.

ALAN ALBON



# ALWAYS WITH US?

INTERESTING sets of government figures. Official Treasury figures show that as the saying goes the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. They refer to the total tax burden (including National Insurance) for a 'typical' family ie. two parents and two children for the years 1978/79 and 1981/82. For those earning half the national average this has gone up by 92%. For those earning the national wage (£148.75) this has gone up by 20.3%. For those earning five times the average wage this has gone down by 4.8% and for those earning ten times the average wage this has gone down by 14%. It will be noticed that this period covers the time since the present Tory government took over.

Other figures have been produced by the Institute of Fiscal Studies which show that the number of people who would be

better off, financially, on the dole has gone down. In 1978 this was 20% of the workforce. It is now 4%. Real benefits are 7% lower. This 'better off than' is not the simple comparison that is tossed about by campaigners against 'scroungers.' In 1978, a poor family on three quarters of the average wage would have lost £3.40 per week if the breadwinner became unemployed. The experts say that this was almost certainly less than the expenses incurred in having a job. Now, the same family would lose more than £20 per week.

Figures released today (1st March) show that the earnings of some company Directors went down last year, due to loss of bonuses. However, the average Director's wages went up 14%. About a quarter went up 25%.

Some groups of public sector workers have managed to avoid the government's 4% limit on pay rises. The police, for instance. Or the armed forces. Now, it has been announced that the Royal Family are to have a 8.1% increase next year.

Meanwhile, changes in the method of calculating supplementary benefits, mean that 2 million families and 2 million pen-

sioners will have their money cut. The government has announced that it will drop the 'housing element' of the retail price index when calculating benefits. Another 3.5 million people will be affected indirectly, as rent and rates rebates are calculated using supplementary benefit levels as a base.

The Budget has been well received by Conservatives. Income tax has stayed at the same rate but the thresholds for allowances have been increased. Much less fuss was made about the fact that the government has already announced that it is going to raise National Insurance contributions by 1%. This, apparently, does not count as tax. It cancels out the budget gain. Total tax bill for our 'typical' family, including income tax, National insurance, VAT, rates etc. is now £73.37, that is 46.26% of their income. Our thesis is undermined a little here. Those on 75% of the national average only lose 44.92%. Leaving a dizzy 55.08%. Or £57.01. Of course, in these free market times, they have the opportunity to reduce their tax VAT or purchase tax. Or, as we may ask the mathematically minded, what is 15% of bugger all?

DP

## MONICA GIORGI APPEALING

MONICA GIORGI, is an Italian anarchist who has been framed for 'terrorist acts' on the basis of perjured evidence by prosecution witnesses, and was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment (see FREEDOM, 10th October, 1981).

Monica is now appealing against her conviction which was based on alleged membership of the marxist *Prima Linea*.

Letters of solidarity can be sent to her:

Monica Giorgi,  
Carcere di Reggio Emilia.  
42100 Reggio Emilia  
ITALY

Letters supporting her appeal, and protesting against her conviction should be sent to:

Dott-Sechi, President of the Assize  
Court of Livorno,  
57100 Livorno,  
ITALY

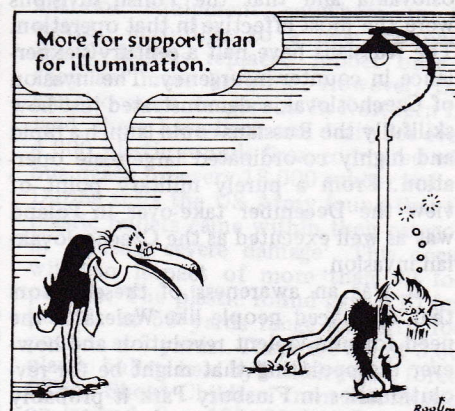
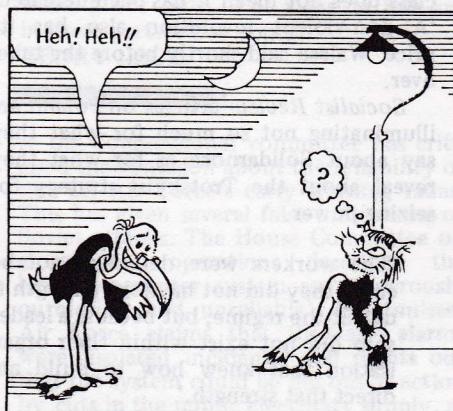
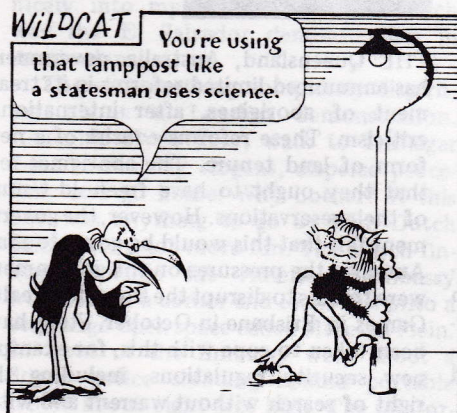
# EL SALVADOR

## DEMONSTRATE

### against USA intervention

## MARCH 28

Assemble 12.30 p.m.  
MARCH from Speakers Corner to  
RALLY in Trafalgar Square, 2.30 p.m.





# DON'T CHOOSE POLITICOS

I'D like to take up some of the points raised by Nick Heath's recent letter on Poland. He says that FREEDOM has been unfair in suggesting that the SWP are cynically supporting Solidarnosc to recruit members. He also points out that the Trotskyist papers have given much more coverage to Poland than FREEDOM has. I can't remember what exactly FREEDOM wrote about the SWP position on Poland, if it was misleading than it's right of Nick to complain. However, I don't think there can be any doubt about the opportunist way the SWP have been trying to exploit Solidarnosc. They attack Solidarnosc for being nationalist and publish stickers using the Solidarnosc logo (complete with Polish flag) to advertise *Socialist Worker*. Nick says that the SWP have always been anti-Stalinist; the truth is that Trotskyism is nothing but shame-faced Stalinism. The arguments that hard-line Stalinists are currently using to justify the suppression of Solidarnosc are exactly the same as the arguments the SWP still use to justify the suppression of Kronstadt, (and I do mean *exactly* the same).

The SWP claim that the Polish workers have been defeated because they didn't have an SWP type leadership.

'If at the end of the day, the regime's thugs were successful, there was nothing inevitable about that success.'

*Socialist Review* Jan-Feb 82

In fact it's ridiculous to talk about the workers being defeated. The authorities could have taken this kind of action at any time. Although the Polish army is conscripted it has a hard core of 50,000 regulars, Jaruzelski also has more than 50,000 paramilitary forces at his disposal. There were 50 divisions of Russian troops deployed along Poland's borders in case Jaruzelski met more resistance than he could handle. It should be borne in mind that Jaruzelski was appointed defence minister just before the invasion of Czechoslovakia and that the Polish divisions were the most effective in that operation. The Russians have half a century's experience in counter-insurgency. The invasion of Czechoslovakia demonstrated just how skillfully the Russians could launch a rapid and highly co-ordinated large-scale operation. From a purely military point of view the December take-over in Poland was as well executed as the Czechoslovakian invasion.

It was an awareness of these factors that convinced people like Walesa of the need for non-violent revolution and how-ever disappointing that might be for revolutionaries in Finsbury Park it probably still seems like a good idea in Gdansk.

In fact the military take-over represents a defeat, not for the workers, but for the authorities (particularly the Party). Martial law was resorted to because of the failure to check the rise of Solidarnosc and the failure to buy it off or incorporate it into the state. But martial law shows no signs of being successful. It was clearly an integral part of Jaruzelski's strategy to persuade leading 'moderate' figures in Solidarnosc to support his Military Council for National Salvation. A number of Solidarnosc figures have been persuaded to make stereotype statements of support for the government and criticism of Solidarnosc. The most important of these was Zdislaw Rozalak. Rozalak was a founding member of Solidarnosc in Poznan, a major industrial city where the first bloody revolts took place in 1956. But when foreign journalists were allowed to interview Rozalak, he retracted his statement much to the government's embarrassment. They have had no better luck with Walesa although he was obviously expected to co-operate.

It was first announced that Walesa was not under arrest at all but helping the authorities to negotiate a solution to the crisis. As late as a month after martial law Walesa was still being represented as a moderate in party newspapers. It was reported for example that he had spent hours in the lobby at the national Solidarnosc conference because he wanted nothing to do with the extremists. It was not until 26 January, more than six weeks after martial law, that a formal detention order was served on him. Then the newspapers, reflecting a change of official policy, claimed that Walesa had been the instrument the Catholic Church used to transform Solidarnosc into a 'counter-revolutionary social movement'. So the take-over was successful only in military terms, it has not achieved its social objectives. The present suffering of the working class does not mean it has been defeated. 'A non-violent revolution also has its price' Walesa said shortly before the take-over.

*Socialist Review* articles on Poland are illuminating not so much for what they say about Solidarnosc as for what they reveal about the Trotskyist strategy for seizing power.

'The workers were defeated, not because they did not have the strength to defeat the regime, but because a leadership did not exist within their organisation that knew how to build and direct that strength.'

*Socialist Review* Jan-Feb 82.

According to this article the leaders of Solidarnosc should have formed a centralised conspiratorial group or party. The activities of this party should remain secret from the working class as a whole. It should have secretly won to its ranks members of the armed forces and the police. It is admitted that these 'recruits' within the security services would only be motivated by self-interest, hedging their bets against a successful revolution, and yet *Socialist Review* advocates conspiring with this filth in secret from the working class as a whole. The chances of this sort of activity being successful are probably remote but even if they worked it doesn't take a lot of imagination to see how a revolution would develop led by a party already in league with a section of the old security forces. Solidarnosc has given us the nearest thing since Spain to a syndicalist revolution and yet as Nick Heath says, the coverage Poland has received in FREEDOM has been dismal. I hope this letter will stimulate some discussion on the subject.

Of course there are aspects of Solidarnosc that are disturbing and comrades may be understandably apprehensive about getting involved in a campaign supported by Reagan and Thatcher. In Crawley we're trying to circumvent these difficulties by setting up an International Workers' Solidarity Campaign group. Broadening the outlook to embrace the Chile, El Salvador, Turkey and Anti-Apartheid campaigns etc. makes it easier to expose the hypocrisy of opportunist hacks, both left and right.

Anyone interested in setting up something along these lines on a wider basis, please write to:

RAY COWPER  
1 Bluebell Close  
Crawley  
West Sussex

THE Queensland, Australia, government has announced limited reforms in its treatment of aborigines, after international criticism. These reforms consist of a new form of land tenure. The aborigines feel that they ought to have freehold tenure of their reservations. However, the government felt that this would be going too far. Amongst the pressures on the government were threats to disrupt the Commonwealth Games in Brisbane in October. Steps have been taken to cope with this, for example new security regulations, including the right of search without warrant and without charge.



# NOTES FROM AMSTERDAM

BORED with being surplus to capitalism's requirements in England, I decided to look for work abroad and arrived in Amsterdam last week. The pattern of walking into an uitzend buro (job agency), explaining that I'm English, speak almost no Dutch, am looking for unskilled work and then being told they haven't got any, has become quite familiar. One place did try to send me on the stamp-in-your-passport runaround but I've fallen for that one before. The agency claims it can't employ foreigners unless they have a stamp from the police authorizing them to work in the Netherlands. When you go to the police they say they can't give you a stamp because you haven't got a job. Very amusing.

In the meantime there are distractions from the business of failing to find work. A Fascist organization calling itself the Centrum Partij pushed one of its leaflets through the letter-box where I'm staying and it's interesting reading. It must pay people to work for a living, social security should go to those who *really* need it and the Netherlands is *not* a country for immigrants. The racialism is kept till last. Apparently, immigrants get preferential treatment in housing, jobs and education and their real numbers are higher than the government statistics. Foreigners who live in the Netherlands for five years can vote in local (but not national) elections and 'dus gaan we op weg naar de eerste Turkse of Marokkaanse burgemeester' (so we're on course for the first Turkish or Moroccan mayor). The police must now learn Turkish or Moroccan in order to serve the public better for example by telling them where the bank is. 52% of Dutch criminals come from 'minderheidsgroepen' (minority groups). Well no one's given me preferential treatment in housing, work or education and I haven't done anything criminal at least not yet. Which leads nicely into my other distraction which was the El Salvador demonstration in Amsterdam.

There's something completely dispiriting about a London demonstration. Assemble Hyde Park, walk to Trafalgar Square chanting slogans, disperse peacefully and go home. Why bother? If this one was anything to go by then Dutch demos are a lot more fun. The march finished outside the American Embassy which is on a corner and looks out onto a very large open space called Museum Plein. In front of the Embassy were about a dozen police standing behind portable fences about eight feet high. The reinforcements were round the corner.

From the back of the crowd I could see a few missiles being thrown and as I moved up to the front four mounted police charged the crowd. Presumably there'd been an attempt to get through the fencing since part of it had been pulled over. The crowd scattered before the horses and the missiles, broken-up paving stones, were now aimed at the four riders who quickly went out of harm's way round the corner.

The crowd moved back in front of the Embassy and the missiles became much more frequent. Some of the throwers weren't masked which struck me as being unwise. Embassy windows were made of shatterproof glass and an opaque patch appeared wherever a good hit landed. Several hundred half bricks must have been thrown before people in the crowd started shouting 'emmay' in some alarm. We all moved back as round the corner came a line of Mobile Eenheid (ME for short and the 'e' is pronounced as an 'a') in their full gear, helmets, shields, clubs, the lot. Presumably these 40 or so hired thugs, in their close formation, would have shifted us by themselves but the tear gas helped. I assumed it only had effect when in sufficient concentration to be visible, but soon found out otherwise. I ran till I was free of the fumes and that meant right out of Museum Plein. After the gas cleared people wandered back but the demo was really over.

Unlike the purely passive London demonstrations, this one had forced the state to act and that is the purpose of a demonstration. Something the authorities can ignore isn't worth doing. There was an air of ritual about the whole affair; no one was seriously going to mix it with the ME, but steps have been taken in that direction.

Without willingness to physically confront the forces of law and order we're wasting our time. 'Tot ziens' as folk say in these parts. ('See you').

HENRY LOCK

A US Congressional committee has criticised the Pentagon about the reliability of the US Air Force's early warning radar. This has given several false indications of Soviet attacks. The House Committee on government operations described the Norad computer system as 'dangerously outmoded and unreliable'. It dismisses Air Force claims that the false alarms were 'isolated incidents' and points out that the system could be put out of action by cuts in the public electricity supply, as it has no emergency power of its own.

## IN BRIEF

THE premiers of the federal states of West Germany have proposed that foreign workers should be given financial incentives to go home. They distinguish between people who are refugees (see *In Brief*'s last issue) and those who are merely seeking better jobs. Chancellor Schmidt has expressed his 'growing concern' about increasing prejudice and xenophobia, recalling the way that Jews were used as scapegoats in the 1930's. His, and the state premier's answer, is to reduce the number of foreigners. According to government statistics, West Germany has a foreign population of 4.6 million (7.7%). The proportion is much higher in some cities. Along with this there are proposals to help integration of second and third generation children of immigrants. Over 1 million of the total above are under 18, and were born and raised in Germany.

FANS of Chopper, the lavatory haunting ghost (see last issue) will be disappointed to learn that narrow-minded rationalists in the local prosecutor's office have decided that it was a practical joke and are now bringing charges of 'feigning a crime' against the dentist and his assistant.

ACCORDING to Peter Blaker, Minister for the Armed Forces, Trident missiles would only cost each person in Britain the price of a chocolate bar a week for the next 15 years. We must be grateful for the benefits this will bring for dental hygiene.

CHINA, which has the world's largest army, 5 million, is to reduce it by one million. Important aspects of a drive to modernise it will be the reintroduction of ranks and new uniforms.

PLASTIC bullets are 'the most dangerous anti-riot equipment anywhere in the world,' according to a new pamphlet. Plastic bullets replaced rubber ones as they are more accurate. However, they are also more dangerous. In Northern Ireland, there have been one death for every 4,000 plastic rounds fired, compared with one death for every 18,000 rubber bullets. During tests the US Army found that the plastic bullets came within their category of 'causing severe damage'. This occurs with an impact of more than 90 foot pounds. The plastic round gave 110 foot pounds at 50 yards range and 210 foot pounds at 5 yards. There are about 3,000 plastic bullets held by British police forces. ('They Shoot Children' from Information on Ireland, Box 189, 32 Ivor Place, London NW1)



# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTER

## CHURCH OUT!

Dear Friends,  
I am in full agreement with Paul Cook's condemnation of the Catholic Church and the Pope's visit to Britain, but he goes on to throw the baby out with the bath water when he says that 'religion encourages submission to authority, teaching people to obey their oppressors.' I don't accept that RELIGION does anything of the kind. It is the established church with its hierarchic structure that does this.

Radical reform in Britain and elsewhere owes much historically to religious individuals who have challenged authority and gradually changed society's attitude to many things; hospitals, prisons etc. These individuals, many of whom were Unitarians or Quakers have had an influence out of all proportion to their numbers.

It seems a pity that so many of FREEDOM's correspondents seem unable — or at least unwilling — to draw a distinction between the religious beliefs of individuals and the established church, which has sold the teachings of Jesus Christ down the river at every opportunity throughout its history. I see no contradiction between anarchism and religious belief on a personal, non-sectarian level; quite the contrary! The conflict is with the CHURCH which like all other state institutions is as surely dedicated to maintaining the existing order as the police, the missile bases and the House of Commons.

Fraternally yours,  
PETER DODSON  
Ipswich

## FOR THE BOMB

Dear FREEDOM,  
As a CND supporter I was interested in the letter by J W entitled 'For the Bomb', in the last issue of FREEDOM. I found the arguments absorbing but very very debatable. It appears he bases his/her argument for the bomb on the outdated concept of Mutually Assured Destruction. During the last five years or more the super powers have moved away from this MAD idea and are thinking in terms of a limited nuclear war. The move towards first strike weapons intended to destroy the other side's weapons in their silos is another indication that MAD is a thing of the past.

I find his/her support for the bomb a little confusing since surely the bomb is embedded in the hierarchical power structure of a statist society. To support the bomb does s/he not have to support either state monopoly capitalism of the West or state socialism of the Eastern bloc? If s/he's for the bomb is s/he not for the system? Isn't the bomb — the ultimate expression of nihilism — the polar opposite of anarchy? I suggest the ideas expressed are of a bourgeois nihilist nature rather than anarchist.

Yours in Freedom,  
PAT ISHIOHO  
NUNEATON

Editors' note: 'For the Bomb' correspondence is now closed.

## COMMITMENT?

Dear Freedom,  
After seeing 'Commitments' last Tuesday, everyone with even the slightest sympathy for the '57 Varieties of Socialism' (as someone once described them in FREEDOM), should surely burn his card, and quit 'toeing the party line'.

The characters were so busy, playing 'find the Mole', striking revolutionary/intellectual poses (some vague idea that you're not an intellectual unless you're a Trot as well... with 'commitments') and showing that they really 'understood' the working class — whilst locked away in a plush apartment... that the whole thing was extremely funny.

Best of all was that it hit home; I saw a little of myself in the play, showing my commitment to the 'cause' by subscribing to FREEDOM, and living in a plush flat in the heart of prole land, occasionally sallying forth with a plastic Scouse accent, to denigrate the SDP, trendy liberals, readers of 'The Guardian', and every single Trot in existence.

The difference between being an anarchist and being a Trot, is that you don't have to take the whole charade seriously. The Trots (just like the USSR and America) can't conceive of ever being wrong. If you fail to toe the line... Revisionist!

I must write you a proper letter sometime.  
MACKEREL

## GOODLOOKING MENTAL MASTURBATION

Dear FREEDOM,  
For fuck's sake! Every fortnight we get this well-produced paper through a well-organised distribution network sent to us and what's in it? Simply mental masturbation, dialectical analysis, analytical reviews, pages and pages of empty analysis and empty words. The articles seem to be just thrown together and are so far apart. It's not the variety we're complaining about but the irrelevancy of much of FREEDOM's content to the day-to-day struggles and arguments that anarchists have to face and fight.

What we need as a movement on a national level is not a journal full of discussion papers but an agitational and news network telling people about meetings/action/strikes/whatever. We believe that FREEDOM would serve a much more useful purpose as such an agitational NEWSpaper rather than what it is at the moment — a traditional intellectual academic journal.

What was it 'South London Stress' said? FREEDOM 'has come to be regarded as the 'Times' of the Anarchist movement. Readers would be forgiven for thinking it was the 'Times'. Fortnightly and weakly.'

The movement in Britain has got its priorities all wrong. Just look at the 'Anarchist Review' by Cienfuegos — a brilliant book (whenever it came out), but simply irrelevant to the main body of people. Some might say it's not meant to have 'mass appeal'! that it's meant specifically for anarchist-thinking persons, but to that we say that it bloody well should have 'mass appeal'. We are far too insular, and FREEDOM, as the main and most regular anarchist newspaper, must therefore take a large proportion of the blame for this. It is FREEDOM's duty to the movement to change its emphasis from that of an internal bulletin-type of affair to something informative and agitational that we can, if we want, sell on the streets to working or non-working people.

Whenever we complain to other anarchists about FREEDOM they have always agreed with us. I mean, be honest, how many people out there actually read eight pages on Louise Michel the other week...?

It is a crying shame that anarchists have to rely on 'Socialist Worker' for news of events and demos and strikes etc. What we are suggesting on a very basic level is some kind of events page with a deadline for entry — groups throughout the country can phone in to FREEDOM with details of their planned activities. Anything — you know, we want ideas from readers, and action. FREEDOM can be useful and effective — you only have to look at our suggestion in the paper that anarchists should meet before last October's CND demo and at the success of that day for proof of this.

Mind you, it can become a damn sight better and more useful too.  
Solidarity,  
HULL ANARCHIST GROUP  
DONCASTER ANARCHIST GROUP



## LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LET

## THE WAY FORWARD

Dear People,  
Thank you for the reminders to renew my sub, but I regret that I shall not be. Not this year anyway.

You might want to know my 'reasons', so here they are:

I really feel that the same sub given to the Salvation Army or the Ecology Party will yield a greater amount of human happiness.

I am annoyed by the coverage you give to the Sussex University hooligans masquerading as anarchists. The young are to be encouraged to try out various ideas for size, but by confusing liberty and license, and anarchy (rules, but not rulers) with nihilism (unprincipled intolerance and immature egotism) this scion of the young are a vociferous fifth column who serve only to save the Special Branch the need to stir things up.

I do not think that your comments on the deficiencies and the weaknesses of the state, Mrs Thatcher or governments generally, are constructive. The implied claim that revolution of one sort or another is the only way out of the morass is one reason why anarchism will not get the support of those whom one might ordinarily expect to benefit. Revolutions have neither historical nor psycho-social precedent upon which you can draw. (Remember: le plus ça change etc?).

You must find another way out. My own view is that we began losing liberty when our numbers grew too large to permit 'round the evening fire' discussions. For this reason mass communications may be our salvation — if we survive that long. The Ecology Party offers some hope that we may, and the 'Sallies' hope if we don't.

I shall miss Arthur Moyse.

T FLINN  
DUNDEE

## WHY SUFFER?

Dear FREEDOM,  
Anthony Burgess commented in last week's 'Observer' (24 Jan) 'The people have to suffer and governments exist to ensure that they do', which seemed to me worthy of quote, perhaps in FREEDOM! Greetings from an Ancient reader.  
KITTY LAMB  
LONDON

MARXIST  
PERVERSION

Dear Comrades,  
FREEDOM seems more Anarchistic than 'Black Flag'. Stuart Christie talks about workers' democracy. Democracy is still democracy — not Anarchy. Democracy is the rule of the majority over the minority. History has shown that the minority is usually more progressive than the majority. There are exceptions. The Fascists are a minority at present, just as much as we are.

Concentrating on the working class is a Marxist perversion. Anarchists in China appealed to the peasants and intellectuals as well as workers. We should not exclude ourselves from any class or segment (save those engaged in Authoritarianism). Viva Anarchismo!

BILLY MICK

## FEELING THE DRAFT

Dear FREEDOM,  
The situation is pretty gloomy over here, the rich are becoming more blatant in their oppression under King/Shah Reagan.

People are being forced into breadlines more and more in some cities. Needy folks are being denied their piddly welfare and food stamp benefits.

The war machine is revving up, though it seems the only ones supporting the corporate/military incursion into El Salvador are the corporadas, and Reagan/Haig/Wienberger.

The Church has even spoken up against aid in San Francisco and other large cities at least.

Inflation and recession are smashing the American dream, and those who aren't too pathetically apathetic see the polarization.

Over 50 percent of those required to register for the draft have not done so in San Francisco and 40 percent haven't in all of California. The supposedly public utility (PG&E) has extorted a 1 billion dollar rate increase; the rate payers have risen up and protests have been staged. The government has slapped their (PG&E's) wrist and tried to buy the people off with an average bill reduction of .86 cents! To a person with a 350 dollar bill it's a damn good opportunity for agitation!

Well, I could go on and on but I feel as if I'm spinning my wheels—  
Take care & stay well,  
JESSE  
PARADISE, USA

## SEXIST CRAP

Dear FREEDOM,  
The article by Julie Southwood is another example of how women can get away with sexism (under the guise of the 'Women's Movement') and can continue to make the most absurd generalizations about 'male violence'. The women's peace camp at Greenham Common has not got my support for two reasons: firstly, it is an appalling example of sexist patriarchy. As libertarians we should be against patriarchy and patriarchy.

How can this be reconciled with a group of women who prohibit men staying at the camp because they feel 'that they (women) have a distinct contribution to make against the violence which is created mainly by men.'? This kind of matriarchal clap-trap really annoys me, as a male.

It's not my fault that I am of the same sex as Haig and Brezhnev and most of the other dog-droppings that have got us into this mess. If Julie Southwood can make that kind of statement with impunity, then I shan't expect any redress if I say that 'all women pick their noses'.

The second point is that anyone can stand outside any Establishment building and go cap in hand to the media for coverage of what they're doing, but it won't do anything. When I was there (at Greenham) on 2-4 February, the perimeter fence was not 'some twelve miles in length'. It will be that long when it is completed, which it wasn't in early February. It was therefore possible to walk into the base without so much as stepping over some barbed wire. Well — the possibilities are obvious. But the women seem to have this strange aversion to doing anything illegal other than limited actions for the media.

As far as I am concerned, the peace camp isn't an action at all. While we applaud the women for their 'great fortitude and commitment', the silos for the Cruise missiles are being built, camp or no camp. Even if I could overlook the blatant sexism in the camp, I would have no interest in supporting people who seem more interested in getting the odd column in the local rag than causing actual physical inconvenience to the MoD.

Yours for a non-sexist society,  
CLIFF M POXON

## KEEP BRITAIN GREEN

Dear Eds,  
Wot about the rape of the New Forest by Shell Oil and Land's End by some Mayfair maggot?  
Tom Mc  
London NW6



# FREEDOM CONTACTS

## NATIONAL CONTACTS

### ABERDEEN

Solidarity, c/o 163 King St, Aberdeen.

### BARRY

Terry Philips, 16 Robert St, Barry, South Glamorgan.

### BELFAST

Anarchist Collective, Jus' Books, 7 Winetavern St, Belfast 1.

### BEDFORDSHIRE

Bedfordshire and isolated Anarchists, write: John, 81 F, Bromlam Rd, Bedford MK40 2AH, Beds.

### BRIGHTON

Libertarian Socialist group, c/o Students Union, Falmer House, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton.

### BRISTOL

L Bedminster, 110 Grenville Rd, Bristol 3.  
Box 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Bristol 6.

### CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge Anarchists, c/o 186 East Rd, Cambridge.

### CANTERBURY

Alternative Research Group, Students Union, University of Kent, Canterbury.  
Canterbury Anarchist Group, meets every Monday 8 pm, Jolly Sailor, Northgate, Canterbury.  
Contact address is: Andrew Savage, 177 Old Dover Rd, Canterbury, Kent.

### CARDIFF

Write c/o One-O-Eight Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Rd.

### CIRENCESTER AND THE COTSWOLDS

c/o Andrew Wilkie, 7 Sperrington, Cirencester, Glos.

### COVENTRY

John England, Students Union, University of Warwick, Coventry.

### CRAWLEY

Crawley Anarchists  
Ray Cowper,  
Bluebell Close,  
Crawley S11 873

### CUMBRIA

12 Bath Terrace, Drovers Lane, Penrith.

### DUBLIN

Love v Power, Whelan's Dance Studio, 51 South King St, Dublin 2.

### EAST ANGLIA

DAM, Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.

### EDINBURGH

c/o Box SLF, First of May, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh.

### ESSEX

Oral Abortions, The Catskills, Maldon Rd, Gay Bowers, Danbury.

### EXETER

Anarchist Collective, c/o Community Association, Devonshire House, Stocker Rd.

### GLASGOW

Clydeside Anarchists c/o Box 3;  
Collective Action Group c/o Box 101 [Public meetings last Monday of every month City Halls, Albion Street]  
Rendez Vous (CND) Group c/o Box 68;  
'Calderwood 15' pamphlets c/o Box V2; Glasgow Young Anarchists c/o Box 1984 [Weekly meetings Saturday afternoons]  
All at Glasgow Bookshop Collective,  
488 Gt Western Road G12 (Kelvinbridge Tube)

### HASTINGS

Anarchists, 18a Markwick Terrace, Saint Leonards-on-Sea, East Sussex. (0424) 434102.

### HUDDERSFIELD

Huddersfield Anarchist Group & DAM  
Box DAM, c/o Peaceworks, 58 Wakefield Road, Huddersfield

### HULL

Libertarian Collective, 70 Perth St, Hull HU5 3NZ.

### KEELE

Anarchist Group, c/o Students Union, The University, Keele, Staffordshire.

### KEIGHLEY

Anarchists, c/o Simon Saxton, 1 Selbourne Grove, Keighley, West Yorkshire BD21 2SL.

### LAMPETER

Anarchist Group, c/o Adrian James, SDUC, Lampeter, Dyfed SA48 7ED, Wales.

### LIVERPOOL

Anarchist Group, c/o Hywel Ellis, Students Union, Liverpool University.

### LEAMINGTON

and Warwick, c/o 42 Bath St, Leamington Spa.

### LEEDS

Leeds Anarchist Group, Box LAP A, 59 Cookridge, Leeds LS2 3AW

### LEICESTER

Blackthorn Books, 7 Highcross St, (tel 21896) and  
Libertarian Education 6 Beaconsfield Rd, (tel 552085).

### LONDON

Anarchy Collective, 37a Grosvenor Ave, N5 (01-359 4794 before 7pm). Meets each Thursday at Little @ Press, C1 Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall, Wapping E1. (22a bus or Wapping tube).  
Anarcha United Mystics meet each Thursday at 8pm, Halfway House Pub, opposite Camden Town tube.  
Autonomy Centre, 01 Warehouse, Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall, E1.  
Freedom Collective, Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High St, E1. (01-247 9249). Aldgate East tube, near Whitechapel Art Gallery.  
Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh St, WC1, Meet Thursdays 7pm.  
Kingston Anarchists, 13 Denmark St, Kingston upon Thames, (01-549 2564).  
London Workers Group, meets Tuesdays 8pm at Metropolitan Pub, 75 Farringdon Rd, EC1.

Middlesex Poly Anarchists, Students Union, Trent Park Site, Cockfosters Rd, Barnet, Herts.  
121 Bookshop and meeting place, 121 Raiton Rd, Herne Hill, SE24 Xtra! Structureless Tyranny.  
West London Anarchists contact John Sanders, 4 Naylor House, Mozart Estate, W10.

### MALVERN

and Worcester area, Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storrridge, Malvern, Worcestershire.

### MANCHESTER

Solidarity and 'Wildcat'  
The main local activity of the majority of people who previously made up the Manchester Solidarity group is now the production, in co-operation with others, of a free bulletin called 'Wildcat'. Both 'Wildcat' and the remaining active members of Manchester Solidarity can be contacted by writing to either 'Wildcat' or 'Solidarity' at: Box 25, 164/166 Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, M4 3BN.

### MORECAMBE & LANCASTER

17th March Group c/o Cliff M Poxon, 13 Carleton St, Morecambe, Lancs. LA4 4NX

### NORWICH

(Alteration)  
Anarchist Pacifist Group  
Box 6 c/o FREEWHEEL  
52/54 King St  
Norwich Tel 21209

### NOTTINGHAM

c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St, Tel 582506.

### OLDHAM

Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Rd, Failsworth.

### OXFORD

Anarchist Group and Solidarity, c/o 34 Cowley Rd.

### PAISLEY

Anarchist Group are unfortunately contactable through the Students Union, Hunter St, Paisley, Renfrewshire.

### PLYMOUTH

Anarchists, 115 St Pancras Ave, Pennycross.

### PORTSMOUTH

area anarchist group, c/o Garry Richardson, 25 Beresford Close, Waterlooville, Hants

### READING

Reading Anarchist Group, Box 19, Acorn Bookshop, 17 Chatham St, Reading. Meets once a week.

### RHONDDA

and MidGlamorgan, Henning Andersen, 'Smiths Arms', Treherbert, MidGlamorgan.

### SHEFFIELD

Anarchists, c/o 4 Havelock Square Sheffield S10 2FQ.  
Libertarian Society, Post Office Box 168, Sheffield S11 8SE.

### SOUTH WALES

DAM, c/o Smiths Arms, Baglan Rd, Treherbert, MidGlamorgan, South Wales. Write for anarcho-syndicalist contacts in Treherbert, Rhondda, Pontypridd, Penarth, Barry and Cardiff areas.

Printed and typeset by Aldgate Press, in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1  
Tel: 247 3015

### SWANSEA

Black Dragon, Box 5, c/o Neges Bookshop, 31 Alexandra Rd, Swansea SA1 5DQ, W Glamorgan.

### SUSSEX

anarchist group, c/o Students Union, Falmer House, University of Sussex, Brighton.

### SWINDON

area, Mike, Groundswell Farm Upper Stratton, Swindon.

## MEETINGS

Sun 21st March-7pm  
'Pornography & Censorship'  
Meal followed by discussion £1  
121 Raiton Road, Brixton

London Greenpeace Group Discussion

Thursday 1st April-8pm. Free  
6 Endsleigh St. London WC1  
The Current Situation of Peace and Anti Nuclear Movements in W Germany

London Workers Group  
Tuesday 23rd March-8.15pm  
'Is workers' self management just self abuse?'  
Metropolitan Pub, Farringdon Rd. Be there or be square etc.

Can't Pay. Won't Pay.  
1st Demonstration at County Hall  
2pm Sunday 21st March  
People are encouraged to come and not pay fare increase.

## PUBLICATIONS

'Me Myself' — the paper for individualists and apprentice terrorists — will be making its debut on 18th April 1982. Only 10p+ stamp from Cliff M Poxon 13 Carleton St. Morecambe, Lancs. LA4 4NX

## EVENTS

Scottish Tour in April by members of Belfast 'Gaining Ground' Collective. Starting in Glasgow 20th April. [Lunchtime at the Q M Union and City Halls at 7.30pm Room 4, Door 'F'] and going in turn to Aberdeen, Dundee and Edinburgh. A slide-show is utilized, including sections on repression in N Ireland. Communities and repayment of debt, and the Position of Women.

The Wobblies: Film show in Star Club, Carlton Place, Glasgow, 9th April, 8pm-1am with late licence (tickets at door)

## WOMEN ON THE NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST

Women's writings, lyrics and poetry wanted for an anthology on nuclear holocaust collected by a group of politically active women attempting to use words to inspire change and resistance. Send material to R Azen, Flat 3 29 Honeywell Rd, London

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## Freedom Press

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## EAST TIMOR AND INDONESIA

### 1. A secret report from Timor

'AFTER five years of integration, the people of East Timor do not yet enjoy the freedom that humanity needs to feel.' This is one of the conclusions in a secret report which the Regional People's Representative Assembly of East Timor sent to the Indonesian president Suharto in the summer of 1981.

East Timor is a former Portuguese colony which was invaded by neighboring Indonesia in December 1975 and which was officially proclaimed as Indonesia's 27th province the following year. However, since the invasion an armed resistance has been going on under the leadership of FRETILIN – the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor – and Indonesia still does not control the entire area. In June 1980, FRETILIN even made an attack on Dili, the capital of East Timor.

It is the Indonesian government itself that has set up the Regional Assembly, and this means that this criticism gains more importance and credibility coming as it does from supporters and not from opponents of the government in Jakarta. The report which is dated Dili, June 3, 1981, is confidential, but never the less it was leaked to the Australian press. It was reported, for instance, by Robin Osborne in the *Australian* (October 9, 1981), and the whole text together

with the covering letter has also appeared in the British *TAPOL-Bulletin* (no. 47, September 1981), published by the British Campaign for the Defence of Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Indonesia.

The Regional Assembly starts by praising integration, that is the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia: 'Throughout the centuries this people will be forever indebted and grateful for the achievement of integration of East Timor into the fold of the motherland, the great Republic of Indonesia.' But then they strike a different tune: Some of the Indonesian soldiers and officials are alleged to have 'introduced behaviour that can only be described as being the behaviour of conquerors towards a conquered people.' They act 'with great brutality' and they 'abuse the powers vested in the positions.'

It is with great sorrow, the report continues, that the Assembly repeatedly is receiving 'verbal as well as written reports or complaints from the people about torture, maltreatment, murders and other unimaginable cases.' And then follows a series of examples documenting this claim.

However, it is not only breaches of the law that are being criticized. There are also problems in the realm of the economy: 'Although quite a lot of financial assistance for the purposes of building up the economy has been received,



the people of East Timor have not yet felt any real benefits....' Indonesian officials are accused of lining their own pockets, and the result is that 'after five years of integration and ceaseless efforts by both the central government and the regional government, the vast majority of the people are not yet able to enjoy stable living conditions.'

Thus, the report confirms many of the charges which for several years have been put forward by the foreign delegation of FRETILIN as well as by independent organisations and individual specialists. So far, Indonesia has totally rejected such charges as evil-minded propaganda.

At the end of 1981, the Indonesian government had not made any comment on this last report, but this is not to say that they have not taken any action: In November 1981, the two signatories of the report – Mr. Leandro Isaac and Mr. Sousa Soares – were arrested, and the following month two other members of the Assembly met the same fate. (Reuter-telegram, *Canberra Times* December 21, 1981; Michael Richardson, *The Age*, Melbourne, December 23, 1981).



## 2. A new Indonesian offensive in Timor

The revelation of the secret report came immediately after the Australian press had reported that Indonesia was planning a new offensive against FRETILIN. Large numbers of Timorese males aged between 15 and 50 are said to have been conscripted by the authorities to take part in an operation to eliminate the resistance once and for all. The plan is to make a chain of men moving in an extended line across the whole of the island in order to search the country for the guerrillas.

This is, in other words, an operation similar to what the white immigrants in the island of Tasmania south of Australia did in the last century: At that time, the result was a near total elimination of the native population.

Church organisations in Australia fear that this might be the beginning of a new period with hunger and starvation, because there will not be enough men to work the fields. In the autumn of 1979, following international pressure, Indonesia did – for the first time since 1975 – give the International Red Cross permission to work in East Timor. At that time already, it was estimated that at least 100,000 out of a population of 650,000 had perished as a result of war, hunger and disease, and relief workers compared the situation in Timor with that in Biafra and Kampuchea.

The situation seems to have improved somewhat during 1980, but in the spring of 1981, the International Red Cross was asked to leave the country again, and this means in the first place that there is no foreign control with the aid given to Timor and secondly that the Indonesian authorities are once again able to conduct their military operations without having foreign observers to see what is going on. (*The Australian* October 3, 1981; see also *TAPOL-Bulletin* no. 48, November 1981).

The Australian press has reacted strongly to these reports. Thus, on October 10, 1981, the *Australian* carried a harsh and very critical editorial saying, among other things, that 'the Australian government must act quickly on the latest horrifying news from East Timor. There can be no excuse for failing to make clear our abhorrence of the atrocities which the Indonesian government is inflicting on the Timorese people.'

The editorial went on as follows:

'Ever since the Indonesian invasion (in December 1975) we have ignored the chronicle of brutality which has reached us from Djakarta's reluctant 'province'. When (five) Australian journalists were murdered (in October 1975) in circumstances which the most charitable would have to have found

suspicious, the best we seemed able to manage was a half apologetic mumble. It is time Australia stopped playing the role of Pontius Pilate. It is time we spoke up as loudly on nearby Indonesian colonialism as we do on the misdeeds of the distant Soviets and South Africans.'

The editorial concluded that Australia should deliver 'a strong protest' to Indonesia and seek an immediate explanation as to what is going on: 'If Australia remains silent, our credibility as a moral force will be drowned by our hypocrisy.'

At the end of 1981, the Australian government had not yet acted, but Parliament had: In November 1981, the question of East Timor was referred to the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence for investigation and report. The committee is planning public hearings for 1982. (discussion in *Hansard*, Senate, November 26, 1981, pp. 2688-91; official announcement in *Canberra Times* December 21, 1981).



## 3. A television report in Portugal

In Portugal, the former colonial power, there has also been renewed debate on Timor. The reason was a television documentary in the beginning of October 1981 by journalists Artur Albarran and Barata Feyer who claimed that the leaders of Portugal's revolution in 1974 and '75 held secret talks with Indonesia during which they made concessions to Indonesia's ambition to annexe East Timor. The charges were especially directed against Mario Soares, leader of the Socialist Party who was then prime minister, former president Costa Gomez, and Almeida Santos, former minister for decolonisation.

The Socialist Party reacted strongly to these accusations: 'All lies,' the headlines of the party newspaper said next day, and in Parliament Santos challenged his opponents to prove their allegations of collusion with Indonesia over Timor. At the same time, he also demanded that president Eanes should publish a hitherto secret report prepared in 1976 on Portugal's ill-fated decolonisation in 1974-75. (Jill Jolliffe, *Manchester Guardian* October 12, 1981 and *Canberra Times* October 13, 1981; John Torres, *London Times* October 13 and 14, 1981; Peter Wise, *Boston Globe* November 26, 1981).

The report was released a few days later, and in the *Manchester Guardian* of October 17, 1981, Jill Jolliffe writes that it confirms the claims of secret negotiations with the Indonesians: According to a description of the last of these secret meetings, held in Hong Kong in June 1975, a Portuguese delegation told Indonesian officials that it had drafted Timor's new decolonisation statute in such a way that it would give them a year to try and persuade the population by peaceful means to accept incorporation into Indonesia. But if they did not, and Indonesia chose to use force, 'the Portuguese government is not prepared to create problems and could easily send a ship to Timor to evacuate all Portuguese.'



## 4. The U S, Britain and Australia

Portugal is not, however, the only country that officially supported East Timor's right to self-determination while secretly showing much understanding for Indonesia's plans. In November 1980, George Munsler and Richard Walsh published a book with secret documents from the Australian



ministry of foreign affairs which reveals that not only Australia but also Britain and the U S sympathised with Indonesia well before the invasion had taken place.

In July 1975, for instance, the British ambassador to Jakarta wrote that 'the people of Portuguese Timor are in no condition to exercise the right of self-determination.' He continued:

'Though it still remains in our interest to steer clear of becoming involved in future, developments in Lisbon now seem to argue in favour of greater sympathy towards Indonesia, should the Indonesian government feel forced to take strong action by the deteriorating situation in Portuguese Timor. Certainly, as seen from here, it is in Britain's interest that Indonesia should absorb the territory as soon and as unobtrusively as possible. If it comes to the crunch and there is a row in the UN, we should keep our heads down and avoid siding against the Indonesians.'

Similarly, the Australian ambassador to Jakarta reported in August 1975 that he had spoken with his American colleague and that 'his present attitude is that the U S should.... allow events to take their course. His somewhat cynical comment to me was that if the Indonesians were going to intervene, they (U S) would hope that they would do so "effectively, quickly and not use our equipment".' (*Documents on Australian Defence and Foreign Policy*, Hong Kong 1980, chapter 6).

However, things did not turn out as the American ambassador had hoped for: The invasion was bloody, it is still continuing to this very day, and is conducted with American equipment.

The Australian government reacted promptly and issued an injunction barring distribution of the book arguing that its publication was a threat against national security. But then it was already too late: The press had got hold of it and so did the Indonesians who here found their secret understanding with the Western powers exposed to the public. The legal battle ended in December 1980 when the Australian High Court stated that the law is infringed by 'copying or reproducing a document.' But it is not infringed by 'publishing information or ideas contained in that document.' (*New Statesman* December 5, 1980).

Today it is probably difficult to get hold of the book itself, but excerpts are available in the British *New Statesman* (November 21, 1980), in *TAPOL-Bulletin* (no. 43, January 1981), and in the *U S Nation* (February 7, 1981).



#### 5. Indonesia's position

The government in Jakarta claims that the Indonesian forces intervened in East Timor in order to establish law and order and following the people's own wish. It claims further that at a meeting in the summer of 1976, representatives of the Timorese people asked to become part of Indonesia and that the government in Jakarta granted this wish and subsequently made East Timor the country's 17th province. In fact, the Indonesian government claims to be a principled opponent of invasions: It has, for instance, condemned the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea in 1978 and the Soviet one of Afghanistan in 1979.

In July 1980, Indonesia's foreign minister Mochtar paid an official visit to Czechoslovakia where he held talks with his colleague Chnoupek. After the visit a joint press release was issued in which you could read the following:

'The two ministers agreed that it was absolutely necessary to continue to adhere to the principles of peaceful solution of all global as well as regional problems and in this connection they reaffirmed their determination to observe fully the principles of the UN charter which they considered to be the basis for the preservation of peace throughout the world.'

Thus, on the one hand we have Chnoupek, representing a government that came to power by means of a Soviet military invasion in 1968. And on the other we have Mochtar, representing a government that invaded and occupied neighboring East Timor in 1975. In both cases we are dealing with a violation of the UN charter which is based on each individual nation's right to self-determination. But nonetheless, we find these ministers solemnly proclaiming that they are in favour of 'peaceful solution' of all problems and that they intend to 'observe fully the principles of the UN charter.'

In September 1981, the Indonesian government issued a statement condemning the South African attack on Angola. The South African invasion of Angola is a crude violation of international law, it said, and the international community must take all appropriate measures to stop this aggression.

All of this may seem paradoxical. But apparently the hypocrisy of statesmen knows no limits — neither in the East nor the West.



#### 6. The responsibility of the West

The history of East Timor is thus the story of a country and a people who have become victims of the great power game. Even the U S acknowledges that the people of East Timor have not had an opportunity to exercise the right of self-determination to which they are entitled according to the UN charter. But the alliance with Indonesia is more important than some abstract principle and therefore the U S has nevertheless accepted Indonesia's invasion and occupation.

Since 1975, the UN General Assembly has annually adopted resolutions condemning the invasion and demanding the withdrawal of Indonesian troops; most recently on November 9, 1981, with 54 in favour, 42 against, and 46 abstentions, a more narrow majority than previously. But most Western countries simply abstain — such as for instance Denmark, and lately also Sweden which voted in favour in the years 1975-79 — or they vote together with Indonesia against the resolutions — such as for instance the U S does.

The UN Security Council has twice adopted similar resolutions; on December 22, 1975 and April 22, 1976. These are, as is well known, binding for member states, but Indonesia has not responded. And most Western countries continue to supply Indonesia with new weapons so that they can conduct new offensives against the people of East Timor.

Similarly, the free press in the Western world has also generally ignored the question of East Timor, with Australia as the only noticeable exception. This silence is important, in the first place because it enables Indonesia to conduct its aggression in secrecy, and secondly because it enables the Western states to supply their ally Indonesia with the military and diplomatic support which is necessary for this aggression.

The facts are fully available to those who want them: There is no censorship in the West. But apart from Australia, they are largely ignored by the mass media. (see my book *East Timor Indonesia and the Western Democracies*, International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs: Copenhagen 1980).

The responsibility of the Western world for Indonesia's actions in East Timor is obvious. And by remaining silent on this issue the press also shares this responsibility. A free press and honest politicians would not support governments which allow this to happen. They would — and should — demand that representatives of the International Red Cross, of the UN and independent journalists gain access to all parts of East Timor, and that the flow of arms to Indonesia be halted, so that the invading forces will have to stop their attack, and so that the people of East Timor may finally be allowed to determine their own destiny.

TORBEN RETBOLL





## THE FAMOUS AND THE NAMELESS

FOR four months now Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Indonesia's leading novelist, his publishers and four students have been under de facto arrest, receiving daily interrogation at the hands of KOPKAMTIB, the Suharto regime's 'security' police force. Their crime? On September 24, Pram defied an official ban and delivered a lecture at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta on 'The Attitude and Role of Intellectuals in Indonesia.' Pram is not merely Indonesia's leading novelist (his nomination for the Nobel Prize for Literature is regarded by an increasing number of 'experts' as a good bet in the not too distant future). Arrested by the Suharto regime soon after its October 1965 coup, Pram spent the next 14 years in prison without trial, until his release in 1979, along with tens of thousands of others imprisoned without trial. Pram's crime then and now has been his passionate commitment to freedom and justice for all Indonesians, a subject he no doubt addressed at his packed lecture.

Permitted to write only in 1973, on Buru island labour camp, Pram between 1973 and 1979 wrote a number of novels (and other works). Two of them, *This Earth of Mankind* and *A Child of All Nations* were published in 1980 by the Hastra Mitra Publishing Company. Joesoef Ishak and Hasyim Rachman, its directors, are now undergoing interrogation for their association with Pram; while one of the four students detained is Joesoef's son.

Pram's novels (shortly to appear in English translation by Max Lane) were an immediate best-selling and critical success — so much so that in May this year both novels were banned by the Suharto regime because of their supposed pernicious 'Marxist ideology'. Telegrams and letters of protest then and now following these acts of Government repression, from P.E.N. and numerous respected organisations throughout the world, have so far been in vain.

It's tempting to see the detention and harassment of Pram, his publishers and the students as just (or yet) another case of the persecution of privileged intellectual opponents of repressive State Business as Usual. This would be a profound double mistake. First, whether relatively privileged or materially deprived, intellectual or manual worker, each human individual victim of State violence anywhere suffers pain, degradation or death equally, without difference.

Second, the relatively privileged status of Pram, Joesoef, Hasyim and the four students derives from their being named and known and, in Pram's case, famous. 'Understanding' this latest detention of Pram et al. just in terms of the persecution of privileged intellectuals thus abstracts from the fate and sufferings of the countless thousands, even millions, of 'ordinary' — that is, unnamed and unknown — victims of Business as Normal in Indonesia since 1965. Having taken full account of the very real repression being suffered now by Pram and other courageous named and known critics of the Suharto regime, what's essential about the sufferings of the privileged (named and known) victims of State violence is their 'symptomatic significance': their sufferings necessarily refer us to the lives and deaths of all the remaining — unnamed, unknown — victims of State violence in each society.

In the case of Indonesia under the Suharto regime, the facts in this regard are truly grim — and virtually unknown. The Suharto regime gained State power by means of a coup against the Sukarno government, beginning in October 1965. It proceeded thereafter to consolidate its domination with a bloodbath unprecedented in modern times. Within a year, more than 500,000 'Communists', 'suspected Communists' or 'suspected Communist sympathisers' were murdered, all



with the (economic, diplomatic, military) backing and silent collaboration of the Western capitalist powers. For the next four years, the anti-'Communist' killings and repression in Vietnam and Indonesia proceeded hand in hand. Perhaps 750,000 Indonesians died — almost all of them unnamed and unknown. The Suharto regime officially admits a death-toll of half a million people.

Those Indonesians opposed to the Suharto regime and fortunate enough to escape death after the coup, were imprisoned virtually indefinitely. Over a thousand so-called A-category prisoners actually received the dubious Orwellian 'benefit' of a 'trial', in which sentences and 'evidence' obtained under 'interrogation' were pre-determined. (See Julie Southwood's study, *Propaganda and Terror: Victimisation and the Legal System in Indonesia*, Zed Press, forthcoming.) By far the large majority of imprisoned victims, such as Pram, Joesoef and Hasyim, were arrested and imprisoned without trial. The true figure for these so-called B-category prisoners will never be known: the regime is not in the habit of honest communication of facts. Independent observers put the figure in the tens if not hundreds of thousands. According to a 1977 Amnesty International report, 'In the aftermath of the 1965 events, more than half a million were killed and about one million people arrested, interrogated and detained.' In 1979, after years of unreported campaigning for the unnamed-unknown by organisations like TAPOL here in the UK, the regime finally released most if not all, B-category prisoners, including a few 'known' names like Pram. No doubt after 14 years of intimidation and brutal repression of Indonesia's 147 million beneficiaries of New Order 'democracy', the regime felt safe enough to do so: Economic hardship and poverty (the annual per capita income in Indonesia is 90 dollars and falling according to World Bank and IMF figures) and the all-pervasive operations of KOPKAMTIB were sufficient to maintain Business as Normal.

PAT FLANAGAN

This article has been cut as it covers the same ground as the previous article. EDS.



## XINGU



THE following article, an extract taken from *Xingu* compiled by Maureen Bisilliat, Orlando Villas-Boas and Claudio Villas-Boas, reads as a sequel to *The Anthropology of Anarchy*, FREEDOM Vol 43 No 4.

THE Indian is a part of nature, which may explain why he finds it unnecessary to comment on its beauty. When we see a waterfall sparkling in the forest we find it beautiful, powerful evocative. If we were to ask an Indian his impressions he would probably reply, 'It's hard to cross.' Being a part of nature, the Indian has no need to invoke its beauty. He takes a flower, looks at it and says, 'It's red.' At most he will take the flower and rub it against his body because he finds the red good – not the flower, only its pigmentation. Flowers, birds, waterfalls and he himself, being parts of nature, inhabit the same world. A small boy takes a bird in his hand and squeezes it hard. You say, 'Don't squeeze the bird – you'll kill it.' His elders will answer, 'But it's his!' – and that's all there is to it. The bird is the boy's – it belongs to him, and what he does to it isn't bad because he likes the bird he is holding and squeezing. All things – both animate and inanimate – belong to a different world: one which resists our comprehension and is viewed in a different manner.

The Indian is not only at one with his natural environment but perfectly integrated into his society. His behaviour is that of an essentially balanced person, free to dwell in a community where people can afford to live under no form of physical authority and no one has the right to command. Tribal unity is, as it were, an orchard in which every tree bears a different fruit. It is the same for the Indian himself: the link between the trees is the orchard; the link between him and his neighbours is the community – the tribe. He lives within the group as a totally independent human being. The importance a man possesses within his group is directly proportionate to the responsibility he bears it, and the more prominent a man the more responsibility he must bear. Power as we understand it does not exist in an Indian tribal community; it is diluted for the community's benefit. No one may profit from power or exploit it, just as no one has the desire to command. The tribal chieftain is a continuance of oral tradition and a direct link with the past, not a figure of authority. To our civilized way of thinking the word chief or chieftain carries undeniable connotations of power, but we must not confuse our notion of leadership with that of the Indian. Measured dignity, not power, is the main characteristic of a tribal chieftain – he who from childhood lives divorced from the frolics of youth. Apart from being a link with past history, the chief forms a link between the paje, or shaman, and the community. He himself need not be a

paje or maintain direct contact with supernatural reality; he must merely transmit that reality to the members of his community. To be a great chief is to be a great orator. A chief must know how to speak. He does not command, punish, lay down laws or issue orders of any kind. He must be magnanimous, understanding, able to give counsel – to advise but not command. In our terms, he must be an experienced statesman with a constant awareness of the subtle balance of human relationships. He preserves tribal harmony but is rarely called upon to mediate in any serious quarrel; to do so would create discontent among the spirits. It is not the chief who guarantees a state of peace among the people of his community, but the ever-enduring presence of the supernatural to whom inner strife would be infinitely displeasing.

Freedom without fear is the basis of this culture. A father converses with his son as if talking to an adult, in mutual respect and without sentimentality. A child need not fear recrimination on his parents' part; he knows that he will not be punished by either of them. A youngster may inadvertently set fire to his village – as actually happened a few years ago in the village of the Txicao – and the inhabitants will merely laugh! No one will go to the boy's father and say, 'For heaven's sake keep an eye on that child of yours – he just set fire to the village.' This would be unthinkable and could never happen. No one has the right to say anything because the child is not his, nor does he belong to his father; he belongs to the community as a whole. At most the villagers will joke, calling him Captain Firefly or Captain Matches or some other such nickname, teasing him but never under any circumstances reprimanding or punishing him. We were once sitting beside an Indian woman who was laboriously putting the finishing touches to some clay pots. Every time she completed a pot and got it ready to fire, her small child would take the finished article and hurl it to the ground. 'Stop making those pots,' we said. 'Wait for your child to go away. Every time you finish one she smashes it.' The woman's response: 'I can't stop because she wants to smash the pots, and I shall only stop when she goes.'

This would seem strangely reminiscent of Zen teachings....

Indigenous society finds its equilibrium in a sense of open collaboration. The Indian's is not a please-and-thank-you world. Everyone is completely free, completely at liberty to coexist in harmony. Here is a practical example of this:

An Indian returns from the forest dragging a heavy log. Another Indian passes but does not stop to say, 'Can I help?' Unless asked for assistance he will continue on his way; if asked, he will take one end of the log and help his neighbour tote it back to the village. Everything is done quite naturally, not as a favour.







IT is no secret that there is a close connection between art and the ruling class. In *Ways Of Seeing* – a series of television programmes and a book published in 1972 – John Berger drew attention to that connection. He wrote, for instance: 'The special relation between oil painting and property did play a certain role even in the development of landscape painting.'

The rich liked, and still like, having their portraits painted. The classical portrait of the landowning gentry in the 18th century would show them in fine clothes surveying their property. The 20th century equivalent might show the corporate boss in his (or rarely her) office.

While, in the past, painters were patronised by wealthy individuals – today painters are more frequently patronised by the state or commercial corporations. The corporation strives to improve its public image by subsidising art out of the profits it makes from its commercial activities. It may obtain its profits from banking (a polite term for usury) or from manufacturing processed foods – it doesn't matter what it makes or does, it can still give money to art.

But in supporting art, the modern corporation is not, of course, making an appeal to general public opinion. It may be a public relations' exercise, but the target audience is primarily that group which regards art as worthy and actually visits art galleries. On the whole, working class people do not visit art galleries. Art galleries are mainly visited by middle and upper middle class people.

It must therefore come as no surprise that the opening art exhibition at Britain's latest arts complex, the Barbican in London, should be sponsored by the American Express Company. It is quite fitting that an American corporation, whose activities literally permeate the globe in the form of credit card finance for the richest people in the world, should be responsible for making this French exhibition in a British art gallery possible.

The exhibition, by the way, is called *Aftermath*. It focuses on French art in the decade immediately after the second world war. But, really, its subject matter is as irrelevant to the purposes of this article as it must have been to the directors of American Express when they decided to hand over so many thousands of dollars to the Barbican administrators. Perhaps they argued long and hard whether the money would benefit their image more if it was to be spent on a tennis tournament rather than an art show. No doubt, the accountants recommended the final

choice. I leave it to the more knowledgeable pen of Arthur Moyse to inform you of the art objects themselves.

So here we have a brand new arts complex which cost £153 million to build, housing an art exhibition 'made possible by support from the American Express Company' – in the words of the official handout. The company which attempts to sell its wares through sexist advertisements whose grovelling flunkies repeatedly mouth the phrase, 'American Express – thank you, sir, that will do nicely' – is now a patron of the arts.

The contradiction between the world of credit, interest payments, usury, the counting house and the world of art and the artist is nowhere explored in the official handouts or the exhibition catalogue. Yet the one 'made possible' the other.

On page 54 of the catalogue appears this quote from Andre Fougeron, a French artist: 'Here are *The Judges*, three disabled miners, their flesh scorched and maimed, with arms wrenched off, collapsed vertebrae, missing eyes, a sorter with a mutilated hand, an emaciated orphan who often has to go hungry. These five accuse, relentlessly accuse those responsible for their pitiable state: State control, the ministers who pride themselves on producing coal 'at rock bottom prices', the so-called defenders of the working class who simultaneously proclaim themselves 'the loyal administrators of capitalism'.....Here is the place of the greatest desolation, of the highest courage, of the most immense hope....'

And all made possible by American Express.

The official handouts contain a brief message from the sponsor. It is headed: 'American Express And The Arts.' The text runs: 'Art is a universal language, reaching across borders and bringing people closer together. American Express believes the arts play an integral role in enhancing the quality of life for individuals, communities and nations and in 1980 initiated a cultural underwriting programme to make the arts more accessible to the public. As an international company, American Express supports quality visual and performing arts programmes which cross national boundaries and foster understanding among the different people of the world.'

The words are meaningless – 'universal language'; 'enhancing the quality of life for individuals'; 'more accessible to the public'; 'quality visual arts'; 'foster understanding'. Do American Express executives believe any of that? Do



they seriously expect anyone else to believe it?

The Barbican arts centre is suitably positioned in the City of London where the banks, insurance companies, multi-nationals have their offices. It is part of an ambitious development scheme – called the Barbican – which attempted to integrate offices, shops, museums and so on with high rise living accommodation.

The publicity says it has been a success. Nicely spoken people who live there are interviewed on television and they say they love it. A penthouse flat costs £125,000 – a bedsit costs £30,000. The council is selling the housing stock off. Plenty of the residents are willing to buy. They mostly work in the City – lawyers, accountants, executives, that sort of thing. They now have art on their doorsteps and no doubt they will form the backbone of clientele drawn into the new arts centre. They are the kind of people who possess American Express credit cards.

In keeping with the right security always in force in and around the Barbican development – saturation policing, large closed-off areas to the public, surveillance television cameras, alarms, the Barbican arts centre has an extremely large body of security personnel, all equipped with blue uniforms, radios and threatening manners. They patrol their small beats in the arts centre with considerable enthusiasm. They are truly worthy of American Express sponsorship..... 'We believe in security as a universal language.....'

In order to view the exhibition at the Barbican you will have to part with two crisp pound notes. Apparently there are no reductions available for the unemployed – and, anyway, why would an unemployed person want to visit an art gallery in the first place? The bulky catalogue for the exhibition costs another £5.50 – well within the price range of a plastic card carrying member of the American Express Company.

The words of Jean Debuffet, another French artist, are quoted in the catalogue. He wrote: 'Real art is always lurking where you don't expect it. Where nobody's thinking about it or mentions its name.' Those words have the ring of truth in them. The Barbican art gallery with its guards, its admission charges and its subsidies from the likes of American Express is virtually the last place on earth that you would expect to find art.

Finally, to return to John Berger's *Ways Of Seeing*. In that book he wrote: 'Publicity is the life of this culture – in so far as without publicity capitalism could not survive – and at the same time publicity is its dream.' If you march up to the pay-desk at the Barbican art gallery entrance and present your payment for admission in the form of a credit card, the beautiful, white woman sitting at the desk will smile at you and say: 'American Express – thank you, sir, that will do nicely.'

GRAHAM WADE

## Radical Priorities

**RADICAL PRIORITIES** Noam Chomsky, edited by C P Otero. Black Rose Books Ltd Montreal, FREEDOM Bookshop £6.50 + 60p p/p.

CHOMSKY's work has received very little publicity here and when we are looking for a modern development of anarchist thought, a development of the work of Malatesta, Kropotkin, Bakunin and Proudhon, we have in Chomsky a well argued case, appropriate to our modern circumstance. Chomsky continues the American radical tradition, and it is important that from within USA, whose hegemony is having an evil influence on many parts of the world, to have such a powerful critic of the American establishment. In fact the censorship imposed by the established US media on Chomsky's pronouncements testify to the effectiveness of his criticism.

Part 2 of this book was published by the editor Otero in Barcelona and in the editor's note he says in effect judge for yourself from Chomsky's writings his credentials as an Anarchist thinker.

On page 7 Otero says:-

'It is important, however, that the reader keep in mind that Chomsky's theory involves no less than four crucial choices: (1) A conception of human nature that sees creativity (rather than acquisitiveness) as the most fundamental human need (call this conception "libertarianism" to distinguish it from acquisitive "liberalism") (2) Socialism (vs capitalism) (3) Egalitarianism (vs elitism) (4) Self-management (vs any sort of atavism)....'

### Newspeak

Being a linguist Chomsky is very much concerned with the debasement of language that becomes instead of a means of communication a means of mystification and manipulation.

On page 59 talking about the national interest he says:-

'But the exercise is academic, even deceptive. Within the nation-state, the "national interest" will be articulated by those who control the central economic and political institutions. There is no reason to suppose that the "national interest", so articulated, will have any relation to such common interests as might be generally shared within a society.'

In the chapter in which the author introduces Chomsky's

social theories he points out that the elitism of liberalism is no less than the elitism of leninism.

### In defence of the Third World

Part one of the book covers a critical analysis of the whole of US involvement in third world countries and with all the crocodile tears being currently spilt over Poland the cynicism and hypocrisy of the west could not be more strongly expressed than in these articles. El Salvador has been widely publicised but the American supported invasion of Timor by Indonesia has been almost universally ignored. Noam Chomsky in an attempt to get the issue publicised made several statements to the General Assembly of UN, I quote a little:-

'At every crucial point, the US government, with the press trailing loyally in its wake, has denied or concealed the atrocities committed by its Indonesian ally and has taken the position that whatever minor improper actions may have occurred in the past, it is now a matter of history and no useful purpose is served by questioning Indonesian control of East Timor.'

### USA: Myth, reality, acracry.

Part 2 of the Book is a detailed examination of the American establishment, its rhetoric and palsied democracy and the last chapter is of an interview on British television. In reply to a question he said:-

'Representative democracy, as say, in the United States or Great Britain, would be criticised by, an anarchist of this school on two grounds. First of all because there is a monopoly of power centralised in the State, and secondly – and critically – because representative democracy is limited to the political sphere and in no serious way encroaches on the economic sphere. Anarchists of this tradition have always held that democratic control of one's productive life is at the core of any serious human liberation, or, for that matter, of any significant democratic practise. That is, as long as individuals are compelled to rent themselves in the market to those who are willing to hire them, as long as their role in production is simply that of ancillary tools, then there are striking elements of coercion and oppression that make talk of democracy very limited, if even meaningful.'

Alan Albon



# 'The Handbook of Non-Sexist Writing'

Casey Miller and Kate Swift. The Women's Press pb. 118pp  
£3.25

THE fact that our language is, in itself, sexist is being increasingly recognised. This is even without taking note of the attitudes of the people using it. This difference can be illustrated. In English it is assumed that 'he' can mean either a male person or an unspecified person. So, traditionally, 'chairman' meant the person who chaired a meeting. That is language. Now, it means a man who chairs a meeting. A woman is a 'chairperson', that is attitudes.

Casey Miller and Kate Swift have taken particular interest in this aspect of English for some time. They analysed it in a previous book (*Words and Women* Penguin). Now, they have produced this *Handbook*, as a practical guide. As the cover notes 'many people fail to recognise sexism in language or — when they do — feel at a loss as to how to correct it, falling down the first personhole they stumble across. Accordingly, the book takes examples, mostly from the press, and, importantly, suggests alternatives. The authors are American, for this edition Stephanie Dowrick has revised and Britishised it.

The book is divided into a number of sections, summarizing its scope. These are 'Man as a false generic', pronouns, generalizations, seeing women as people, parallel treatment and double standards and, finally, a wrap up covering things like 'feminine' suffixes, —ess, —ette etc. which always seem to be diminutives. It is subtitled 'for writers, editors and speakers', which covers just about everyone, and I agree, anyone could benefit. The book's chief advantage is its presentation of the alternatives. It seems so obvious when it's pointed out. Then you could go to the earlier

# sexism of language

book, *Words and Women*, for an extension of the analysis.

Just a couple of points, to show off my erudition: One of the main areas attacked here is the use of 'man' as a generic, to mean 'human', and 'he' to mean 'someone'. Of course, English isn't as bad in this respect as some languages. In those everything has its gender/sex and the two get confused. It would be counted as a victory to degender English. A less ambitious target, is to remove the discrimination, whereby a woman's marital status, and hence availability and property value is known by her title Miss/Mrs. Well Farsi (Persian), an Indo-European language with the same basic structure, has no gender, not even separate pronouns for he and she. And all adult women are called Khanom, married or not. The position of women in Iranian society is not enviable.

And, closer to home, lapses in FREEDOM are due to pressures of production. We mean well, but haven't time to totally rewrite. That sounds suitably smug.

DP

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