

Our Own Worst Enemies

THE human species, to which so many of our readers belong, has managed during the million or so years of its existence to eliminate all the threats to its biological survival, except one. We have learnt to tame or hunt all the large species which are bigger and stronger than us, because we are more brainy and handy than them. We have learnt to control and even to destroy almost all the microscopic organisms which make us ill, because we have invented science and medicine. We know how to use heat and cold, wind and water, and all the forces and elements of nature, to give us food and drink, shelter and clothing, energy and leisure, because we have invented technology and culture.

But we have one big problem — us. The only species we haven't learnt to control is our own, and the only disease we haven't learnt to cure is precisely that urge to control which has made us masters of everything except ourselves. Our greatest strength has become our greatest weakness. Our most significant evolutionary advantage may become our most serious evolutionary disadvantage. The human species, in destroying all its rivals, is likely

to destroy itself. However the symptoms of this disease appear — as intolerance or persecution or violence, as church or nation or state — we are almost powerless to treat them because to do so we must treat ourselves. And this summer we are a veritable epidemic of the human disease.

It is true that the absurd war in the South Atlantic seems to be over, at least for a time. Unlike most wars, it has caused fewer deaths than the population it was supposed to be about. Like most wars, however, it has raised more problems than it was fought to solve. As well as reminding us — if we needed reminding — that Britain has a strong militarist tradition, provided that the militarism can be safely released a long way off, it has reminded us — again if we needed reminding — that violence begets violence. In this sense the war has scarcely begun.

The official lesson of war for the Falklands or the Malvinas is that aggression does not pay. But the real lesson is that aggression — and retaliation — does not pay if the attacker is weaker than the attacked. Argentine aggression was effective against the Indian natives in the nineteenth century, because they were weaker than the Spanish and Italian and British immigrants, and against the left-wing militants

in the twentieth century, because they were weaker than the military regime; but it was ineffective against the British settlers in the offshore islands, because what was once the greatest imperialist power of all is still prepared to send an armada half-way round the world if the risks don't seem too large.

Of course this lesson applies to Britain as well. We needn't expect to see British armadas sent to rescue the Greek Cypriots from the Turkish invasion of 1974 or to return the Diego Garcians to an island which is now an American base, or indeed to protect the inhabitants of Gibraltar or Hong Kong if the Spanish or Chinese decide to copy the Argentines. After all, what happened to our kith and kin in Kenya and Rhodesia? Blood may be thicker than water, but money is thickest of all. The Argentines might have realised this, if they hadn't owed so much money, and could have won the islands if they had played the game.

Now the Argentines face a choice between a national humiliation or a new attack on their working class at home or on their Chilean enemy abroad. And other Latin American regimes will be reconsidering their claims against various former British colonies — Guatemala against Belize, Venezuela against Guyana and Trinidad — and their relationships with each other and with the United States and Europe. Meanwhile Britain has upset its relationships not only with Latin America but also with its European and even its American allies. But, despite these minor imperialist problems and the major economic problems of inflation and unemployment, Britain is still a relatively wealthy and peaceful country.

Elsewhere the symptoms of the epidemic are far more severe. In Eastern Europe the nationalist resistance to Russian imperialism in Poland and Rumania may explode at any time, and in a place which is the traditional detonator of world wars. In South-East Asia the nationalist rivalries which have already caused millions of deaths in war and revolution are still causing millions more from starvation and neglect, and the same is true in East Africa. But the worst site of the human disease is



Harvest 1982

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is there no cure?

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the first, in the Middle East — around the Gulf, where large-scale civilisation originally appeared thousands of years ago on the basis of tyranny and conquest by Sumerians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians and so on to Iraq and Iran; and around Palestine, where the earliest civilisations fought backwards and forwards through the Old Testament, and where Armageddon was prophesied as the site of the final battle between the forces of good and evil.

It is true that the war between Iraq and Iran seems to be over, also for a time. But this is only because the two sides have temporarily fought each other to a standstill. Both countries are still suffering

from profound ideological and political and economic and diplomatic difficulties, and there will be more upheavals in that part of the Muslim world even if the war is not revived. Nor are Afghanistan or Pakistan or Turkey, all with their own difficulties, far away.

At the moment, however, the focus of attention lies further west, where there are more varieties of nationalism than there are countries to go round. In Palestine the Jews and the Arabs have been struggling for half a century, and the Western — and especially American — support for the state of Israel has not only defeated the Arabs but driven them out of their own country. They concentrated in Jordan, but were driven out of there in 1970. They concentrated in Lebanon, but are being driven out of there as well. Israel, at the same time the oldest and newest of nat-

ions, seems determined to destroy the power of the Palestinians for ever, forgetting the lesson of Jewish history itself; that a nation can survive destruction and revive after two thousand years. The only word to describe the actions of the Israeli state against the Arab people of Palestine is genocide, and the only prognosis at this moment is terminal.

Meanwhile Lebanon, traditionally a country where all races and religions co-exist, is being destroyed in the nationalistic rivalry between Jews and Christians and Muslims of all varieties. The other Arab countries, and the great powers who pay and arm both sides, seem to be helpless. Armageddon is one of the biblical names for the mountains of northern Israel. Is this the destination of the latest journey? Is there no cure for our collective disease? Does the human species deserve to survive?

Bomb charges in Wales

DURING the past two years 13 bombs have been planted at political targets in England and Wales. Until April this year no one had been charged with any offences relating to these bombs.

A previously unheard of group called the Workers Army of the Welsh Republic has claimed responsibility for the last six bombs. Two of these were fire bombs found at two South Wales targets during the visit of Prince Charles and Lady Di last October: at the army recruiting centre at Pontypridd and at the Wales HQ of BSC in Cardiff.

At the beginning of Jan 1982, explosive devices damaged windows at the Severn-Trent Water Authority offices in Birmingham, and at the NCB pensions and investment offices off Fleet Street in London. During that weekend another explosive device was defused at the Stratford-upon-Avon offices of property group International Designers and Constructors, of which Dennis Thatcher is a well known consultant and lobbyist for second home schemes in Wales. The most recent fire bomb exploded at Welsh Office Agricultural dept offices in Cardiff during the first weekend of March.

Towards the end of April and throughout May police questioned and released at least 13 people, and charged a further five with offences under the Explosive Substances Act 1882. All those questioned and/or charged deny involvement in the bombing campaign but admit to membership of Plaid Cymru Youth Movement and/or the Welsh Socialist Republican Movement.

Those charged under the Explosive Substances Act 1883 are: David Burns, Nicholas Hodges, Jenny Smith, Adrian Stone and Gareth Westacott.

Maximum sentences on convictions are 14 years for possession of explosives and 20 years for causing explosions.

The police have obtained signed statements from two of the five prisoners.

Other evidence listed by the police includes a soldering iron, pliers, wire, a circuit board (a free gift from an electrical magazine), batteries, a circuit tester, pestle and mortar, a pencil torch minus bulb, a torch bulb, cotton wool, a reel of black insulation tape, and small lengths of blue, brown and black insulation tape. These are all household items which can be found in various combinations in many homes, as can sodium chlorate (weed killer) and hexamine (fire lighters).

It seems likely that the DPP may initiate proceedings for conspiracy charges against the prisoners in addition to the current serious charges.

A Welsh Political Prisoners Defense Committee has been set up. WPPDC is committed to a campaign

- for the charges to be dropped
- to publicise police methods of investigation despite press fears of court actions for contempt, and the current media obsession with the Falklands, the papal visit and the Royal baby.
- to co-ordinate a strong legal defense with lawyers experienced in 'national security' type trials.
- to support the prisoners and their families by providing for their welfare in and out of gaol.
- to keep the trial in Wales.
- to oppose jury vetting.

WPPDC — 175 Mackintosh Place, Roath, Cardiff.

THE SECRETARY
Cardiff

PS:

Dafydd Ladd is languishing in Cardiff Prison. He is charged with possessing detonators.

He appeared in the magistrates court on 10th June on his own. He appeared again on the 11th with the other five.

NORWICH ANARCHIST JAILED

ON the 9/10th of June, Rod Earle, a member of the Ketts Press Printing Collective (Norwich's radical free press) and a part of Freewheel, was imprisoned for 3 months on the charge of Incitement to cause criminal damage (by fire).

June 1st 1981 Rod assisted in printing a Fanzine called Final Straw. He compiled a page (enclosed) and duly printed the whole magazine. He was arrested two days after the magazine was put on the streets.

After a year the case was brought to trial—before Judge McCowan at Norwich Crown Court in the 9th June. All during the trial the prosecution continually interrogated Rod on the nature of his political

beliefs, ie was he an anarchist (all anarchists throw bombs) and the question 'intention' was hardly mentioned. His defence was that the college represented Institutionalised violence (ie the Pentagon and arms industry) breeding violence within society. His barrister, who due to the myth of Legal Aid, was changed the day before the trial, put up a pathetic defence.

Letters of support to (remember they are censored)

Roderic Earle
LO66 77
HM Prison
Knox Rd
Norwich

Prison labour causes job losses

IT goes without saying that prison labour is exploited more than most. Although the purpose of work in prison is—like all your 're-education' inside—supposed to be part of your rehabilitation to make an honest citizen of you, there is little in the choice of work available that it likely to engender that sense of the dignity of labour that will turn you out poor but honest.

In the first place you don't get a choice. You are allotted a slot in the workforce which the prison itself needs to keep itself going—for ironically the work necessary to keep those prison doors open and in business—or, rather, closed and in business—is all done by the prisoners themselves.

If you are lucky you get a 'good' in the cookhouse or the garden party (no, tosh, not the Buckingham Palace sort of Garden Party—the gardening party, out in the open air for the working hours—and if you are literate you might get another nice one in the library. All these give you a certain amount of power over your fellow prisoners inasmuch as you could come into control of goodies that count as currency in the nick's economy, based on barter.

Most prisons have their own laundry, where the prisoners' shoddy clothing and bed linen is washed. It may have a 'tailors' shop', where those shoddy goods are made in the first place. It is considered not too bad to get on the squad that keeps the prison clean (apart from your own cell, of course, which is your own responsibility) because you stay behind in your wing of the prison when others go to the workshops and, although you have to get down on your knees and swab the floors, you are not stood over all the time by a screw.

Worst job of all, for most, is in the mailbag shop. Here, rows of sullen inmates sit, sewing, either by hand or machine, mailbag after mailbag, and usually in 'complete' silence, for 'No Talking' is the order barked out by the thug in charge.

The mailbag shop is the one you usually start on, so that you can 'learn' how to sew mailbags—for that is also the job you

are expected to do in the cell, after working hours, for the first few weeks after you are invited to be Her Majesty's Guest, and before you are allowed the great privilege of 'Association'—when you are let out of your cell in the evening to join others watching the telly, or playing ping pong, or planning the BIG JOB you are going to do when you get out. The one that's going to set you up for life.

Among all this rehabilitation through honest work and meaningful leisure, about the only thing that bears a relationship with work outside is the mailbag, the making of which in prison must go back almost to the introduction of the Penny Post itself, although other simple and similarly boring jobs that nobody wanted to do outside have been taken on by the prison authorities. The unwinding of armatures, to salvage the copper wire, for example. Even the *winding* of armatures, by God, for electrical motors used within the Prison Service itself.

But, by and large, prison labour has traditionally had one purpose: to prevent the Devil making work for idle hands. pass the time. To forestall boredom by providing activity which is not beyond the average low mentality of the average petty crook: the vast majority of our prison population. Some of you libertarian readers may bridle at this assessment—but the smart crooks don't get caught nearly as often as the dumb ones, do they?

And why do the prisoners go on, year after year, doing all the work to keep their own prison going? Without all the maintenance work done by the prisoners, the prison system could not last a week—for it is a very precise microcosm of society as a whole, where, without the active co-operation of the workers, the capitalist system could not last a week.

To a large extent, the system outside and the system within, while similar, have kept themselves apart, but nowadays the prison population is so large—a regular figure of over 40,000, all the time, coming and going amounting to hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens. You just

don't know who you're sitting next to on the bus, do you?

The present demands of monetarism, however, seem to mean that the frontiers may be broken down. The State at least, can recognise its union of interests on both sides of the prison wall. If the Tory Government has to accept nationalisation as a fact of life, at the very least it can try to buy labour in some areas as cheaply as possible.

The miners may, for example, not be ready to see a return to pre-war conditions for themselves, but they may turn a blind eye to the exploitation of fellow-workers who have fallen foul of the laws of property, as distinct from those of trade union organisation.

Hence we now see the Coal Board doing a deal with a crumby outfit called 'Prindus'—a newspeak abbreviation for Prison Industries—which is now going into the marketplace and in good old monetarist terms is in competition with companies which have to pay trade union rates to their employees.

A little firm in Skelmersdale, Lancashire, has for the last two years held a £100,000 per annum contract with the Coal Board to make and supply the 'flip-flops' used by miners in the showers, after work.

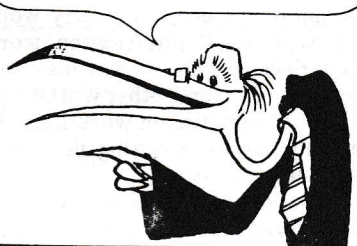
Last week it was leaked that the contract had been 'won' by Prindus, who have undercut the Skelmersdale firm, Evalux Footwear, which had a high proportion of young workers on its payroll who would otherwise have no jobs in the area. Loss of the Coal Board contract will mean the closure of Evalux.

The National Union of Footwear and Allied Trades have been alerted to the situation and express concern that prison industries can move into the commercial market in this way. Their President says: 'They are very heavily subsidised in order to give the prisoners something to do. And they don't pay wages. We would want them to compete on fair and equal terms.'

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WILPCAT

I increase individual opportunities wherever I can. Abolish corporal punishment. Bring down fares. Stop the war. Ban the bomb. And so forth.



I'm not interested in piecemeal reform. Alleviations of government only disguise its true nature and postpone the revolution.



Verbal anarchist!!



WEEKEND OF WORKSHOPS

Beyond the Bullshit

10.00 am Saturday morning. An open plenary session was held in order to work out the timetable for a number of suggested workshops and followed by local reports from groups around the country, something FREEDOM I'm sure would like more of. What follows is a sketchy report of the proceedings, one person cannot cover all the ground and weekend. So if I've missed or misreported write and correct me. The main business of the conference took place in the various workshops, but also video's including the angry brigade, persons unknown and voice of labour were shown throughout the weekend and a badgemaker was available on Saturday to make yer actual badges.

The workshops included:

Work or Shirk?

Anarcho-Syndicalism: the level of discussion was described as minimal by one participant. Generally the discussion recognised the industrial dimension of struggle and the traditional logic which adopts a syndicalist approach. There was no real disagreement and the apparently conflicting view, that of workers councils was not taken up. There was therefore no discussion of the modern situation in the light of the restructuring of capital and how that might affect the classical syndicalist approach.

There was discussion of individual anarchist group involvement (considering their isolation from industrial workers) in industrial struggles including the production of printed material and posters in terms of support.

It was thought that this workshop and the one on the Right to Shirk would have provided more illuminating sparks of conflict and debate if the two had met together after their original discussion.

The Right to Shirk: itself the only workshop to have someone to have prepared a discussion paper. The debate itself revolved around the definition of terms (semantics, a recurring problem which seemed to absorb much energy throughout the weekend) and the amount of compromise to be made with the 'world of work'. It was understood that these problems appeared differently to ordinary people than to anarchists.

Statist Politics

Fascism and Bolshevism: both of these threats were discussed early on in the workshop and the major part of the time was spent discussing the encroachment of the corporate state on the individual and the role of anarchists in the broader struggles where they are likely to be submerged.

Living

The Squatting Revival: firstly, a discussion on local squatting which was mainly centred on London and a projected squatting group being set up in Hull. A discussion followed on the history of squatting and the mistakes made in the past, including methods of control eg: co-ops and council licensing, short term housing. Practical details were also exchanged and those taking part thought it a generally useful workshop.

Fraud & Expropriation: a mainly routine exchange of techniques eg: methods of shoplifting, stealing electricity etc. If you have any ideas Box F at Black Flag would be interested to hear from you.

Anti Militarism: nothing, no one turned up for this one.

Sexism & Pornography: A well attended workshop discussed the problems of 'hard core' pronography and the subtleties of the pornography of advertising.

Protesting

Civil Disturbances: the discussion was theoretical, abstract and general there was even some discussion of the semantics of the terms of the title. This took place after the notorious Saturday afternoon 'action on the town' a picket of various embassies which resulted in 6 people being lifted (but immediately released) and a few leaflets being distributed outside Spanish, Irish and French embassies protesting at the imprisonment of anarchists. The police were bemused and at times so was I.

This workshop turned into a brief exchange between those who were on the picket and those who remained behind, on the value of their criticism and types of action.

Solidarity

The Oxford St 48: After the arrests on the CND march the discussion centred around what can now be done to help those arrested. A list of witnesses is to be got together before the next court case on Wednesday. Publicity was to be encouraged, but a problem arose as to how to approach the case, whether to make emphasis of the anarchist element or to play it down in order to help get them off. It was decided that the 48 themselves should decide what way they wanted to play it; but no common strategy could be worked out in the absence of being able to get the 48 together or indeed, even being able to get in touch with them.

Autonomy

Autonomous Movements in Italy: one of the more interesting workshops, due

HELD this weekend at the Centro Iberico, a number of cavernous rooms in a half ruined school building in the Harrow Road. Groups and individuals from Scotland, England and Wales represented the majority of the approx 150 people there.

mainly to the presence of an Italian Comrade, with great experience of the Autonomy Mvt both in Italy and in Switzerland. She introduced the ideas of the Italian autonomy mvt to many who perhaps had not heard them articulated before, from the development of the broad opposition movement out of Potere Operaio and the Hot Autumn of 1969 to the repression following on from the success of 1977 in an attempt (possibly successful) to crush it. And in contrast the autonomy mvt in Switzerland centred around the appeal for a social centre which became ritualised confrontation and lost its impetus with the colonisation of the centre by heroin dealers and its eventual loss. There was however, little discussion throughout, and disappointingly no discussion of how this has relevance to this country for an autonomous movement here. The passive nature of this workshop led to someone being able to give a talk on the anarchists in Denmark and the commune in Christiania for some time in this totally inappropriate situation, without being challenged.

Anarchist Feminism

Women's Meeting: A workshop with concrete proposals! An Anarchist-feminist newsletter is to be published in 6 weeks time followed by an anarchist-feminist conference in Hastings. There were reported to have been no disagreements.

Self-help

Tape Exchange: A small meeting, but very successful. A network to exchange tapes is to create a new way of communicating other than by printing. But tape copying facilities were required in order to help make sufficient tapes for a widespread distribution.

Direct Action: A workshop on types of direct action was held.

The Final Session was perhaps one of the most productive of the weekend. There was discussion of the structure of debates and the advantages of small meetings which are less inhibiting and help to get to know the participants better over large plenary sessions which tend to be dominated by a few personalities.

Post Mortems?

The overlap of discussion in many workshops, eg: a proposed 'Intervention' workshop materialised while it was discussed fragmentarily in several other workshops.

The lack of direction in workshops, ie, no prepared papers, resulting in general and 'banal' levels of debate.

The focus of the topics ie, that they should be more functional like the Squatt-

ing and Tape Exchange meetings, which were praised as some of the more successful workshops. Although this retreat into small practical groups was criticised itself as a tendency in anarchists to refuse to deal with broader political problems, 'the refusal to think' being an anti-intellectualism in which the anarchists become like dinosaurs unable to adapt or properly criticise changing politics and movements which may supercede them.

The criticism of the little common ground created in the debates merely indicates the level of activity outside the conference reflected in the conference itself. The anarchist movement is both fragmented and arises from several different backgrounds (from Syndicalist to Situationist), to overcome this internal alienation there must be more contact both at local and national level more frequently; contact is an important element of the conference at this level.

Lastly, there was also criticism of long post mortems.

DE

PS Thanks must go to the 121 Anarchist Centre Collective for organising this event, providing the entertainment on both Friday & Saturday evenings and the energy over the whole weekend.

GLASTONBURY FESTIVAL

IN spite of torrential rain on the Friday, large numbers of people turned up at the Glastonbury Festival. The organisers reckoned about 60,000.

FREEDOM had a stall and sold a large amount of literature. There was a good interest in anarchist ideas at this most anarchic of festivals. There were many anarchists there and some from small groups, glad to make contact.

Much more could be made of these festivals and there is scope for a stall that can be made up and kept for such occasions if people who are interested would contact the office. We could have a centre at every festival where the committed and the uncommitted could meet in these fertile grounds for the spreading of anarchist thought.

There is another festival on the same site with more positive anarchist connotations on 25th July-1st August. What about it? Have fun and spread the word.

ALAN ALBON

*Have you noticed how
FREEDOM reports activity
-if there is any and you tell
us about it?*

IN BRIEF

TAFF Ladd, who jumped bail just before the opening of the 'Persons Unknown' trial in 1979, has given himself up. Four others were acquitted at the trial, amidst jury vetting scandals and harangues by the judge. In the circumstances, the DPP announced that he would not pursue the charges against Taff (ie he didn't want to look even more of an idiot). However, Taff remained in hiding. At a hearing on June 7th, the prosecution offered no evidence, so a verdict of not guilty was recorded. No charges were brought concerning the bail jumping. Taff was then arrested outside the court by Anti-Terrorist squad detectives and taken to Cardiff, where he was charged with possession of 14 detonators.

ALL the accused in the 'Bradford 12' trial have been acquitted. They had been charged with making an explosive substance with intent to endanger life or property. Two were charged with conspiracy to make explosive substances. All pleaded not guilty. The case arose out of street disturbances in Bradford on July 11th last year. Days later, 38 petrol bombs were found hidden in undergrowth. The accused did not deny making them. They said that they had been made to defend the non-

PEACEFUL PETROL BOMBING

ON the night of June 2nd, the date of the Pope's visit. An army recruiting office was petrol bombed. A group calling itself the 'peace-force' claimed responsibility. The local media called the group the 'Peace movement'.

The attempted sabotage was carried out to publicise the links between the Pope's visit and the Falklands war as diversions from the struggle of daily life. And to demonstrate the futility of peace groups campaigning through Parliament.

CND instantly issued a statement slugging the attack as the work of those seeking to discredit the Peace Movement. Following the co-operation of a leading CND bureaucrat, on Friday, Roland Cleaver was arrested for possession in his vehicle of a petrol can, matches and toilet paper.

Threatened with the Explosive substances Act and adjournment to Crown Court Roland opted for a summary trial for criminal damage and pleaded guilty. Amused by references in his statement to a scab political elite: Foot, Benn etc, the bench gave him a conditional discharge and a £20 compensation order.

TOMOS

white community against racial attacks. Attacks by members of the British Movement and National Front were expected. In the court many people accused the police of not protecting against racist attacks. In return, the police claimed ignorance. Such attacks apparently do not occur. Police in other parts of the country have also shown similar ignorance.

Authorities are reported to be worried by the verdicts. The Home Office and the Law Officers Department are expected to examine transcripts of the trial. The implications are that, by legal precedent, petrol bombs are not 'explosive devices' and that producing them for self defence is not unlawful. Police spokespeople have refused to discuss the implications.

THE Police Federation of West Yorkshire has threatened to sue the Police Committee for damages if any members are injured in a riot, because the Committee has rejected the use of plastic bullets. Replying to an argument that innocent people could be hurt by the bullets, Constable Rod Thomas, Secretary of the Federation, said, 'in a riot, there are no innocent people. You are a rioter or you are not there.'

A Home Office research paper, just published, supports the theory that some dramatic 'crime waves' are illusions. They are caused by the public reporting more incidents to the police. For instance, the Home Office's Statistical Bulletin says that estimates of the total number of burglaries and thefts in England and Wales remained roughly constant at around half a million a year throughout the 1970's. However, the number recorded by the police in the official crime figures rose by more than 25% over the same period, from 239,000 to 307,000.

THE Association of Chief Police Officers has been having its annual meeting. This is the first since last year's riots and the Scarman Report. Figures were given for riot preparations. Britain's police now have 20,000 riot helmets, 8,000 shields & 6,000 flameproof overalls. They also have 5,000 plastic bullets and 1,000 CS gas projectiles. There are two water cannon vehicles, borrowed from a German force. A British model is under evaluation. Orders for 15 vehicles are expected to be placed soon. The Chief Officers generally reported that they were concerned about the moves towards 'conflict policing'. However they are confident about their abilities to cope.

A bank cashier in Denizli, Turkey, faces up to a year in prison for allegedly failing to stand straight during the National Anthem.

MILKMAN Sidney Sutton, has been arrested for drunken driving of his milkfloat when he called to collect money from a customer, a policeman.

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTER

TAIL END
BULLSHIT

Dear Comrades,
'Brique Leflic' and 'Benvenuto Baldelli' (FREEDOM 12.6.82), among others, illustrate beautifully what happens when anarchists tail end protest movements. When they inevitably find it is leading nowhere they suddenly find they are lost, particularly if the captive audiences provided by the priests and professors are not obeying the empty calls to 'direct action'. It has been a constant complaint of anarchists that the politics of protest are bankrupt — but still they go on the marches and the demos until in frustration they end up by accident or design, in sterile confrontations. Onlookers ask pointedly — 'is this what you mean by direct action?' If sitting on the grass in the sunshine can be criticised as just 'doing something', then exactly how much more effective is getting your head kicked in by the SPG — 10%, 50%?

The only serious practical threat to the state's war preparations comes from the

prosecution of the class war. That means taking the bosses and their minions on in struggles over homes money and day to day survival; the only things that matter to the great majority of us. NO MINORITY can do that on behalf of the rest. It will only happen when things get intolerable, materially or otherwise, and that can't be predicted.

All we can do as a minority is to argue our case, show the connections, spread the word, use our imagination, struggle for ourselves and raise our consciousness together. The rest is bullshit, anarchists playing at 'leaders' under a false banner of 'direct action', telling the 'apathetic masses' what they 'ought' to be doing — in other words doing exactly the same as all the other politicians: no wonder no one listens. This sort of 'anarchism' is just protest with knobs on, entertainment for Scotland Yard, mild amusement for the passing throng who bother to stop and look.

Cheers,

M B

Darlington

SMARTEN UP!

Dear Friends,

A suggestion for Brique Leflic for anarchist demos:-

'Kleider machen Leute' for the policeman: if you dress scruffily and your hair is unkempt and you look as if you have just taken a dose of LSD, then the policeman will tend at the slightest provocation to treat you physically as society treats you psychologically. But if you appear a nice, upstanding bourgeois, then, chances are, the policeman will accord you the respect which society deems you deserve.

So what if all the anarchists taking part in the demo turned up in smart suits looking to all intents and purposes like stereotype business men and women. Also, instead of yelling and bawling they could keep quiet, letting their banners and leaflets do all the talking for them.

Perhaps too, the demo could be staged not in London but in some city in which the police are not quite so on the ball. What do you think?

ANNA QUAY

CRITICAL

Dear Comrades,

I am astonished and worried about the recent tendency to think that to criticise is somehow a culpable act: the responses to my Greenham letter veered towards a condemnation of my actual criticism, not my views, and then Dave Thompson comes up with Amazing Sentence of the Year: 'I would never criticise FREEDOM.' Everyone has an absolute right and often, a duty, to criticise whoever or whatever s/he pleases whenever and however s/he pleases.

Yours and mine,
CLIFF M POXON

A DREAM OF
FIVE ACRES

Dear Everyone,
I am writing in response to Pat Riot's (the best one I've ever read in FREEDOM), in issue No 11.

For years I have been dreaming of what it would really be like to live in anarchy. I had planned to go to Agricultural College and then work on a farm to save up enough money to buy about five acres of land, where me, my girlfriend, and the other surviving members of Oral Abortions could live in self-sufficiency.

My deadline for this plan was the year 2000 (if we all survive till then), but if we all work together then a large anarchist commune could be set up in the relative near future.

There must be thousands of us interested and if each one of us who wished to live in the commune gave up all his/her money etc to buy an area of land (remember all property is theft), and those who felt that they could not participate (physically) gave donations, a small Utopia would start to emerge out of the depths of hell.

Like Pat said the most important that we as anarchists should do is live in anarchy.

Anyway seeing as Pat didn't give any address, anyone interested can write to us, Oral Abortions (the address is on the contact page). It doesn't matter if only a dozen of us get something going as long as something concrete is achieved.

Oh and don't worry Pat you're not the youngest reader of FREEDOM. We Abortions are mere babes in arms.

love and anarchy,

IAN KOGEL

THE EGO AND
HIS SPOOK

Dear Comrades,

I see from a May issue of FREEDOM that the spook of Max Stirner has shed its wooden stake and has arisen once again at some German crossroad. ie, Rebel Press is republishing his 'The Ego and His Own'.

Since it is wellknown that elements of the Curia and the See of Canterbury furiously peruse your columns so that they can know their enemy I thought the following quotations might arouse, annoy, even enrage if not quite amuse some:

'Sacred things exist only for the egoist who does not acknowledge himself, the involuntary egoist, for him who is always looking after his own and yet does not count himself as the highest being, who serves only himself and at the same time always thinks he is serving a higher being, who knows nothing higher than himself and yet is infatuated about something higher; in short, for the egoist who would like not to be an egoist, and abases himself only for the sake of "being exalted", and

PRISON LABOUR

Continued from page 3

To which the Home Office replies: 'When Prindus tenders for contracts it does so at the going market rate. They do not undercut firms. There is no way that prisoners are being used as cheap labour. We sell their products at a reasonable rate.'

To which, questions immediately leap to mind. Such as, if Prindus did not undercut, how have they won the contract, when the Coal Board says 'We award contracts to the lowest tender that meets our requirements...it's commercial common sense'.

And, while Prindus says it sells at the going rate, would it like to make public what wages it is paying (even if it's paying into a prisoner's account to be taken out later) to each prisoner involved in this 'commercial' work?

Some commercial work has been done by prisoners for years—but it was usually work unwanted outside. Nowadays when any work is welcome to stave off unemployment, it is totally unacceptable that the State should do business within its own departments—and using slave labour to do it.

The Home Office; the Coal Board and the Prison Service are all State organisations. We do not expect the Home Office or the Prison Service to have any social conscience—but how do the miners feel about their neighbours—or maybe their own—young workers being thrown out to work by the exploitation of prisoners?

How do they feel about anyone being exploited as slave labour?

Arbeit macht frei—eh?

JUSTIN

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTER

therefore of gratifying his egoism....how-ever much he shakes and disciplines him-self, in the end he does all for his own sake, and the disreputable egoism will not come off him. On this account I call him the involuntary egoist." pp 36-7.

The shallow analysis here is that Stirner is implying that the Archbishop and John Paul are both religious hypocrites, and all those following in the same path, too. Not so. John Calvin made the same point and concluded that as our sinful egoism sticks to us like a skin then we are all doomed to Hell unless Wotsisname intervenes and performs some creative vandalism on certain laws of nature thereby drawing us into the Land of Raquel Welch and Other Honies.

Stirner argues with extreme plausibility, 'His toil and care to get away from himself is nothing but the misunderstood impulse to self-dissolution.' *ibid*. By that he means exactly, I believe, what Godwin means when he speaks of our capacity of self-perfectibility. We can improve ourselves, unlike the rest of creation, and this implies that we are not permanently satisfied with ourselves the way we may happen to be. 'But that you are the one who is higher than you, that is, that you are not only creature, but likewise your creator....you fail to recognise...therefore... 'higher essence' is to you an alien essence.' *ibid*. Enter all the gods and priests hard on the heels of this universal error, fighting and shouting as they compete to don the cope and mitre of Alien Essence!!! And three cheers for Occam's Razor, as well!!
Fraternally,
T M ARTINGSTOLL

CORRECTION 1

Dear FREEDOM,

Kay (29 May) is possibly right to suggest that anarchists should improve their language, but is certainly wrong to say that the use of subordinate and coordinate conjunctions either is an especial feature of Latin or was brought into our language by the Romans.

The use of subordinate and coordinate clauses introduced by conjunctions is a universal feature of all the Indo-European languages, and its appearance in English has Teutonic rather than Romance origins. The Latin language used in Britain after the Roman conquest of the first century

disappeared after the Germanic invasion of the fifth century, being replaced by Anglo-Saxon or Old English, the universal language of medieval England and the basis of all later forms of English.

This language was almost entirely Germanic, taking nothing from Latin except a few religious words, but it had a very complex grammar and structure. The important changes came with the imposition of French after the Norman conquest of the eleventh century, the result being the development of Middle English with its combination of a simplified Germanic grammar and a mainly French vocabulary, together with the simplified structure which has helped to make English the most popular world language.

Kay suggests that anarchists should use aphorisms and diagrams rather than the linear essay. I suggest that we should use whichever style best expresses our meaning. This may indeed be aphorism or diagram, or it may be slogan or song or story or play or poem or picture or swearword or slang, or it may still be the traditional structure of the linear essay. The only thing it mustn't be is rigid or exclusive.

It is surely significant that both Kay's letter and this one are written in linear form, with facts and theories following an orderly sequence. Anarchy may be more than skin deep, but it needs its skin all the same.

N W

CORRECTION 2

Dear FREEDOM,

I'm sorry that this comment is a month or so late, but mailing time to N America is several weeks.

I wish to respond to Harold Barclay's letter in FREEDOM, 4-4-82 concerning the Anarchos Institute, which just had its founding conference the weekend of June 5-6. Barclay's comments were ill informed and distorting; as such, they are a classic example of an idiocy so common among anarchists that it keeps many intelligent people from adopting libertarian politics. The Anarchos institute was formed to do the extremely valuable work of facilitating the development of anarchist history and theory in North America. It is starting a newsletter, holding regular conferences,

The editors reserve the right to cut letters unless you say 'All or nothing!'. (In which case it might be nothing!).

and forming an archives to be kept in Montreal on the model of the Institute for Social History in Amsterdam and other such archival collections in Europe. Until now, none of these things have been done regularly on this continent, and doubtless these new developments will further the libertarian movement in N A just as similar institutes have in Europe.

The intent of the institute is not to 'organize' intellectuals, but rather to facilitate anarchist theory and historical work by allowing people working on such projects to make constant contact and give each other sources, advice, comments and other help. To this effect, the first conference was extremely successful.

Accordingly, it is a ridiculous lie to suggest that Dimitri Roussopoulos is 'an advocate of that old Leninist elitist notion of the intellectual vanguard.' The Institute was not founded to be an explicitly anarchist, political group, especially one which would 'lead such people as farmers, carpenters, ditch diggers and other ordinary mortals.' Though the vast majority of Anarchos members are also actively involved in anarchist politics, Anarchos itself was not intended to directly facilitate such activism, but rather to provide a forum to debate tactical issues, present theory critique and network among people working on literary and historical projects. Anarchos is not meant to explicitly exclude anyone (except certain patent idiots), nor was it meant exclusively for 'academics'. Rather it is open to those people working on projects such as the above whose desires it will help fulfill. It was not meant to replace or 'lead' other more explicitly activist groups, but rather to supplement such organizations.

There was another unnecessary distortion in Barclay's letter. North America was not 'ethnocentrically defined as the US and Canada', and in fact, there was discussion of holding one of the future conferences in Mexico.

Finally, I would like to make a critical comment to the editors of FREEDOM. Ruthless critique of elitism and vanguard tactics among 'anarchists' is always welcome, but editorial policy ought to carefully consider the publication of overt lies and character assassination.

Until Our Desires Become Reality,
JOHN ELY

Middletown, CT, USA

OXFORD ST. 48 DEFENCE CAMPAIGN

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

BELFAST

Anarchist Collective, Just Books, 7 Winetavern St, Belfast 1.

BEDFORDSHIRE

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

BRIGHTON

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

BRISTOL

L. Bedminster, 119 Grenville Rd, Bristol 3.
B x 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 1, J 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, 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.

CLEVELAND

25 Liverton Crescent, Thornby, Cleveland.
Also produces Common Cause, local anarchist paper.

COVENTRY

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

CRAWLEY

Crawley Anarchists
Ray Cowper,
Bluebell Close,
Crawley S11-873

CUMBRIA

2 Forestry Cottages, Millfield, Hutton Roof, Penrith, Cumbria.

DERBY

Black Ram c/o Forum Books
86 Abbey Street,
Derby
Tel: 368039

DUBLIN

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

EAST ANGLIA

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

ESSEX

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

EXETER

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

GLASGOW YOUNG ANARCHISTS

CHISTS,
c/o Box 1984,
PRACTICAL ANARCHY (monthly free broadsheet, send large sae)
c/o Box 3,
RENDEZVOUS group
c/o Box 68; produces councillor leaflets.
CALDERWOOD 15/GPP pamphlets
c/o Box V2
All at Glasgow Bookshop Collective, 488 Gt Western Rd, G12. (Kelvinbridge subway).

HASTINGS

Anarchists, 18a Markwick Terrace, Saint Leonards-on-Sea, East Sussex.

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

DAM + Federation of Leeds Anarchists:

Box R U
59 Cookridge St
Leeds 2

LEICESTER

Blackthorn Books
70 High Street
Leicester

Libertarian Education 6 Beaconsfield Rd, (tel 552085).

The Anarchist Society,
Societies' Room,
Student's Union Building,
University of Leicester,
University Road,
Leics. LE1 7RH

LONDON

Anarchy Magazine
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84b Whitechapel High St
London 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 Ralinton Rd, Herne Hill, SE24
West London Anarchists contact
John Sanders, 4 Naylor House,
Mozart Estate, W10.

MALVERN

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

MANCHESTER

'Wildcat' or 'Solidarity' at: Box
25, 164/166 Corn Exchange,
Hanging Ditch, M4 3BN.

MERSEYSIDE

Box LAG,
21 Gothic Street,
Rock Ferry Birkenhead,
Merseyside.

MORECAMBE & LANCASTER

North Lancs. Libertarians'
c/o Cliff M Poxon,
13 Carleton St,
Morecambe, Lancs. LA4 4NX

NORWICH

Norwich and district Anarchist
and Anarchopacifist collective,
c/o Box 6,
FREEWHEEL,
52-54 King Street,
Tel: Norwich 21209 for FREE-
WHEEL or 616117 for Dave.

NOTTINGHAM

Jackie Veevers
7 Irene Terrace,
Basford,
Individuals Anonymous 12p SAE,
above address.

OLDHAM

Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Rd, Failsworth.

ORPINGTON

AN @ group is starting in Orpington to help balance the nice new police station they're getting.
Contact Rik Fuller, 60 Ramsden Rd, Orpington Kent.

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.

SWANSEA

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

SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP & BRIGHTON ANARCHIST GROUP

c/o Students Union, Falmer House, Brighton, East Sussex.

SUSSEX ANARCHIST SOCIETY

c/o Hastings Anarchist Group,
SWINDON
area, Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon.

TAYSIDE

Anarchist Group, 3L 188 Strathmartine Rd, Dundee.

WAKEFIELD

Anarchist and Peace Group, c/o E Fazackerley, 36 Bowan St, Agbrigg, Wakefield, West Yorkshire.

DESIRES

Anyone interested in anarchism in the Lancs area contact
Jim Price 44 Station Rd
Barton Nr Ormskirk
Lancs L39 7JN

Anyone interested in forming a North West Anarchist Federation please contact,

DAM
164/166 Corn Exchange Building, Hanging Ditch, Man 4.

'Are there any anarchists, anarcho-pacifists, libertarians, etc, in the Derby area? If so contact the Derby @'s at the address below as we are trying to set up the group again'

Black Ram c/o
Forum Books,
86 Abbey Street,
Derby

Anyone who wants to take part in egoistic, atheistic, anarchistic, nihilistic libertarian, egotistic group activities in and around the Widnes area (18 miles from Liverpool) contact Anna Quay at 23, Egypt Street, Widnes WA8 7AT. Communists, feminists and other Christians need not apply.

'Lunatic Fringe' banner, rescued on 6th June, can be found at

Pietals,
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RAPE facts and phantasies



Elena Samperi Madonna

IT'S no longer possible to doubt that 'phantasy' violence encourages violence in reality. Study after study shows that exposure to television violence significantly increases the aggressive violence of kids in play and real life. (According to the most recent US study, the percentage of programmes showing acts of violence has remained about the same since 1967, but the amount of violence in each programme has increased.)

The same goes for violence—especially sexual violence to women—in 'adult' television and movie 'entertainments'. A recent Canadian study using male and female college students showed a marked increase in male (but not female) approval of sexual violence after exposure to films of men violating women. Asked to evaluate statements like 'Many women have an unconscious wish to be raped' on a scale from 'strongly disagree', the men in two experimental groups showed a clear difference in attitudes. 'Those who had viewed the two films in which women are beaten and abused showed

a significantly greater level of agreement with the statements on the questionnaire.'

(It may be significant in this context to record the observations in April of British film-maker John Green, just back from a filming assignment in Central America: 'I was horrified', he writes, 'to see that almost without exception, the films being shown in the cinemas were of violence and pornography. In countries such as these, where most working people are illiterate or semi-illiterate, these films have a special immediacy. On top of this, they are often made in the US, a country seen as the epitome of success and therefore worthy of emulation.' Journalists on the British aircraft carrier *Invincible* en route to the Falklands report a similar 'recreation' fare for the troops on board.)

However, while it's true that a diet of 'phantasy' rape and sexual violence in television programmes, films, books, porn magazines etc. may significantly increase the incidence of male sexual aggression against women, the roots of the

problem clearly lie deeper. Such phenomena are, at best, *symptoms* of the problem.

In attempting to dig deeper, it's tempting simply to blame the whole system of sexist roles and divisions which condition men in our society to regard women as inferior objects for sexual use and abuse, rather than as equal human beings. But this merely shifts rather than answers the question: *Why* do men regard and treat women in this way? To blame existing male sexist institutions for men's (and women's) free collaboration in them, puts the cart before the horse. True, there's no doubt that the existing system of blaming and punishing the female victim of male sexual aggression, like porn and television violence, *encourages* and reinforces acts of violation. (In a rape case just the other day, a 21 year old man sentenced to 4 years jail for rape was cleared because the jury was not given details of his alleged victim's sex life, as though this was in any way relevant to the question of criminal violation.) But social institutions and customs can only express, not create, the basic features of human nature.

Once we begin to inquire into the sexual nature of men and women, however, we enter a world of ignorance, phantasy and ideology, where hard facts are scarce and dogma rife. Rather than facts, we have the 'phantasies' that members of both sexes have about each. Freud for example believed without evidence or argument that many women 'unconsciously' want to be raped, despite the fact that rape victims and women generally vehemently deny this. The fact that this pernicious, unfounded dogma remains so widespread and persistent suggests a deep-rooted male phantasy. If so, the real question is not 'What does the phantasy in question tell us about the sexual nature of women?', but rather: 'What does it tell us about the sexual nature of men?'

Of course, not all men believe that women 'want' to be raped, just as not all men are rapists. But thinking is psychologically equivalent to doing; all too many men do believe this and want to believe it.

A recently published book of interviews with convicted rapists *Why Men Rape** provides further raw material for reflection on the sorts of sexual phantasies entertained by men

about women. Not surprisingly, it tells us more about the men involved and less about women. In each of the ten case studies, there is evidence of a definite relationship between sexual repression in the rapist's boyhood, and his later attitudes and practices towards women. But *why* experiences of repression should produce *these* phantasies, why repression should result in rape, is less clear.

Consider Carl: 'I had trouble with a sex drive but I think I brought that on by the activity of my brain, not the other way around. I don't think sex drive drives a guy to have his mind on sex all the time. I think that because you're on sex all the time, because you're feeling so rotten about yourself, that's why you're doing that and that's where you feel comfortable: dominating in your fantasies.' Why repressed men should want to dominate women in phantasy or reality, however, is the question. Do sexually repressed women have and act out the same phantasies? If not, what does this tell us about the differences between the sexes?

If nothing else, *Why Men Rape* demonstrates that the male rapist's phantasies and actions are not biologically determined ('I couldn't help it'), but freely produced and practiced. The basic puzzle thus remains. The interviews with two rape victims included in the book, read in conjunction with the ten case studies, suggest that the answer is as simple as it is profound: Men given to sexual violence are deeply *afraid* of the sexuality of women. We try to dominate, destroy or humiliate what we fear. That women rarely commit acts of sexual violence towards men suggests that they don't have the same fear of men. At bottom it seems that what sexually violent men are afraid of is their own (repressed) sexuality. This is born out by studies of widespread male hostility and violence to male homosexuals.

If what I've just said is true, it means that the *first*, essential step towards the abolition of the system of male sexist domination of which rape and other sexual violence are symptoms, is the overcoming of the dis-eased sexuality of men. This is the root cause of and connection between repressed sexuality, phantasy and male violence.

JULIE SOUTHWOOD

RNTW

Review of *We want to Riot Not to Work: The 1981 Brixton Uprisings*. Published by the RNTW Collective c/o FREEDOM Bookshop.

IT is unusual to see a well-produced anarchist 'answer' to the boring gushes of words that pour forth from any number of self-appointed 'experts' after any event that merits comment. Unfortunately the author/s of this booklet seem to fall into the trap which they themselves blame others for falling into. They say that they're not interested in making 'detailed analysis' but in the second two thirds of the booklet they descend to the lowest depths of inscrutable academic speak. I wonder what it feels like to have 'latent and embryonic aspects of ourselves shaped by this recomposition of social relations'? I sounds decidedly painful to take part in 'events of such qualitative rupture'.

Of course, there's the possibility that I am just thick and my inability to grasp such concepts as qualitative ruptures indicates my lesser intelligence and vocabulary. But if we as anarchists can't say what we want to say in clear, simple and interesting language then we might as well all go to university to do degrees in 12th Century Albanian Literature with Eskimo Studies and write our profound, penetrating and utterly obscure analysis from the comfort of Academic Land. That we are anarchists is not enough. The institutions that we are trying to destroy have mass popular support: the business of proselytising cannot be left to the Hyde Park speakers and the tiny number of publications that are writ-

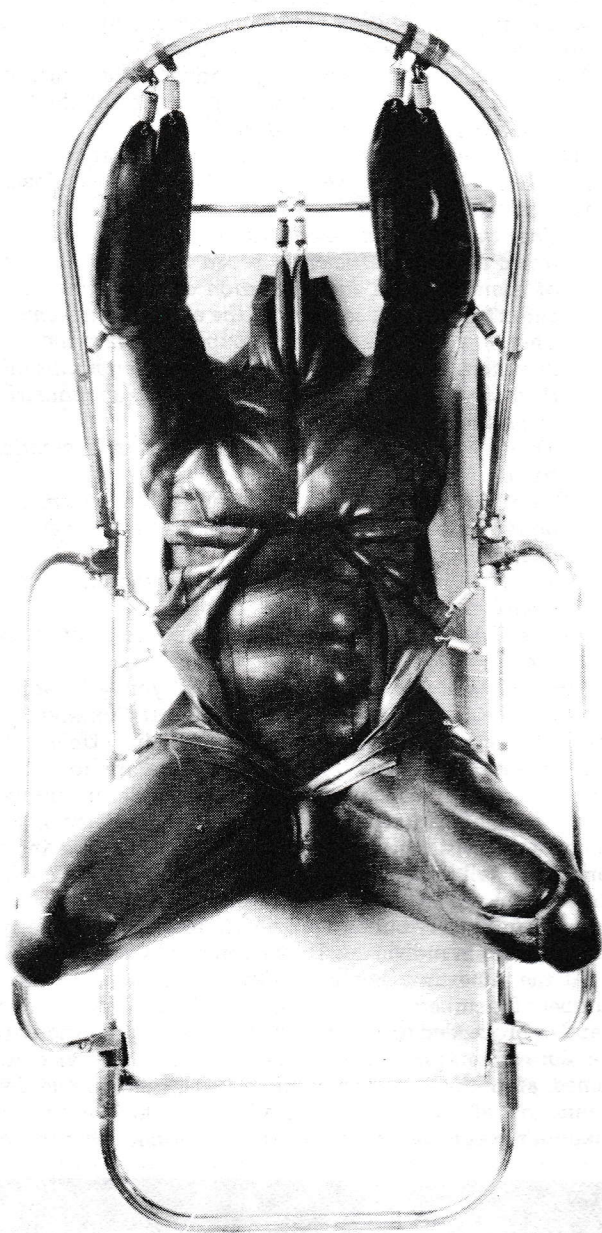


ten in good old plain and simple English.

The booklet does, however, have its good points. The personal recollections of those involved in the riots were fascinating. I also like the way that the negative points about the riots are not conveniently ignored. The rape incident is there and so are a couple of instances of racism by blacks. It's a great shame that the author/s feel it necessary to ramble on with dull analysis that could be simplified and cut to half the length. The cover, which is the 'We want to riot not to work' London Workers' Group leaflet, says it all: it says: 'Not only did people refuse their everyday boredom, hardship and repression, but they also had a fucking good time!' By the time you get to page 39 the language has degenerated into 'it enabled us to break through the usual roles and half-rotted ideologies, and, for a brief but ecstatic moment, to transform social relations.' No doubt the second quotation is more profound, penetrating and all that, but I know which quotation I'd rather read.

NOTT JOHN

Sexism and Dogmatism in the women's movement



Mandy Havers

Review of Susan Hemmings (ed) *Girls are Powerful*. Sheba Feminist Publishers, 1982. 162pp. £3.75

THE publication of this collection of articles from *Spare Rib* and *Shocking Pink*, a young women's magazine, usefully draws together a symptomatic range of 'Feminist' reflections on growing up and living in a man's world by more than thirty 'young women of seven to 22, with one or two [unexplained] exceptions'. Symptomatic: what do these accounts of school, family, work and love-life from young people of all backgrounds tell us about the state of intellectual, political and moral health of the Women's Movement of which the contri-

butors are part? Basically, I'm afraid, they tell us that Feminists remain on average as dogmatic, sexist and anti-libertarian as ever.

In saying this, I'm not suggesting that the pieces on everything from the hell of acne and racism to the joys of lesbian love and being an electrical engineer aren't valuable and informative; on the contrary. Nor am I suggesting that all the contributions are equally symptomatic. Taken as a whole, however, they are, I believe, an accurate reflection of these dominant attitudes in contemporary Feminism.

Consider the critique by Sally and Ilona of 'Ageism' (sic) in the Women's Movement. They complain of 'the control older women have over our lives. Edited by older women, all pieces have had to be approved by both the *Spare Rib* and the *Sheba* collectives, neither of which contain young women.' (157) 'How come women who've suffered from ageism become ageist themselves?' (155). Nowhere in these or any other reflections on sexist oppression in the book do we see any recognition of the simple fact that the liberation of women of all ages is inseparable from the project of liberating all human beings from every kind of oppression. Even Sally and Ilona, the most searching critics of the Women's Movement, uncritically collaborate in its dominant ideology and practice of limiting the subject and object of human liberation from oppression to—women.

Zionists apologists for double-standard tolerance of authoritarian practices by the Jewish State or people often accuse single standard libertarian critics of 'anti-semitism', thereby avoiding the factual and logical cogency or validity of the criticisms in question. Normal Feminists likewise tend to accuse critics of double standard, anti-libertarian, sexist practices in the Women's Movement of being 'sexist'. At bottom, these exercises in Orwellian apologetics are logically identical. It's not surprising therefore to find Ruth's account of 'A day in (her) life' in a repressively orthodox Jewish family in Manchester (58-61), being denounced as 'unconsciously (sic) anti-semitic' by unnamed London Jewish Feminist Group members, in a special loose-leafed insert. Even more revealing of the anti-libertarian state of 'health' of contemporary Feminism are the de facto craven endorsements of this absurd charge of 'anti-semitism' in the leaflet by the *Spare Rib* and *Sheba* Collectives. In our time, labelling substitutes for argument. No doubt there are almost as many distinct 'memoirs of a Jewish girlhood' as there are women with memories. (Mine for example, or Sue Wilson's 'Additional Article' in the leaflet-insert.) Does it follow from this that we practice dogmatic intolerance and attempt to discredit as 'anti-semitic' (or 'sexist') any point of view just because it's different, or because we don't like it. For me, the idea that my point of view is either 'anti-semitic' or 'sexist' (rather than single-standard libertarian) is demonstrably false. Be this as it may, the point is that I am prepared to argue my case, not resort to dogmatic assertion and intolerant labelling—the sure sign that one is in the presence of an anti-libertarian ideologue.

I wouldn't like the reader to conclude from my review that I regard *Girls are Powerful* as lacking in value. We can learn from all of these testimonies, many of them cries straight from the heart—if we can free our minds and diagnose (literally 'see-through') ideology when we see it. As a symptom of the 'world' of Feminism our daughters and sons, brothers and sisters are growing up in, this book is invaluable.

RUTH FREUND

A SHORT HISTORY OF RECENT SYDNEY

THE FAA SPLIT – JUNE 1976

THE Second FAA conference was organized by Melbourne groups and provided another turning point for organized Anarchism in Australia. This conference, held in June 1976, precipitated in a split between the 'Carnival Anarchists' and the 'Serious Anarchists'.

'On Sunday the 13th of June, 35 people, from Sydney, Melbourne, Canberra and Adelaide, met with the expressed desire to establish a libertarian/syndicalist organisation. Out of this meeting was formed the Libertarian Socialist Federation (LSF).

The formation of this organisation was in response to the inability of the FAA to seriously consider, let alone adopt, an orientation towards the working class and organisation. This was particularly shown at the National Anarchist Conference held on the 12th to 14th of June in Melbourne. The tone of the whole conference was set when, upon arrival at the opening session, people were confronted with spray-painted slogans on the outside walls of the conference venue, the Unitarian Hall (eg smash greedy doctors, Anerkist Conference, Here & There, All non-intellectuals welcome. etc). This provocative act was done by a group of Sydney 'Chaoticists', who continued in the same vein through the proceedings.

Session after session was marred by high-pitched screaming, playing of musical instruments, drinking and continuous acrimonious opposition to the unruly behaviour and disorganisation. In addition, personal threats were made and anyone who tried to bring some order to the conference was abused and denounced as authoritarian and some comrades were accused of being social fascists. There was a general suspicion of any form of organisation from this minority group.

Those people who were arguing for the Anarchist movement to become involved in trade union and industrial work were accused of neglecting other forms of struggle. Wherever this position was advanced the people doing so were denounced for idolizing the working class, ignoring its conservatism, 'laying heavy moral views', and pressurising others to become factory workers. In fact our position was based on an analysis of the existing economic system and the immense actual and potential power of the forces of 'labour'. We were arguing that no fundamental social change was possible without trade union work and the development of rank and file autonomous labour movements leading to the people's self-management of the economy and society. This does not mean that we deny the influence of conservative values amongst working people, on the contrary, it is precisely because of these conservative values that we argue for a working class orientation since it is by being involved in the labour movement that anarchists can best help to combat these tendencies.

These disputes finally came to a head on the Sunday afternoon when most of the workers present and some students left the conference and held a successful orderly meeting at a comrade's house. Here the failings of the conference were discussed, reports were given on the situation of anarchist groups in each state and an attempt was made to analyse the faults of the FAA. The comrades present decided there was no consensus between themselves and the others at the conference; that the FAA was far too broad, incorporating people with conflicting ideologies (individualism, carnival anarchism, syndicalism and so on); and that opposition to the state is not a sufficient basis for a united anarchist movement. Given the above factors, we believe that serious work is either made difficult or impossible...

....We ask that other anarchists seriously evaluate the history of the FAA and the criticisms that we have briefly outlined. While the LSF itself is separate from the FAA, individuals and affiliated groups are quite free, if they so desire, to also remain in the FAA. As well, we are quite prepared to hold discussions with FAA members who are not in the LSF and to engage in commonly agreed upon work on certain specific objectives.'^{*10}

The walkout on the second day motivated the remaining people to reaffirm the all-embracing principles of the FAA and to issue the 'Third Day Manifesto':

'That the meeting on the 3rd day of the National conference of the FAA agreed by consensus to the following propositions:

**That the aims and objectives of the FAA were reaffirmed as being sufficiently broad to include all forms of anarchism and any restriction of these aims would cut off important sections of the anarchist movement.*

**The aims of the anarchist groups only have meaning in action. The important thing is whether groups take their ideas into action, whether this is on an industrial, community or personal basis.*

**That all anarchists will work together on a practical basis.*

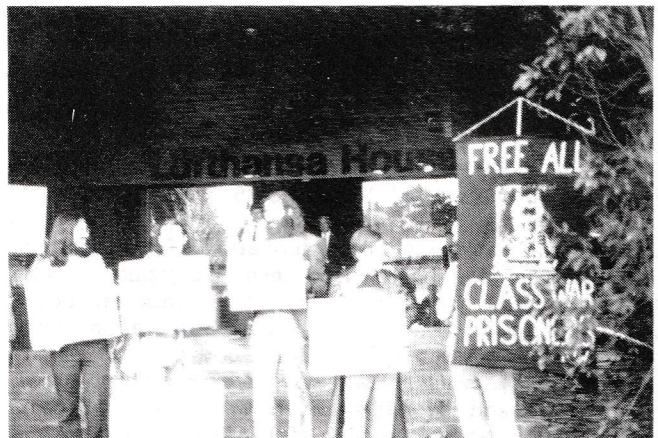
**That it is implicit in the concept of anarchism that political liberation must be accompanied by personal liberation.*

**The FAA actively supports anarcho-syndicalist movements and activities.*

**The FAA believes in the interaction of practice and theory.'*^{*11}

The split was most effected in the Sydney Anarchist Group. A week after the National Anarchist Conference, a Political Economy conference was held at Sydney University. The Sydney 'chaoticists' proceeded to attempt to disrupt this conference through any method available, including a political denunciation of the conference circulated in the name of the visiting guest speakers and authorised in the name of a well-known Melbourne anarchist (and academic). This action alienated not only known anarchists and sympathisers in Sydney but also provided a bitterness and hatred between certain individuals for a number of years.

At the same time as the Political Economy conference a number of members of the LSF from Melbourne and Sydney met and proceeded to set up, and plan as a long term activity, the Jura Literature Service. The Literature Service was named after the anarchist workers federation in the Jura Mountains of France/Switzerland, active at the time of Bakunin's expulsion from the First International last century.



Brenda Earl Demo 1981

ART II AND AUSTRALIAN ANARCHISM

A STATE RUNDOWN - JANUARY 1977

The FAA lingered on for one last FAA Bulletin and one last conference—the Brisbane Anarchist Jamboree held in January 1977. Over the two previous years a second anarchist group had formed in Brisbane centred around the Learning Exchange/Friends of the Earth. The LSF in January 1977 had as affiliates the entire Adelaide Anarchist Group, a number of groups in Melbourne including the entire La Trobe Group, and a small group in Sydney. The western Australian SMG, because it had not been able to have personal contact with the other groups, was wondering what the hell was going on. The Brisbane SMG had enough foresight to stay away from the Melbourne conference and had certain internal problems.

At the FAA Anarchist Jamboree, approximately 50 people were in attendance from the Brisbane Anarchist Group, Sydney Anarchists (the 'Chaoticists'), and Monash Anarchists and an assortment of individuals from the three eastern states. The activities of FAA affiliates was summarised in the FAAB:

'BRISBANE: Over the last six months there has been an upsurge of interest in anarchism. As well there has been greater interworking between the 'non-aligned' anarchists and the SMG. The divisions in the SMG were discussed and it was noted that very few members of SMG representing SMG as such attended. Their lack of attendance was attributed to the fact that the conference was not closed. The Red and Black Bookshop and the Learning Exchange were also mentioned.

SYDNEY: It was noted that the Sydney Anarchists had not been very active. Most activities are now based on interpersonal relationships rather than any obvious framework. One specific interest area was squatting as many anarchists are currently involved in the squatting movement.

MELBOURNE: The participants from Melbourne were largely, but not totally, based at Monash University. Comrades from the Melbourne LSF were conspicuous by their absence. Personal and political antagonisms between people attending the jamboree and the members of the LSF were mentioned. The Melbourne movement was seen to have a very strong university base rather than a community base.'^{*12}

The Libertarian Socialist Federation survived slightly longer than the FAA but after a couple of delegates meetings met a similar quiet death during 1977. The Melbourne LSF during 1977 consisted of two groups—the La Trobe Anarchists active in the Jura Literature Service; and the Libertarian Socialist Collective, a discussion group which grew out of a Free newspaper published in late 1976.

JURA LITERATURE SERVICE

From its humble beginnings in June 1976 the Jura Literature Service continued to expand. It was essentially a federation of three groups in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide around the activity of importing, distributing and selling overseas anarchist texts. Its initial capital was raised by donations, the three groups specialising in different overseas publishers, then trading stock with one another.

The Sydney branch of the service saw itself as a group which was anarchosindicalist in orientation and whose long term aim was the distribution of a wide range of previously unavailable anarchist and related literature. Its selling outlets consisted of stalls on the three university campuses and at the Domain (Sydney's Speakers Corner). Another activity started was a campaign for Mayday on May 1st. Two multi-

coloured posters were produced as well as a one-issue Mayday newspaper. But the public meeting called to discuss an ongoing campaign was poorly attended and the campaign was ceased.

During 1977 a number of new people had joined this Sydney group with the result that in August 1977 rented premises were found and Jura Books was established. This event occurred relatively suddenly, essentially at the instigation of one of the new members, an ex-trotskyist recently expelled from the Healyite Party—the Socialist Labour League. This person, while providing much of the impetus for founding the bookshop, after a few months and many arguments, left the group. His attempt at splitting the organisation was unsuccessful and only one person left with him to pursue further their peculiar 'anarcho-trotskyist' ideas. For the first year of operation the bookshop had much difficulty in raising and paying the rent and bills; this difficulty continuing to menace the shop.

The other groups of the Jura Literature Service have not been so successful. The Adelaide affiliate could not sustain a large enough turnover in stock in Adelaide and lacked the people in employment to finance expansion of stocks. They have since all but ceased their operations. In Melbourne the Jura Literature Service is centered around the La Trobe Anarchists, and once again lack of financial backing, with the main selling point for their stock being at one campus bookstall. This group continues to maintain their existence.



925 Logo — Anarchist street poetry magazine

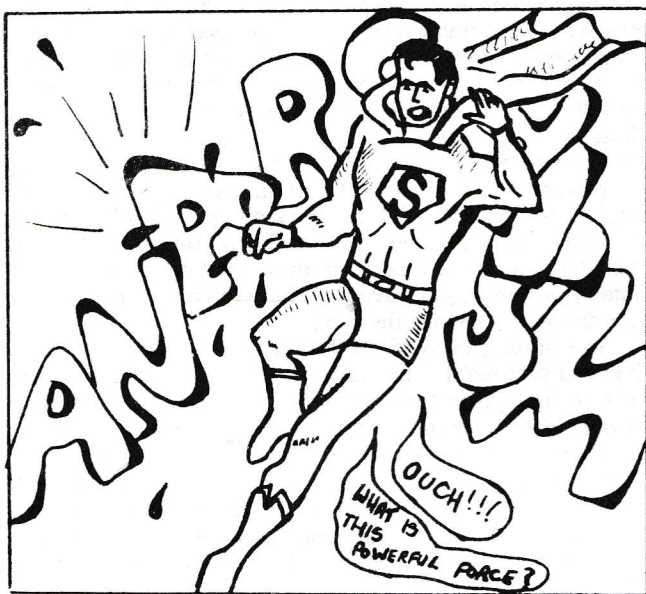
THE OTHER SIDE TO SYDNEY

Meanwhile, the 'Carnival' Anarchists in Sydney, with no anarchist conferences to disrupt and have a good time at, settled down to do paint-ups, some local prisoner defence work, and occasional 'situationist' style actions. The most well known of these actions was the printing and distribution of Bob Dylan concert tickets for free under the name of the Sydney Sewer Rats.^{*13}

At least two issues of a squatting broadsheet by the name of 'The Plague' were published, as well as a one issue magazine/digest covering a variety of Australian and international

anarchist struggles/events and an extensive article on psychiatric control.

Very little communication occurred between Jura Books and the 'Carnival' Anarchists, mainly as a response to the split in 1976. As a formal group the 'carnival' anarchists around the Darlinghurst squats have steadily disintegrated in their activity since about 1979. In that year a number of people departed overseas, and late in the previous year the 'individualist' anarchist, Ken Hauptman, met a drug induced death. He had been one of the most active of Sydney's anarchists since 1974.



Superman cartoon (1980) from the pages of, 'Everything'.

A STATE RUNDOWN – 1981

One major endeavour which deserved mention was the Libertarian Socialist Alliance for Self-Managed Energy Systems. This was undertaken during 1978/1979 by six anarchist groups in four states. It included the Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society, Libertarian Socialist Collective, and Monash Anarchist Society from Melbourne; Libertarian Socialist Organization from Brisbane; Sydney Anarcho-Syndicalists; and Adelaide Anarchists. A number of delegate meetings were held and a cohesive statement on uranium mining and nuclear power was issued. The Alliance also had a badge and two posters produced.

Possibly the greatest hindrance to interstate cooperation between groups has been the enormous travelling distances involved for meetings. This isolation has tended to solidify certain group ideologies in different cities making communication and cooperation that much more difficult. Another important factor is the level of state repression. Both Queensland and Western Australia have repressive conservative governments and their police forces on a number of occasions have attempted to frame the local anarchists. In response, the groups in these states, most particularly Queensland, have adopted a high security consciousness in their organisations.

Currently in Brisbane the Red and Black Bookshop is still functioning although in September 1981 they were forced to move premises after a substantial rent increase. The SMG during 1977 broke up into two organisations over essentially internal organisation and allegations of cliques in the group.^{*14} Combined with this split into the Libertarian Socialist Organisation (LSO) and the Self-Management Organisation (SMO) a few people joined the International Socialists, a Trot group.

Activity in Brisbane continues, especially in regard to publishing. Over the last few years pamphlets have been

published on the Anarchist Case Against Terrorism, Uranium – the prospects for Oppression, and a reprint of Nicolas Walter's 'About Anarchism'. Since June 1980 5 issues of the Brisbane Anarchist Newsletter have been published, on an occasional basis.

Melbourne has always seemed to have a number of separate groupings – the main ones today being: The Jura Literature Service centred around La Trobe University Anarchists; Monash University Anarchists; a new group at Melbourne University; and the Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society (LWFASMS). This last group over the last 20 months operated a small anarchist bookshop – Chummy Flemming Bookshop – which has recently closed. LWFASMS have organised a number of successful public meetings and currently publishes a newsletter. Two further groups are the Treason magazine group (7 issues); and the 925 street and work poetry magazine started in November 1978 and still going strong.

There is presently little or no activity in Tasmania, South Australia, and the Northern Territory. In Western Australia the Perth Freedom Collective has been active since 1977 and has consolidated its foundation. Their publication, News from Nowhere, is an excellent newsletter and has maintained its regularity. A libertarian resource centre/shop has been open since 1979.

During 1979 one of the people associated with anarchists in Perth received a mail bomb, and by quick action avoided being injured. The police during their investigations seemed intent on proving the bomb was an anarchist conspiracy. A number of raids were made and people interrogated, with questions on who was involved with the anarchists – no major charges were ever laid.^{*15}

The Freedom Collective in mid 1981 initiated a proposal for another federation of anarchist groups, and for better communication between groups. Essentially the Freedom Collective felt isolated (especially in regard to possible police persecution) from the other Australian groups. The proposal has met with hesitant support, at least in Sydney, as recollections of the failures of the FAA in 1975/76 are still strong.

In Sydney, as well as Jura Books, other groups consist of: a discussion group at Sydney University; a group at Macquarie University which has been active since 1976; an anarcho-feminist group; an IWW Sydney Group; a publishing collective called Monty Miller Press; some people who publish, by photocopying, an anarchist 'punk' magazine. The Carnival Anarchists around the Darlinghurst Squats have had internal fights and have all but disappeared.

JURA BOOKS – A FOUNDATION

Jura Books was opened in August 1977, as a result of the activities of the Jura Literature Service since June 1976. At the moment it opened it consisted of little more than half a dozen people. The name of the group – Sydney Anarcho-Syndicalists – had been chosen two or three weeks before the bookshop was started.

Within the next two years the Sydney Anarcho-Syndicalists was to be quietly dissolved and replaced by the Jura Books Collective. Essentially this action was the result of the realization that we were working as an activity based anarchist collective, not as an agitational group with a specific ideology. This realization necessitated the collective examining the function of the shop, the basic principles which brought us together, and our aims and objectives.

Over the last two years we have met and painstakingly are working out a statement by consensus on our basic principles, aims and objectives, agreed conditions for membership, and a written guide on the jobs done by collective members. From the start, an essential aim was to run the bookshop as an act of propaganda of the deed – as an anti-profit enterprise. This was facilitated by: relying solely on voluntary labour; donations and pledges to cover rent; spending all takings on stock replacement and expansion;

operating with a minimal mark-up which generally allows us to sell well below the recommended retail price.

We have gradually become the largest distributor in Australia of English language anarchist publications, and in the last 18 months we have expanded into stocking a range of Spanish, Italian, and Greek anarchist books and magazines. A large range of mainly Australian political posters for sale has also been built up.

Because the shop is run by a collective, there are difficulties of course. Decisions on stocks and maintenance of the building are made at weekly meetings, most decisions being made by consensus. Tasks are delegated to members to do or to be investigated and reported back for a final decision. The high degree of organisation necessary in keeping accurate accounts, budgeting, ordering, and staffing the bookshop means that members of the collective cannot at the same time be too active in other groups, especially if a member also has a full time job as well.

The bookshop has spawned a number of endeavours including an anarcho-feminist group which has published 4 issues of an occasional newspaper, 'Everything', since March 1979. The other major offshoot has been an anarchist publishing collective—Monty Miller Press. The first two pamphlets have been published this year—Marxism and a Free Society, by Marcus Graham, and The Methods of Anarcho-Syndicalism, by Rudolf Rocker. A radio collective at one stage looked like forming but lacked a sufficient number of non-overcommitted people to get off the ground. All of these groups have been totally autonomous and have no organisational links other than overlapping membership with

the bookshop.

Two other organisations share the building with Jura Books: the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) Sydney Group, which has a small office; and the Fanya Baron Library. The Library was named in memory of a young Russian anarchist murdered by the Bolsheviks. It was started during the Sydney Anarchist Conference in January 1975.

After four years in operation, Jura Books is a foundation, not as secure as we would like, but a progression on what has gone before in Sydney over the previous decade. It is a firm start to an anarchist movement in Sydney, and in Australia.

JOHN ENGLART

Footnotes:

- *10 : Statement by 7 participants on the formation of the LSF from the Libertarian Socialist Bulletin July 1976.
- *11 : From the FAAB Monash Edition July 1976.
- *12 : From the FAAB January 1977 — Brisbane Anarchist Group edition.
- *13 : See Open Road 7 — Summer 1978 for a report.
- *14 : See the internal discussion document — 'homage to Catatonia'. For the political position of the LSO, four statements are published in the pamphlet: Politics of Human Liberation — REVOLUTION REASSESSED.
- *15 : See 'Bootleg' number '7' for a full report. Bootleg was a heavily anarchist influenced alternative Perth magazine issued in 1979.

I am waiting

Lawrence Ferlinghetti

I am waiting for my case to come up
and I am waiting
for a rebirth of wonder
and I am waiting for someone
to really discover America
and wail
and I am waiting
for the discovery
of a new symbolic western frontier
and I am waiting
for the American Eagle
to really spread its wings
and straighten up and fly right
and I am waiting
for the Age of Anxiety
to drop dead
and I am waiting
for the war to be fought
which will make the world safe
for anarchy
and I am waiting
for the final withering away
of all governments
and I am perpetually awaiting
the rebirth of wonder

I am waiting for the Second Coming
and I am waiting
for a religious revival
to sweep thru the state of Arizona
and I am waiting
for the Grapes of Wrath to be stored
and I am waiting
for them to prove

that God is really American
and I am seriously waiting
for Billy Graham and Elvis Presley
to exchange roles seriously
and I am waiting
to see God on television
piped onto church altars
if only they can find
the right channel
to tune in on
and I am waiting
for the Last Supper to be served again
with a strange new appetizer
and I am perpetually awaiting
a rebirth of wonder

I am waiting for my number to be called
and I am waiting
for the living end
and I am waiting
for dad to come home
his pockets full
of irradiated silver dollars
and I am waiting
for the atomic tests to end
and I am waiting happily
for things to get much worse
before they improve

— I am waiting for the day
that maketh all things clear
and I am waiting
for Ole Man River

to just stop rolling along
past the country club
and I am waiting
for the deepest South
to just stop Reconstructing itself
in its own image
and I am waiting
for a sweet desegregated chariot
to swing low
and carry me back to Ole Virginie
and I am waiting for Ole Virginie to discover
just why Darkies are born
and I am waiting
for God to lookout
from Lookout Mountain
and see the *Ode to the Confederate Dead*
as a real farce

and I am awaiting retribution
for what America did
to Tom Sawyer
and I am perpetually awaiting
a rebirth of wonder

— and I am waiting to write
the great indelible poem
and I am waiting
for the last long careless rapture
and I am perpetually waiting
for the fleeing lovers on the Grecian Urn
to catch each other up at last
and embrace
and I am awaiting
perpetually and forever
a renaissance of wonder

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Note Regarding Bookshop Opening

Hours

As an experiment during the summer our Bookshop opening hours are to be extended. They are now as follows:-

Sunday/Monday: Closed (as ever)

Tuesday 10am-1pm and 2pm-5pm

Wednesday

Thursday —8pm

Friday

Saturday 10am-4pm

Call in and see us.

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Donations Received May 20th — June 2nd 1982 incl

Paris B L H £2.00; Keighley S S £1.94; Wolverhampton J L £1.50; J K W £0.50; London N1 P F £0.30; Saffron Walden M E £0.72; Manchester A P £5.00; Southend R B £1.00; Chobham A J £1.00; Wolverhampton J L £1.50; J K W £0.50; Cambridge P N £1.00; London N16 L F £5.00; Lebanon A A K £1.00; London NW6 T A M £1.00; In Shop J D £1.00; Anon £0.70; Los Angeles S S £9.00;

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TOTAL TO DATE = £968.57

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Previously Acknowledged = £356.83

TOTAL TO DATE = £367.83